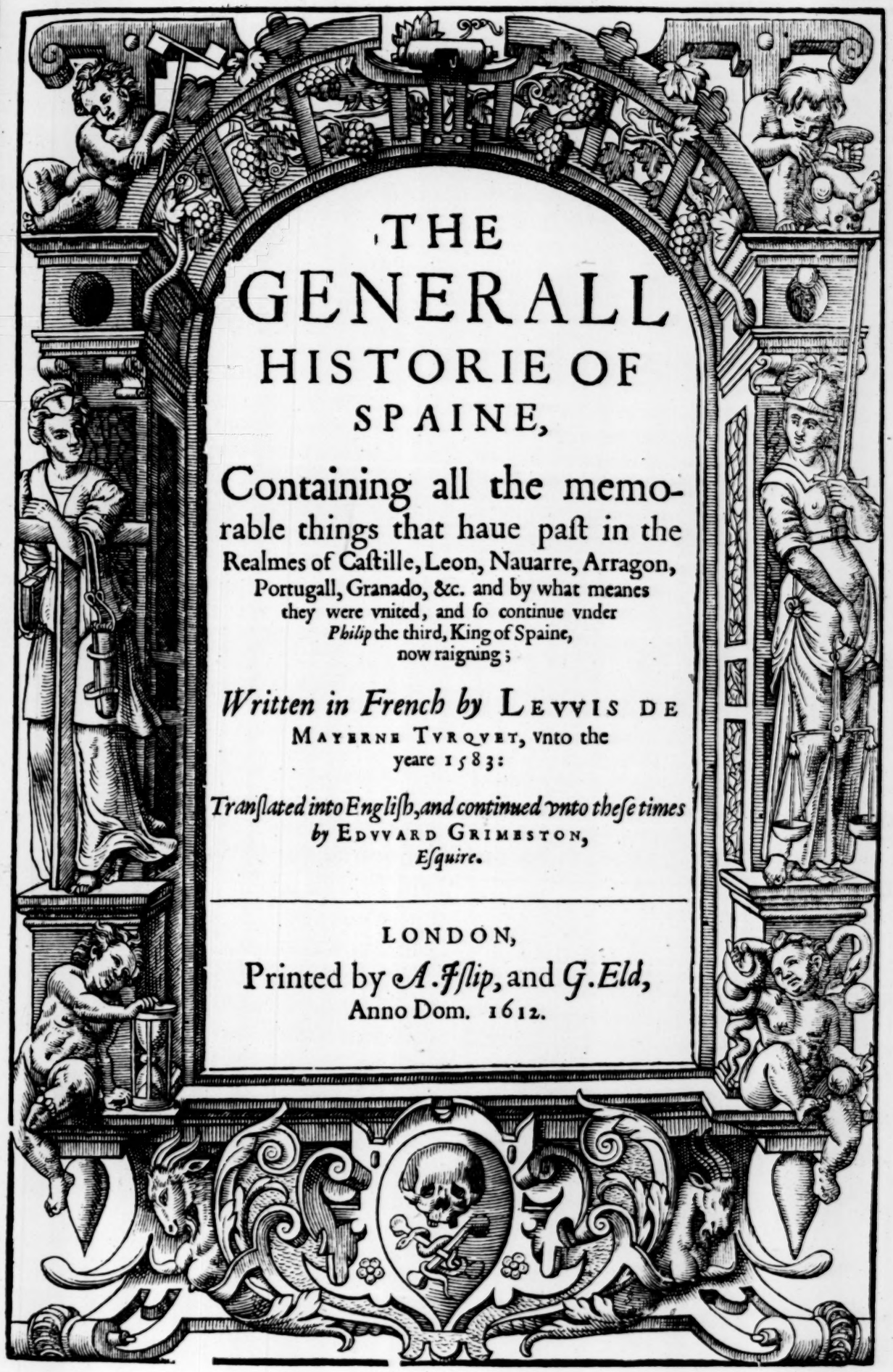

THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF SPAINE,

Containing all the memorable things that haue paſt in the Realmes of Caſtille, Leon, Nauarre, Arragon, Portugall, Granado, &c. and by what meanes they were vnited, and ſo continue vnder *Philip* the third, King of Spaine, now raigning;

Written in French by LEVVIS DE MAYERNE TVRQVET, vnto the yeare 1583:

Tranſlated into Engliſh, and continued vnto theſe times by EDVVARD GRIMESTON, *Eſquire.*

LONDON,
Printed by *A. Fflip*, and *G. Eld*,
Anno Dom. 1612.

TO THE RIGHT NOBLE, AND MOST WORTHY OF *ALL HONORS, AND* ALL TITLES,

ROBERT Earle of Saliſburie, Lord High Treaſurer of *England, &c.*

THOMAS Earle of Suffolke, Lord Chamberlaine to *his Maieſtie.*

MY moſt Honoured Lords, I might iuſtly feare, that my continuall deſire to acknowledge my dutie vnto your LL. by ſome acceptable kind of ſeruice, would be held importunitie, if your Noble diſpoſitions, and mine owne experience in particular of your Honours gratefull acceptance of the meaneſt ſeruice that is well meant, had not freed me from that feare, and enabled my weake faculties to adde this vnto the reſt of my oblations, which I conſecrate vnto your LL. vpon the Altar of my deuotion. I muſt confeſſe that your fauorable reception of my French and Netherland Hiſtories hath added courage to my will, to paſſe the Pyrenee Mountaines, and to take a ſuruey of this Hiſtorie of Spaine: the which I held (in my weake judgement) for many reſpects, as worthie the knowledge of our Nation, as any other. It is a generall Hiſtorie of all the Continent of Spaine, wherein the ſeuerall Hiſtories of thoſe ſeuerall Kingdomes, as they were in former times diſtinctly diuided and gouerned by

diuers Princes, are vnited; being collected out of all the best authors that haue written of that subiect. These considerations I say, were the inspiring meanes to moue me to vndertake the traduction of this Historie of Spaine, and haue giuen me resolution, and constancie to finish it, and to send it forth to the view of the world. The worke I hope will giue good content, it being a faithful relation of so many variable and strange accidents as haue happened in those Countries, during the manie alterations and changes of that State, and the long and cruell wars betwixt the Moores & Spaniards. If I, in my plaine maner of translation, haue not giuen it that grace which a more eloquent penne might haue done, I most humbly craue pardon, and intreat that my desire to benefit others, may giue satisfaction for my disabilitie and defects. I haue presumed to shroud the fruites of my poore endeuors, vnder your LL. countenance and protection; desiring to leaue a testimonie to all posteritie how much I am

Your LL. deuoted in all duetie and seruice,

EDVVARD GRIMESTON.

To the Reader.

GEntlemen, in the last edition of the Historie of France, I did willingly omit all matters acted by the Spaniards, wherein the French were not principally interressed, hauing then a resolution to make the Histories of those countries distinct and priuat. And for that I would not leaue you long in suspence, I promised within the yeare to publish this Historie of Spaine: wherein (notwithstanding my publique seruice, and many other difficulties) I haue forced my selfe to keepe my word, and to giue you satisfaction, though it be with some preiudice to my health. I will not vse many complements in the behalfe of the Author, his worke shall plead for himselfe: This Historie was written by a Frenchman, who is yet liuing, a man of grauitie and iudgement: It is no translation, but a collection out of the best writers that haue treated of that subiect. his chiefe Authors were Stephen Garebay, Ierome Surites, Mariana, Ambrose Morales, Iohn Valee a Fleming, with many other Spanish, Italian & Latin writers: out of all which he hath compyled this worke, and as it were vnited and tyed together the discourse of all these realmes with a continued style, by reason of the warre, accords, marriages, and other treaties and alliances which they haue had common among them: yet hath he so distinguished them, as seeing them all, you may easily read any one seuerally by it selfe, by the direction of notes and inscriptions set in the margent at euerie section or breach, whereby you may choose what belongs to Nauarre, Portugall, Castille, or to any other of those realmes, and read the Historie apart from the beginning to the end.

The antiquiti of this Spanish Nation (wherof he hath breefely made mention in the beginning of the first Booke) he confesseth to be obscure and vncertaine, and the writers thereof ignorant or negligent, so as it may be his discourse agreeth not with some authors which treat of the same men of whom he maketh mention, as of Hercules, Cacus, Gerion, Denis, and such like; but he pleads thus much for himselfe, that he could not contemne nor reiect the Spanish authors which haue so written of them, the which are to be receiued as obserued and produced by them. This Historie comes but to the winning of the Terceres, which was in the yeare 1583: he hath finished the rest vnto these times, I my selfe haue seene it in his studie at Paris, but he hath not yet put it to the Presse, so as I haue beene constrained, in the continuance thereof, to helpe my selfe out of the best that haue written of these later times, wherein I haue been assisted by some worthie gentlemen in the relation of some great actions, and haue continued the Histo-

rie,

rie, vnto my Lord Admirals returne out of Spaine. You must not hold it strange, if you find a great part of Philip *the seconds raigne barren of any great actions done in Spaine: his chiefe designes were against foreine States, imploying his braueſt men abroad, either against France, England, or the vnited Prouinces, at the Indies, or at Sea; all which actions are either related here, or in their distinct Histories.*

I must aduertise the Reader, that, from the yeare 1530, I haue not directly followed my Author, for I haue both inserted diuers things out of other Authors, whereof he makes no mention, and haue related some more at large then he hath done, for your better satisfaction, as I haue found them written in other approued Authors. My last suit must be for my selfe and the Printer, yet will I not vse any great circumstances to captiuate your fauors in mine owne behalfe: my stile (I confesse) is plaine and harsh; it were folly (nay madnesse) in me to seeke to conceale it, being so well knowne vnto you: yet let me intreat so much fauor at your hands, that as I haue spent my spirits to giue you content, so you will spare your spleenes, and censure fauorably, vntill you come to the like tryall: then shall you find, that either by your owne mistaking, or by the errors of the Presse you shall haue iust cause to sue for the like grace; which is, to supply all escapes and errors with your iudicious reading. And so I rest

Yours,

E. G.

A GENERALL HISTORIE OF SPAINE:

Collected out of diuers Authors, as well *auntient as moderne*.

The Contents of the first Booke.

1 *A discourse of the auntient and first beginning of the Spaniards.*
2 *Their religion and language.*
3 *The auntient and (may be) fabulous kings and captaines of vagabond troups in Spaine, vnto* Gerion, *and so to* Hercules *the Great.*
4 *Many petie kings, or Italian pirats, spoyling Spaine.*
5 *Discourse of the absurdities of these antiquities.*
6 *Greekes spoyling Spaine.*
7 *Affricanes entring and wasting Spaine.*
8 *Confusion and medley of the people which vsurped the countrey of Spaine.*
9 *Phenicians and Gaditanes, their offspring.*
10 *A Chorographicall description of the firme land of Spaine.*
11 *Islands about Spaine.*
12 *Distinction of the gouernments of Spaine, according to the Romans and Carthaginians, and others after them vnto the Arabians.*
13 *Distinction of the kingdomes of Spaine, which are now of fame.*
14 *The fertilitie of Spaine, both antient and moderne.*
15 *The manners of the antient Spaniards, and of those which now hold it: their armes and discipline.*

1 THe beginning and antiquitie of nations farre fetcht, is alwaies fabulous: for most of them that haue vndertaken to write histories, either generall, or particular of some one nation, haue thought it expedient (for their reputations) to offer a perfect worke vnto the world; and not to passe any season without some memorie of them of whom they write: imagining that the studious Reader would hold it an argument of their sloth or negligence, to leaue any thing in blancke. And therefore when as they wanted the testimonie of graue authors, they haue countenanced their owne imaginations; or haue imitated the fabulous inuentions of others, imploying their time, toyle, and eloquence in vaine things: wherin they may haply satisfie some curious heads, but not such as desire to learne. For as a lye cannot be so disguised, but either the conference of ages doth discouer it; or a spirit knowing the force and effect of things created, doth reject it; or the religious condemne it, as it is fit; when it shal once appeare that the author of any historie hath supposed things doubtfull and vncertaine, for true, thereby to enlarge his volumes. He that is studious, and loth to loose his time, growes discon-

The beginning of nations are fabulous for the most part.

Truth the ſubiect of a Hiſtory

tented,and reads it with diſtaſt. Wherefore men of beſt judgement, hold, that the ſubject of G
a hiſtorie is truth,in ſerious matters, and worthy to be imparted to poſteritie; giuing libertie
to them that write,to ſeaſon the examples with praiſe or blame: obſeruing the rewards & pu-
niſhments which haue followed,without reſpect of perſons,or yeelding to any paſſion, either
The end of reading hiſtories, is to follow vertue and to flie vice.

of loue or hatred, but ſtirred vp by the merits of vertue,or the horror of vice; to the end that
ſuch as read their writings,may be encouraged by the worthy acts of ſome,to liue vertuouſly,
and diuerted by the diſhonour and vnfortunat ſucceſſe of others,from all bad affections: and
the rather,for that they do therein find imitable ſteps of vertue. And for that the memorie of
many things is buried in obliuion,or miſcaried,they haue not been ſo ſtrict, as to forbid them
that find themſelues ingaged in the deſars and obſcuritie of the antiquitie of nations, to ob- H
ſerue ſome ſteps,and go by probable conjectures,to a way paſſable. This is allowed them, ſo
as they doe it by conſtraint, and with judgement; remembring, that a good huntſman can
judge of a wolues footing from a dogs,which are ſomething like.

Spaine vnknown before the Carthaginians.

The hiſtorie of Spaine,which we reſolue to write,is herein defectiue, as in a manner all o-
thers be: for before the comming of the Carthaginians into that country,and the wars of the
Romans,it cannot be directly ſaid,by what people Spaine was held,nor at what time, nor by
what policie it was gouerned, but by ill grounded conjectures. For of the acts of the firſt men
which were diſperſed vpon the face of the earth after the deluge, we haue no author but *Moy-
ſes*, who is carefull to deſcribe the eſtate and ſucceſſion of the Hebrues,in that chiefely which
concernes the eſtabliſhing of the Church of God. Of other nations he ſpeakes but by occa- I
ſion, and as God would doe good vnto this nation by them,or puniſh it for their ingratitude.
Wee muſt not then ſeeke for any mention of Spaine or Spaniards in him. The Grecians had
ſo little care of other nations,& haue ſo much reſpected their own,as they haue ſcarce vouch-
ſafed to ſpeake of them,but with contempt; and to amplifie their own glorie,they haue ſome-
The Grecians authors of lyes.

times fed the Latines with fables: who haue adorned and enriched their Rome and Italie,and
haue had care to proclaime their geſts, making vſe (in regard of antiquitie) of Grecian fa-
bles, or of conjectures; as the moderne haue in like manner done. What can we then do in
matters which are ſo doubtfull, but onely touch theſe conjectures as farre as they ſhall ſeeme
receiuable; paſſing that ſlightly ouer, which the Hiſtorians haue written of our firſt Spaine,
to the end we buſie not our ſelues in a vaine labour more than is fit. K

Tubal.

Wherefore, according to *Ioſephus* report,and vpon their conſciences which haue ſuppoſed
vnto vs a *Beroſus*, we ſay after many others, that *Tubal*, one of the ſonnes of *Iaphet*, otherwiſe
called *Iubal*, or *Iobel*, is father to the Spaniards, although it be verie likely, that he neuer ſet
foot in Spaine, being then a countrey without a name: but that from Armenia or the neigh-
bour places, taking his way towards the North, he ſtayed in a region ſince called Iberia, ſitu-
ated vpon Mont Caucaſus, which couers it from the North, betwixt the Caſpian and Eu-
xine ſeas: a countrey then inhabited by them which we call Georgians, whereas afterwards
the Chalibes, or Alibes were,a name approaching to Iubales, as ſome would wreſt it, chan-
ging ſome letters, as it happens in the corruption of tongues. Theſe people were Smithes,
handling yron,whereof the countrey abounds,and applying it by their art to many good vſes. L
The deſcendants of *Iubal* in theſe places,were afterwards called Iberians,and the country Ibe-
ria,by ſome man of qualitie which caried that name,and whoſe memory they would preſerue,
as it is likely. From thence the moſt receiuable authors doe maintaine, that the Iberians Spa-
niards parted ſome ages after *Tubal*, or *Iubal*, and that the people being ſo multiplied, as the
countrey could not well feed them,nor containe them,a part of them were conſtrained either
by force,or by caſting of lots,to abandon the place, and ſeeke ſome new abode: the which
hath beene ordinarie among all nations,and in all ages, but eſpecially in the firſt age, when it
was neceſſarie the world ſhould be peopled and inhabited: and it is credible, that nature was
at that time wonderfull fruitfull, God prouiding for the propagation of mankind. The com-
mon opinion is,that theſe Iberians hauing wandred much,being arriued vpon the frontiers of M
the region whereof we treat,ſtaied in the vallies of thoſe mountaines,which were ſince called
Pyrenee mountaine: full of yron mynes.

Pyrenee,and that they did liue long there, finding them fit to entertaine them in their firſt in-
clination and breeding: for that country abounds in yron mynes as much as any in Europe;
and therefore they found means wherewith to imploy themſelues, and to feed, for that theſe
mountains were ful of all things wherof theſe new come men,and ill prouided,had need, that

is to

A is to ſay, cheſtnuts, hazlenuts, pears, plummes, cheries, and all other wild fruites, with great ſtore of acornes, eſpecially towards the Weſt parts.

2 That there was either good religion, knowledge, gouernment, or any thing elſe, but great ſimplicitie, ignorance, and pouertie, we can hardly beleeue: and wee perſuade our ſelues, that ciuilitie, induſtrie, experience and knowledge of valour and profit of things, was taught them by neceſſitie, the miſtreſſe of Artes, and by ſtrangers which came into their countrey from Phenicia, Ægypt, Greece, Carthage, Gaule, and elſewhere; to whom they were for a long time a prey, and in the end they learned armes, and many other malicious practiſes, whereof they had the root in their hearts, but groſly planted. As for
B religion, wee ſhall find by this diſcourſe, that it was moſt barbarous and infamous among them. And who doubts, but the ſucceſſours of *Tubal* did ſuddenly forget the true God, and his pleaſing ſeruice, ſeeing this corruption did ſo ſoone enter among the ſonnes of *Sem*, and namely thoſe of the family of *Heber*, of whom the Eternall did frame his choſen people and his church. I wil not buſie my ſelf to contradict them which belieue, that their firſt language was that of the Biſcanes in thoſe times; diſcourſing, that ſeeing it hath ſo long maintained it ſelfe in that proprietie, and that it cannot be diſcerned that this tongue hath taken any tearms from other auntients, nor from other nations which inhabit about their countrey, with whom notwithſtanding they conuerſe and traffique, wee muſt beleeue that there is ſomething verie remarkable in this language, and thereby conclude, that it was one of the firſt tongues which
C did confound the builders of Babel, and by conſequence the whole world, God being pleaſed to haue preſerued in Spaine this note of the firſt inhabitants thereof. Admit it be ſo, and that the Baſcongade, which the Biſcanes at that time did vſe, a part of Nauarre, and they of Alaua, are the firſt, or of greateſt antiquitie vpon the frontiers of Spaine.

The firſt Spaniards were groſſe, without arts or religion.

Biſcane tongue verie antient, & held the firſt the Spaniards vſed.

3 Let vs be no leſſe difficult to beleeue the opinion of a certaine Spaniſh doctor, who maintaines, That one of the nephewes of *Sem*, or elſe of *Cham*, called *Sepharad*, came along the coaſt of Affricke to the ſtrait, and hauing croſt it with great troups, he did people the bankes of the Ocean and the Mediterranean ſeas, whereas the riuer of Guadalquiber doth ingulph, grounded vpon that the Hebrews call the Spaniards Sepharadin, & that they may apply the beginning of many names of towns, riuers, iſlands, and mountains of the country, to the He-
D brew, Caldee, and Syriake tongues; as Gaddir, Sepyla, Betis, Calpe, Auila, and the like. All this is not ſtrange, although there were no danger to deriue theſe names from the Phenicians, who vſed the Syrian tongue, and had great affinitie with the Hebrew which was vſed among the Iewes, a nation alſo of Syria: and to beleeue that they were brought into Spaine by the Tyrians and others which inuaded thoſe quarters, when they came to ſpoyle the treaſures thereof. That Spaine hath alwayes from the beginning beene peopled in two ſeuerall parts, vpon the Eaſt and Pyrenee mountaines by the Iberians of Aſia, and Caucaſians deſcending from *Tubal*; and towards the South at the ſtrait, by *Sepharad* and his troups, which came out of Syria and Affricke: and that of either ſide, as the people multiplied, they aduanced farther into the countrey: we may vndoubtedly beleeue, that thoſe of the Pyrenee mountaines paſ-
E ſing the vallies by little & little on the Weſt ſide, did people ſuch a part of the country as they gaue their name to the firſt nauigable riuer, and to the whole region, celebrating the memory of their natiue countrey, and of this *Iberus*, of whom they were named, whatſoeuer he were.

Coniectures vpon that Sepharad did hold Spaine.

Iberians gaue the name vnto Spaine.

4 Among the moſt auntient captains or kings of this vagabond nation, they make mention of one *Idubeda*, of whom the mountaine of Iubalda, or Idubeda, might be named, whereof we will ſpeake hereafter. Then they produce *Brigus* king or gouernor of theſe troups, who began a ciuile gouernment, and built (as they ſay) many caſtles in Spaine, which carried the marks of his name, all in a manner ending in Briga, as Nemetobriga, Mitobriga, and ſuch like, by reaſon whereof he carried painted in his ſtandard a caſtle (although the skill to blaze Armes was not then well knowne:) and the authors of the Spaniſh antiquities ſay, That of him the aſſem-
F blies of people were called Brigies, and afterwards Brigues, and Brigades: the which did ſo multiplie vnder his gouernment and conduct, as they were forced to ſend whole armies out of the country, to ſeeke new habitations; wherof ſome of theſe Brigues comming into Thrace, and then into Aſia, they brought the name of Brigie thither, the which ſince by corruption hath beene turned into Phrigia: and that Caſtille, now called Viegia, was in old time tearmed Brigia, and that the new Spaniſh tongue hath ſince turned it into Biegia,

Idubeda.

Brigus.

calling it Caſtille la Biegia, in ſtead of Brigia. For my part I beleeue, that this word *Briga*, was brought into Spaine by the Celtes, which did hold a great part of that countrey, for that it is of the language of the old Gauls, by the which was ſignified people, town, or aſſembly. Moreouer, there were many townes in France, which had their names deriued from it; as the lake Brigantin vpon the Alpes, which is that of Conſtance at this preſent; and Brigantium, which is Brianſon in Daulphine; the Latobriges neere vnto the Suiſſes, and others, wheras the Celtes did in old time inhabit. And if there were a king ſo named, it is verie likely he was a Gaule, captaine of ſome troupe of Celtes, in whoſe time there were great alterations of people, and by conſequence ambitious theſts, the beſt exerciſe the noble men then gaue themſelues vnto. This is what may be ſpoken of this *Brigus*.

Coniecturs that the Celtes were mingled with the Iberians from the beginning.

To rob was practiſed by the antients.

After whom *Tagus* was famous, from whom it may bee the riuer Tayo tooke her auntient name. Hee following the ſteps of his predeceſſour, ſent many ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie troupes out of Spaine, to ſeeke new habitations, whereof ſome paſt into Aſia.

Tagus.

Betus.

Betus came after, who was alſo called *Turditanus*, hee gaue that name to the countrey which is betweene the holy Promontorie, now called Cape S. Vincent, and the riuer of Guadalquibir, the which was alſo called Betis: and in ſucceſſion of time did communicat that name to a great part of the neighbour countrey, whereof they did afterwards name one of the chiefe prouinces of Spaine. In regard of him that countrey vpon the ſtrait towards the Weſt and South, began to be famous, and knowne to ſtrangers, eſpecially to the Ægyptians, and other Affricanes, nations which were then mightie and warlike, and withall cunning and politique, good mariners, and abounding in ſhips, to whom the entrie into this part of Spaine did offer it ſelfe, and was more commodious than any other. And therefore the names of other inhabitants within the countrey, did for a long time after remaine obſcured and vnknowne. They doe attribute ſome lawes and policie vnto this *Betus*, and the bringing in of ſome learning into Spaine, but what it was, is vnknowne.

5 To confirme that which is ſaid, That in the raigne of *Betus* ſtrangers began to taſt the riches and commodities of Spaine: Authors report, that preſently after his death, a captaine, mightie in ſhipping and men, came out of Affricke, landed in Turditane, and ſeiſed thereon. Hee was a Libian, and was called *Gerion*, and by ſome *Deabus*, ſurnamed by the Greekes *Chryſee*, as one would ſay, of gold, or gilt; by reaſon of the treaſures he gathered by violence and tyrannie. For knowing that Spaine was full of mynes of all ſorts of mettals, he became curious to ſearch for them, forcing the people to worke with ſuch rigour, as if they had beene brute beaſts; many fainting vnder their burthens, ended their miſerable liues: ſo as the brute of his crueltie (an inſeperable companion to couetouſneſſe) infected in a manner the whole earth, in places moſt remote, and was abhorred of all thoſe that had any feeling of humanitie.

Gerion.

Strange trinces tyrannize spain

Oſiris Denis then raigned in Ægypt, who mooued with pitie, and of a generous ſpirit, came into Spaine with a great armie of Ægyptians, Syrians, Arabians, and other neighbour nations, to ruine this deteſtable tyrant; whom he vanquiſhed in battell, and ſlew: which is the firſt that was giuen in Spaine, that any mention is made of ſince the deluge. And for that he came neither to conquer, nor to enrich himſelfe, being mooued with a zeale of juſtice, hauing ſetled the affaires of the countrey, he deliuered the ſeigniorie of the Turditanians to three of his children, who had beene puniſhed for his wickedneſſe, admoniſhing them not to follow the wretched auarice of their father, leaſt their ends were like vnto his. Some Arabians Scenites of his troupe, would needs remaine in Spaine, to whom he aſſigned the countrey about Cape Saint Vincent.

Oſirin

A iuſt cauſe of warre to deliuer the oppreſſed.

Curetes.

Neere vnto it (and where as the riuer Anas diſgorgeth it ſelfe) dwelt the Curetes, diſcended from *Curis*, nephew (they ſay) to *Champ* among the Tercenian, or Tarteſſian foreſts, which did run along the ſhore vnto the iſland of Gadir, then called Tarteſſe (in our time Calis:) in which iſland Gerion was interred, the firſt of any dead bodie that was put in the ground in Spaine; for before the cuſtome was to caſt dead carkaſſes into the ſea, or into riuers, or to hang them vpon trees, or elſe they left them in the fields.

Gadir and Tarteſſe.

Oſiris left in this iſland a ſiſter of his, called *Erythree*, who (it may be by one of theſe young Gerions) had a ſonne called *Norac*, who (as ſome ſay) did build Nora, the firſt manſion in the iſland of Sardinia.

Nora the firſt habitation in Sardima.

Theſe

A Theſe three young princes, who were called Lominians, were ſo like in face and manners, and did agree ſo well together, as the Poets haue fained, that they were but one king which had three bodies. They gouerned their ſubjects with more modeſtie than their father. Imagine that the feare of puniſhment kept them in awe, yet could they not ſo ſubdue their courages, but they ſought all vnworthie meanes to reuenge their fathers death. Wherefore the ſeas being now open to the Turditanes, & commerce brought in from the Weſt to the Eaſt, they had ſecret practiſes with *Typhon*, whom they knew to be ambitious, and procured him to kill king *Oſiris* his brother, and to ſeiſe vpon the kingdome of Ægypt. *The deſire of reuenge a brutall vice in man.*

Oſiris left many children, among the which was *Hercules* the Great, whom they ſurname *Hercules Oron.*
B the Ægyptian *Apollo*, *Mars*, & *Oron*: by him the Gerions Lominians receiued a worthie reward for their ingratitude. For hauing gathered together a great armie of diuers nations, he paſt into Spaine, whereas theſe three brethren were readie to make head againſt him: yet *Hercules* grieuing that ſo much innocent bloud ſhould be ſpilt for the offence of three men, heoffred to fight alone with them all three in ſingle combats: which being accepted by the Gerions, they loſt their liues. They ſay, that this paſſage of *Hercules*, was at the ſame time when as *Iacob* and his family went into Ægypt, or a little before. By this victorie *Hercules* was receiued and honoured of the Turditanes, and other Spaniards: who after that he had ſetled their affairs, and planted two pillars vpon the ſtraits, the one in Europe, and the other in Affricke; and two others in the iſland, ſince called Gadir: which ſome hold were towers, and not pillars, for a *Great equitie of Hercules the Ægyptian.*
C marke and teſtimonie of his conqueſts and toyles, he tooke his courſe towards Italie, leauing the gouernment of Spaine to one of his captaines called *Hiſpal*, which ſome will haue to bee his ſonne. They ſay alſo, that he left in thoſe iſlands, which are now called Majorca and Minorca, a Gouernour called *Balee*, of whom they ſince tooke the name of Baleares: although that moſt men beleeue they were ſo named, for that the inhabitants were expert in ſlings. *Hiſpal ſonne to Hercules.*

Hiſpal remaining Gouernour of this part of Spaine, which is at the ſtraits and thereabouts neere vnto the two ſeas (for as we haue ſaid, thoſe that liued within the countrey, had not felt much of theſe forraine inuaſions) he began a towne called by him Hiſpalis, ſince named Sepila, and at this day Seuille. *Hiſpalis or Seuille.*

Hiſpan ſucceeded him, a wiſe and an actiue man, and a louer of vertue, as they write of him: *Hiſpan.*
D and we muſt beleeue that he was ſome great perſonage (if there were euer any ſuch in being) ſeeing the whole region whereof we treat hath retained his name, and preſerued it in ſuch ſort as it hath not beene changed ſince. Others notwithſtanding acknowledging in no ſort this *Hiſpan* to be the author of the name which hath remained to Spaine, affirme, and it may bee not raſhly, That it came of the people of Iberia in Aſia, the which in old time was called Pana, of the name of one *Pan*, who gouerned there vnder his father *Liber*: and therefore this of Europe was indifferently called Iberia and Pana: but thoſe that came after, corrupting the word, did adde ſome letters, and called it ſometimes Spana, and ſometimes Spania, as in truth the Latines did name it in the beginning, terming it Spania, and not Hiſpania. The Spaniards comming afterwards to imbrace the Roman tongue, added an E, and called it Eſpania, as they *Spaine why ſo called.*
E haue beene accuſtomed to do to all Latine words which begin with S; as Eſcola, Eſcala, Eſcudo, Eſcriber, and the like. Theſe Iberians did alſo call themſelues Abaſgi, whereof it may bee came Vaſco, Baſco, and Baſcongado. Such as beleeue that *Hiſpan* raigned in Spaine, ſay, That he was the firſt which tooke the royall diademe, and that he cauſed towers to bee built in the iſland of Tarleſſe, and in Galicia, which they call Phares, or Beacons, for the helpe of ſaylers: yet others hold with more reaſon, that that in Galicia, which is yet ſtanding, was the worke of *Octauius Cæſar*.

Hercules hauing done many great exploits in Italie, he left *Atlas Kitin* there to gouerne, carrying back his brother *Heſperus*, he returned into Spain, where he found *Hiſpan* deceaſed: wherfore he himſelfe did gouerne it in perſon for many yeares, and dyed there, as they ſay. His bo- *Heſperus, of whom Italie and Spaine are named.*
F die was buried in the iſland of Tarleſſe, where at that time the kings court was, in a ſumptuous and ſtately tombe.

After him raigned *Heſperus*, brother to *Atlas Kitin*, of whoſe name they ſay that Spaine and *Atlas.*
alſo Italie were called Heſperies; that is, Italie Heſperia the great, and Spaine the later Heſperia, for that he raigned ſometime both in the one and the other. But *Atlas* enuious of his brothers greatneſſe, came with an armie and diſpoſſeſſed him of the kingdome, forcing him

to flie into Italie, from whence *Hercules* had brought him: where hee was well entertained, and raigned. The which *Atlas* vnderſtanding, hee ſuffered him not long quiet, but returned into Italie with a good number of Spaniards, and chaſed him away; meaning to hold Italie as his royall ſeat, and Spaine as an acceſſarie, to draw gold, ſiluer, and all other commodities from thence. G

Oris. *Atlas* parting from Spaine, he left the gouernement to *Oris* his ſonne, who was called *Sic Oris*, *Sic* ſeruing as a fore-name. Of him they ſay the riuer Sicoris, now called Sigro, was named: the which paſſeth by Lerida, and falls into Ebro. But no man can tell vpon what occaſion he was ſo called, nor how hee extended his limits thither, being ſo farre from the ſtraits, and iſle of Gadir. H

Sigro fl.

Anus. *Anus* ſucceeded *Oris*, whom they alſo called *Sicanus*, and of his name the riuer of Guadiana tooke the auntient denomination. Wee muſt conjecture, that his predeceſſour *Oris* did eſtabliſh ſome eſtate and principalitie, or made ſome fort and retreat about the riuer of Sigro, whereof this that ſucceeded him had the firſt gouernement: ſeeing they place along the bankes thereof, the people which are called Sicanians, ſo named of this *Sicanus*, who it ſeemes were his ſouldiours, and the troupes which he commaunded. Some of thoſe bands hauing paſt into Italie, to helpe their countrey-men, which had beene led thither by *Atlas Kitin*, and hauing inhabited the countrey of the Latines (which is the territorie of Rome) they were there encountred by the naturall Italians. Paſſing on, they carried the name of Sicanians, into the iſland then called Trinacria, and ſince Sicile: into the which, they ſay, that *Sicanus* paſt in perſon, hauing in Italie fought with the Ligurians, Oenotrians, Leſtrigons, and others: and that he was there encountred by the Cyclopes, cruell and barbarous men, who would not ſuffer the Sicanians to come and dwell in their iſland: but they were forced to yeeld. I

Sicanians Spaniards.

Sicile, why called Sicania.

Siceleus the ſonne of *Sicanus* raigned in Spaine, after his father, and paſſed in like manner into Italie and Sicile, where he changed the former name, calling it Sicile, the which it holds. The occaſion of his paſſage, was the controuerſie betwixt *Dardanus* and *Iaſius*, his couſins, ſonnes to *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*, for the rule of Italie; the which he reconciled. But *Dardanus* hauing afterwards ſlaine *Iaſius* his brother treacherouſly, *Siceleus* purſued the reuenge ſo vehemently, as *Dardanus* was forced to abandon the countrey, and to go into Samothracia, and then into Aſia, to ſeeke a new habitation. This mans raigne concurres with the time that God ſent plagues vpon the Ægyptians, by *Moyſes* and *Aaron*. K

Siceleus gaue the name to the iſle of Sicile.

Luſius, of whom comes Luſitania. *Siceleus* being dead, his ſonne *Luſus* held the ſcepter of Spaine; of whoſe name ſome will haue Luſitania (a part therof) to be called. He paſt alſo into Italie, and at his returne brought many Italians into Spaine. Where, after him, *Vlus*, or *Siculus*, his ſonne, raigned: whom they called *Neptune*, for that he entertained many ſhips and gallies at ſea. He paſt, as his predeceſſors had done, into Italy and Sicile, to ſuccour the Spaniards which were ſeated in thoſe regions, againſt whom the Cyclopes and others of the countrey renewed the wars. After him many ſtranger thruſt into Spaine, vpon diuers occaſions, but for one only cauſe, which was, for ſpoyle, being eaſie to take, by reaſon of the ſimplicitie of the Spaniſh people. L

Vlus.

Hee that ſhall conſider duely hereof, will not thinke it to agree with that which we haue ſaid before, as in truth it doth not: For if theſe kings (of whom we haue made mention ſince *Atlas*) which haue raigned, according to Hiſtorians and Croniclers, for two hundred and fiftie yeares, haue not onely had the meanes to defend Spaine from ſtrangers, but to lead forth many armies, and to ſubdue the people of Italie and Sicile; to make themſelues vmpiers of kings quarels, to build townes there, and to commaund the ſeas: and that from Spaine to Italie, and from Italie to Spaine, the paſſage and commerce was ordinarie: How could it be, that ſo ſoone after the death of *Siculus*, the Spaniards ſhould grow ſo ſimple and vnwarlike, as if they had neuer ſeene armes? And that it was in the power of the firſt pyrat that came from Affricke, Phenicia, or Greece, to ſeiſe vpon it, and inſult ouer them, without any reſiſtance? Had they learned nothing? had they gotten no courage in ſo many warres which they had ſeene in Italie? What was become of thoſe captaines which theſe late kings had ſo happily imployed? had they all curſed their countrey, or found ſome Lethe ſloud, to make them forget it, and to ſtay in Italie? Or if they were dead, did they leaue no diſcipline, nor any impreſſion of vertue in their youth? It is not likely, and therefore M

A fore we muſt put all theſe diſcourſes among idle tales, or find ſome meanes to vnfold this difficultie. Euery one hath free libertie to diſcourſe: For my part I beleeue, that theſe men which they ſay had reigned in Spaine ſince *Atlas*, haue beene Italians, acknowledging the Soueraignetie of Italie, and gouerning Spaine as a ſubdued Prouince: or elſe reſpecting onely their profit, they made voyages like vnto pyrats, ſhearing them to the bloud, and then carrying their ſpoyles into Italie, employing the lewdeſt people in the countrey to oppreſſe the reſt; and in the meane time, through the fauour of ſome fort, which they did maintaine to aſſure their landing and their ſhipping, they cauſed themſelues to be called Kings. Then ſeeing that the Spaniards (which had joyned with them to doe ill) did multiplie too faſt, or
B grew more cunning than was fit for their purpoſe, they found meanes to embarke them, and to ſend them into Italie vpon ſome vaine hopes, whereas being once arriued, there was no more any meanes to returne into Spaine. Such in my opinion were the armies which thoſe kings led out of Spaine into Italie, that is, troupes of theeues, of whom they would be aſſured, that they ſhould not conſpire againſt them, nor take their practiſe from them, after they had inſtructed them in their trade. By theſe ſubtile practiſes they did ſpoile Spaine both of men and treaſure, holding the groſſe and rude multitude in ignorance, and ſetling an opinion in them, that they were good men, and louers of juſtice; yea religious, for that they dealt in the pacifying of controuerſies, which happened among the people, and ſometimes they payed vowes, or made ſome ſuperſtitious dedication of a Temple or Chappell. I ſay
C moreouer, That thoſe which we haue before named were not alone, which made this worke in Spaine; but in their times, and whileſt they were buſie in one part, other nations did the like in ſome other quarter of the countrey. So as it is no maruell, ſeeing the Spaniards had yet no meanes to ſee a lawfull and ſetled Eſtate among them, and that thoſe which did gouerne them, had alwayes this affected end, to entertaine them in their ſimplicitie; an aſſured marke of Tyrants. So as the race of theſe men fayling, this poore nation was preſently made ſubject to the firſt that did inuade them, the children prooving as vnable as their fathers.

What the firſt kings of Spaine were.

Religion is a cloake for Tyrants, with the rude multitude.

6 They report, That about that time ſome Greekes of the Iſland of Zante, in old time called Zacynte, arriued vpon that coaſt whereas ſince the towne of Valencia was built, and
D there made a little fort, or ſtore-houſe, for their traffique, the which they called Zacynthium; the which did ſince encreaſe in people and building, and became a good towne, from whence Sagunte had her beginning, renowmed for the loyaltie of the citizens to the people of Rome, and for the occaſion which ſhee gaue of the long and bloudie warres betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, which they called the ſecond Punicke warre. Theſe Zacynthians traffiquing with them of Iberia, which dwelt within the countrey, and were neighbours to the mountaines, did receiue from them gold and ſiluer, little eſteemed by theſe ſimple men, for that theſe mettals grew in their countrey, giuing them in exchange trifles of ſmall value: ſo, as growing rich in a ſhort time, they publiſhed among the other Grecians, and among the nations of Aſia, the fame, happineſſe, and aboundance of treaſure in Spaine, inciting ma-
E ny thereby to goe and diſcouer the countrey, and to attempt ſomething. And for that (as we haue ſaid before) religion hath alwaies beene a lure for cunning and malicious men to aſſure the ſimple, to whom they intend ſome miſchiefe, theſe Zacynthians cauſed a goodly Temple to bee built to *Diana*, in the place which is now called Denia, according vnto ſome, but falſely, prouiding by that meanes and maske of religion, for their Zacynthium, which they had built vpon that coaſt, that by the reuerence of this Temple they might be aſſured from all violence.

The beginning of Saguntum.

7 In the meane time an Affrican called *Teſta* ſeized vpon Gadir, and of all the maine land thereabouts, calling himſelfe king of Spaine. It may be that of his name they were called Conteſtans, which did inhabit along the bankes of the Mediterranean ſea, whereas Mur-
F cia and Carthagena are at this preſent.

Teſta.

After him he left the gouernment to his ſonne *Romus*, to whom they attribute the building of the towne of Valencia (yet *Titus Liuius* doth not make it ſo auncient) the which was firſt called Rome, of his name, ſince by the Latines, holding this name to be Greeke, they turned it in their language to Valencia, which was all one; for Rome in Greeke, and Valencia in old Latine, is power and force.

Romus.

In

Falſe Denis.

In this kings time there came a pyrat into Spaine, well followed by men of his owne ſort, G who ſpoyled the whole countrey adjoyning vnto the ſea, and then hee returned with his ſpoyles, leauing an opinion of him, that hee was the father *Liber Denis*, or *Bacchus*: for the cuſtome of thoſe obſcure times was, That great pyrats and heads of vagabond people (whereof the world did then abound) did take vpon them the names of great perſonages and famous men, who had gone before them, and whom fooliſh ſuperſtition had deified; giuing the people where they came to vnderſtand, That they were gods, which came to viſit them, to deliuer them from tyrants, and to doe them good; ſo as they were often deceiued. By ſuch fained deuices theſe Harpies found leſſe reſiſtance in their enterpriſes. It may be this *Denis* was the ſonne of *Semele*, and nephew or grand child to *Cadmus* king of Thebes in Beoce, but H not that great *Denis*, Conqueror of the Indies, who was much more auncient. They ſay, that

Lebriſſa, and the beginning.

he built the towne of Lebriſſa (the which he called Nebriſſa) vpon one of the chanels of the riuer Betis; the which in thoſe dayes fell into the ſea with two gulfes. Nebros in Greeke is a Hynds calfe, with the skins whereof they did attire thoſe that did celebrate the Bacchanalia. It was at the ſame time when as the Phœnicians began to encroch much vpon the Spaniards,

Phœnicians ſpoyle Spaine.

and to come with whole armies into their countrey, and to make their prey, as the Grecians, Ægyptians, and others of Affricke did.

Pala'uus. Palenza.

To *Remus* they make *Palatuus* his ſonne to ſucceed him; who as they ſay was founder of the towne of Palenza: but there did riſe a petie king or captaine againſt him, out of the mountaines, neere vnto the riuer Ebro, called *Cacus Licinius*, who in the end became maſter there- I

Cacus Licinius.

of, and *Palatuus* was forced (being yet young) to flye out of the countrey, and to ſue for ſuccours in vaine, begging his bread in a manner for many yeares, of forraine princes and potentates. This *Cacus* was induſtrious, and the author of many ſubtile inuentions; to purge and forge yron, and to faſhion it to diuers inſtruments fit for the warre: for hee taught how to make breaſt-plates and other furniture for the defence of the bodie: and ſome beleeue, that

Gunpouder an auncient inuention.

he had the art to make that infernall pouder, which they vſe for artillerie. For theſe inuentions, wherein he was very expert, he was celebrated by the Poets, as the ſonne of *Vulcan*, the god of Forges. *Palatuus* after that he had long ſued in vaine to princes and townes, whereas hee expected ſome ſuccours, to recouer his eſtate, hee reſolued in the end to returne into Spaine, and to obſerue, if the inconſtancie of humane things had not prepared him ſome K meanes to recouer his dignitie, and to chaſe away his enemie: whereas he arriued ſo happily, as the Spaniards, whether mooued with pitie of his calamitie, or wearie of the others commaund, they receiued *Palatuus*, and gaue him men and meanes to recouer his kingdome. So *Cacus* being diſpoſſeſſed of that which he had held, fled into Italie, where they ſay that *Hercules* the Grecian ſlew him (whereof we will make mention) although that the author thereof doe not agree well vpon this point. There *Cacus* bred diſcord betwixt all the people and townes of Italie by his leud practiſes.

Palatuus being dead, the Tyrians of Phœnicia, who had now learned the way to Spaine,

Erythree.

came with their king *Erythree*, and good ſtore of ſhips, who giuing them to vnderſtand, That he had beene commaunded by the Oracle to come and build a Temple to *Hercules Libique*, in L the Iſland of Tarteſſe, that is, Calis; they were not onely receiued, but *Erythree* was alſo choſen king of that part of Spaine; who built a ſtately Temple in the Iſland to *Hercules*, chan-

Gadir called Erythree.

ging the name thereof, and cauſing it to be called *Erythree*, or elſe renewed that name, which it might haue had from the ſiſter of *Oris* aboue mentioned, or of the Erythreans of the Eaſt, who followed *Hercules Orus*, which had dwelt there. To this Temple, which ſome hold was built vpon the maine land, where at this preſent *Medina Sydonia* ſtands, was due the tenths of all the theſts and ſpoyles of the Weſt, by a perpetuall decree, the which was long obſerued.

Of this king *Erythree* there is nothing more ſpoken: to whom they giue for ſucceſſour

Gargoris.

Gargoris, a Spaniard: he taught the people the vſe of honey, and was therefore called *Mielle*. M The chiefe force of this kings eſtate and others his predeceſſors, were the Curetes, a brutiſh and ſauage people, dwelling in the forreſts of Tarteſſe, which contained a great part of the Ocean ſhore, from the holy Promontorie, or Cape S. *Vincent*, vnto the Iſland of Erythree.

Hercules the Grecian.

In his time *Hercules* the Grecian, ſonne to *Alcmena*, paſſed into Spaine, to whom the Greek Poets, and others that haue followed them, did attribute ſuch proweſſe, but falſely: for this

A this *Hercules* was but an inſolent man, yet well beloued of the Grecian princes, by reaſon of his boldneſſe and his ſtrength of bodie fit to rob and ſteale, whereunto the nobilitie of that age was commonly addicted. The wealth of Spaine, which was ſo much ſpoken of in Greece and Aſia, made him affect this voyage, after the firſt Trojan warre, againſt *Laomedon*. Hauing then gathered together all the pyrats and theeues he could, as well in Europe as in Aſia, hee ſet ſayle, and coaſting along Italie, he landed in the place of Tuſcane, which ſince hath beene called Port *Hercules*. From thence he arriued in Sardinia, where he found ſome few inhabitants, where he left one *Sardus*, with ſome of the idle multitude that was in his armie. Of this *Sardus*, Sardinia tooke the name. Before he paſſed on, he made a great ſacrifice vnto the gods,

Theeues countenanced by princes in old time.

B in a little Iſland, betwixt Corſica and Sardinia, the which for that cauſe doth ſtill retaine the name of Iſle *Hercules*. Then he directed his courſe towards the Iſlands of Baleares, then called Gymnaſies, whereas the inhabitants made ſome weake reſiſtance with their ſlings: in the leaſt of which Iſlands he dedicated a Temple to *Ianus*, whereas ſince the towne of Ciuitella was built. Then continuing his voyage, he toucht the Iſlands of Pituyſes, and gaue the name of Ebuſa to the greater. In the end he arriued vpon the maine of Spaine, whereas *Dianaes* Temple was built, the which he enriched with gifts, and did reuerence with ſacrifices, for his proſperous voyage; and for that *Diana* was held to be the goddeſſe which had care of trauellers. Then ſayling along the coaſt, hee came through the ſtrait into the Ocean, and to the Iſland of Erythree, where he landed his armie vpon the firme land, and ſtayed there ſome few

Baleares called Gymnaſies.

C dayes to refreſh his men; he in the meane time honouring his Temple (whoſe name he carried, and did challenge his acts) buſied himſelfe in making of playes and ſacrifices. Hearing then that the Curetes and other Spaniards had put themſelues in armes to fight with him, he went to meet them, gaue them battaile, and did eaſily defeat them, repulſing them into their forreſts, out of the which they durſt not ſally like enemies. This combat is ſuppoſed by the Poets for that of the Titanes againſt their gods, faining, that the Herculeans were gods, and the Curetes and Spaniards the Titanes.

Hercules defeats the Curetes.

After this victorie, the whole countrey was at *Hercules* deuotion: who imitating the auncient *Hercules* of Lybia, planted pillars in the ſtraits; the one in Europe, the other in Affricke; enlarged the towne which was in the Iſland of Erythree, and left many Tyrians and Sydoni-

D ans, which had followed him, there: and it may be it then tooke the name of Gadir, or Gades, which in the Phenician tongue ſignifieth a Terme, or Limit: and tearming himſelfe a god, would haue all diuine honours done vnto him. And ſome hold, That it was he which made a law, to pay the tenth of the enemies ſpoyle, and to offer them to *Hercules* Temple: at the leaſt he did exact it being in Spaine, that he might haue part of other mens ſpoyles, and know the greateſt theeues. This done, he marched towards the Pyrenee mountaines, ſpoyling the coaſt vpon the Mediterranean ſea, and drawing after him a great traine of all nations, which came at the bruit and fame of this great theefe, and the treaſures of Spaine: He paſſed into Gaule, and from thence into Italie, polluting all good families where he paſſed, as hee had beene accuſtomed to doe all his life time. The cauſe of his ſuddaine departure, was the news

E he heard of the great preparation which the Grecian princes made, to warre againſt the Trojans, for the rape of *Hellen*, whither he was inuited by his friend *Telamon* of Salamine. Thus was Spaine in a ſhort time beaten, and deliuered from a great ſcourge. Of this *Hercules* the Poets haue fained all that is written, of the conqueſts, proweſſe, and trauels of many other *Hercules*, more auncient and better men than he: he was a Grecian, but not of Greece it ſelfe, but of that part of Italie which they call the great Greece, and of Tarentum, conceiued in a-

Hercules Tarentin a baſtard.

dulterie by *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitrion*, a priuat man, and an vnknowne father, bred vp at Thebes in Beoce, and nouriſhed in theft, fornication, and execrable murthers: a companion and counſellor to *Iaſon*, in the voyage of Colchis, at the ſpoyle of the treaſures of *Æete*, and the rape of his daughter *Medea*: the author and executioner of the ruine and death of

F *Laomedon* king of Troy; whoſe daughter *Heſione*, a noble and innocent virgine, he did proſtitute to his companion *Telamon*, bold and hardie in all bad actions: ſo as hee purchaſed the name and reputation of a valiant captaine, and was readily followed into Spaine by men of his owne ſort, whereof there were ſtore, and finding nothing left to ſteale in Aſia.

As he carried away many bad perſons when he went into Spaine, ſo he left others of diuers nations behind him, who built cities and townes, or finding ſome of their countreymen

alreadie

Calpe. alreadie ſeated, planted themſelues among them. Calpe, which was called Heraclea was then G
Barcelone. built. In this paſſage alſo, Barcino, ſo named of fiſhermens Cabbins, made of oyziers, which were firſt there, was enriched with a Temple, which this *Hercules* cauſed to be built to *Iupiter*.
Auſonia. Turiaſſo neere vnto Montcaio, was the Tyrians worke; Auſonia the Italians, it is now called
Lerida. Vic: Ilerda, now Lerida, the Illyrians, and others of other nations, whereof *Hercules* army was compoſed. To *Dianaes* Temple (which the Zacynthians had begun before his comming) there were (by him, or by the Zacynthians of his companie) great beames of Iuniper ſet; the which were ſpared by *Hannibal* when as he ruined thoſe places, and continued vnto the time of the Roman Emperors. There remained many other marks of this paſſage long after in Spaine.

As for *Gargoris*, who was king, he recouered his authoritie with great difficultie, and kept it H
with more paine; yet he reigned ſome yeares, and left the realme to his grand child, which his
Crueltie of a grandfather. daughter had by ſtealth: wherewith *Gargoris* was ſo much offended, as he cauſed this child to be left in the fields, to be deuoured of wild beaſts; the which, by the will of God, did not only leaue him vntoucht, but did alſo nouriſh him with their vrine: whereof the old man being aduertiſed, he commaunded him to be laid in the high wayes, that oxen, horſes, hogs, and ſuch like going and comming, might tread him vnder their feet: yea, he cauſed him to be preſented to famiſhed maſtiues, which had bin kept hungry of purpoſe: but he was ſtill preſerued by the fauor of heauen; and the brute beaſts (more kind than his grandfather) turned from the infant, and did not hurt him. In the end, this cruell man not content to put the poore child to an ordinarie death, he cauſed him to be carried far into the Ocean ſea; yet could not his deſire ſucI
ceed: for the infant was caſt by the waues vpon the ſands, wheras a hynd hauing newly calued, was ſo farre in loue with it, as ſhe forgat her own fruit, and nouriſhed the child, vntill he grew great, and got his liuing in the woods and rocks, feeding vpon wild fruits; who in the end grew ſtrong, and ſo actiue, as he ran as ſwiftly as any ſtagge. He was often ſeene, and purſued by the huntſmen of the countrey, who could not conceiue what it was; yet they layd ſo many ambuſhes, as in the end they tooke him, and preſented him vnto *Gargoris* their king: who hauing carefully conſidered and viewed the countenance of this ſauage priſoner, he was of opinion, that it was his grand child: whereof he was the better aſſured by certaine marks which he had made vpon his bodie, and cauſed him to be attended on as his Eſtate required; then dying, he left him heire of his realme of Spaine: where he ſhewed himſelfe wiſe, vertuous, and a louer K
of the good of men, notwithſtanding that he had bin bred vp among wild beaſts in his youth. For they ſay he made politicke lawes, and taught them to tyll the land; accuſtomed the barbarous people to a more ciuile life, and ſought the meanes to better the fruits of the earth by manuring, remembring his hard and rough breeding in his younger yeares. Hee is called by
Albius, Habidus, or Habis. ſome *Albius*, by others *Habidus*, or *Habis*. He appointed exerciſes for the Spaniards, and diuided the people into ſeuen townes or cantons.

8 After him there is no mention of any kings in Spaine for many ages: which giues ſome occaſion to conjecture, that they erected many Commonweales; or that this region lay open to the inuaſion of many ſtrangers, which came from diuers parts; namely, after the deſtruction
The Celtes paſſe into Spaine. of Troy, which happened in the time of this *Habidus*; in whoſe life time certaine Celtes com- L
ming out of Gaule, came into Iberia, where they had long and ſharpe warre againſt the inhabitants of the country, with whom they would ſhare their lands; & in the end forced the Iberians to receiue them, and to contract alliances with them, giuing them their daughters in mariage: and ſo communicating both ayre, country, and names with them, they made of two na-
Celtiberia. tions one, which was called Celtiberian, and the countrey of Celtiberia; which is, all that lyes betwixt the Pyrenee mountaines and the riuer of Ebro. Other Celtes and Gaules had paſſed farther into Spaine, it may be, before the Iberians came there, and had run beyond the riuer of Ebro, vnto the Weſt Ocean, where they had held a part of Portugal and Betica; in which prouinces they did alſo carry the names of Celtes, Celtiques, Galates, and Gallicians, and there did build townes. *Ephorus* (for that the Celtes did hold all that North part of Spaine, and part M
of Portugal) extended Gaule vnto the Iſland of Gades. *Habis* reigned yet, when Elna, a towne in the countie of Roſſillon, was firſt founded; the which ſome haue ignorantly written, was named by *Helene*, mother to *Conſtantine* the Great, or built by her grand child *Conſtans*.

Many Grecians in thoſe times came into Spaine, among the which (as they ſay) was *Teucer* the ſonne of *Telamon*, who (hauing beene chaſed away by his father, and after his death ex-

cluded

A cluded from the ſucceſſion) landed whereas new Carthage now ſtands, and ſo paſſed on into Galicia. They attribute vnto him the foundation of the towne of Salamanca; a name which commeth neere vnto that of Salamina, where *Teucer* was borne: yet ſome affirme, That in auncient time it was called Elmantica, and more properly. *Diomedes* alſo came into Spaine with certain Ætolians, and they hold, that the towne of Tude vpon Mynio was his worke, for that this name hath ſome affinitie with *Tydeus*, the father of *Diomedes*. *Aſtur*, who was coachman to king *Memnon* (no ſmall office in thoſe dayes) being come with the Grecians into this Region, gaue the name vnto the Aſturians, and to the towne and riuer of Aſtorga. Some maintaine, That Lisbon, Olyſſippo or Vlyſſippo, hath beene built by *Vliſſes*, and in it a Temple
B to the goddeſſe *Pallas*. Of *Mneſtheus* of Athens (to whom there were diuine honours conferred after his death) was named the port of Mneſthee, neere vnto Gades. Finally, infinit Grecians, which could not or would not returne into their country, after the deſtruction of Troy, came into Spaine, and erected many pettie Eſtates: and among them there were many other nations, who had ſome ſtrength at ſea, and were expert in nauigation, but at diuers ſeaſons, and very vncertaine; as the Thracians, whereof the towne of Veta, or rather that of Almerie, giue ſome teſtimonie: for in old time it was called Abdera, as another which was in Thrace. The Rhodians did build the town of Roſes, now deſart, at the foot of the Pyrenee mountains, whereas the Conſull *Cato* firſt landed, when hee came to make warre in Spaine. Theſe men taught the Spaniards the vſe of hand-mylls, and to coyne money. The Phocians of Aſia did
C build Marſeille, and founded the towne of Empurias, which in like manner is now ruined. It was in auncient time inhabited by three kinds of people, of diuers manners and languages, diuided by wals, and liuing in continuall jealouſie one of another, which were naturall Spaniards. Theſe Phocians, and afterwards Romans, which were added by *Iulius Cæſar*, who hauing reduced Spaine vnder his obedience, and chaſed away *Pompeyes* children, and their faction, made one bodie of theſe three nations, and a towne well vnited. The Mileſians and the Caryſtians came alſo to inhabit there; and the Lesbians iſſued from the Maſſegetes, to whom they attribute the foundation of Concauo, Caſtulo, at this preſent Caſlona, in old time a great towne, and the limit of two gouernments of Spaine: vnder the Romane Empire it was called Parnaſia; which maketh ſome thinke, that they of Phocide in Europe were the founders, for
D that Parnaſſus hill is in their country. Then came the Phrygians, which were extract (as ſome ſay) of Spaine and the Ægyptians, vnder the leading of a captaine called *Tarracon*, of whom the towne of Tarracone tooke the name. Hauing taken great ſpoyles along the Mediterranean ſhore, he went and payed the tenths of his thefts to *Hercules* temple at Calis, according to the auncient order. He had a nobleman of the country, whoſe name was *Teron*, that oppoſed himſelfe, but he could not hinder him from ſpoyling of the countrey: For in truth the Spaniards, vntill the warres betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, had no commendation to bee good warriors, in regard of other nations. When as the Ægyptian was gone, *Teron* demaunded of the Gaditanes the offerings which this theefe had made vnto their Temple, as taken away by violence and injuſtice: whereunto the Gaditanes oppoſed themſelues, and did ſo well
E defend the rites of their god, as they ſlew *Teron*, and defeated his men in a battaile at ſea.

Some Cipriots came alſo to dwell in Spaine, and moreouer they beleeue, that the towne of Biana, in old time Alba, and of Madrid, firſt called Mantua, be the worke of the firſt Latines and Italians.

The reaſon why ſo many nations came into Spaine, was the aboundance of mynes, and the ignorance of the Spaniards, which made them leſſe couetous, and by conſequence leſſe giuen to armes, and therfore they were a prey to all theſe theeuiſh nations: whom (as all things haue their changes and reuolutions) they haue in this laſt age not only imitated, but exceeded them farre in crueltie, couetouſneſſe, and inſolencie, to ſimple rude nations diſcouered by them, as will appeare by the diſcourſe of the Hiſtorie.

F About 880 yeares before the Natiuitie of Ieſus Chriſt was that memorable fire in the Pyrenee mountaines (I ſpeake it according vnto the Spaniſh Authors) the which diſcouered more plainly the treaſures of Spaine: For the heardſmen hauing ſet fire of the woods (whereof the mountaines were full) and it continuing many dayes, the veines of the earth were ſo mooued with this violent heat, as the ſiluer melting ran downe by ſtreames: whereof pyrats and ſtrangers which did traffique there, being aduertiſed, they came running to this booty.

Salamanca. *Tude.* *Aſturia.* *Lisbone.* *Almerie.* *Roſes.* *Empurias.* *Concauo, Caſlona, called Parnaſia.* *Tarracone.* *Biana.* *Madrid, ſometimes Mantua.* *A fire, from whence the name of the Pyrenee came.* *The treaſure of Spaine caſually diſcouered.*

The

The Phenicians among others, vnder a kind of traffique, and with the exchange of certaine trifles of ſmall value, laded their ſhips aboue once, being conducted (as ſome write) by *Sichee*, husband to *Eliſa Dido*; yea, in ſo great abundance, as they made the anchors of their ſhips of ſiluer; ſo as *Sichee* grew ſo rich, as his brother in law *Pigmalion* through enuie and couetouſneſſe ſlew him: who afterward bent his courſe for Spaine; but running vp and down the ſeas, he died: wherefore his companie wanting a head, came to Gadis, to their brethren and countrymen, which were planted in this Iſland; who entertained them courteouſly, and the towne was better peopled by them: ſo as in the end it became a mightie Commonweale, inhabited firſt without all doubt by this nation of Tyr. G

Tyrians did firſt people Calis.

9 Tyr was at that time, and long after, one of the moſt famous cities in the world, and and moſt abounding in people and wealth; which the townes that haue taken their beginning from her, in diuers parts of the earth, doe witneſſe. And although it had in a manner no territories, and that it was often taken and ſpoyled by the kings and potentates of Aſia, and by *Alexander* the Great, yet did they eaſily recouer their firſt happineſſe, by reaſon of the induſtrie of the inhabitants, and the commoditie of the ſea; the which they did frequent with more experience and knowledge than any other nation of that age. It was the mother citie of that mightie Commonweale of Carthage, which for ſo long a time did contend for Emperie with Rome; the firſt foundation whereof was layed by one *Carchedon* a Tyrian: it was afterwards enlarged by *Dido*, ſiſter to *Pigmalion*, about 135 yeares before the foundation of Rome, and did encreaſe daily both in people and wealth. The citizens whereof ſome 562 yeares before the Natiuitie of Chriſt, bent their courſe for Spaine, to ſpoyle as others had done, by reaſon of them of Gades: who hauing gotten a great territorie in Spaine, which made them to bee feared and honoured of their neighbours, yet not contenting themſelues with their owne, they ſought to take from others: yea, being right merchants, and ſeeking to make their profit of all things, they tooke away men from the neighbour townes and villages, and caried them to ſell as ſlaues in ſtrange countries: a traffique which had beene alwayes vſed by the Phenicians of Syria, their progenitors, to the prejudice of the people of Paleſtina and Iudea, who bordered vpon them. Theſe inhumane faſhions did in the end ſtirre vp the other people of Spaine againſt the Gaditanes, whereof followed much warre of ſmall fame, by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of the Commonweales and Potentates which did manage them, if wee will compare them with others of thoſe times. H I K

Tyrians great ſea men.

Tyrians made profit of all things.

Onely there is an honourable mention made of a noble man commaunding vpon the coaſt of the Ocean, neere vnto this Iſland of Gadis, called *Arganthon*, happie in wealth and long proſperitie of his affaires; for they ſay he liued 155 yeares, and reigned 80, and withall loued juſtice: whoſe time is conferred with that of *Ancus Martius*, reigning in Rome about 150 yeares after the foundation thereof. The Gaditanes were kept ſomewhat in awe by him and others; yet not ſo ſubdued, but they tooke armes vpon all occaſions; ſo as the people round about conſpired againſt them: who finding not themſelues ſtrong ynough to oppoſe againſt ſo many enemies, they reſolued to call the Carthaginians to their aid; who in the end became maſters of Spaine, vntill the Romanes ſtayed the courſe of their victories and conqueſts: the which ſhall be related in the following Bookes with more delight, for that we are better aſſured than of theſe things. L

Arganthon.

Carthaginians called into Spain by the Gaditanes

Hitherto we haue diſcourſed of the beginning and antiquitie of thoſe nations which came firſt to inhabit Spaine, following the obſcure ſteps of thoſe that haue left any thing in writing, or read or conjectured, hauing ſcarce obſerued any order of times, being without any ſure grounds: for euen the places, whereas euery one of the Gouernors, Captains, or Kings, whereof we haue made mention, did reigne, is not very certaine. Yet it is moſt apparent, that the Iſle of Gades hath been the moſt famous place of all Spaine, and that the ſuperſtition of idolatrous people hath preſerued it from the inuaſions and ſpoyles of ſtrangers, by reaſon of the famous Temple of *Hercules*, which was built there: and that the maine land which is about this Iſland, and the ſtrait which is neere vnto it, haue beene ſooner and more particularly knowne than other places within the heart of Spaine, by reaſon of the commodious landing for Armies, and the abourd of merchants ſtrangers, which came thither by ſea. And it is credible, that within the countrey there were many pettie kings, heads of people, without fame, and it may be without any good and lawfull policie; and it is not impertinent, that ſome M

Religion whatſoeuer it be, is naturally reuerenced.

townes,

A townes, famous in after ages, and euen in our times, whoſe beginning is not known, haue had their firſt foundations from theſe vnknowne people.

Wee haue willingly omitted many diſcourſes written by others, for that wee haue held them fabulous, or at the leaſt very doubtfull: as the comming of *Noe* into Spaine, and the voyage and conqueſt thereof by *Nabuchodonozor*, and ſuch like, which we may read in counterfeit *Beroſus*, or in *Ioſephus*, being deceiued by the memorials of the Chaldeans, who put this laſt *Nabuchodonozor* aboue all the *Hercules* that euer were, to whoſe acts (the which in truth were great, as we may gather by the holy Scriptures) wee doe not any way derogate, by calling in queſtion his comming into Spaine, for that Aſia, Ægypt, and Africk, which were neere, might
B furniſh him wherewith to erect his trophies.

The great drought (whereof ſome haue left remembrance) ſeemeth as incredible vnto vs; the which continued ſix and twentie yeares, and burnt all the trees and plants in Spaine, except ſome Oliue and Pomegranet trees, as they ſay; as if theſe trees could not be hurt by the extreame heat, as well as the reſt: it dried vp all the riuers, except Ebro and Guadalquibir, which became ſmall vnprofitable riuers; ſo as the people were forced to goe out in great troupes, to ſeeke for other dwellings. Theſe things, for that they haue not beene written by any auncient and good Authors, who would not haue paſſed ouer ſo memorable an accident with ſilence, and for the abſurdities which follow, they are with reaſon rejected. *A prodigious drought.*

C And for as much as in that which we are hereafter to treat of, we ſhall find Spaine more manured, better peopled with men, townes, and burroughes, limitted and diſtinguiſhed by more apparent bounds, and hauing ſome better forme of gouernment and policie than it hath hitherto had, we haue thought it expedient (for the Readers eaſe) before we enter into the ſubject, to make a particular and briefe deſcription thereof, making ſome mention of the fertilitie of the ſoyle, qualitie of the ayre, and nature and manners of the Spaniards, both auncient and moderne.

10 Spaine in generall, and in regard of other countries, had from the beginning natu- *Deſcription of Spaine.*
rall limits, as they are at this day; vnleſſe they will ſay, that the continuall beating of the waues of the ſea hath made ſome breaches, or hath diuided it from Africke, to the which
D ſome beleeue it was joyned in the beginning, or that the forme hath beene changed by ſome other accident. There may well be ſome diminution: for in Iſlands, the which (for that they are little) are better comprehended and meaſured by the ſences, we find without all queſtion, that ſome at this preſent are much leſſe than they were in former ages, and others that haue beene famous, are now periſhed, and are no more, hauing beene vndermined by the waues, and ſwallowed vp in the ſea. But whatſoeuer hath happened ſince that Spaine had any fame vnto this day, it doth not appeare that there hath beene any great portion cut away, or that it is much altered or changed.

This Region hath beene very fitly compared by the Auncients to an Oxes hyde ſpread abroad: for beginning by the necke ſomewhat narrow (which is the paſſage of the Pyrenee *Spaine like to an Oxes hyde.*
E mountaines, by the which it is joyned vnto Fraunce) it extendeth it ſelfe to the right and to the left, going towards the Weſt: ſo as making in a manner a ſquare forme, the Promontories or heads which thruſt into the ſea, on the one ſide vpon the coaſt of Biſcaye, and at Finis terræ, and on the other at Cap de Gates, and at the ſtrait of Gibaltar, repreſent the legs; then the point of Cap S. Vincent, ſtretcht forth behind towards the Weſt, makes the tayle.

That which is taken for the Eaſt part of Spaine, runs along the Pyrenee mountaines, beginning neere vnto the towne of Bayonne, vpon the limits of Fraunce, where was heretofore the Promontorie Eaſo, and runs vnto Cap de Crux, whereas *Venus* Temple was in old time; that is, from the Ocean to the Mediterranean ſea, being 80 leagues, or thereabouts, taking the
F way by Fraunce: for theſe mountaines haue no ſtrait courſe, but bend much towards Spaine, and hold a great part of that countrey: ſo as he that would goe from the Ocean to the Mediterranean ſea within the countrey of Spaine, on that ſide of the mountaines, ſhould find it much more than 80 leagues. Although that this coaſt of Spaine be called the Eaſt, yet all this paſſage of the Pyrenee mountaines turnes much towards the North, and is ſubject to that wind which the Italians call Grec, and by our mariners Northeaſt. *The Eaſt part of Spaine.*

From Cap de Crux, or *Venus* Temple, along the Mediterranean ſea, and paſſing by the ſtrait into the Atlanticke Ocean, vnto the holy Promontorie, or Cap S. Vincent, is the South part of Spaine; the which notwithſtanding turning towards the Eaſt, is for the moſt part ſubject to the wind which the Italians call Siroco, and we Southeaſt, and contains about 275 leagues; that is, 202 leagues to Gibaltar, and 73 leagues from thence to Cap S. Vincent, the which are diſtinctly meaſured after this manner. G

The South coaſt of Spaine.

From Cap Crux to Barcelone	30 Leagues	From Carthagena to Vera	18 Leagues
From thence to Tarracone	16 L.	From Vera to Almerie	13 L.
From Tarracone to Valence, by the mouth of the riuer of Ebro and Tortoſa	30 L.	From Almerie to Malaga	20 L.
		From Malaga to Gibaltar	23 L. H
From Valence to Denia	17 L.	From Gibaltar by the ſtrait to Calis	20 L.
From Denia to Alicant	18 L.	From Calis to the mouth of Guadiana	26 L.
From thence to Carthagena	17 L.	From thence to Cap S. Vincent	27 L.

All which together are 275 Leagues.

Weſt part of Spaine.

The Weſt part of Spaine is directly towards the Equinoctiall, and containes 126 leagues, or thereabouts, along the Ocean ſea, from Cap S. Vincent, vnto that which the Ancients called Nereum, and we Finis terræ; whereof the diſtances are theſe.

From Cap S. Vincent to the mouth of Tagus or Tayo	38 Leagues	
From thence to the riuer of Munda	25 L.	
From Munda to Duero, a riuer, and where it fals into the ſea	25 L.	I
From thence to Ponteuedra	19 L.	
From Ponteuedra to Cap Finis terræ	18 L.	

All which together make 125 Leagues, whereof there are about 100 of the juriſdiction of Portugall.

The North part of Spaine.

From Cap Finis terræ vnto the Promontorie Eaſo, neere vnto which is Bayonne, a frontier towne of Fraunce againſt Spaine, is the North part thereof, running ſome ſeuen ſcore Leagues along the Ocean, ſometimes called Britannicum. For

From Cap Finis terræ vnto Ninerio, or S. Marthe, they number	40 Leagues	
From thence to Hianeo or Cap Stationes	30 L.	
From thence to S. Ander	30 L.	K
From S. Ander to the laſt bounds of the Pyrenees	40 L.	

All which makes 140 Leagues.

The circuit of all Spaine.

All the circuit then of Spaine ſhall be of 620 Leagues, counting foure Italian myles to a League, that is, 80 Leagues by land, and 540 by ſea, ſailing round about it, where it is waſht with the two ſeas, which makes it almoſt an Iſland.

Prouinces out of Spaine vnder the iuriſdiction thereof.

We are not ignorant, that in old times was comprehended vnder the juriſdiction of Spaine, on the one ſide the Prouince of Gaule Narbonoiſe, which is now called Languedocke, and on the other ſide a portion of Mauritania in Africa, beyond the ſtrait, as well in the times of the Romane Emperours, as of the Gothes: but for that it was an acceſſorie onely for a time, and vpon extraordinarie occaſions, and that it is moſt certaine that theſe people are by nature excluded out of the limits of Spaine, and haue alwaies had diuers humors and manners to the Spaniards, wee will containe our ſelues within the compaſſe which wee haue deſcribed and meaſured, in the whole courſe of this Hiſtorie; and if we be forced to goe out of it, wee will hold our ſelues there as ſtrangers. Hauing turned round about Spaine, let vs now come into the heart of it, and before we ſpeake of the particular Prouinces, let vs ſee what mountaines and riuers are famous in the whole country, the better to diſtinguiſh euery nation, both auncient and moderne. L

Pyrenees, why ſo called.

The Pyrenees, which haue taken their name either of the great fire, whereof mention hath bin made (for Pyr in Greeke, is fire) or from the ordinarie lightening which fals vpon the tops of the hils, or elſe (if we will receiue fables) of the nymph *Pyrene*, daughter to *Bebrix*, whom *Hercules* did get with child as he paſſed that way, extend their greateſt maſſe from *Venus* Temple, or Cap Crux, vnto Bayonne, that is to ſay, from the one vnto the other ſea, ſtretching farre into Spaine, where they doe hold a great part of the countrey, which lyes betwixt them and the riuer of Ebro, caſting moreouer many braunches along and croſſe this Region, from whence doe fall many riuers and ſmall ſtreames, the which ſome haue numbred to be 150, M

meri-

A meriting the names of riuers. The front of theſe mountaines, which ſtretch vnto the Ocean neere vnto Bayonne, bending in that part, runs along the Cantabrians, Aſturians, & Gallicia, vnto the laſt Weſterne limits, extending it ſelfe far into the country, and making almoſt halfe Spaine crooked and hilly, whereas the riuer of Duero doth paſſe, and further. Theſe hils were heretofore called Cantabres and Vindius, and ſince they took diuers names, which were giuen them by the people which dwell thereabouts, and in the vallies thereof. At this preſent they be the mountains of Biſcay, Nauarre, Sentillana, the mountains of Oca, Aſturia, and Gallicia. Out of them doth flow the riuer Ebro, in old time Iberus, neere vnto a place which they call Fuent Ibre, & hauing run a little towards the Eaſt, ſhe turneth her courſe to the South, by the
B ancient country of the Autrigones, Vardules, Vaſcons, Ilergetes, Edetanes, and Ilercaones, the which are in our time the Nauarrois, Arragonois, and Cattelaunians, and hauing run aboue 120 leagues through the country, it fals into the Mediterranean ſea, beneath Tortoſe. Duero doth alſo take her beginning in theſe mountains, a great riuer, and the auncient limit betwixt Portugall and Tarraconeſe, two of the principall Prouinces of Spaine, neere vnto a Bourg called Aquilar, not farre from Soria, bending in the beginning towards the South, but afterwards ſhe takes her courſe to the Weſt Ocean, into the which it diſchargeth it ſelfe neere vnto the towne of Porto Galego, hauing run about 120 leagues by the Areuaces, and betwixt the vallies of the Galliques and Luſitanians, which in our time are thoſe of Caſtille the old, Leon and Portugal, towards the North. Into it fals the riuer Auia, vpon the banks whereof they ſay
C that no tree that is pricking will grow; although that all the countrey thereabouts is full of Pomgranets, Oranges, Cytrons, and ſuch like, the which it hath common with another riuer in Galicia, called Aleſte.

The ſpring of the riuer Ebro.

The courſe of Ebro.

The ſpring of the riuer Duero.

Auia.

From the ſame Pyrenees, as from a common ſtemme, parts the mountain, called in old time Idubeda or Iubalda, the which thruſts forth into two other branches, the which diuides Spain from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt, and paſſing by diuers people, gets alſo diuers names: for in the beginning they call it Sierra, or mountaine of Acienca, by reaſon of the auncient towne of Auca, the ruines whereof are yet to be ſeene, aboue the towne of Bourgos: then it is called Sumo Sierra, Puerto de Tablada, of Palomera, of Abilo, Pico, of Tornauacas, & in the end enters into Portugal, making a great front neere vnto the Ocean, the which they call the mount
D of Strella, vpon the top of which is an admirable lake: for they doe often find in it pieces of ſhips which haue ſuffered ſhipwracke vpon that coaſt, notwithſtanding that the mountaine is very high, and a good way from the ſea: and they ſay moreouer, that when the ſea is troubled with tempeſts, they doe heare the waues beat, and all that lake and mountaine make a noyſe, with the horrible ſound of the winds and tempeſt, as if they were in full ſea.

Mountaine of Idubeda.

The mountaine of Strella in Portugall, and the wonders thereof.

This courſe of the mountains running betwixt the riuers Duero and Tayo, doth now cauſe a diſtinction of the people of the Prouinces of Spain; for which reaſon they are called, on this ſide, or beyõd the mountains. The other branch of this moũt Idubeda runs towards the South, neere vnto the towns of Siguenſa and Cuenca, keeping in the riuer Ebro, that it bend not towards the Weſt, the which in our time hath alſo gotten diuers names, that is, Solorio, Sierra
E Molina, Sierra d'Alcarras & Sigura, in old times, Mons Argentum; and ſometimes riſing high, and ſometimes falling and opening in ſome places, it is in a manner plain neere vnto Valence: then it riſeth againe, and paſſeth to Carthagena, and to Cap de Palos, in former times called Scombraria, the ancient limit of two gouernments of Spaine, at what time this mountain was called Oroſpeda or Ortoſpeda. Paſſing on by the ſea ſhore riſeth the mountaine, in old time called Illipula, and now Sierra Vermeia, Sierra de Rondas, and other hils of the kingdome of Granado, which extend vnto the ſtrait whereas they make Mont Calpe, called at this time Gi-
F baltar; the which ſhould properly be called Gibal Tarif, a name gotten by the diſcent of a captaine Moore, called *Tarif*, who landed in this place with the firſt armie of Moores that came out of Africke into Spaine, when as the Gothes kingdome went to ruine. Other mountaines diuiding themſelues from this, and going far from the ſea, run aboue Cordoue and Seuille, the which in old time were called Mariani Montes, and Caſtulonenſis Saltus, now Sierra Morena.

Distinction of Spaine within the countrey.

Oroſpeda. Mo.

Illipula. M.

Calpe. M. which is Gibaltar.

Mariani. M.

Out of theſe aboue named mountaines, which keepe in the riuer Ebro, bending from the North to the South, there flowe three great flouds or riuers, Tagus, Anas, and Betis, according to the ancients, but now called Tayo, Guadiana, and Guadalquibir, beſides many others of leſſe fame, which theſe doe receiue and carrie into the Ocean.

Tayo, Tagus, Guadiana, Anas, Guadalquibir, or Betis.

The courſe of Tagus.

Tayo hath his ſpring at a place which is now called Sierra Molina, neere vnto the towne G
of Cuenca and Toralba, the which paſſing almoſt through two parts of Spaine, runneth by Toledo, the country of Eſtrema Dura and Portugal, towards the Weſt Ocean, where it enters by a large and ſpacious channell beneath the royall citie of Lisbone. This riuer was famous among the Auncients, by reaſon of the little graines, and as it were ſcrapings of pure gold, which they did often find in the grauell and ſand, which the torrent and ſtreames of water had brought from the mountaines.

The beginning and courſe of Guadiana.

Guadiana commeth out of the countrey which in old time they called Campus Laminitanus, and now Campo de Montiel, a place which is otherwiſe drie and wanting water. This riuer directeth her courſe in the beginning towards the Weſt, neere vnto the towne which was H
called Pax or Pezauguſta, but now Badaios: turning there to the South, it diſchargeth it ſelfe into the Atlanticke ſea, bounding in at this day the kingdome of Portugal on the South ſide, as in old time it diuided the prouince of Betica from Luſitania. Towards the Spring they
A ſingularitie of Guadiana. call it Rodiera, and from thence (which is admirable) hauing run ſome leagues in the countrey, it hides it ſelfe vnder the ground, neere vnto a place called Argamaſilla, and runneth ſo hidden aboue eight great leagues: then it comes forth againe into certaine moores, continuing her courſe in that manner, neere vnto the auncient townes of Cecilia, Gemela, Emerita, and Pezauguſta, towards the ſea; by reaſon whereof the Spaniards breed admiration in ſtrangers, bragging, that they haue a bridge in their countrey, vpon the which aboue ten thouſand cattell feed daily. I

Guadalquibir, the name, ſpring, and courſe.

As for Guadalquibir, ſo named by the Moores, which is as much to ſay, as a great floud, and in old time Betis, her beginning is vpon Mont Argent, called now Sierra d'Alcarras, and runneth towards the Weſt into the Atlanticke ſea, beneath Seuille, by a large channell; although in old time it had two: whereof the one paſſed along the wals of Nebriſſa, which at that time was Lebriſſa; the which is at this day aboue two leagues off, for that the channell is filled vp: vpon the which Aſta did alſo ſtand, which in thoſe times was alſo called Zeres de la Frontera.

Cayo.
Iui.
The ladders of Hannibal.

There are other mountaines in Spaine of leſſe fame, as Mont Cayo, neere to Tarraſſone in Arragon, in old time Caunus; M. Iui or Mons Iouis, neere to Barcelone; the ladders of *Hannibal*, called in that time the coaſt of Garaph, and others. Moreouer, there are many ri- K
uers beſides thoſe which we haue deſcribed, giuing the names or bounds to Prouinces: as the riuer of Ruſcino, whereof the towne and countrey was named; of the ruines whereof Perpignan was built: Aſtorga, which ſeemeth to giue the name vnto the Aſturians: the riuer of Calybs, which paſſeth according vnto ſome, neere vnto Tarraſſone, and in his name carrieth the marks of the beginning of the Spaniards, the water whereof is excellent to ſteepe yron: Sicoris, or Sigro, which paſſeth at Lerida; about the which were the Sicanians, which paſſed into Sicilie, Cinpa or Senga, and the greater and leſſe Arragon; flouds whereof the kingdome of Arragon is named, with others which are obſerued by the curious. But it ſhall be eaſie for vs, among theſe great mountaines and riuers which we haue deſcribed, to find out euery people and prouince, and the particular places of Spaine, as well according to the L
diſtinctions of the Auncient, as their limits and diuiſions, ſince the euerſion of the Romane Empire.

Turditanes.

Beginning then with the Weſterne point, we ſay, That from Cape S. Vincent vnto the Iſland of Gades or Calis, did dwell the auncient Turditanes, vpon the ſea, and within the land, holding both bankes of the riuer Anas, and the countrey which lieth betwixt it and Betis, beyond the which they did occupie ſome leagues of the countrey towards the South. This Region was in the beginning full of woods and forreſts, which they called Tercenians and Tarteſſians, but being cut downe, it hath beene alwaies very fertile and abounding in all things. The towne of Hiſpalis, called after Sepila, and ſince Seuille, was of this nation, being alſo called Romulenſis Colonia, ſituated vpon the bankes of Betis, a great and nauigable ri- M
uer, and lower towards the ſea, Nebriſſa, and Aſta Colonia, and within the countrey Italica, whereas the Emperours *Traian*, *Adrian*, and *Theodoſius* were borne, with the Poet *Silius*, and Carmon retaining ſtill the name, Pax Iulia and Beia, at this preſent Portugall.

Turdules.

Neere vnto them towards the Eaſt were the Turdules, whoſe countrey is alſo bathed

Cordoua.

by Betis, and vpon this riuer is the towne of Cordoue, called Colonia Patricia, built by the Conſull

A Conſull *M. Claud. Marcellus*, about the yeare of the foundation of Rome 602. Which countrey of the Turdules did extend to the Turditanes and the Baſtules, from the Iſle of Gades, vpon the Ocean, vnto the Mediterranean ſea, neere vnto the Promontorie Charidemum, or Cap de Gates. The places which the Turdules did hold lying vpon the Ocean ſhoare, towards the ſtrait, were the port of Mneſthee, the Temple of *Iuno* built by *Hercules*, and the citie of Belon, on which ſide there are at this day S. Marie, Trafalgar, and Tariffe: and within the countrey the mountaine Ilipula, and Ilipula Magna, at this preſent Ilpa; Illiberis, or Liberia, which ſome thinke was Granado in thoſe times; and Aſtigi, one of the judiciall ſeats of Spaine, which may be Eccia at this day, although
B there were another of that name vpon the ſea ſhoare. Among this nation it may well be the Meleſſians were, and their towne Oringe, taken by *L. Scipio*, which they ſay was Aryona.

After were the Baſtules, within the ſtraits, and along the Mediterranean ſea, who were ſurnamed Pœni, continuing vnto the Promontorie of Charidemum, or Cap de Gates, and to Balaria, now Bara, or Vera, next vnto the Turdules, of which nation Calpe was, otherwiſe called Heraclee, the which at this day they name Gibaltar, neere vnto the which in old time was the towne of Carteia, called alſo Tarteſſe; the which was a common name in old time for the riuer Betis, the Iſland of Gades, and all the neighbour countrey. It is likely, that this towne of Carteia was ſituated whereas Algezire now ſtandeth. *Titus*
C *Liuius* ſetteth it without the ſtrait, vpon the Ocean. Then Malaga, a port which retayneth his name; and Abdera, which is Almerie, vpon the Mediterranean ſea, belonging vnto the Baſtules; and it may be Munda, whereas *Pompeyes* eldeſt ſonne was defeated, if it be that Ronde which is at this day, as ſome will haue it. The countries inhabited by theſe three nations, are at this day comprehended in Granado, Andaluzia, and a part of Portugall, and made the Betique Prouince one of the chiefe members of the kingdome of Spaine.

Baſtules, and their townes. *Gibaltar.* *Algezire.*

Next vnto them, and continuing along the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, were the Baſtitanes and Conteſtanes, whereas in our time lyeth Murcia and Valence, ſeperated by the mountaine Oroſpeda. The towne of Baſa was in old time the chiefe manſion of the Ba-
D ſtitanes, otherwiſe called Baſitanes, to whom Acci did belong, now called Guadix, and vnto Beiar and Origuela, in old time called Bigerra and Orcelis. But Murcia, then called Menlaria, Sætabis, which is Xatiua, and towards the Promontorie Scombaria, now called Cap de Palos, new Carthage, Alone, which at this day is Alicant, Illici, it may be Elches in our time, and the citie of Valence, were belonging vnto the Conteſtanes, among the which it may be Illiturge was, lying farre from the ſea, or elſe among the aboue named Baſtitanes.

Baſtitans. Conteſtans.

Then followed the Editanes and Ilercaones, from Valence vnto the mouth of the riuer Ebro. The townes and places renowmed among the Editanes, or, as others tearme them, Seditanes, were Dianium vpon the ſea, and Sagunt higher, deſtroyed by *Hannibal*,
E whereas now Moruiedro ſtandeth, Cæſar Auguſta, farre off from the ſea, is Saragoſſa, in old time Salduba.

Editanes, and their townes.

Among the Ilercaones were Dertoſa, in theſe times Tortoſa, and old Carthage, ruined by the two *Scipios* brethren.

Ilercaones, a people.

Ioyning vnto them, and ſtill coaſting along the ſea ſhoare, and on this ſide the riuer of Ebro, were the Acetanians, Laetanes, Caſtellanes, and Indigetes, all which are comprehended at this day in Catelogne, vpon the ſea. To theſe Acetanians (who were alſo called Coſetanians) belonged Terraco; of the which, the greateſt part of Spaine was named; a towne peopled by the two brethren *Scipios*, to oppoſe it againſt new Carthage.

Acetanians.

F Barcelone growne great of a ſmall beginning, by the ruines of Rubicata, a Colonie of the Africanes, ſituated vpon the riuer Rubricatus, at this preſent Lobregat, was of the Laetanes or Laletanes.

Barcelone. *Laetanes.*

The Caſtellans (who, according vnto ſome, haue left their name to our Catelogne) were whereas it may be the Duchie of Cardone now is.

Caſtellans.

Indigetes. Vpon the declining of the Pyrenee mountaines, were the Indigetes, or Endigetes, whereas the towne of Empurias or Emporium now is, and Rhoda, or Roſes, now ruined, and in old time the Temple of *Venus*, whereas now Cœlibre ſtands, a name taken from Illiberis, which was at the foot of the Pyrenees, as ſome ſuppoſe. G

Ruſcino Roſsillon. For a frontier to Spaine on that ſide, we will place Ruſcino, which is the Countie of Roſſillon, although it were in old time of the Prouince of Gaule, but it hath of long time beene annexed vnto Spaine: there was Elna, which hath not changed her name, and Ruſcino, both riuer and towne, of whoſe ruines Parpignan was built. Neere vnto it is a ſmall riuer, called Illeris, and ſince Tetrum, that is to ſay, filthie, for that the water thereof is blacke, by reaſon that it paſſeth among the mynes of mettall, whereof thoſe mountaines are full. In this countrey there was alſo a towne called Illiberis, as that of Grenade, whereas the firſt Councell of Spaine was held: but at this day there remaineth no marke of it. H

Comming now to the holy Promontorie, or Cape S. Vincent, from whence wee are parted, we will deſcribe the people dwelling along the Weſterne and Northerne Ocean, vnto the other end of the Pyrenees, neere vnto Bayonne; whereof the firſt were called Celtiques, who came without all doubt from Gaule, after that the Celtes and Iberians were mingled together, comprehended partly vnder the Luſitanians, who held a great Continent of the countrey, as well by the ſea ſide, as within the land, and gaue the name vnto one of the chiefe members of Spaine, containing the Vergons, of whom wee will make mention hereafter. *Celtiques.* I

Luſitanians. Theſe Celtiques and Luſitanians comprehended a great part of our Portugall, of Eſtrema Dura, and Caſtille the new, and entred as farre as Andelouzia into the Celtiques countrey. The auncient townes which they had, and the places moſt renowmed, were Vlyſippo or Olyſippo, now Lisbone, at the mouth of Tayo, the mouthes of the riuers of Monda and Duero, and within the countrey Scalabis, or Turris Iulia, now Trugillo, Talabriga, Talauera now, Ebura, Norba Cæſarea, at this time Alcantara, Auguſta Emerita, now Merida. Theſe two laſt were betwixt Tayo and Guadiana, and Norba Cæſarea was ruined by *Pompeyes* faction, for that they had beene two faithfull vnto *Cæſar*: of the ruines whereof, and the remainders of which people, Emerita was afterwards built, in *Auguſtus* his time. There were alſo Euandria, Cecilia Gemellina, now called S. *Marie* of Guadalupe: Aronda among the Celtique Betiques, called alſo Munda, not that whereas *Pompeyes* eldeſt ſonne was defeated. Beſide theſe townes, there were vpon the marches of the Luſitanians, Ilipa, which it may be is Niebla at this day; Oxtraca, Carmel, Ituca, and others, whereof there remaine no markes. *Lubone.* K

Callaiques or Gallegos. Beyond the riuer of Duero were the people called Callaiques or Galliques, now Gallegos, ſo named of the Gaules, Galates, or Celtes, holding a great countrey, which was barren and hillie, for the moſt part, but where it joyneth vpon the Luſitanians; which is that which is contained betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, belonging at this preſent to the realme of Portugall; the which hath taken this name ſince the comming of the Moores; of the towne of Porto, right againſt the which, they or the Gaules pyrats built a fort, which was called Gal: it may be it is that which is called the tower of Gaya, the which is in this countrey, whereas Duero falleth into the ſea. Theſe people of Callaiques were diuided into two; thoſe which were called Brecaires, by reaſon of the towne of Brecar Auguſta, which was among them (the which is now Braga, Metropolitane of Portugal,) and the Callaiques Lucenſes, by reaſon of the towne called Lucus Auguſti, now Lugo. Of the Brecaires was the riuer Lemia, called Lethes, for that the Celtes inhabiting about the riuer of Guadiana, comming with other of their neighbours into this countrey, after ſome tumults, and the loſſe of their captaine, being vagabonds, and without counſell, they wandered vp and downe without conduct, and without any care to returne from whence they came, as if they had forgotten their firſt abode. The Brecaires and their towne Brecar tooke their name from certaine ſouldiors of Affricke, which were leuied about the riuer of Bragada, in the Prouince of Carthage, and then mingled with the Celtes, or Gaules, were called Callaiques, or Galliques Brecaires. *Portugall whence it was ſo named.* L *Brecaires.* M

Among

A Among the Lucenſes were the Artabres, about the Promontorie Nereum, which is now Finis terræ: there were the altars of the Sunne, and Flauium Brigantium, it may be Compoſtella at this day, or Betauzos, or rather Corunra, and Trileucum, a Promontorie, and Iria Flauia, at this day S. Marie of Finis terræ, or Padron, and Aquę Calidæ, now Orenſe. *Artabres.*

Aſturia joyned to theſe Callaiques, at that time diuided into many juriſdictions: there was Lancia the chiefe towne, taken by *Auguſtus* captaines, Legio Germanica, or Gemina, at this time Leon, a royall towne: Bregetium, called ſince (according vnto ſome) Ouiedo, an aſſured refuge for Chriſtians, when as the Moores did ouerrun Spaine: Aſturica Auguſta, at this day Aſtorga: Forum Egurrorum, Medina of Rioſecco, and towards the ſea Flauionauia, *Aſturians.*

B neere vnto the which began the Cantabrians, which are now the Biſcanes, thoſe of Guipuſcoa, and part of Nauarre. Their ſea townes were Flauiobriga, now Bilbao, Eaſo, S. Sebaſtian, neere Fonterabie, the furtheſt limit of Spaine, where as in old time was the Promontorie Olarſo, or Oeoſo. Among them was the towne of Segiſama, taken by *Octauius Cæſar*. They did comprehend the Antrigones, Cariſtes, Bardules, and Vaſcons, the which extended themſelues farre from the ſea into the countrey, on this ſide the riuer of Ebro, and coaſted the Pyrenee mountaines. The neereſt vnto Aſturia were properly called Cantabrians, to whom Vellica did belong, about the place where as now Victoria ſtands, the chiefe towne of the Prouince of Alaua, Iuliobriga, at this day Logrogne. The riuer of Ebro did run through the middeſt of the Autrigons. Alba was among the Vardules, ſince called Viana: and to the Vaſ- *Cantabrians.* *Vardules.*

C cons belonged Pompelon Martua, which is now called Pampelone Iacca, which according to *Ptolome* hath held the old name: Calagorina, now called Calaorra, or Calahorra: Baſconton, of the name of Baſco, or Vaſco: Sueſſa, which may be Sangueſſa, and others.

Hitherto we haue briefely deſcribed the people and prouinces of Spaine, which joyne vpon the ſeas, and obſerued the chiefe places thereof, applying them as neere as might bee to theſe times: Let vs now enter into the countrey, beginning with the confines of the Callaiques, Aſturians, and Cantabrians, towards the North, and comming to the South.

The Vacces did joyne vnto the Gallicians Brecaires of the Weſt, to whom the Murboges, Areuaces, thoſe which were called Belli and Titthi, confining with the Celtiberians, the Pelendones, and Berones were neighbours, approching neere vnto the riuer of Ebro, which *Vacces.*

D was to the Eaſt of them, and that of Duero vpon the South. All this compaſſe is comprehended in our time within Caſtille the old, and the realme of Leon.

The townes of Viminacium, Auia, or Liuia, which is now Villalon, Segiſama Iulia, at this preſent called Tordeſillas, which they call otherwiſe Turris Sillana; Palantia, which hath preſerued the name of *Palence*; Pincia, which is Vailledolit, Septimance, or Simanca; Sentice, or Sarabris, at this day Zamora, and Cauca, where as *Lucullus* committed great crueltie, and Intercatia. Theſe townes I ſay were among the Vacces: But Branum, or Auca, of whoſe ruines the towne of Burgos hath beene built, belonged to the Murboges.

Among the Areuaces, whoſe country is waſht with the riuer Duero, running through the *Areuaces.*

E middeſt thereof, were the townes of Clunia Colonia, Segortia Lacta, at this preſent Sepulueda, Ocilis, Segobia, which keepes his name, Termantia, and the old Numance, whereas at this day Soria ſtands.

Vnder the ſaid nation were the Vergones or Vectons, confining vpon the Luſitanians, and making a part of that prouince: which countrey is now comprehended betwixt the frontier of Portugall, towards Cite Roderigo, the kingdome of Leon, Caſtille the new, and Toledo. To theſe people Elmantica did belong, now called Salamanca, a famous Vniuerſitie. On the Eaſt ſide were the Carpetanians, there ſtood Toledo, which retaines the name, called alſo Serezola, Æbura, Hippo, Complutum, now called Alcala Enares, Mantua, now Madril: and it may be among them were the Olcades, and their townes Althee. *Vergones and Vectons.* *Carpetanians.*

Towards the South were the Oretanes, confining on the Eaſt with the Celtiberians, and *Oretanes.*

F on the Weſt with the Beturians, neighbours to the Luſitanians, which are thoſe of Eſtrema Dura. The countrey of the Oretanes makes at this day a part of the realme of Toledo; it comprehends the fields of Calatraua, the paſſage called the fields of Alcocer, and part of the mountaines Marianes, at this preſent Sierra Morena, vnto Iaen, and to the frontiers of Granado. Oreton of the Germanes, which ſome thinke to bee Calatraua, Caſtulo, then a great and mightie towne, and now a ſmall burrough, called Caſlona, vpon the riuer Guadiana,

ana, where *Himilca* the wife of *Hannibal* was borne, iſſued from the race of *Milicus*, who built it: Mentiſa, which is Iaen, according vnto ſome, and Aſtapa, a famous retreat of deſperat theeues; Nobilia, Cuſibis and Illuſia, were of the Oretanes. G

Celtiberians. Among the Celtiberians were Ergauica, Alce, Turiaſſo, (that is Taraſſone) Bilbilis, at this preſent Calataiub (whereas the Poet *Martiall* was borne) Saguntia, now Siguenza, Contrebia and Valeria, which is Concha.

Lobetanes. Betwixt the Celtiberians and the riuer Ebro, were the Lobetanes, and on this ſide Ebro, vnder the Vaſcons and mount Edulius, dwelt the Ilergetes, and towards the Pyrenee mountaines, and at the foot of them, the Sueſſetanes, Lacetanes, Authetanes, or Auſetanes, and Cerretanes, being all contained partly in Nauarre and Arragon, and part in Catalogne at this preſent. Sueſſa the chiefe towne of the Sueſſetanes, may be Sangueſſa in Nauarre: and Iacca at that time was of the auntient Lacetanes. The towne of Ilerda, which is Lerida, gaue the name to the Ilergetes: to them there alſo belonged Oſca, Hueſca at this day, and Bergidum, which is Vrgel, and Anitorgis, or Athanaſia. H

Sueſſetanes. Lacetanes. Auſetanes. Cerretanes.

As for the towne of Iliturgis, it is obſcurely limited by the auntients. Some of the later will haue it among the Ilergetes, others place it in the Oretanes countrey, and others in the Betique prouinces, places farre diſtant one from another.

The Authetanes, or Auſetanes, did poſſeſſe Geronda, in our time Girone: and among the Cerretanes, were Auſonia the auntient, and Iulia Libica, which ſome hold to be Linca. I

This is all which I haue thought fit to gather of the people inhabiting the firme land of Spaine, the which were found there, and augmented by the Carthaginians and Romanes, when as they contended for the poſſeſſion thereof, whereof ſome markes appeared at that time, and that they had immutable limits, the which doe now aſſure vs of their habitations.

Iſlands about Spaine. 11 There is mention made by ſome authors, of many iſlands about Spaine, whereof ſome are no more, others are yet famous. The Caſſiterides, fertile in tinne, were placed by the Coſmographers neere vnto Cap Finis terræ: but there is no more any mention of them; whereby it ſeemes they haue been ſwallowed vp in the ſea, vnleſſe they will ſay, they be thoſe of the Axores, which are too far from Spaine. K

Caſſiterides, loſt iſlands.

Iſlands of the gods. The iſlands of the gods in the Weſt Ocean, may be thoſe of Bayone, neere vnto Ponteuedra in Gallicia.

Calis and the antient names. The iſland of Gades was in old time called Tarteſſe Erythrea, or according vnto ſome Erythie, Cotynuſia, Aphrodiſia, Gadira, Gadir, and Gaddir (although that Gaddir in the opinion of ſome, is a common name to the iſland, and to other places of Betique Spaine, neere vnto it, as well as Tarteſſe) and now they haue named it Gadiz or Galis. It hath beene the moſt famous of all others about Spaine, and is yet renowned and rich, but much more in auntient times. For although that in the Romanes time they had ſcarce any territorie, yet was it one of the greateſt, the richeſt, and beſt peopled townes in Europe. It appeares by the deſcription of Cenſures at one time, That there were fiue hundred heads of families, of the order of Knights, among the inhabitants thereof. One *Balbus* a Gaditane enlarged the towne almoſt halfe bigger than it was, and called his new worke Neapolis. L

In this iſland there was a fountaine flowing and ebbing dayly with the ſea. Ioyning vnto it there were two other ſmall iſlands, whereof the one was called Didima. They write, That in old time the iſland of Gadis was much greater than it is now. It hath in length from the South to the North, ſome ten or twelue miles, and is ſeperated from the maine land by a narrow channell, and diſtant from the ſtrait of Gibaltar ſome threeſcore miles, or fiftie leagues.

Iſlands Baleares Maiorca, Minorca. In the Iberique, or Mediterranean ſea, are the two iſlands Baleares, called in theſe times Majorca, and Minorca; for that the one is bigger than the other. Their firſt name was Gymnaſies, for that the inhabitants thereof went all naked: Gymnos in Greeke, is naked in our language. But for that the men of this iſland were good Archers, they were called Baleares, vnleſſe wee will beleeue that this name was giuen them by one *Balee*, whom *Hercules* gaue them for their Gouernour, as ſome write. In thoſe dayes great Commonweales drew good ſouldiours from thence, who did commonly vſe ſlings, M

and

A and did euer carie three; with the one he did bind his head, with another he did girt himſelfe, and the third he held in his hand: and with theſe armes they wrought great effects, and did much amaze their enemies; for they were practiſed in it from their youth by their mothers, who ſet their breakfaſt bread vpō the top of a poſt, the which they muſt beat down with their ſlings, or elſe they faſted. Theſe iſlanders were long before they would vſe either gold or ſiluer, remembring the great calamities which Spaine had ſuffered, by reaſon of theſe mettals: wherfore they held themſelues to bee well aſſured in forbidding the vſe of it. They did ſometimes capitulate with the Carthaginians, who often imployed their ſouldiours in their warres, that they ſhould guie them wiues and wine for their pay, and no ſiluer.

Maiarquins expert in ſlings.

Gold and ſiluer forbidden by the antient Maiorquins.

B Theſe are two fertile iſlands, hauing this benefit moreouer, that they doe not breed any hurtfull beaſt, although the warre which they had with the conies be no fable; but they were brought from other places, and of one bucke conie and a doe, they did multiplie in ſuch great numbers, as with the working of their holes and burroes vnder ground, they vnrooted trees, and vndermined the foundations of houſes, ſo as the inhabitants ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to demaund helpe and ſuccour of the Senat againſt theſe beaſts (a certaine argument of their ſimplicitie) but afterwards they learned to take them. The greateſt of theſe iſlands is about fifteene leagues long, and verie narrow. The leſſer yeelds nothing to the other in bountie and fruitfulneſſe. About them are the little iſlands of Cabrera and Dragonera. Neerer vnto the maine land, and more Weſterly, are the two Pityuſes, whereof the greater was called E-

Cabrera and Dragonera.

Pityuſes.

C buſus, which hath about twentie miles circuit of hard acceſſe, hauing a port vpon the South ſide: It is now called Yuica, the which they ſay hath no ſerpents, and, if they bee brought from any other place, they die. But the other, Ophiuſa in old time, and now Fromentaria, is ſo full of them, as the iſland hath remained deſart and not inhabited. In Yuica they make excellent ſalt. Theſe iſlands are right againſt the ſhore betwixt Barcelone and Valence.

The iſlands of Sardinia and Corſica were in old time giuen by the Popes in fee to the kings of Arragon, who haue contended by armes for the right thereof, againſt the Geneuois and Piſans, for many yeares, till that in the end the Arragonois got the quiet poſſeſſion of Sardinia; of which conqueſt we ſhall ſpeake often; wherefore wee will deſcribe it briefly, without making any particular mention of that of Corſica, which the Geneuois hold.

D The iſle of Sardinia lies in the Mediterranean ſea, hauing that of Corſica neere vnto it vpon the North. It runs out in length from North to South, neere threeſcore leagues, accounting foure miles to a league. It is held to be about an hundred and fiftie leagues in circuit: It is fiue and thirtie leagues from Africke, the neereſt place vnto it is Tunes or Bizerte. Betwixt it and Corſica are but foure leagues, and in ſome places but three: in the which there are many ſmal iſlands, which they cal Buſinares. This iſland was in old time called Ico, Ichnuſa, and Sandaliotis, for that it hath the forme of a ſole, or of a mans foot. The firſt inhabitants were Tuſcanes, and then Grecians, led by *Iolaus* and *Sardus*, companions to *Hercules*. After which there arriued ſome Troianes, and then Athenians. After them the Carthaginians ſeiſed vpon this iſland, who were diſpoſſeſt by the Romanes, which was the cauſe of the third warre betwixt

Deſcription of Sardinia.

E them.

Hauing beene long vnder that commonweale, and conſequently vnder the Romane empire, the Saraſens got footing there, againſt whom the Geneuois and Piſans, then mightie commonweales, did arme, by the Popes perſuaſion; conquered it, and planted themſelues there. But for that it was a ſubject of their warre and quarels, and withall the Popes bearing a ſpleene againſt the Piſans, it was giuen in fee to the kings of Arragon. It was heretofore a ſtore-houſe for the Romanes, it was ſo fertile, and would be ſo ſtill, if the people were induſtrious; much better for tillage than Corſica, eſpecially that part which lies towards Africk, which is a plaine, and lyes lower than the other towards Corſica, which is hilly. In it there grow vines and all ſorts of fruites, as in Corſica, except oyle, by reaſon of the negligence of

Fertilitie of Sardinia.

F the Sardinians: for nature bringing forth in the woods and mountaines, infinit ſtore of wild oliues, ſhewes it is their owne fault if this plant be not made good. The iſland abounds in cattell of all ſorts, as it appeares by the great quantitie of hides and cheeſe which they tranſport into Italie and other places. There are great ſtore of wild goats, called by the countreymen Muſines, or Muſles, which haue their haire like ſtagges, and their heads like rammes, but their hornes bending backwards: they are verie light and nimble, and liue in the mountains, where-

of

of the Sardinians (who are better huntſmen than the Corſicans) take three or foure thouſand G
at a time, the which they flea to ſell their skinnes, whereof the Cordeuan leather is made,
leauing the carkaſſes in the fields, notwithſtanding that the fleſh be reaſonable good to eat;
The aire in Sardinia corrupted by nature and by accident. wherewith it may be the ayre is impaired, the which doth naturally infect that countrey, by
reaſon of certaine South windes which blow in Summer. The horſes of Sardinia are hot,
ſtrong headed, and hard to be broken, but they laſt long; and there are many wild. Among
their tame cattell there are certaine ſmall bullockes, which amble naturally, which the coun-
trey men vſe like Aſſes and Mules, to goe from one place to another. Heretofore there
Mynes. haue beene mynes of ſulpher or brimſtone, alume, ſiluer, and ſalt; and it is but the negli-
gence of the people, that they are not found at this day, and with good profit. Neither H
Bathes. doth it want bathes which are good for many infirmities, eſpecially betwixt Montreal and
Saint *Iohn*. In Sardinia (as ſome maintaine) there are no wolues, nor any venimous nor
hurtfull beaſts, the which they haue common with many other iſlands: yet they haue verie
great foxes, fierce and cruell, which eaſily kill a ſheepe or a goat. There growes the hearbe
Sardonique, which cauſeth death, with ſuch a contraction of the ſinewes, as they ſeeme to
ſmile when they are dead.

This iſland hath in former times beene better inhabited than it is at this day, and they
haue beene more warlike than now they are. When as the Geneuois and Piſans did hold
it, they diſtinguiſht it into two prouinces, that of Cap Caillery which lookes towards A-
fricke, the which was the Piſans part, and the greater; and Cap of Lugodori, joyning vpon I
Corſica, which the Geneuois held for them. Then the Sardinians had their rulers and Go-
Iudges in foure iuriſdictions. uernours, whom they call Iudges, diuided into foure juriſdictions or prouinces; one at Ca-
illery, another at Arborea, ſince called Oriſtagny; one at Turrita, or Torre, and the fourth
at Galluri. This kind of gouernement was entertained vntill the conqueſt of the iſland by
the Arragonis, and the Spaniards rule. At this day there is a Viceroy reſident at Caille-
ry, with abſolute authoritie, who of neceſſitie muſt bee a Spaniard, and is aſſiſted by a
Councell, or royall audience, conſiſting of a Preſident, and a certaine number of Coun-
ſellours. The two prouinces aboue mentioned, into the which the iſland is diuided, haue
either of them a Gouernour, who is a Spaniard, or of the iſland indifferently, which doe
gouerne and haue authoritie in the abſence of the Viceroy, but hee beeing preſent, it K
ceaſeth.

Chiefe townes in Sardinia. The townes and chiefe places of this iſland, bee Caillery, commonly called Calger, a
towne ſeated vpon the ſide of a hill towards Africke, hauing a goodly port, haunted by
merchants and ſaylers from all parts: it is well built, and enriched with diuers towers, and a
ſtately temple, built by the Piſans, and an Archbiſhops ſeat. This citie hath by priuiledge a
juriſdiction apart, beſides the Viceroyes authoritie, and is gouerned by the citizens them-
ſelues. Next is Oriſtagny, in old time called Arborea, the which is alſo a biſhopricke, and
was ſometimes a marquiſate with a particular lord: but one of them rebelling, the kings of
Arragon haue vnited it vnto their demaines. There is a port alſo towards the Weſt. Ar-
ghero, or Alguero, followes on the ſame Weſt part, the which hath no port, but onely a L
road. Boſſa vpon the Sea, the tower in old time was called Libiſſon, a Colonie of the Ro-
manes, and afterwards called Torre, or Turrite, the which is now ruined. Saſſari, ten or
twelue miles from the ſea, where there is an auntient conduit of water, the which con-
tinues about twelue miles, vnto Saint *Gauins* temple. Then caſtle Arragonois towards
Corſica.

There are many other burroughes and caſtles in the iſland, of ſmall fame. The ruines of
old buildings which are to bee ſeene in many parts of the iſland, ſhew that in auntient
time there were many cities and great buildings. In places not inhabited there yet are many
towers to bee ſeene of a round forme, built of a verie hard ſtone, hauing the doores and
entries narrow, and the ſtayres in the maine walls. Thoſe buildings are called by the inha- M
bitants Noracs, a marke of great antiquitie, ſome thinking that *Norac* ſonne to *Erithree*
did firſt inhabit this iſland, by whom the buildings were ſo called. The iſlands which are
about Corſica and Sardinia, are few, and of no fame. Aſinara and Tolaro, are towards
Cap Logudori, the one of the Eaſt ſide, the other of the Weſt, the reſt are rather ſhelfes
than iſlands.

The

A The Sardinians had in old time a proper language, but the often change of their lords, and the acceſſe of diuers nations, hath corrupted their ſpeech: The moſt ciuile at this day ſpeake Spaniſh Cattelan: the vulgar ſort haue a language mixt of the Cattelans, Italians, Moors, and other ſtrange and barbarous words. Among the ruder ſort, there is not in a manner any religion, and not much in townes; for in all Chriſtendome you ſhall not find Churchmen more ignorant than in Sardinia. Their religious exerciſes are to heare maſſe on Sundayes, and on ſome Saints daies, and then they feaſt and daunce euen in their Churches, men and women together, with immodeſt ſongs and jeſtures. *The Sardinians language.*

In townes their apparell is verie ſtately, eſpecially of the women; but the countrey *Their habit.*
B peoples is ſimple and groſſe. The men are of a ſmall ſtature, but ſtrong and rough, and great huntſmen with croſſebowes: quiet and peaceable among themſelues, and courteous to ſtrangers.

Spaine, as wee haue deſcribed it by the prouinces and particular people, was diuided into three principall members, or three great prouinces; that is, Betica, Luſitania and Tarraconoiſe. Betica was ſo named of the riuer Betis, that is, Guadalquiber, which paſſeth through the middeſt of it. It did containe that which is incloſed by the riuer Anas, or Guadiana, on the one ſide, and by the Ocean ſea, from the mouth thereof ſtretching towards the ſtrait, and then running along the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea vnto Carthagena, or the Promontorie Charidemum, called Cap de Gates: From whence going by *Diuiſion of Spaine according to the auncients.* *The confines of Betique.*
C land to Caſtulo, or Caſlona the old, it was bounded in on that ſide by the mountaine Idubeda, which is at this day called Sierra of Alcarras, and others, as if they would draw a direct line from Muxacra, which is neere vnto Cap de Gates, vnto Almagra. This prouince was the beſt and moſt fertile of Spaine, and the firſt affected and vſurped by the Phenicians, Africanes, and other ſtrangers.

From the riuer Anas, or Guadiana, and his entrie into the ſea, mounting to the place whereas Duero falls into it, was the Weſt part of Luſitania, the ſecond member of Spaine, the which did lye betwixt thoſe two riuers, on the North and South ſides, and within it had for the Eaſterne limits, the Carpetanes and Oretanes, going from Caſtulo, or Caſlona, vpon Guadiana, vnto Septimanca, at this preſent Simanca, in Caſtille. The riuer *Luſitania and the confines.*
D Tayo paſſeth through the middeſt of this region, where in ſome places there are ſtore of all ſorts of fruits.

All the reſt of Spaine, from the mouth of Duero along the ſhore vnto Fonterabie, or Eaſo, and from the Promontorie Charidemum, or Cap de Gates, or elſe Bara, or Vera, or Muxacra on the Mediterranean ſea, vnto *Venus* Temple, or Cap de Crux, and all the people which are betwixt the Pyrenees and the limits which wee haue giuen to the prouinces of Betica and Luſitania, made the third member of Spaine: yet if wee ſhall beleeue *Mela*, the Calaiques, that is, the inhabitants of Gallicia, were comprehended among the Luſitanians; and that others haue made a fourth prouince of them during the emperours: accounting alſo the Carthagenoiſe for a fift, and adding the ſixt in Africke: for as much as all that *Tarracenoiſe & the limits.* *Gallicia the fourth member.* *Carthagena the fift.*
E which the Romane Emperours did poſſeſſe beyond the ſtrait in Mauritania, was ſubject to the juſtice of Spaine. But this tripartite diuiſion of Spaine, is the moſt auntient, and is not entertained by the Romanes, during their great exploits of armes, and conqueſts thereof; eſpecially for the gouernement of juſtice among thoſe nations, hauing wholly ſubdued them: for they erected Courts, which they called Conuents, appointing to euerie prouince his juriſdiction. In Betica there were foure eſtabliſhed, at Gades, Corduba, Aſtigi, and Seuille. In Luſitania three, at Emerita, Pax, or Pezauguſta, and at Scalabita, or S. *Iren.* And in Tarraconoiſe ſeuen, at Carthagena, Tarracone, Cæſar Auguſta, Clunia, Aſtorga, at Lugo, and at Bracar. *Mauritania the ſixt member.*

12 As for the diuiſion of Spaine into the hither and further, that happened in the begin- *Another diuiſion of Spaine in regard of the war.*
F ning when as the Romans came to make war againſt the Carthaginians, who held it in a maner all, or at the leaſt had reduced it vnder their obedience. The riuer of Ebro made this ſeperation, and the Romans called that part of Spaine where they firſt entred, the hither part, and the other beyond Ebro, the further: for they came firſt by ſea vpon the coaſt of Cattelogne, to Roſes, to Empurias, or to Turracon, notwithſtanding after they had enlarged their command on the other ſide Ebro, they did alſo extend the limits of Spain by little & little on that ſide, ſo

as

as in the end it was bounded by the Promontorie of Scombraria, or Cap de Palos, neere to Carthagena, and the deſcent of the mountaine Idubeda, and ſo through Caſtille, by the townes of Cuenca and Seguenza, vnto the Cantabres, or Biſcanes. And this diſtinction continued in two principall gouernments, for matters of warre and ſtate, till *Auguſtus Cæſar*, the Romanes ſending ſometimes Conſuls, ſometimes Proconſuls, or Pretors, euerie one to gouerne in his juriſdiction. Afterwards *Auguſtus* reduced Spaine into one prouince, the which was entertained by his ſucceſſours in the empire, at the leaſt vnto *Conſtantine* the Great, who changed the Courts of juſtice into another forme, making fiue chiefe towns, and as many prouinces, that is, Tarracone, Carthagene, Seuille, Merida, and Bracar; the which was afterwards entertained by the Gothes, vpon the declining of the empire, who notwithſtanding made it but one kingdome while they enjoyed it.

Spaine reduced to one gouernment.

Fiue ſeats of iuſtice eſtabliſhed in Spaine by Conſtantine the Great.

13 But after that the power of the Arabian Mahometiſts, who had ſubdued the empire of the Perſians, and extinguiſhed the name of other Potentates in the Eaſt, had extended it ſelfe vnto the fartheſt bounds of Africke, and into the prouinces of Europe, which lay neere vnto it; Spain which was not without vices and defects in the chief members therof, being ſuddenly inuaded & ouerrun by this nation, being euer an enemie to peace and good gouernment, was diſmembred, & diuided again into diuers principalities, the names wherof we retaine vnto this day; that is. Ouiedo and Leon, Nauarre, Arragon, Cattelogne, Valence, Murcia, Granado, Tolledo, Caſtillia, Gallicia, and Portugal, which for the moſt part had diſtinct titles of kingdomes, ſome being held by the Moores, and others defended by the Gothes and them of the countrey. Of euerie of which kingdomes we meane to make mention in this hiſtorie, and to continue it, with the helpe of God, vntill that all Spaine was reduced vnder the command of one king, although it hold ſtill the former diuiſions, and their limits, as they were ſet downe in the time of the Arabians and Moores.

Many kingdoms erected in Spain by the Arabians and Chriſtians.

Cattelogne and his limits.

For Cattelogne, which comprehends the auntient Indigetes, Caſtellans, Leetanes, and Acetanes, runnes along the Mediterranean ſhore, from Cap de Crux, vnto Alfaques, to the mountaine of Moncia, and S. *Peters* fountaine, where there is a little brooke called Cinia, which makes the limits.

Valence.

Hauing paſt this riuer, the Bourg of Vimero is the beginning of Valence, which holds on to Alicante, and in this realme in old time were comprehended the Edetanes, Ilercaones, and Conteſtanes.

Murcia & Carthagena.

Then they enter vpon the borders of Murcia and Carthagene, which extend as farre as Almerie, by the Conteſtanes, Baſtitanes, and ſome part of the Baſtules.

Andeluſia.

From Gibaltar to the mouth of Guadiana, are the bankes of Andelouzia, which ſome ſay was ſo called, for that it is before Luſitania, as if they would ſay, Ante-Luſitania. Others deriue the name from the Vandales, which haue held it, and cal it Vandaluſia: There did the Turditanes, and a part of the Celtique people dwell.

Portugal.

After which they enter into Portugall, which runs on vnto the riuer Minio, where it fals into the ſea, the auntient limits of the Luſitanians, and of the Gallique Brecaires. This realme according to the ſuruey which king *Sebaſtian* cauſed to bee made in our time, containes 260 leagues in circuit, whereof there is an hundred and twentie towards the ſea, and an hundred and fortie to the land.

Gallicia.

Gallicia follows from Minio, Bagone, and Ponteuedra, vnto Ribadeo; they were in old time the Lucenſes.

Aſturie and Ouiedo.

Then they come to the Aſturians of Ouiedo; from Caſtropol to Llames, from Llames to Caſtro Deordiales, are the bankes of the Aſturians of Sentillana. Theſe people alone haue retained their auntient name. After which followes the coaſt of Biſcaie, where is Portugalette and Bilbao, and ſtretcheth vnto Ondarroa. Then they come to Guipuſcoa at Montrico, which ends at Fontarabie. Theſe were antient Cantabrians, and part Autrigones, Cariſtians, Vardules, and Vaſcons vpon the ſea.

Nauarre.

Nauarre lyes for the moſt part vpon the ſides and vallies of the Pyrenees, which enter into the countrey of Spaine by Romſeual, by the valley of Saleſar, and the valley Roncal, vnto Hiſana, which is the limit of Arragon, and paſſeth vnto Logrogno, where it confines with Caſtillia the old. It was the countrey of the Vaſcons, Vardules, Cariſtians, and other their neighbours.

Arra-

A Arragon of a ſmall beginning hath imbraced part of the Vaſcons and Ilergetes, on this ſide Ebro, and on the other ſide a part of the Celtiberians country. And it was determined in the time of king *Iaques* the firſt, from the riuer Cinga at Fariſa, and of S. *Chriſtine*, to the top of the Pyrenees at Aluentoſa. *Arragon.*

Leon was in old time part of Aſturia. *Leon.*

Caſtillia the old and new, comprehended all the middle countries of Spaine, betwixt the nations aboue named. *Caſtillia.*

As for the paſſage of the Pyrenees, if theſe hills went in a direct line, the paſſage would bee ſhort betwixt the two ſeas, for they ſay, that both the one and the other may be eaſily ſeene in
B a cleere day from the tops of ſome of them, yea from that of S. *Adrian.*

Spaine is then both in generall and in particular, as we haue deſcribed it: and if we conſider well the ſituation of this region, we may rightly ſay, that it is rampared and defended by nature againſt all the attempts and enterpriſes of ſtrangers, as much as any countrey in the world, being compaſſed in with the daungerous gulfes of the two ſeas, and walled vp behind with the hard paſſages of the Pyrenee mountaines: being moreouer of a temperat and wholeſome ayre, and hauing a ſoyle fit to nouriſh all things. For there are neither violent winds, nor thicke foggie vapours, nor any inſupportable heat of the Sunne: but the aire is ſweet and calme, being continually refreſht with the North and Weſterne winds which come from the ſea. *Spaine rampared vp by nature.* *Spaine a temperat ayre.*

C 14 Of the fertilitie of Spaine, and the great diuerſitie of good things which it produceth, the auntients haue left vs ample and true teſtimonies, whereof the moſt autentique are, That the Romanes hauing made warre in the heart thereof, both againſt the Carthaginians and them of the countrey for aboue two hundred yeares, it did in a manner continually feed theſe great armies on either ſide, with that which it did bring forth, and did not onely ſupplie them with victuals, but alſo with treaſure to entertaine their ſouldiours, and to ſatisfie the greedie deſire and couetouſneſſe of their commaunders and captaines; and moreouer hath filled their treaſuries full of ſpoiles both at Rome and Carthage, as ſhall appeare by the particularities in the progreſſe of the Hiſtorie. *Fertilitie of Spaine.*

It was Spaine which gaue courage to the Carthaginians to attempt thoſe high enterpriſes
D which wee read of them, and did furniſh them with meanes to entertaine ſo many mercinarie ſouldiours, wherewith for ſo many yeares they did trouble and annoy the Romane empire, and other nations, without coſt or daunger to their owne citizens, who in all theſe wars did hunt after nothing but honour and profit, to the prejudice of Spaine, and with the bloud of other people.

Wee haue before made ſome mention how rich it was in mynes of gold, ſiluer, and all other kinds of mettall: let vs now ſay boldly, that nature had heapt vp mountaines of treaſure there, and that the auntients did rightly ſay in tearmes befitting their Idolatrie, That *Pluto* dwelt vnder the couering of this earth: the which was the cauſe of infinit calamities to the Spaniards. For theſe greedie robbers came from all parts, being drawne thither
E with the deſire of gaine: ſo as the beſt aduiſed were forced to forbid the vſe of gold and ſiluer among them by an expreſſe law. Among others the Betique prouince, which now hath the name of Andaluſia, Granado, and thereabouts, was exceeding rich of mines of gold and ſiluer, and yet the ſoyle was verie fertile in fruits, the which ſeemes to bee againſt naturall reaſon. *Riches of Spaine.*

When as the Carthaginians came firſt into Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Amilcar Barca*, they found among the Turditanes, the verie mangers for their horſes, and hoggeſheads, made of pure ſiluer. Then they began to digge new mynes, and did cruelly toyle the people in thoſe workes; and it is ſaid, that out of one onely myne or pit called Bebelo, of his name that found it neere vnto the frontier of Aquitaine, *Hannibal* did draw aboue three
F thouſand crownes profit euerie day. The Romanes diſcouered others neere vnto Carthagena, where they had foure hundred daily at worke, and did receiue euerie day fiue and twentie thouſand Drachmes, amounting in a manner to two thouſand and fiue hundred French crownes. Yea the plough-men many times in their tillage, raiſed vp with their ploughſhares cruſts of gold: and many times vpon the ſands the fiſher-men did find great ſtore of *Bebelo a rich myne.* *Rich mynes neere vnto Carthagena.*

graines of this mettall, verie pure, which had beene brought from the mountaines with the G
flouds: yea if they carried water into a drie ground, and watered the earth, the gold would preſently ſhine: ſo as there were more found in Spaine gathering vp of gold, than in digging
Copper, Iron, and Tinne. it out of their mynes and pits. There was as great aboundance of copper, yron, tinne, and all other ſorts of mynes, and exceeding good.

Their large and ſpacious plaines and mountaines did feed infinit troupes of all ſorts of cattell: the foreſts were full of red deere, wild boares, and other wild beaſts, and all ſorts of foule. They ſay, that in South Spaine there was oftentimes ſuch aboundance of conies,
Conies ſpoyled their fruits. as they were a great ruine vnto their fruits, ſpoyling the roots vnder the ground, with their working, ſo as they were much annoyed with them, being ignorant by what meanes H
to take them, vntill they were taught to vſe ferrets, the which were brought them out of Africke.

The ſea fruitful If the land did ſo abound in all things, what ſhall wee thinke of the ſea? The ſhore (ſaith *Strabo*) is full of oyſters, and of all other ſhell-fiſh: yea in the Ocean, whereas all things exceed in greatneſſe and multitude thoſe which are in the other ſea, by reaſon of the flowing and ebbing thereof. There are to be ſeene huge Whales, Grampaſſes, and other ſuch monſters of the ſea, which ſpout out water, the which ſeemes a farre off, to bee great pillars or towers of cloudes. How much ſhall we ſay that the Congres and Mullets of that Ocean doe exceed ours? About Carteia the Pourcelaines are of ten pounds weight, but without the ſtrait the ſmaller Mullets and Congres weigh commonly foureſcore pounds, the Poulpe I
or many feet, threeſcore, the fiſh called the Cuttle, are two cubits long: the Thon comes thither in great aboundance, delighting in the acornes which fall into the ſea, from a certaine kind of ſmall oake which growes along the ſhore, yeelding ſuch aboundance of this fruit, as being afterwards caſt vp by the waues of the ſea, the bankes both within and without the ſtraits, are exceeding full, but eſpecially the Ocean, wherewith this fiſh (which is verie common in that ſea) is much delighted, and growes verie fat with it. Many other commendations are giuen by the auntients to Spaine, whereof they might well judge, that neuer went out of Italie, by the number of great ſhipping laden with merchandiſe and prouiſion of victualls, which came daily out of that countrey, to the ports of Oſtia, Puzzol, and others of Italie, wherein *Strabo*, *Plinie*, *Mela*, and other authors, may ſatisfie the curious. So as K
it hath not beene impertinent, if the Poets haue placed the delightful Eliſian fields in this part of the world.

Wee cannot with reaſon doubt of that which they haue written: for although that the mountaines of Gallicia, Aſturia, Biſcaie, Nauarre, and Arragon, which containe a great countrey, ſeeme rather to bewray a defect than any great aboundance of fruits; and that in Caſtille, and part of Portugall, the drought is not fit to bring forth corne: yet conſidering Spaine in generall, and the whole circuit, wee ſhall find daily by experience, that it is rich and plentifull of all thoſe things, wherewith it was in old times furniſhed. For if at that
Spaine fertile as this day. time they did feed whole armies, ſo doe they at this day great and well peopled cities and townes, better frequented and inhabited than in thoſe times. L

As for rich mettals, we muſt confeſſe, that it yeelds now to antiquitie, and no wonder, for how could the earth ſupplie the greedie couetouſneſſe of men, who haue not ceaſed for many yeares, and with great toyle to digge into the bowels of the earth? Wee ſee at this day the pits and caues, out of the which the Romanes drew their ſiluer, neere vnto Carthagena, with great heapes of droſſe like vnto mountaines. But yet this countrey is not ſo bare and waſted, but that they haue found in our age, at Guadalcanal, a myne as rich as any at the Indies, which our elders doe witneſſe: and there is no doubt, but that gold, ſiluer, and copper, are to be found in other places.

Iron and ſteele abounds there. Biſcaye and Guepuſcoa alone can furniſh yron and ſteele ynough for a world, and with workes which are made of this mettall, namely with Armes, beeing the verie ſtore- M
houſe of Spaine. Vitriol, Brimſtone, Alum, Orpigment, minerall ſalt, and ſuch other things, are found in Spaine, both for their owne vſe and their neighbours. What wanteth it of the fertilitie and diuerſitie of all ſorts of good fruits in a good part of Portugall, Andaluſia, and almoſt all alongſt the Mediterranean ſea? But who can condemne

euen

A euen the montaines of this region, of barrenneſſe, which beare ſo good wines, and ſo many ſorts of fruits?

To conclude, Fraunce, England, and Flanders, are familiar witneſſes of the fruitfulneſſe and delights of Spaine: and if they will not ſerue, wee will appeale to Aſia it ſelfe. Their raiſins, oliues, figges, oranges, limons, dates, cytrons, pomegranets, ſugar, ſaffron, and ſuch things, are diſperſed into all countries, and are better, and more ſauorie than in any other place.

In what place of the world doe you find more ſorts of good hearbs, or more pleaſant gardens, than in the prouince of Valence? From thence wee haue the beſt ſilkes in the B world, cotton of Murcia, ſcarlet, crimſon, and other precious colours, with ſweet and pleaſant perfumes. Finally, all the ſences of man are wonderfully pleaſed with that which comes from thence, and growes in that happie region. *Gardens of Valencia.*

And as for the hilly countrey, which they hold to be barren, and the plaines to be drie, euerie one knowes what commoditie thoſe places doe yeeld: and wee find it by experience in Spaine. There they feed infinit troupes of ſheepe, whoſe wooll is admired throughout the world: and yeeld vs alſo infinit ſtore of Spaniſh leather, neceſſarie for many vſes, and verie profitable for their neighbours.

They haue timber to ſerue them as well for the building of houſes, as for ſhipping, whereof they haue great ſtore. And who can denie, that in Nauarre, Aſturia, and Gal- C licia, there are goodly and fruitfull vallies? Can wee deſire a countrey more abounding in all good things, than that which is betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, at this time belonging vnto the Realme of Portugall? the which being ſcarce a day and a halfs journey in length, and much leſſe in breadth, hath an Archbiſhopricke, which is that of Braga, Porto Gallego, a biſhopricke, and containes in it aboue one thouſand and foure hundred pariſhes, fiue hundred Colledges of Canons, and one hundred and thirtie Conuents: it hath ſix ports of the ſea, aboue two hundred bridges of ſtone, and two thouſand and fiue hundred fountaines. *Fertilitie of the country betwixt Duero and Minio.*

But who doth not admire the Genets of Spaine, which I had almoſt forgotten, their beautie, ſwiftneſſe, and eaſineſſe to breake, eſpecially of thoſe of Andaluſia, which drinke D of the water of Guadalquibir, whereby, according to the Spaniards opinion, they are made more nimble and ſwift? Of this race was the horſe which *Iulius Cæſar* eſteemed ſo much, as when hee was dead, hee cauſed his image to be ſet vp in *Venus* Temple at Rome. Of them and of the Luſitanians their neighbours, the auntients would make vs beleeue, that they were conceiued by the winds which the mares did receiue when they were deſirous of the horſe, blowing from the Weſt, namely from the places where the horſes feed; the which ſome thinke not impoſſible. Of all theſe things no man that hath any knowledge of the world can doubt. *The horſes of Spaine.* *Mares conceiuing by the wind.*

And if any one would obiect, That Spaine cannot bee ſo fertile as wee make it, for that they are ſupplied with corne from Fraunce, England, Sicile, and Germanie: and that they E carrie great ſtore of linnen cloth, and other merchandiſe, out of Brittaine, Normandie, Flanders, Holland, and elſewhere, without the which the Spaniards muſt of neceſſitie periſh: Let him conſider the great regions diſcouered by the Spaniards, within theſe hundred and twentie yeares: what great fleets Spaine hath continually entertained, rigged, and victualed, as well for the Eaſt as Weſterne voiages; and what need they haue to furniſh thoſe countries with ſuch things as they borrow, whereof without doubt they ſhould haue ſufficient for themſelues, but not to furniſh a new world: the which doth alſo waſt their men daily to people theſe diſcouered countries: And withall let him adde the haughtie and couetous diſpoſition of the Spaniſh nation, who doe willingly leaue their labour, to goe vnto the mynes, or to goe to the warres, and neuer follow any worke, but when they are F forced by neceſſitie. *The nature of the Spaniards.*

15 Hauing hitherto diſcourſed of the ſituation and fertilitie of Spaine, let vs ſpeake ſomething of the manners and kind of life, which the Spaniards haue from time to time obſerued; that being entred into our diſcourſe, wee may not bee interrupted therewith. When as the Carthaginians came into Spaine, and long after the Romanes had got ſome *The manners of the Spaniards.*

footing, there were few walled townes in the countrey, but many great burroughes and villages. The moſt ciuile were they of the Betique prouince, and the worſt ſouldiours of them all, giuing themſelues to trade of merchandiſe by ſea, and ſomewhat to letters, and in a maner like vnto thoſe that liue vpon the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea. But as for the reſt, they were all ruſtick and barbarous, namely the Mountainers, and aboue all the Gallicians, Aſturians, and Cantabrians, whoſe ordinarie trade was to rob and ſteale, contemning labour, vntill that the Romanes taught them to liue more ciuilly and peaceably, ruining their forts and retreats. They were traitors, ſpies, and readie vpon all occaſions to ſteale. They carried targuets two foot long, & a dagger at their ſides, clothed in a doublet of linnen cloth ſtifned and quilted: and theſe were their armes. For there were no cuiraſſes nor head-peeces among them, but on their heads they carried high hats made of ſinewes, and on their legges boots of haire, and in their hands many darts: ſome of them carried jauelins whereof the heads were of copper. They wore long haire like women. Their exerciſes were fencing and running both on foot and horſebacke, and their combates by troupes: They loued libertie aboue all things, which made the Romanes to ſee many examples of crueltie, euen in the weakeſt ſex: for there were many mothers among the Cantabrians, which ſlue their own children, many daughters who for the like cauſe murthered their parents: ſo deere libertie was vnto this nation; to maintaine the which, and fearing they might be forced in any thing, they did vſually carrie poyſon about them: and if they were ſurpriſed and made ſlaues, they ſought by ſome notable villanie to giue their maſters occaſion to kill them. It was often ſeene, that when they were tyed to the croſſe to be executed, they did ſing for joy of their approaching death: but ſome haue ſhewed this reſolution vpon good and commendable occaſions, as to conceal the ſecrets of their maſters and friends, or after they had reuenged their death, or the wrong which had beene done them.

The qualities of the mountaine Spaniards.

Armes of the antient Spaniards.

Libertie deere to the Spaniards.

Their religion was infamous, for they ſacrificed humane creatures vnto their gods, euen their priſoners, cutting off their right hands, to offer them vp: Their Prieſts and Diuines tooke their conjectures from the intrals both of men and beaſts; but aboue all they tooke their diuination from their countenances, when as they receiued the deadly blow, and fell to the ground.

The Spaniards religion infamous.

As for their manner of liuing, it was ſimple and rude: they dranke water, lay vpon the ground, and did eat the fleſh of goats which they did ſacrifice vnto *Mars:* they made cakes of dried acornes, the which they did eat warme. They did willingly banquet with their parents, and had tables and ſeats of ſtone, againſt the wall, where they did appoint the moſt honourable places according to their ages and dignities. They had no vſe of ſiluer coined, but did exchange ware for ware. They had a beaſtly and filthie manner of waſhing and perfuming themſelues, with vrine which had ſtood long ſtinking, with the which both men and women did rub their bodies and faces, yea euen their teeth, imagining that it was a preſeruatiue againſt many infirmities; the which is not diſallowed by the Phyſitians. This filthie obſeruation was common then in Spaine among them all.

The Spaniards liuing ſimple and rude.

They did ſeuerely puniſh malefactors, and eſpecially parricides, whom they did ſtone without their confines. If any one were ſicke, they carried him into the highwayes, and corners of the ſtreets, after the manner of the Ægyptians, to take counſell and helpe of ſuch as had beene troubled with the like diſeaſes. Vntill the time of the Romane emperours, they had vſed boats made of beaſts skins; afterwards they began to make them of wood, taking the bodies of great trees, and making them hollow like vnto troughes.

Their manner of iuſtice.

Their manner of boats.

In this ſimplicitie and rudeneſſe did the auntient Spaniards of the mountaines liue, which were thoſe of Gallicia, Aſturia, and Cantabria, and the inhabitans of the Pyrenees, whoſe countrey was full of wood and water, but otherwiſe verie barren, by reaſon whereof they enjoyed their libertie long, and were laſt of all ſubdued by the Romanes; ſo as in the time of the emperour *Tiberius Nero,* there was yet ſome contention. The Iberians, and Celtiberians were ſomewhat more ciuile, for that they had more commerce with ſtrangers, and were neere vnto the Mediterranean ſea, which was more frequented than the Ocean. In the war they carried round targuets, fortified with ſinewes, ſhort ſwords, darts, and ſlings: in their battails they did mingle ſome light horſemen with their footmen: they did accuſtome their horſes

Pouertie aſſures the peoples libertie.

The diſcipline of the Celtiberians.

A horſes to hills and vallies, and by that meanes kept them in breath, and made them ſwift, yea they did teach them to kneele when they made a certaine ſigne. They attired themſelues of blacke wooll and ſhort. They prepared yron to forge their armes and harneis, driuing it out into plates, the which they buried in the ground for certaine dayes, vntill the ruſt had eaten away that which was vnprofitable, & then they made their ſwords and other cutting weapons. They did commonly carie two ſwords, and did fight more willingly on foot than on horſe-backe: for when as they found themſelues to haue any aduantage vpon the enemie, they left their horſes, to joyne with their footmen, purſuing them that fled with great agilitie, the which was naturall to all Spaniards. They were reaſonably courteous to ſtrangers; but they B did puniſh them that had done them any wrong verie cruelly. They did liue of fleſh and fruits, and did drinke water with honie, whereof their countrey did abound; and ſometimes they had wine, which they bought from ſtrangers comming from the neighbour coaſts. Their neighbours with whom they had the greateſt amitie and commerce, were the Vaccees, and Areuaces, at that time a part of Caſtillia the old: they agreed well with them in all ſorts of traffique. Euerie yeare they made a diuiſion of their lands, and aſſigned them by portions and lots to certaine particular perſons, who did till and ſow for the reſt, whileſt that others were imployed in the warres, or about ſome other affaires: then they diuided the fruits which they gathered. And if any one were conuicted, that he had embeſiled any thing, he was puniſhed with death. In time of peace they did banquet and daunce, leaping and friſking with C great agilitie: and they went to the warre according to the meaſure of inſtruments, ſinging ruſticke and militarie ſongs.

Preparation for yron.

Such in a manner were the Luſitanians, with whom the Celtes were mingled, and ſeated in their countrey, leading their liues for the moſt part as theeues, which they learned from them of Gallicia and Aſturia, their neighbours. Generally all the moſt barbarous Spaniards were nimble and actiue, ſo as they could eaſily eſcape from their enemies, or purſue them when they had the better; neither were their ſpirits leſſe actiue than their bodies: great vndertakers: of few words: patient and hardie in trauell, enduring hunger, thirſt, and other diſcommodities. Their women were nothing daintie, but did exerciſe themſelues like vnto the men: and if they were deliuered of child, they lay not long, but fell ſoone to their worke: they waſht their chil- D dren as ſoone as they were borne in the neereſt brooke, and then they wrapt them vp in their ſwathing clothes. But after that the Romans were entred, and ſomewhat ſetled in Spain, theſe people were forced by little and little to learne another diſcipline, and to frame themſelues to a more ciuile kind of life, being gouerned by more politike lawes, they of Betica and the Turditanes exceeding the reſt alwaies in mildneſſe and humanitie: for theſe were preſently changed to the Romans manners and diſcipline, forgetting their owne language, to imbrace the other. Many townes were alſo built and peopled in diuers parts of Spaine, and the Romans and Latines mixt with the Originaries of the countrey, who accuſtomed themſelues ſo well to the Latine tongue, as it ſince continued in Spaine: for the Caſtillian tongue at this day is nothing in a maner but a corrupted Latine. And the Spaniards grew ſuch, as many a- E mong them did make their fame equall with the moſt eſteemed among the Romans: the two *Senecas* were Spaniards, with *Silius, Martial, Lucan, Pomponius Mela, Portius Latro* the Orator, *Quintillian, Columella*, and the good emperors *Traian* and *Theodoſius*, were Spaniards.

Manners of the Spaniards in generall.

The women halfe men.

The traſtableneſſe of the Spaniards of Andelouſia.

The Spaniſh tongue a corrupted Latine.

Great perſonages Spaniards.

The Romans by the experience which they had, and the more to augment their owne glorie, giue great titles of honor and commendation to this nation, whom they found ſomewhat inſtructed in armes, and ſome diſcipline, by the Carthaginians. They call it rich in ſouldiours, and a ſeminary of the enemies armies, which had faſhioned that great captain *Hannibal*; and in all they ſpeak highly of Spaine, & not without reaſon: for the great courage and reſolution of them of Numantia, was memorable, a towne without walls, without towers, and without defences, ſeated only vpon a little hill, and couered on the one ſide with a riuer, and defended by F a few ſouldiours, who notwithſtanding withſtood the force of mightie Roman armies for the ſpace of 14 yeres, & not only made head againſt them, but alſo repulſt them oftē to their great loſſe. In the end being beſieged by aboue 40000 men, or, as ſome ſay, 60000, being preſt by famine, and forced to demaund a peace, finding no grace with their enemies, who had compaſt them in with forts and trenches, being reſolued vpon the laſt refuge, which was death, they

The magnanimitie of the Numantines.

made ſo furious a ſallie vpon the Romanes, as an infinit number of them were ſlaine vpon the place, which was a deere purchaſe vnto the enemie. This happened during the Celtiberique warre, which continued twentie yeares. This magnanimitie, courage, adreſſe and militarie diſcipline, were thus begun, and by little and little augmented in this nation by the Carthaginians and Romanes, in making warre againſt them: whom without doubt they might haue bin able to haue reſiſted, if they had knowne their owne force and wealth, and if they had ſooner learned good lawes and policie, which maintaine people in amitie and concord. This was the firſt prouince which the Romanes did aſſaile vpon the firme land, and the laſt which they ſubdued. The ſtrength of *Pompeyes* armie when he encountred *Cæſar* in Macedonia, were the Spaniſh bands, which were in his armie, if he could haue vſed them. H

Ignorance makes people ſubiect.

Faith and conſtancie in the end tooke place among this nation, whereof *Hannibal* had often made triall. But what example can we find more memorable, than the fidelitie of the Saguntines to the people of Rome, for the which they loſt wiues, children, citie, and liues?

By little and little they alſo left that diueliſh ſuperſtition of ſacrificing of men, accuſtoming themſelues to more mildneſſe and humanitie, and practiſing daily better diſcipline vnder the Romans commaund; as if God would reforme them by their meanes, and prepare them to receiue the true and wholeſome doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt: the which this nation did imbrace happily in the beginning, with great fruit and notable examples in the Church of God. But after that the barbarous nations were diſperſed ouer all Europe, hauing troden vnder foot the Majeſtie of the Romane empire, and inuaded the chiefe prouinces thereof, chaſed away all learning, and good diſcipline, and infected the earth with hereſies and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, the ignorance of God and of his ſeruice, entred into Spaine, which our age doth yet feele. Then was a time when as they kept publike ſchools of Magicke arts and conjuring, to the which they had made ſubject Philoſophie, Aſtrologie, Phyſicke, yea and Diuinitie it ſelfe. I

The true religion receiued with great affection by the Spaniards

Damnable arts in Spaine.

But leauing theſe things which belong to other diſcourſes, let vs ſay, That the Spaniards in thoſe dayes were of diuers conuerſations, as they were a mixture of diuers nations. They are apt to receiue diſcipline in all things, according to the diſpoſition of princes and lords, whom they ſerue, they are faithfull and conſtant vnto them, deſiring to be in perpetuall action, by reaſon of the agitation of their ſpirits, which is like vnto the agilitie of their bodies, who for the moſt part are leane and drie. They are ſober and vigilant, but verie couetous, patient of heat, cold, hunger, thirſt, and all other diſcommodities, eſpecially if there be any hope of profit or honour, for the which they hazard themſelues reſolutely to all dangers: they deſire to bee well apparelled, and eſteeme armes and horſes aboue all things: they are impudent braggers of their owne actions, vertue, and nobilitie: ciuile to conuerſe withall, louing good townes, copious in their language, much giuen to women; for the moſt part vnlearned, ſhewing little art in that they do, diſdaining labour, & a country life. The women are ſober, louing their huſbands or their friends deerely, but wonderfull delicat, and curious of painting and perfumes, retaining therein nothing of the auntient Spaniards: they nor their children drinke not any wine. The countrey language at this day, is for the moſt part Roman or Latine corrupted and mingled with ſome other words of ſuch nations as haue held it in theſe laſt ages. The Biſcane tongue is preſerued in Biſcaie, and part of Nauarre, and other their neighbours: but in Granado, Andaluſia, Murcia, and Valence, eſpecially among the ruſticke multitude, the Mooriſh and the Arabian tongue is in great vſe: and in all ages almoſt, the people of Spaine haue vſed diuers languages, and were different one from another. Making an end of this booke, we will relate in the following, by what meanes and titles euerie nation hath from time to time held it. K L

Manners of the Spaniards in theſe times.

Language in vſe among the Spaniards at this day.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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Some

SOme ages before the firſt warre betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, which grew by reaſon of the Iſle of Sicile, the Gaditanes extracted from the citie of Tyr, couetous and malicious according to the nature of ſlaues, from whence it may be they were iſſued (for we read, that the bondmen of the Tyrians on a time ſlew all their maſters, and made themſelues Lords of the towne; the which they held vntill *Alexander* the Great, who did root out the race of them) began to torment the Spaniards their neighbours, chaſing them out of their lands and poſſeſſions, making them ſlaues, and entreating them in the vildeſt manner they could; which was the cauſe of great warre and diuiſion in that quarter of Spaine: ſo as injuries on either part encreaſing daily, the naturall borne diſdaining the arrogancie of theſe ſtrangers, and enuying their greatneſſe, made a generall league of many Communalties againſt them: whereupon they of Gades finding themſelues too weake to make head againſt ſo great a multitude, they reſolued to call in to their ſuccour, and to the ſpoyle of Spaine, the Carthaginians of Africke, their brethren, comming from the ſame race and towne. The citie of Carthage was then a great Commonweale, the which had a great juriſdiction among the Africanes, and ſought onely to enlarge their Empire; ſo as they were readie to run into Spaine, with this honeſt and religious pretext, to ſuccour the oppreſſed: whereas they not onely freed the Gaditanes from all feare of the Spaniards, but did alſo ſubdue the people of Spaine, ſetled themſelues there, and gouerned it as their Prouince: from whence they drew afterwards ſo great treaſure and other commodities, as they preſumed to aſſayle the greateſt Potentates in the world.

The Tyrians of the race of ſlaues

1 *The Gaditanes call the Carthaginians into Spaine.*

Carthaginians deſire more to be great than iuſt.

The name of Spaniards, before this warre, had beene great among other nations, onely in regard that they ſerued as a prey to all ſtrangers: which were they only which held the lower countrey, and the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, and part of the Ocean, South and Weſt: among the which, ſome nations of Europe and Aſia had built and peopled ſome townes. As for thoſe which liued in the heart of the countrey, and in the mountains, their fame was more obſcure, being for the moſt part rough and barbarous, hauing ſcarce any commerce with ſtrangers, but to rob and ſteale, which was their beſt practiſe: and therefore vntill the comming of the Carthaginians, they had beene as it were free, and aſſured both from inuaſion and trade, doing wrong rather than taking any: but afterwards they did all in generall learne to manage armes with diſcipline, they vndertooke parties, contracted alliances among themſelues, and with other nations, growing by little and little more politicke, ciuile, and courteous. The Celtes were alreadie mingled with the Iberians about the riuer of Ebro; and paſſing on, they obtained lands and habitations in Luſitania, and in a corner of Betica, which was neere vnto them: then paſſing the riuer of Duero, they planted themſelues betwixt it and Minio; and conſequently to the mountains, in the countrey, which from them tooke the name of Gallicia, and doth ſtill hold it; whereas they built the towne of Porto, vpon the confines of the Luſitanians, which is at this time a Biſhopricke, retaining the name of Portugall, and ſo goes on to the Weſterne ſea.

2 The Celtes, Iberians, and other Spaniards farre from the ſea, as they were almoſt like in manners, had (as is ſayd) maintained their reputation free and vnited, vntill this deſcent of the Carthaginians: who hauing reſolued to ſettle themſelues in Spaine, ſeized firſt vpon the Iſland of Iuiſa, and fortified it, *Maſee* being Generall of this Armie. This was fiue hundred ſixtie two yeares before the comming of Chriſt, and an hundred eightie nine yeares after the foundation of Rome. After which time, watching their opportunitie, eight and fortie yeares after, they ſent a great fleet of ſhippes into Spaine, led by one *Maherbal*, vnder colour to relieue the Gaditanes, who had beene vanquiſhed by *Baucius Capis*, then reigning ouer the Turditanians, their neighbours. The name of the protection and ſupport of this puiſſant Commonweale of Carthage, purchaſed the Gaditanes a peace and free trade; the which drew ſo manie families from Carthage into the Iſland and Citie, as exceeding the reſt, they got the abſolute commaund thereof, *Maherbal* yet liuing.

Maſee the firſt Generall of the Carthaginian armie in Spaine 562 yeres before Chriſt.

The Carthaginians continued for a time without any care of the affaires of Spaine, beeing very much afflicted with drought and other diſcommodities, they hauing great warre

A warre in Sicile and Sardinia, but about the yeare 255 they vndertooke againe the conqueſt of Spaine, whither they ſent *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, ſonnes to *Mago*. Paſſing by Sardinia, *Aſdrubal* was ſlaine there, leauing three children, *Hanniball* the eldeſt, *Aſdrubal*, and *Pſappho*. *Amilcar* was diuerted from Spaine by the warres of Sicile, where he was alſo ſlaine, and had three ſonnes in like manner, *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Giſgo*. The yeare 272 after the foundation of Rome, they ſent a ſmall ſupplie of nine hundred ſouldiors into Spaine, whom they would haue land in the Iſlands of the Baleares; but they were repulſed: and ſoon after *Pſappho*, ſonne to *Aſdrubal*, had charge to keepe the Spaniards in awe (who were ſollicited by the Africane Moores their neighbours, to joyne with them againſt the Carthaginians) who by his wiſe-
B dome reſtrained them; and moreouer, got ſufficient forces from them to force the Moores to ſue for peace, and to giue ouer their enterpriſes againſt the citie of Carthage. In this warre the vertue of *Saruc* of Barce (a towne neere vnto Carthage) author of the *Barcinian* faction, was very famous. *Pſappho* liued in great reputation, who after his death was by opinion receiued into the number of the gods; the which he had procured during his life. For he had cauſed certaine birds to be taught to ſpeake, and made them learne to ſay, That *Pſappho* was a great god. Which birds being let flye, they chattered out thoſe words in the fields, to the great admiration of the people. After his deceaſe the Prouince of Spaine was committed to *Himilco* and *Hanno* (the ſonnes of *Amilcar*) his couſins, who tried by faire and plauſible means to draw the inhabitants of the Baleares to liue in amitie with their Commonweale.

C *Hanno* being arriued at Gades, and deſiring to diſcouer the country, and the coaſt of Spaine without the ſtrait, he ſayled vnto the holy Promontorie, or Cap S. Vincent: and hauing giuen aduice vnto the Senat of that which he had ſeene and vnderſtood, he obtained leaue to continue his diſcouerie as well vpon the coaſt of Spaine, as Africke, in the Ocean ſea: whereupon he prepared two fleets; the one for the coaſt of Europe, and to paſſe vnto the Gaules, and farther if he might; the charge whereof he gaue vnto his brother *Himilco*, and of the other he would be captaine and conductor himſelfe, and ſayle towards Africke: ſo in the beginning of the yeare 307 of the foundation of Rome they ſet ſayle, either of them taking his courſe. *Himilco* parting from the port of Heraclee, which was in the ſtrait, coaſted the Meſenians and Selbitians, paſſed the Promontorie of *Iuno*, and the mouth of the riuer Cylbis,
D which runneth betwixt Barbarie and Huelua, neere vnto the which in old time was the Iſland of Erythrea, which is not to be ſeene at this day, vnleſſe it be that of Gades it ſelfe: and then he diſcouered the Tarteſſian forreſts, and did ſee the Turditanes coaſt, whereas the riuer Betis fell into the ſea at that time by foure mouthes, afterwards reduced to two, but now there is but one. Paſſing on, there came into his ſight Mont Caſſius, rich in veines of Tynne, from whence it is likely it tooke his name: beyond the which, the riuer, which they now call Tinte, (whoſe water is excellent good to dye blacke) fals into the ſea, neere vnto Palos of Moguer. This riuer was in old time called Iberus, as that which paſſeth and looſeth it ſelfe at Tarracone. From thence *Himilco* paſſed neere vnto *Proſerpinas* Temple, built vpon a point which runneth farre into the ſea; vnto which place come the Marian hils: and a little more forward
E riſeth Mont Zephirus, whoſe top is alwaies hidden in the clouds: about the which for a good diſtance the ſhoare is full of rockes vnto Mont *Saturne*, the which is among the Cenits, by the which the riuer Anas or Guadiana doth run; at the mouth whereof were two Iſlands, whereof the greateſt was called Agone. Paſſing on by a long courſe towards the holy Promontorie, and hauing doubled it, this Carthaginian armie came to the port of Cenis, neere vnto the Iſlands which they now call Perſegueres. Not farre from thence dwelt the Dragans, a people of Luſitania, compaſſed in by the mountaines Cephis and Sempis, right againſt the Iſlands of Stremnie, the which ſtands farre into the ſea: but neerer vnto theſe Dragants was another Iſland called Acala, about the which the waters were blew and wonderfull cleere, but very ſtinking, whereof there are at this day no markes. Aboue Alcala was the mountaine
F Cyprilian. *Himilco* hauing ſayled along the coaſt, hee diſcouered the Iſland Pelagie, full of greene trees, the which he durſt not touch, being conſecrated to *Saturne*, hearing, that if any ſaylers would land there, the ſea was troubled. The ſhoare which goes vnto the mouth of Tayo was inhabited by the Saries, a cruell and a barbarous people, whoſe Promontorie was for that cauſe called Barbareſque. There notwithſtanding was planted the Greeke Colonie Olyſippo, which is Lisbone at this day. Theſe Nauigators came to the Promontorie Nerium,

which

which is Finis terræ, and to the neighbour Iſlands called alſo Stremnies, for that the inhabi- G
tants of the Iſland of Stremnie aboue mentioned, being forced to leaue it for the multitude of Serpents which were there, they retyred into theſe Iſlands. There is no further mention made of *Himilcos* nauigation.

Hannos voyage vpon the coaſt of Africke.

As for *Hanno*, he made a longer voyage: his armie conſiſted of many veſſels, carrying aboue thirtie thouſand perſons of both ſexes: hee planted a Colonie vpon the ſea coaſt of Africke (the which is now Azamor) the which he called Thimateria: he paſſed on beyond the foot of Mont Atlas, towards Numidia and Lybia: he diſcouered the fortunat Iſlands, which are the Canaries, and thoſe of Cap Verd, which is the point of the Heſperides; the Iſland of Argin, in old time Cerne; and the Gorgones, ſo named by him; the mouths of the great riuer H
Niger, the which hath Crocodiles in it, and ſea horſes as well as Nil, vntill he came vnto the Iſland named at this day S. Thome, vnder the Equinoctiall. Some ſay, that hee doubled the point of Africke, or Cap bonne Eſperance, and paſſed as farre as the Arabicke ſea, and from thence returned to Carthage by Ægypt, reporting, That he had ſeene men all couered with haire; which it may be were Apes, for there are very great and dangerous ones in ſome part of Africke; and other wonders. He returned to Carthage fiue yeares after his departure.

It was in the yeare 312 of the foundation of Rome, when theſe two captaines vndertooke their voyages; *Giſgo* their brother gouerned Spaine in their abſence: and thinking to returne to Carthage, to be partaker of the feaſts and joy which were made in regard of their proſperous voyages, he periſhed with all his ſhips at ſea. I

Hannibal ſent into Spaine.

Hannibal brother to *Pſappho*, and couſin to theſe, ſurnamed the ancient, was ſent into Spaine, and with him *Mago* his kinſman. *Mago* ſtayed at the Baleares, and he paſſed to Calis: and ſome hold, that he built a fort at the place which is called Lagos, the which was named Port *Hannibal:* there was alſo built in his time, at the mouth of the riuer of Betis, *Lucifers* Temple, dedicated to the goddeſſe *Venus*, whoſe ſtarre was called Phoſphoros, or Lucifer: it is S. Lucar of Barraneda at this preſent. During their time and gouernment there grew great warre betwixt the Spaniards of Betica and the Luſitanians, dwelling by the riuer Anas, the which was nouriſhed by the Carthaginians and their captaines *Hannibal* and *Mago*.

Warre in Sicile by the Carthaginians.

The Commonweale of Carthage had then great warres in the Iſland of Sicile, kindled about the yeare 346 of the foundation of Rome, by the Agrigentines, who did murther the K
Carthaginian garriſons, being buſie at their ſacrifices: wherefore by decree of the Senat there were leuies of men made in Spaine, and in the Iſlands of the Baleares. But the Agrigentines were defeated in battaile, and then beſieged for the ſpace of two yeares, who in the end were forced to yeeld to their mercie, who entreated them very roughly: whereupon they had recourſe vnto *Denis* the old, by whoſe aduice they freed themſelues of thoſe that did oppreſſe them, and tooke from the Carthaginians the townes of Camerine and Gele. *Denis* although he diſſembled, ſeeming to be a neuter, found himſelfe ſo ingaged, as he was forced to take armes againſt the Carthaginians, by whom hee was vanquiſhed, but with great loſſe of their men: the reſt of the Carthaginian armie, where *Himilco Sepas* had the leading of tenne thouſand Spaniards, was conſumed by the plague: whereat *Himilco* was ſo grieued, as being returned to Carthage, refuſing to ſee either children or friends, he ſlew himſelfe in his houſe. After theſe ruins, by the induſtrie of *Denis* a peace was concluded betwixt the Carthaginians & the Sicilians, or rather a truce for 30 yeres. This was in the yere 356 of the foundation of Rome. L

About that time ſome ſhips of Carthage, diſperſed by tempeſt, or elſe of ſet purpoſe following *Hannos* diſcouerie, or imitating his deſignes, came vnto a great Iſland, which wee may thinke to be that of S. Dominique at this day: which made them of Carthage to affect theſe voyages with ſuch vehemencie, as to diuert them, the Senat reſolued to cauſe them to be ſlaine which were returned, and had brought the newes, fearing leaſt their citie and countrey ſhould be vnpeopled.

New warres in Sicile.

The truce being expired, the Carthaginians prepared againe to warre in Sicile; during the M
which truce, they had aduanced their authoritie and credit among the Spaniards, entertaining diuiſions among them, and taking parties: ſo as they had meanes at one time to bring to the warres of Sicile 20000 foot and 1000 horſe of that nation, making them by this means weake againſt their own deſigns: to which forces they added 300 Majorquins, which vſed ſlings, and 10000 Africanes, making *Hanno* chiefe of this armie, who ſhould ſuddainly inuade the Iſland, whileſt

A whileſt that *Denis* made warre in Italie. But *Suniat* a Carthaginian enuying *Hannos* charge, aduertiſed *Denis* of this preparation; and as he continued in this trecherie, he was diſcouered by the taking of a ſhip in the ſtrait by them of Carthage, in the which were found his letters and aduertiſements to *Denis*, written in Greeke; whereupon he was taken and puniſhed: and it was decreed at Carthage, That no Carthaginian ſhould learne the Greeke tongue: but *Denis* his armie at ſea was defeated, whereby the Carthaginians affaires proſpered in Sicile.

Denis being dead, and his ſonne of the ſame name ſucceeding him, vnder the gouernment of *Dion* his kinſman, the warre ended by a long truce betwixt the Carthaginians & Sicilians, and *Hanno* returned with great treaſure which he had gottē óf thoſe ſpoiles. He was preſently ſent *Truce with the Sicilians.*

B to Calis, and *Boſtar* to Majorca, and to that part of Spaine which is oppoſit: *Hanno* tyrannizing ouer the people in his gouernment, prouoked them to rebell; ſo as to ſubdue & puniſh them, he called the Moores into Spaine, who afflicted them cruelly. The complaints being come vnto Carthage, *Hanno* was called home and diſcharged of his gouernment; who in diſdain thereof attempted to poyſon the whole Senat in a banket which he prepared for his daughters mar- *Hannes trecherie againſt the Senat of Carthage.*

riage. This trecherie being diſcouered and diſſembled, they preſently made Sumptuarie law, limitting the number of perſons, and the ſorts of meats at ſuch feaſts. But hauing eſcaped puniſhment, yet fearing it, he ſought notwithſtanding to trie his force, with a multitude of ſlaues which he, his kinſmen, and friends had: wherewith the people being incenſed, they beſieged him, & tooke him in his houſe, and then deliuered him to the Iudges; by whoſe decree his eies

C were put out, his lims broken, his body torne with whips, and then hung vpon a croſſe: his children and all his kinsfolkes were alſo put to death, that they ſhould haue no deſire of reuenge. A cruell example, but excuſable in the Africans, for the foulneſſe of the offence and the intereſt of their countrey. The Carthaginians affecting much the conqueſt of Spaine, purſued it *The Carthaginians continue in the conqueſt of Spaine.*

without any diſturbance, ſending good Gouernors and wiſe captains: wherein they proſpered daily in ſuch ſort, as they might terme themſelues maſters therof, and ſo did enjoy it for aboue 350 yeares, all the people of Spaine being their ſubjects or allies; vntill that the Romanes began to make ſome practiſes, ſeeking to draw the people vnto them, and to be aſſured of them, *The Romanes ſeeke to get footing in Spaine by emulation.*

when any occaſion ſhould be offered. So either of theſe Commonweales made way for their great deſignes, yet not entring into any ouert action: but the Iſland of Sicile aſſayled by the

D Carthaginians, and eſpecially the towne of Meſſina, did ſo engage them, as it could not be appeaſed but with the ruine of the one party. For the ſpace of 115 yeares there was either open *Meſſina the cauſe of the firſt Punicke warres.*

warre, preparations for warre, or a counterfeit peace betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians. They entred into this hoſtilitie 489 yeres after the foundation of Rome, and about 262 yeres before Chriſt. This firſt warre was decided in Sicile, and in the Mediterranean ſea, during 24 yeares; in which time the people of Spaine did adhere ſometimes to one partie, ſometimes to another, as their affaires ſucceeded: the Carthaginians being in the end forced to demaund a peace of the Romans, the reſt of their hatred and ſplene continued yet in Spaine for a time: for *Spain nouriſheth the hatred betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians.*

thoſe which had rebelled againſt the Carthaginians, ſought to maintaine their liberties by the fauour of the Romanes, who encouraged and aſſiſted them vnder hand: yet *Amilcar*, ſurnamed

E *Barca*, father to *Hannibal*, being appointed Gouernor and Lieutenant generall for the Carthaginians in Spaine, ſubjected vnder their obedience almoſt all the nations and townes which had beene diſtracted, and did ſhake the allies of the contrarie faction. He was an irreconciliable enemie to the Romanes, and would that his ſonne *Hannibal* ſhould ſucceed him in the like *Priuat paſſion in Amilcar was the ruine of his countrey.*

affection, and (as we ſay) ſhould ſucke it from his mothers breaſts; binding him thereunto in his youth by othes and religious ceremonies. For as he prepared to paſſe into Spaine with the armie, offering the accuſtomed ſacrifices vnto their gods, to haue a proſperous voiage, he cauſed his ſonne *Hannibal* (being then ſcarce nine yeares old) to approach vnto the altar, and hauing commaunded him to lay his hand vpon the ſacrifice, he made him ſweare, That as ſoone as he ſhould be able to beare armes, he ſhould employ them to annoy the Romans, and declare him-

F ſelfe their enemie. Whileſt that *Amilcar* relies too much on his good fortune, and purſues the rebels in Spaine inconſideratly, he was ſlaine, hauing done great exploits in nine yeares ſpace. *Amicar ſlaine by the Spaniards*

They attribute the reſtoring and enlarging of Barcelone vnto him, and according vnto ſome, the naming of it.

Aſdrubal his ſonne in law ſucceeded him, a wiſe and a valiant man, vnder whom *Hannibal* learned his firſt precepts of warre. And as the troubles did not onely continue, but alſo

encreaſe

The Carthaginians tyrannie aduanced the Romans credit in Spaine.

encreaſe in Spaine, new rebellions growing daily, by reaſon of the Carthaginians crueltie G
and tyrannie, the Romanes were ſollicited by many to take them into their protection; whereunto they did willingly giue eare. Wherupon theſe two Commonweales were vpon tearmes to enter into a more cruell warre than euer: to auoid the which, it was aduiſed by the Senate of Rome to ſend *Quintus Luctatius* into Spaine, to treat with the Carthaginians, and to ſettle ſome good courſe for the affaires of that countrey. So as betwixt *Luctatius* for the Romans, and *Aſdrubal* for the Carthaginians, there was a peace renewed and confirmed betwixt thoſe two Eſtates, and the friends and allies of either part in Spaine; appointing the riuer of Ebro for a limit and barre betwixt them, beyond the which they might not lead any armie. And for that the towne of Saguntum being then rich and populous, held them long in debate, either H
deſiring to haue it on his faction, in the end (not able to agree) it was concluded, That it ſhould remaine neuter, vſe her owne lawes, and be maintained in her libertie, and that neither partie ſhould attempt any thing to the preiudice thereof.

A new accord betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians.

The Eſtate of Spaine being thus ordered, the peace (which was not well aſſured betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians) continued three and twentie yeres, or thereabouts, accounting from the day that it was concluded in Sicile. *Aſdrubal* gouerned Spaine beyond Ebro eight yeares, and aduaunced the affaires of his Commonweale more by mildneſſe than by armes; whom they make the founder of new Carthage: but returning to a rigorous courſe, his crueltie incited a Gaule, who ſerued him, to murther him, reuenging the death of a Lord of Luſitania his maſter, whom *Aſdrubal* had cauſed to bee ſlaine, whoſe head he cauſed to bee I
carried through the countrey vpon a launce, after that he had hanged the bodie vpon a croſſe. This ſeruant being taken, died in the extremitie of his torments, ſinging and laughing for joy that he had done the deed.

The great reſolution of a ſeruant louing his maſter.

4 Before the death of *Aſdrubal* it was propounded in the Senat of Carthage, If it were expedient to ſend *Hannibal* into Spaine, vnder the diſcipline of his brother in law, who demaunded him? Among the Senators there was one of great eſteeme, called *Hanno*, being of a contrarie faction to the familie of the *Barciniens*, which alſo was great and rich, either hauing their partiſans. Theſe pleaded vehemently, letting the Senat vnderſtand on the one ſide, that *Hannibal* was bred vp in armes, and by that meanes did imitate his fathers vertues: the others to hinder this reſolution, feared leaſt the hatred which *Hannibal* bare vnto the Romans, K
and whereof he made publicke profeſſion, would ingage and draw their Commonweale into new troubles and calamities: For although the Carthaginians were exceeding ambitious, and in that regard enemies to all mankind, yet did they feare the magnanimitie and conſtancie of the Romans, and their valour, which they had tried. Beſides, the forepaſſed warres as well againſt them, as againſt others, yea, againſt their owne mercinarie ſouldiors, had waſted their treaſure, vnfurniſht them of ſhips, and conſumed their beſt captaines; ſo as it behoued them to liue many yeares in peace, before they vndertooke any difficult warre. But their miſerie, and that of Italie, would haue the *Barciniens* preuaile; and ſo *Hannibal* was ſent into Spaine to his brother in law *Aſdrubal*, vnder whom he liued ſome three yeares: after whoſe deceaſe, he was demaunded for head and Generall by the men of warre, and by their fauour obtained L
of the Senat and people of Carthage the gouernment of Spaine, being then about two and twentie yeares old. There was not in any age a more remarkable man than this, as well for his great vertues as vices: for he was of a generous ſpirit for great attempts, and inuincible in all dangers: bloudie combates were his delights, neither did he want judgement nor counſell: in the warre few men had better practiſed the knowledge how to obey, and how to commaund, than he: he was neuer tyred with any toyle: he endured heat and cold indifferently: he gouerned his feeding as nature required: he hated reſt, and ſlept onely when hee found himſelfe idle, not vpon a ſoft and delicate bed, but moſt commonly vpon the ground, in a *Corps de guard*, among the ſouldiors: he was not curious in his habits, but delighted much in faire Armes and good horſes; being alwayes the firſt in fight, and the laſt at a retreat. So M
many vertues had for companions in the ſame ſubject, a brutiſh crueltie, damnable infidelitie, ſacriledge, and contempt of all religion. When as he found himſelfe poſſeſſed of theſe forces, he ſought all meanes to breake the peace with the Romanes; propounding within himſelfe, not onely to chaſe them out of Spaine, but alſo to aſſaile them in Italie within their owne ſtrength, and in the very ſeat of their Empire. He began to make warre againſt the Olcades,

Factions in the Senat at Carthage.

The ambitious enuie all men.

Hannibal made Gouernour of Spaine.

His diſpoſition and vertues.

His vices.

A cades, a people beyond the riuer of Ebro, who were in good termes with the Carthaginians, but not their ſubjects, and tooke Althee their chiefe towne, and ſackt it; the which did very much terrifie their neighbours. Then he quarrelled with the Vaccees; ſometimes pretending a right, as being ſubject to the juriſdiction of Carthage; ſometimes doing them injurie, or pretending that he had receiued ſome wrong from them, hee ſo prouoked them, as among many acts of hoſtilitie, after the taking of Hermandica and Arbocala, townes of the Vaccees, and a great defeat which he gaue vnto the Carpetanians and the reſt of the Olcades and Vaccees, and in the end the conqueſt of all thoſe Prouinces, he came vnto that which he had propounded vnto himſelfe; which was, to beſiege Sagunt. The complaints of his exceſſe
B came daily to Rome; yet the Senat being buſied with the warres of Gaule, and againſt the Illyrians, were not much mooued, vntill that the Saguntines ſeeing a ſiege comming before their towne, quickened the Romanes by their embaſſadours, letting them vnderſtand, That if they made any account of Spaine, it was now high time to oppoſe themſelues againſt the violence of *Hannibal*; who hauing broken their treaties and accords in a thouſand ſorts, might be at that inſtant about their walls with an hundred and fiftie thouſand fighting men. This did moue the Senat of Rome not to neglect their allies, and to apprehend the dangers which did threaten themſelues, if they ſuffered the Carthaginians their enemies to proſper. Wherefore they ſent two embaſſadors to Carthage, which were, *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bebius Tamphilus*, with charge to paſſe to *Hannibal*, and to ſummon him to retyre, and to
C leaue their allies in peace; otherwiſe to let both him and the citie of Carthage vnderſtand, that they would not endure the wrongs and injuries which had beene done them. But Sagunt was beſieged vnder colour of ſome controuerſies and quarrels which they had with their neighbours. *Hannibal* being entred into their territorie, abandoned it to the ſpoyle of the ſouldiors, and then aſſayled the towne in three places. There was one part plainer and more acceſſible than the reſt, where he intended to begin his batterie: but hauing made his approaches with great toyle and difficultie, the ſucceſſe was not anſwerable to his deſigne: for there hee found a ſtrong tower, and the wall rayſed higher; beſides, the place where there was moſt danger was manned with their moſt valiant ſouldiors; who at the firſt repulſed their enemies with their arrowes: but in the end not contented to ſhoot from their tow-
D ers and defences, they made ſallies, and came to fight with them hand to hand: in which skirmiſhes there was no great aduantage on either ſide. *Hannibal* himſelfe approching too venturouſly neere the wals, was wounded with a jaueline in the thigh, and ouerthrowne; the which did much amaze them that were about him, ſo as they fled; and it did ſo trouble the reſt, as they abandoned all their workes. Then had the Saguntines ſome leyſure to breath, and the towne was for a time rather beſieged than aſſaulted, whileſt that *Hannibal* was vnder cure; yet they ceaſed not to make all ſorts of engines to batter the towne: the which was done afterwards, and more violently than before, and in ſo many places, as the beſieged were ſcarce able to make their defence: and there were three towers with their courtines betwixt them alreadie ruined, ſo as the towne was diſcouered, and ſeemed to lye open; which made
E both aſſaylants and defendants to run thither: where they did fight with ſuch obſtinacie, both parties being in battaile betwixt the ruines, not as at the entrance of a breach, but as in an open champaine, animated by two ſeuerall paſſions, the one hauing hope to vanquiſh, and the other no hope of mercie in their enemies. In the end, the Carthaginians were forced to retyre; and ſoone after the Romane embaſſadours arriued in the rode of Saguntum: but *Hannibal* would not heare them, but let them vnderſtand, That a man buſied with ſo many affaires as he was, could not ſpend his time in words, and that he ſaw no great ſafetie for them, if they landed among ſo many ſouldiours, of diuers barbarous nations. Whereupon they paſſed into Africke, and hauing deliuered their charge vnto the Senat of Carthage, and demaunded in vaine, That *Hannibal* (the author of the warre) ſhould be deliue-
F red vnto them, after many proteſtations, they returned with bare words: For after much contention among the factions in the Councell of Carthage (whereas *Hannibal* had manie kinſmen and friends) anſwere was made vnto the embaſſadours, That the warre had beene begun by the Saguntines, and that the Senat and people of Rome ſhould not embrace their quarrell againſt the Carthaginians, with whom they had liued in peace and amitie for ſo many yeares.

A friend doth not often ſtirre for his friends harme, vnleſſe himſelfe be intereſſed.

Sagunt beſieged.

Hannibal wounded.

Hope & deſpaire breed like effects at this ſiege.

The ſimplicitie of the Romans.

Whileſt the Romans were thus buſied to reſolue and to ſend embaſſadours, *Hannibal* purſues his ſiege, and preſſeth Sagunt by all means poſſible: He builds new engines, animates his ſouldiors, and promiſeth them the ſpoile of a rich towne: the Saguntines rampar vp their breaches, and labour day and night: the batterie begins afreſh, and they haue many aſſaults giuen, and with greater furie than before. In the end, being tyred with the multitude of aſſaylants, who had freſh ſupplies continually, they could not keepe the Carthaginians from entring by their breaches, their walls being newly repaired with earth, after their accuſtomed manner, and therefore eaſie to pierce: ſo as they ſeized vpon an high place within the precinct of the towne, whereas they planted many of their great croſſe-bowes and artillerie after their manner, and caſting a wall about it, they made as it were a citadell; againſt the which the Saguntines did preſently make a trench, diuiding it from the reſt of the towne, which was not yet taken. And as it happened diuers times, that the one getting the other, muſt needs retyre, the towne was reduced to a ſmall compaſſe, and withall they had great want of victuals, and of all other neceſſaries, by reaſon of the long ſiege, *Hannibal* was then forced to march into Oretania and Carpetania, where there was ſome likelyhood of a tumult, for that thoſe which he had ſent to enroll ſouldiors, were retained by them of the countrey, by reaſon of the great rigour which they vſed. As his abſence from the campe gaue ſome reſt vnto the Saguntines, ſo his comming among thoſe people cauſed peace, and reduced them to obedience. In the meane time *Maharbal*, ſonne to *Himilco*, who had the charge to continue the ſiege, vſed ſuch diligence, as there was no ſhew of *Hannibals* abſence. To conclude, hee wrought ſo well, as at his returne he ſhewed him large breaches, ſufficient to giue a generall aſſault, which were made on the ſide of the caſtle, the which the Carthaginians did win. The miſerable Saguntines being thus preſt, and out of all hope of ſuccours, which could not come vnto them but from Rome, which was farre from them, *Alco* one of their citizens caſt himſelfe from the rampar, and went to *Hannibal*, without the priuitie of the Senat, that he might moue him to ſome reaſonable conditions: but *Hannibal* offered them their liues onely, and that they ſhould depart the town with one robe only, and to go and dwell where they ſhould be appointed: whereupon *Alco* durſt no more returne vnto Sagunt, beſeeching him to giue him leaue to remaine within the campe: then there was a Spaniſh ſouldior named *Alorco*, who offered himſelfe to carrie theſe conditions vnto the Saguntines, and to perſuade them to accept thereof. But he preuailed as little as the other: for being heard in their Senat, they were ſo farre from yeelding in that manner, as by a common conſent they reſolued to bring all their gold, ſiluer, and other goods into the market place, where they ſet it on fire, and conſumed it: and there were ſome ſo deſperat, as they caſt themſelues into the fire, to be conſumed with their goods. In the meane time there was a great noiſe heard from a tower which fell ſuddainely, hauing beene long battered, the which gaue free entrie vnto the enemies: a band of ſouldiors then being entred by that breach, they made a ſigne vnto the campe: whereupon *Hannibal* being vigilant to embrace all occaſions, marched thither with the whole bodie of the armie, and tooke the towne, hauing giuen charge to his ſouldiors, to kill all that had paſt the age of foureteene yeares: a cruell ſentence, but he held it neceſſarie, ſeeing hee had to deale with ſuch obſtinat enemies, who being in fight, neuer yeelded but by death, and being ſhut vp within their towne, with their wiues and children, would rather burne themſelues in their houſes, than yeeld. And although that many things were ſpoyled and conſumed by the fire, yet the bootie was great. Thus Sagunt fell into *Hannibals* hands, eight moneths after the beginning of the ſiege. And during this ſiege, his wife *Himilce* was deliuered of a ſonne called *Aſpar*, which doubled his joy. Then did the Romanes reſolue to proclaime warre againſt Carthage, mooued partly with the vnworthie calamitie of their friends and allies, and partly with the feare of their owne eſtate: the which happened 536 yeares after the foundation of Rome, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* and *Titus Sempronius Longus* being created Conſuls.

Friends a farre off are ſlow to ſuccour.

5 *Sagunt taken by aſſault.*

The Romans reſolue to warre againſt the Carthaginians.

Hannibal was ſo farre from any remorſe to haue drawne theſe two Commonweales into armes, as contrariwiſe, when hee had brought backe his armie to new Carthage, and diuided the ſpoyle among his ſouldiors, he began to make preparations to march into Italie; from whence he meant to chaſe the Romans, and to driue them (if it were poſſible) out of the world. Hauing therefore diſpoſed of the affaires of that Prouince, and well fortified and manned

Good fortune tranſports Hannibal to ouergreat enterpriſes

A manned the townes, he left the gouerment generall thereof to *Aſdrubal* his brother, and taking his way by the Mediterranean ſhore to Empurias, he entred into Gaule, and came vnto the Alpes without any oppoſition of the Gaules, although they were much preſt thereunto by the Romans; leading an armie which conſiſted of Numidians, Africanes, Spaniards, ſome Gaules, and other nations, the which he entertained and ſupplied often with the ſame nations, as well with the reuenues of the mynes of Spaine, as that which he tooke from the enemie, but moſt of all by his onely authoritie, and the reuerence of his name, ſo long as he continued the warres in Italie, which was 16 yeares. *He marcheth towards Italy.*

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E wherewith their engines of batterie were in a manner couered, the which did preſerue them from the fire which was caſt by the enemie. In the end, *Amuſite* their captaine hauing abandoned them, and being retyred to *Aſdrubal*, the towne yeelded to *Scipio*, redeeming it ſelfe from ſpoyle for 20 talents, amounting to 12000 French crownes: from whence *Scipio* led his armie backe to Tarracone. *Cn. Scipio ſent into Spaine.* *He winneth the Spaniards by mildneſſe.* *Hanno defeated by Scipio.* *The Spaniard inconſtant.*

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The ſimplicitie of the Romans,

Whileſt the Romans were thus buſied to reſolue and to ſend embaſſadours, *Hannibal* purſues his ſiege, and preſſeth Sagunt by all means poſſible: He builds new engines, animates his ſouldiors, and promiſeth them the ſpoile of a rich towne: the Saguntines rampar vp their breaches, and labour day and night: the batterie begins afreſh, and they haue many aſſaults giuen, and with greater furie than before. In the end, being tyred with the multitude of aſſaylants, who had freſh ſupplies continually, they could not keepe the Carthaginians from entring by their breaches, their walls being newly repaired with earth, after their accuſtomed manner, and therefore eaſie to pierce: ſo as they ſeized vpon an high place within the precinct of the towne, whereas they planted many of their great croſſe-bowes and artillerie after their manner, and caſting a wall about it, they made as it were a citadell; againſt the which the Saguntines did preſently make a trench, diuiding it from the reſt of the towne, which was not yet taken. And as it happened diuers times, that the one getting the other, muſt needs retyre, the towne was reduced to a ſmall compaſſe, and withall they had great want of victuals, and of all other neceſſaries, by reaſon of the long ſiege, *Hannibal* was then forced to march into Oretania and Carpetania, where there was ſome likelyhood of a tumult, for that thoſe which he had ſent to enroll ſouldiors, were retained by them of the countrey, by reaſon of the great rigour which they vſed. As his abſence from the campe gaue ſome reſt vnto the Saguntines, ſo his comming among thoſe people cauſed peace, and reduced them to obedience. In the meane time *Maharbal*, ſonne to *Himilco*, who had the charge to continue the ſiege, vſed ſuch diligence, as there was no ſhew of *Hannibals* abſence. To conclude, hee wrought ſo well, as at his returne he ſhewed him large breaches, ſufficient to giue a generall aſſault, which were made on the ſide of the caſtle, the which the Carthaginians did win. The miſerable Saguntines being thus preſt, and out of all hope of ſuccours, which could not come vnto them but from Rome, which was farre from them, *Alco* one of their citizens caſt himſelfe from the rampar, and went to *Hannibal*, without the priuitie of the Senat, that he might moue him to ſome reaſonable conditions: but *Hannibal* offered them their liues onely, and that they ſhould depart the town with one robe only, and to go and dwell where they ſhould be appointed: whereupon *Alco* durſt no more returne vnto Sagunt, beſeeching him to giue him leaue to remaine within the campe: then there was a Spaniſh ſouldior named *Alorco*, who offered himſelfe to carrie theſe conditions vnto the Saguntines, and to perſuade them to accept thereof. But he preuailed as little as the other: for being heard in their Senat, they were ſo farre from yeelding in that manner, as by a common conſent they reſolued to bring all their gold, ſiluer, and other goods into the market place, where they ſet it on fire, and conſumed it: and there were ſome ſo deſperat, as they caſt themſelues into the fire, to be conſumed with their goods. In the meane time there was a great noiſe heard from a tower which fell ſuddainely, hauing beene long battered, the which gaue free entrie vnto the enemies: a band of ſouldiors then being entred by that breach, they made a ſigne vnto the campe: whereupon *Hannibal* being vigilant to embrace all occaſions, marched thither with the whole bodie of the armie, and tooke the towne, hauing giuen charge to his ſouldiors, to kill all that had paſt the age of foureteene yeares: a cruell ſentence, but he held it neceſſarie, ſeeing hee had to deale with ſuch obſtinat enemies, who being in fight, neuer yeelded but by death, and being ſhut vp within their towne, with their wiues and children, would rather burne themſelues in their houſes, than yeeld. And although that many things were ſpoyled and conſumed by the fire, yet the bootie was great. Thus Sagunt fell into *Hannibals* hands, eight moneths after the beginning of the ſiege. And during this ſiege, his wife *Himilce* was deliuered of a ſonne called *Aſpar*, which doubled his joy. Then did the Romanes reſolue to proclaime warre againſt Carthage, mooued partly with the vnworthie calamitie of their friends and allies, and partly with the feare of their owne eſtate: the which happened 536 yeares after the foundation of Rome, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* and *Titus Sempronius Longus* being created Conſuls.

Friends a farre off are ſlow to ſuccour.

5 Sagunt taken by aſſault.

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mouth of the riuer, and their land armie camped neere vnto them: wherefore *Scipio* deſiring G
to ſurprize them, commaunded his gallies to ſet forward, making great ſpeed towards them.
Spaine had then many watch-towers vpon the coaſt, ſet vpon high hils, for the ſafetie of paſ-
ſengers againſt pyrats. The Roman army was diſcouered by them, and an alarme giuen to the
Carthaginians, being ſooner diſcouered by the army at land, than by the gallies. *Aſdrubal* diſ-
patching many horſemen, gaue charge, That euery one ſhould retire preſently to his gally, and
prepare to fight, for the enemie had bin diſcouered. Moſt of the ſouldiors and marriners were
at land, diſperſed here and there in the tents and villages, making good cheere with their com-
panions, fearing nothing leſſe than the comming of the Romans that day, who were hidden by
the high clyffes which run into the ſea, for that they could neither heare the beating of their H
oares, nor any noiſe of their fleet. And as all was full of diſorder and tumult among the Car-
thaginians, *Aſdrubal* put his armie in battaile neere vnto his fleet, whileſt the reſt embarked,
who ran without order or diſcipline, as if they had bin chaſed from the land, and would haue
ſaued themſelues in the ſea. The confuſion was ſo great, that hindering one another, the ſoul-
diors could not vſe their armes, nor the marriners launch out, nor doe their duties, ſo as they
were forced to cut their cables; and doing all things in haſt, they were defeated more by their
owne diſorder than by the Romanes; who aduancing, tooke two gallies at their firſt joyning,
The Carthaginians defeated at ſea by Cn. Scipio. and ſunke foure: the reſt of the Carthaginian fleet being diſperſed, and not able to hold toge-
ther, they ran aground willingly, ſo as the men ſaued themſelues, and fled to their army which
ſtood in battaile: who being ſpectators of this combat, ſaw their gallies purſued and taken, ca- I
rying all away that were not run on ground, or broken vpon the coaſt, ſo as the Romans drew
25 out with them to ſea. This victorie did not only diſarme the Carthaginians of their ſea for-
ces, but alſo made them forſake all that coaſt. Wherfore the Romans being landed at Onuſta
or Honoſca, became maſters thereof without any reſiſtance, ſpoyling the countrey vnto the
gates of new Carthage, whereas they burnt the ſuburbes. Returning from thence laden with
ſpoyle to Longuntica (which at this preſent is Guardamar) they found great ſtore of a kind of
broome, wherwith they did vſe to make cables for ſhips, the which *Aſdrubal* had cauſed to be
gathered together, whereof they tooke what they pleaſed, and ſet fire on the reſt. Then retur-
ning to their ſhips, they paſſed into the Iſland of Ebuſus or Iuiſa, and battered the fort that
was in it; from the which they were repulſed. So as after they had ſpoiled and burnt the coun- K
try, they embarked againe, and being ready to weigh anchor, embaſſadors came to them from
the Iſlands of the Baleares, to demaund peace and friendſhip with the Romans.

Scipio being returned into Spaine, he gaue audience to the embaſſadours of all the people
that dwell about the riuer Ebro, and not onely to them, but to others of farther regions, deſi-
ring to enter into league with the Romans. They hold, that he receiued hoſtages at that time
of aboue 120 Townes or Communalties. *Scipio* being fortified by this means, and thinking he
ſhould be able from that time to keepe the field againſt his enemie, he led his armie towards
Caſtulo, & the mountaines which are now called Puerto Muladar, *Aſdrubal* being retired into
Luſitania, towards the limits of our Portugal, vpõ the Ocean, ſo as there was no great ſhew of
any warres that Summer. But the turbulent ſpirits of the Spaniards prouided worke for *Scipio:* L
Mardonius and the Ilergetes hold the Carthaginian party. for a nobleman of the Ilergetes (the which is now a part of Catelogne) called *Mardonius*, when
as the Romans retired towards the ſea, had ſollicited many of the neighbor people to armes;
and ſeeing the Romans otherwiſe buſied, he went with his troupes, and ſpoiled the country of
their allies: againſt whom, *Scipio* ſent 3000 men, with the helpe of ſome of his friends, who de-
feated theſe ſpoylers, ſlew many, tooke ſome, and made the reſt glad to quit their armes. This
made *Aſdrubal* to leaue the ſea coaſt, and to march vp into the countrey, to aſſure his confede-
rats which dwelt on this ſide Ebro, and to ſuccour them if need were: he came and lodged in
the countrey of the Ilercaones, which are of the country of the Ilergetes: but a tumult ariſing,
The Celtiberians take armes for the Romans. drew the war elſewhere: for the chiefe men among the Celtiberians, which make now a part
of new Caſtille, and of Arragon beyond Ebro, being entred into alliance with the Romanes, M
and had giuen them hoſtages, hauing taken armes at *Scipios* perſuaſion, were entred into the
Carthaginians territorie, ſpoyling, burning, and putting all to the ſword: they tooke three
townes from them, and in two encounters ſlew 15000 men, and tooke 4000, carrying away
Pub. Scipio Pro-conſul in Spaine. many of their enemies enſignes. At the ſame time *P. Scipio* arriued in Spaine, in qualitie of
Pro-conſul; in whoſe abſence *Cn. Scipio* his brother had vntill that time gouerned the warres:
for

for it was the Prouince which had fallen vnto him the yeare before, being Conſull.

7 His gouernment then being continued, he arriued at Tarracone with 30 ſhips of warre, and many of burthen, carying 8000 ſouldiors, and great ſtore of victuals and other prouiſion: where hauing landed his men, he went and joyned with his brother; and from that time the affaires were gouerned by two captaines well vnited, and agreeing in all things: who whileſt that *Hannibal* was in action againſt the Celtiberians, reſolued to goe directly to Sagunt; in which towne they knew, that all the hoſtages which *Hannibal* had drawne from the townes and people of Spaine, were kept with a ſmall guard; which was the onely gage which the Carthaginians had to aſſure them of the Spaniards fidelitie, and the onely bond wherewith they tyed them: but one man brake it. He was a gentleman, who was then in garriſon at Sagunt, a Spaniard by nation, called *Acedux*, who had alwaies before ſhewed himſelfe very faithfull to the Carthaginians, but then (according to the manner of the Barbarians) he applied himſelfe according to the time and euents. This man hauing a deſire to follow the Romans partie, and imagining, that ſuch as reuolt, are commonly eſteemed but baſe and infamous creatures, if withall they doe not bring ſome notable commoditie to them that doe receiue them, he bethought himſelfe of an occaſion, whereby he might purchaſe the grace and fauour of the Romanes, by one of the greateſt aduantages they might haue, if he could find meanes to deliuer all theſe hoſtages into their hands: but for that they were ſtraitly guarded by men that were appointed by *Boſtares*, Gouernour of the Prouince, there was great difficultie in the execution of this enterpriſe. He came therefore vnto the Gouernour, who lay in campe without the towne, to defend the landing vpon the ſea ſhoare, being ſomewhat farre off, and letting him vnderſtand the dangerous eſtate of the Carthaginians affaires, after ſo many defeats, and how little faith and conſtancie there was in the townes and confederat people of Spaine, ſeeing ſo great a power of the Romanes neere them, fortified by ſo many people which had taken their partie, and the goodly ſuccours which the Pro-conſull *Scipio* had brought out of Italie, he aduiſed him to make the Spaniards more bound vnto the Carthaginians by an honourable bountie, than they were by the gages which he had from them, in ſending backe to euery Towne and Communaltie their hoſtages. And to the end hee ſhould aſſure himſelfe he would be readie to put in practiſe all that he ſhould hold fit for the good of the Carthaginians, he offered to conduct theſe hoſtages to their parents, and to goe from towne to towne, confirming and encouraging his countreymen to be loyall to the Carthaginians, and that thereby they ſhould find they had ſo good an opinion of them, as without any neceſſitie they had freely ſent home their hoſtages vnto them. To conclude, he could ſo well perſuade this Gouernour, as (notwithſtanding it ſeemed hard vnto him at the firſt) he conſented, appointing a conuenient time to ſend the hoſtages to their houſes, vnder conduct of this traitour: who in the meane time found meanes to ſlip vnto the Romanes campe, and hauing met with ſome Spaniards in the armie, he cauſed them to bring him vnto the Pro-conſull as ſecretly as might be; to whom he imparted this buſineſſe as he had deſigned it; and a fit concluſion was taken betwixt them for this enterpriſe. This merchant being returned againe to Sagunt, and hauing againe conferred with *Boſtares* the Gouernour vpon this reſtitution at the time appointed, the hoſtages were in the night ſent out of the towne with a good guard, as it ſeemed: but they went not farre, before they fell into an ambuſh which the Romanes had layed for them, where they were all taken, and led vnto the campe. The ſame counſell which this Spaniard had giuen to *Boſtares*, was by him propounded to the Romanes, who made good vſe thereof, and reſtored the hoſtages to their parents and friends, and by that meanes made a wonderfull breach in the Carthaginians Eſtate in Spaine: For the people and townes did ſoone find what an aduantage it was to change their maſter; for that in ſtead of the Carthaginians commaund, which was imperious and proud, the Romanes were entred with bountie and mildneſſe. So euery one commending the wiſedome of this *Acedux*, ſought ſome fit opportunitie to reuolt as he had done. And if Winter had not forced them to ſurceaſe, the effects had followed without delay. *Aſdrubal* finding himſelfe too weake, was retyred into places of ſtrength, farre from the Romanes. The two *Scipioes* hauing diuided their charges, *Publius* conducted the armie at ſea, and *Cneus* that at land. *Aſdrubal* durſt not oppoſe himſelfe neyther againſt the one nor the other, but hauing after many petitions and much ſolliciting obtained from

The reſolution of the two Scipios of great conſequence.

A notable treacherie of a Spaniard.

Treaſon of a Spaniard leaning to the ſtronger party.

The indiſcretion and raſhneſſe of Boſtares in yeelding the hoſtages deliuered him by his Generall.

the Carthaginians a ſupplie of foure thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe: as ſoone as they G
arriued, he went to field with his armie, approched neer vnto the enemie, began to repayre his ſhippes, and to make a fleet for the defence of the coaſt and Iſlands. Being buſie about theſe things, the reuolt of the ſea captaines, which had beene defeated the Summer before, troubled him much. Theſe after the battaile hauing beene much blamed by *Aſdrubal*, did neuer afterwards ſhew themſelues neither faithfull to their Generall, nor well affected to the affaires of the Carthaginians: ſo as by practiſes there were ſome townes yeelded to the Romanes in the countrey of the Carpeſians, where the Realme of Toledo is at this day; and had taken one by force: ſo as all the warre was drawne by the Romanes into this coun-
trey. Wherefore *Aſdrubal* entring the countrey in hoſtile manner, affronted a captaine of H
this nation called *Galbus*, who lay in campe neere vnto the towne which had beene taken. Hauing ſent ſome ſouldiours lightly armed to the enemies trenches, to draw them forth to skirmiſh, and ſome others againſt them that were gone to forrage, there was at one inſtant a great tumult in their campe, and ſlaughter and flying without it, ſo as manie ſaued themſelues within their fort: yet in the end they were ſo well aſſured, as they not one-
ly defended their rampiers, but alſo ſallied forth, and preſented themſelues in battaile a-
gainſt the Carthaginians, going reſolutely to the charge, leaping and skipping after their accuſtomed manner, the which ſtrucke terrour into the enemie, who retyred as hee could with credit. *Aſdrubal* hauing recouered a hill flanked with a riuer, he brought his armie thither, thinking it needfull to fortifie himſelfe there. So theſe two armies giuing feare for I
feare, there were ſome skirmiſhes among the ſouldiours on either ſide, whereas to ſpeake truth, the Numidian horſeman was not equall to the Spaniard, nor the Moores darts able to pierce their aduerſaries targuets, who were as nimble and actiue as they, and had more force and courage. The Spaniards ſeeing that by running about the Carthaginians campe they could not draw them forth to battaile, and that it was not eaſie to force, they went to beſiege a towne called Aſena, whereas *Aſdrubal* comming into that Prouince, had made
Contempt of militarie diſcipline followes a victorie. his ſtore-houſe for victuals and munition; they tooke it by force, and ſpoyled all the coun-
trey about it: but after it there was neither order, obedience, nor conduct among them, as it happeneth often after a good ſucceſſe. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing their diſorder and negligence,
Aſdrubal takes aduantage of his enemies negligence. thought good to embrace this occaſion: Wherefore hauing aduertiſed his ſouldiors there- K
of, he left his place of ſtrength, and led his armie in good order againſt theſe Spaniards, who were diſperſed here and there in diſorder, and without enſignes. Being diſcouered by them that were in ſentinell, euery one runs to armes, and ſo went to encounter the enemie diſorde-
red, without enſignes and without commaundement. Some began the fight, whilſt that other arriued in troupes, the greater part being not yet come out of their campe: yet they encoun-
tred them with ſuch furie, as they ſtayed the firſt charge of the Carthaginians: but finding themſelues few in number, faint, and not well vnited, againſt many in good order, they were ſoone broken, and forced to ſeeke their companions; and in the end they were ſo preſt, being on a heape, and not able to vſe their arms, as they were for the moſt part ſlaine; ſome making way by force through their enemies, ſaued themſelues in the mountains and forreſts neere ad- L
joyning. Their campe was in this amazement abandoned, and the whole Prouince was in one day reduced vnder the obedience of the Carthaginians.

The Councell of Carthage thinking to get Italy, neglect Spain. During theſe actions, *Aſdrubal* receiued commaundement from his ſuperiours at Car-
thage, That hee ſhould march with all ſpeed with his armie into Italie: the which being knowne in Spaine, all the people in generall began to wauer, and to follow the Romane par-
tie: whereof *Aſdrubal* did aduertiſe the Senat, letting them vnderſtand what prejudice this bruit did bring vnto the affaires of the Commonweale of Carthage; and that it was appa-
rent, if he parted from thence, before he ſhould paſſe the riuer of Ebro, all Spaine would fall into the Romanes power: for beſides that he neither had men, nor a ſufficient captaine to leaue in his place, to guard that Prouince, the Romane captaines were ſuch, as they could M
hardly be reſiſted with equall numbers: wherefore he aduiſed them (if they had any care of Spaine) to ſend a good Commaunder and a ſtrong Armie in the place of that which he ſhould lead away: and although that all things ſhould ſucceed as they deſired, yet ſhould they euer find ſome alteration among the people of that countrey. *Aſdrubal* his letters did ſomewhat mooue the Senate, but for that they did more affect the affaires of Italie,

they

A they did not alter any thing that had beene decreed touching his departure with his army, but they onely ſent *Himilcon* with ſome bands, and did arme ſome ſhips, which they held ſufficient to keepe the people of Spaine in awe, as well vpon the ſea coaſts, as within the countrey. This captaine hauing paſt the ſea with his forces, layed vp his ſhips in ſafetie, and fortified his campe, he tooke ſome of his beſt horſemen, and paſt through friends and enemies countries, vntill he came to *Aſdrubal*, to whom he preſented this decree of the Senat: and hauing conferred with him, and vnderſtood the courſe that he was to hold in the warres of Spaine, he returned to his troups, hauing nothing that did aſſure him more from encounter vpon the way, than his diligence and ſpeed: For before they could haue meanes to aſſemble their forces,
B they had news of his returne. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing that he muſt needs go, he exacted great ſummes of money from all the townes and people that were vnder the Carthaginians iuriſdiction, being well aduertiſed, that he muſt purchaſe the paſſage and fauour of the Gaules with readie money, as *Hannibal* his brother had done. This done, hee tooke his way towards the riuer of Ebro.

Aſdrubal prepares to goe into Italie.

The Romane captaines being aduertiſed of all theſe things, and knowing of what conſequence *Aſdrubals* paſſage into Italie was, whereas *Hannibal* alone did much trouble the Romane ſtate, they imployed all their wits and meanes to ſtop him. Wherefore leauing all other affaires, they joyned all their forces in one body, and paſſing the riuer of Ebro, towards which *Aſdrubal* approached, being doubtful whether they ſhould fight, or by aſſailing ſome towne
C or countrey that was confederat to the Carthaginians, ſeeke onely to ſtay and diuert him. In the end they made a ſhew to beſiege Ibera, a towne which was rich and mightie in thoſe quarters. But *Aſdrubal* to diuert them, and to ſuccour his allies, marched with his armie towards another towne, which a little before was yeelded to the Romanes: wherefore they left the towne, and went directly towards *Aſdrubal*. The armies were ſome dayes within a league and a halfe one of another, before they came to battell, making light ſallies one vpon another. In the end, as if it had beene agreed vpon, they put their armies in battell. The Romanes diuided their troupes into three; ſome of their footmen were placed before, and ſome behind their enſignes, and the horſemen vpon the wings on either ſide. *Aſdrubal* ſet the Spaniſh footmen in the middeſt of the battell, the Carthaginians on the right hand, and the A-
D fricanes on the left. To the Carthaginians he added the Numidian horſemen that were mercinaries, and the other Africanes in the head of the battell; yet he put no Numidians on the left hand, but ſuch as had beene accuſtomed to go with two horſes together to the warre, and when they had wearied one, they leapt nimbly on the other, which was freſh, being armed, in the hotteſt of the fight: ſo actiue and nimble they were, and their horſes ſo gentle and tractable. Being thus in battell, the Generals had equall hopes, for there was no great difference betwixt their forces, either in number, or qualitie of men of warre: but among the ſouldiours it was not ſo. The Romanes were perſuaded, that the ſafetie of Rome and Italie, and their returne to their houſes, depended vpon this battell; and therefore they were reſolued to vanquiſh or die. But the Spanrards (whereof the moſt part of the other armie did conſiſt) had
E not that reſolution, deſiring rather to be beaten in Spaine, than to be drawne into Italie, conquerours: Wherefore at the firſt charge their battailons in the middeſt were forced, and turned their backes, the fight was more furious on either hand, for the Romans were furiouſly charged on the one hand by the Carthaginians, and on the other by the Africanes, and in a manner compaſſed in, when as their whole armie (being joyned together in one bodie) eaſily repulſed them. So fighting in two parts, the Romans had the aduantage euery where, and were maſters of the field. The ſlaughter was great, and had beene greater, if the Spaniards had not fled ſo faſt in the beginning. The horſemen did not in a manner fight: for when as the Moors and Numidians did ſee their ſquadron in the middeſt wauer, they began to flie, leauing their wings naked, and leading the Elephants away with them. *Aſdrubal* hauing continued
F vntill the end of the fight, retired out of the preaſe with ſome few that followed him. The enemies campe, and all their baggage, was ſpoyled by the Romans. Through this victory, if there remained any people in Spaine which were not firme and conſtant to the Romans, they were now confirmed. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* ſaw himſelfe not onely out of hope to lead an armie into Italie, but alſo in ſome doubt where he ſhould find a place of aſſurance in Spaine. Theſe newes being aduertiſed to Rome by the two *Scipioes*, were verie pleaſing; not ſo much

The policie of the Roman and Carthaginian captaines.

The order of the two armies.

Agilitie of the Numidian horſemen.

A victorie of great conſequence for the Romans.

for

Aſdrubals paſſage into Italy broken.

for the victorie which they had obtained, as for that *Aſdrubals* paſſage was broken. This Summer was proſperous for the Romanes affaires, but they began to want victuall, and the ſeamen, both mariners and ſouldiors, were in a manner naked. Wherfore the captaines gaue the Senat to vnderſtand, That they muſt of neceſſitie prouide for theſe wants, elſe they ſhould not be able to entertaine neither the armie, nor the countrey. For the which the Senat gaue order, by the good husbandrie of the magiſtrats, and the willingneſſe of priuat perſons; ſo as there were ſome found which did vndertake to furniſh the armies in Spaine, of all things neceſſarie for three yeares. G

Illiturgis beſieged by the Carthaginians, releiued by the Romans.

Aſdrubal accompanied by *Mago*, and *Amilcar* ſonne to *Bomilcar*, Carthaginian captaines, were come to beſiege the towne of Illiturgis, which had reuolted from them to the Romane party: about the which they had made three camps, through which the *Scipioes*, two brethren, paſt by force, with great ſlaughter of their enemies, and put victuals into the towne, whereof they had great need: and hauing encouraged the inhabitants to carrie themſelues valiantly in the defence of their walls, as they had ſeene them do which came to ſuccour them, they reſolued to make a furious ſallie vpon the enemies fort, in *Aſdrubals* quarter. Which *Mago* and *Amilcar* ſeeing, they ran thither with all their forces; ſo as that day the Carthaginians had 60000 men in battell without their campe, againſt 26000 Romans, or thereabouts; who notwithſtanding had the victorie, without any doubt, hauing ſlaine more of their enemies than they were themſelues, taken aboue 3000 priſoners, woon about 1000 good horſes of ſeruice, caried away 59 enſignes, ſlaine fiue Elephants in fight, made the enemies to raiſe their camps, and (which was their chiefe deſigne) freed the towne of Illiturgis from ſiege. H

A memorable defeat by the Carthaginians.

Spain fit to ſupplie armies.

The Carthaginians to recouer their honour, went to beſiege Incibile, another place allied to the Romans, hauing filled their bands, and made new ſupplies in the country, who demaunded nothing more than warre, ſo as there were any hope of ſpoyle: for at that time Spaine did abound in youth. I

Another victory by the Romans.

There they did rather increaſe their ſhame: for being aſſailed by the Romans, they loſt 13000 ſouldiours more, which were ſlaine vpon the place, 3000 priſoners, two and fortie enſignes, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner all Spaine did adhere vnto the Romans, to whom this Summer was verie ſucceſſull.

The yeare following, when as *Q. Fabius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were Conſuls, and the fift of the ſecond Punicke warre, had diuers euents: for *Aſdrubal* and *Mago* defeated great armies of Spaniards, which were allied to the Romanes, before they had left their garriſons, where they had wintered, to paſſe the riuer of Ebro: and in a manner all that part of Spaine was recouered by the Carthaginians: but the diligence of *P. Scipio*, who marched thither with his armie, kept them play, and aſſured the country. Hee came firſt and camped at a place called Haut-Chaſteau, or High-Caſtle, famous by the death of that great *Amilcar*; the which was ſtrong, and well furniſhed with corne which they had brought thither a little before: but the countrey round about was full of enemies, and ſome of the Romans, which had taried ſcattered behind from the bodie of the armie, had beene charged by the enemies horſe, who ſlew two thouſand, and retired without any loſſe. This made *P. Scipio* retire into a countrey of more ſafetie: who fortified his campe, and entrenched it neere vnto the mount of Victorie, whither *Cn. Scipio* his brother came with all his forces. And in a manner at the ſame inſtant, *Aſdrubal*, ſonne to *Giſgo* the third, a Carthaginian captaine, preſented himſelfe with a complet armie, in view of the Romanes, and planted his campe right againſt them, hauing a riuer betwixt them. There *P. Scipio* hauing taken certaine men at armes with him, parted ſecretly to diſcouer the enemie and the countrey: but being himſelfe diſcouered by the enemie, hee was in daunger to be defeated, had hee not recouered a little hill neere adjoyning, whereby hee had meanes to defend himſelfe, and to make head againſt them that did enuiron him, vntill that his brother *Cn. Scipio* came to vngage him. The towne of Caſtulo which was ſo great a friend, and ſo ſtrictly allied vnto the Carthaginians, as *Hannibal* had taken a wife there, yeelded vnto the Romanes. The Carthaginians returned vnto the ſiege of Illiturgis, in the which there was ſome garriſon of Romane ſouldiours, hoping to take it by famine. *Cn. Scipio* to releeue both the garriſon and the inhabitants allied to the Romanes, marched that way, paſt valiantly betwixt two armies, and put a legion of reſolute ſouldiours into the towne, with great ſlaughter of the enemie. K

A caſtle where great Amilcar was ſlaine.

Romans defeated.

Caſtulo yeelds to the Romanes.

Illiturgis releeued againe by the Romans.

L.

M

The next day was no leſſe happy vnto him, in a braue ſally which he made, where there were ſlaine

A ſlaine in theſe two encounters twelue thouſand Carthaginians, and aboue ten thouſand priſoners, with fiue and thirtie enſignes, ſo as Illiturgis was againe freed from ſiege. The enemie being chaſed from thence, they went to beſiege Bigerre, another towne allied to the Romanes; but they retired preſently vpon the brute of *Scipioes* approach, and marched towards Munda, where they were alſo purſued by the Romanes. There they had a ſharpe encounter, which continued foure houres; but as the Romanes had the victorie, they ſounded a retreat, for that *Cneus Scipio*, Generall of the armie, had beene thruſt into the thigh with a Numidian launce: which wound his ſouldiours that were fighting about him feared to haue been mortall; without which accident it is certaine the Carthaginians campe had been taken that day, *Cn. Scipio hurt.*

B and the victorie abſolute. For the ſouldiours with their Elephants had been repulſt vnto their paliſadoes and rampars, vpon the which there were nine and thirtie ſlaine with darts: Yet they ſay, that in this fight the Romanes ſlew aboue twelue thouſand of their enemies, and caried away ſeuen and fiftie enſignes. The Carthaginians being defeated, retired to Auringe, where they were purſued and preſt by the Romanes, during this amazement; and were againe charged before they had leaſure to aſſure themſelues, and to recouer their ſpirits, *Scipio* cauſing himſelfe to be carried through the battailons in a litter. Here he had an abſolute victorie, but with much leſſe ſlaughter by the halfe, for the enemies were reduced to a ſmaller number. But as thoſe people were prompt by nature, to renew the warres, and preſently to ſupplie their armies, the countrey being fertile of ſouldiours, their bands were preſently filled *The Carthaginians put to rout.* *Another defeat of them.*

C by the diligence of *Mago*, brother to *Aſdrubal*, being ſent to make new leuies, ſo as they durſt hazard another battell: the euent whereof was like vnto the former, moſt of the Carthaginian ſouldiours comming faintly to fight, as for a partie which had beene often beaten, and in few dayes. They loſt in this conflict eight thouſand men ſlaine vpon the place, and almoſt one thouſand priſoners, with eight and fiftie enſignes, and great ſtore of baggage, rings, chaines, and bracelets of gold: two great noblemen of Gaul were alſo ſlain, the one called *Mœnicaptus*, the other *Ciuiſmarus*: eight Elephants were taken, and three ſlaine. Thus the Romans affairs proſpered in Spaine, who in the end were aſhamed, that the townes of Sagunt, for the which this war was begun, had continued fiue yeares in their enemies power. Wherefore they approached neere vnto it, and by fauour of the battels which they had woon, did eaſily chaſe a- *Carthaginians againe defeated.*

D way the garriſon that was within it: and hauing conquered the place, they called home all the old inhabitants, and reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their goods, raſed the Turditans towne, which had beene the motiue of their deſolation, and ſold the inhabitants thereof for ſlaues, to them that would giue moſt. *Saguntines reſtored to their goods.*

The Romanes to haue the better meanes, not onely to repreſſe the injuries of the Carthaginians, but alſo to aſſaile and annoy them, did ſtirre vp new enemies againſt them neere vnto their towne, and drew vnto their alliance *Siphax*, king of a part of Numidia, who was alreadie ſomewhat diſcontented with them: ſo as they were forced to haue their recourſe vnto *Gala*, another king of the ſame nation, and to incenſe him againſt *Siphax*. This *Gala* was father to *Maſiniſſa*, from whom the Romans did afterwards draw many good ſeruices: but at that time he *The Romans ſtir vp enemies to the Carthaginians in Africke.* *Gala father to Maſiniſſa.*

E ſhewed himſelfe a bitter enemie to *Siphax*, and did often defeat him. In the meane time nothing was done worthie of memorie in Spaine; only the Celtiberians which were in pay with the Carthaginians, were drawne away by the Romanes, whom they entertained with the ſame conditions: and theſe were the firſt mercinarie ſouldiors which the Romans vſed, to their great prejudice. Moreouer, the two *Scipioes* ſent aboue 300 Spaniſh gentlemen into Italy, to ſolicite them of their nation, which were in *Hannibals* armie, to leaue his partie, and to joyne with the Romanes.

After this, there were two yeres ſpent before there was any memorable act done in Spain, both parties encountring one another rather by counſell and practiſes, than by open hoſtilitie. The ſeuenth yeare of this warre, the Romane captaines aſſembled their forces, and it was

F reſolued in counſell, That they muſt not content themſelues onely to haue ſtopped *Aſdrubals* paſſage into Italy, but they muſt ſeeke ſome meanes to end all the warre in Spaine: preſuming they had forces ynow to doe it, hauing this Winter drawne vnto them, and armed 30 thouſand Celtiberians. The enemies had three camps, two whereof were commaunded by *Aſdrubal* ſonne to *Giſgo*, & by *Mago*, being both joyned together. They were diſtant from the Romanes ſome fiue dayes journey: But that which *Aſdrubal*, ſonne to *Amilcar*, the auntient

Gouer-

Gouernour of Spaine,led,was neerer, being lodged neere vnto Anitorge. The Generall G
of the Roman armie would firſt giue him a charge, hoping to defeat him eaſily. One onely
difficultie troubled them, which was, how they ſhould hinder the other two armies (after the
defeat of this *Aſdrubal*) from retiring into ſome place of aduantage among the mountaines
The two Scipioes attempting too much, ruine themſelues. and foreſts, and by that meanes ſhould draw the warre in length. Hauing then a conceit to
make warre againſt all Spaine at one inſtant, they reſolued to diuide their forces betwixt
them: ſo as *P. Scipio* with two third parts of the Romane armie, and the bands of their al-
lies, ſhould goe and affront *Aſdrubal* ſonne to *Giſgo*, and *Mago*; and that *Cneus Scipio*
ſhould lead the reſt of the old legions and the allies againſt *Aſdrubal Barcin.*

This being concluded, theſe two armies with their commaunders parted at one inſtant: the H
Celtiberians marching before, came and encamped neere vnto Anitorge, in view of the ene-
mie, being ſeperated the one from the other by a riuer. There did *Cneus Scipio* ſtay with his
troupes, and *P. Scipio* marched on where he was to make warre. But when as *Aſdrubal* ſaw
them diuided, and one farre from the other, being a wiſe and politique captaine, conſidering
that the ſinewes and ſtrength of the Romane armie conſiſted of their allies, and in mercina-
rie ſouldiours, and knowing the treacherous and inconſtant diſpoſition of the barbarous, euen
of the Spaniards in thoſe times, by the experience he had had in that long warre, hee reſolued
to trie all meanes poſſible, to corrupt the Celtiberians, which were vnder the Romans pay, be-
ing 30000: the which he did happily effect, by the meanes of ſome of the ſame nation which
were in his camp; who vſing the ſame language, and hauing meanes to haue ſecret conferences I
The mercinarie Spaniards make no account to abandon the Romans at need. one with another, they concluded with the captaines of the Celtiberians, that for a good
ſumme of money they ſhould retire with their men, and returne to their houſes. It ſeemed a
matter of ſmall moment to them: for they were not preſt to turne their armes againſt the Ro-
manes, but onely to retire, and not to make warre: beſides, moſt of the ſouldiors were glad to
reſt, and deſired to ſee their kinsfolkes and friends, goods and poſſeſſions. Wherefore it was
eaſie for the captains who were corrupted, to perſuade them to diſlodge, being without feare
to be ſtaied, or forced by the Romanes, who were but few in number. Let this be an example
The force of an armie ought to be of naturall ſubiects, and not of ſtrangers. to all eſtates that make warre, neuer to fortifie themſelues ſo with mercinaries and ſtrangers,
as they may preſcribe them a law; but let their greateſt ſtrength be of their own nation. Theſe
Celtiberians then hauing taken vp their enſignes, and truſt vp their baggage, departed ſud- K
The infidelitie of the Celtiberians. denly: neither could any intreatie nor prayers preuaile to ſtay them, pretending, that they
had warre at home, and that they muſt goe and defend their owne houſes. *Cneus Scipio* ſee-
ing himſelfe thus abandoned, and not able to preuent it neither by intreatie, force, nor any
good counſell, finding himſelfe too weake to hold the field againſt ſo great and mightie an
armie, hauing alſo no meanes to joyne with his brother *P. Scipio*, he meant to trie if he might
retire ſafely and with his honour, and flie all occaſions to be forced to fighr. But *Aſdrubal* hol-
ding him vanquiſhed, would giue him no reſt, but followed him continually at the heeles.
Two Romane armies in preyto the enemie. The like terrour, but a farre greater daunger, did at the ſame time preſſe *P. Scipio*, being
freſhly charged by a new and a valiant enemie: it was *Maſiniſſa* a young prince, then allied
to the Carthaginians; who afterwards was famous, and made mightie by the amitie of the L
Maſiniſſa a fierce aduerſarie to the Romans. Romanes. *P. Scipio* at his firſt arriuall found him in front, with goodly troupes of Numidian
horſemen, comming continually day and night to his trenches, keeping his armie in perpetu-
all alarme, ſo as not any one durſt goe farre out, either for forrage or for wood, diſlodging
their ſentinels oftentimes, and purſuing them euen within their gards, and to the ports and
rampars of their campe, whereas the Romanes were ſhut vp as if they had beene beſieged,
and in want of all things, wherewith they were likely to be daily more and more oppreſt, if a
Spaniard called *Indibilis* ſhould come and joyne with the Carthaginians, where he was expe-
cted with ſeuen thouſand and fiue hundred Sueſſetanians. For ſo graue and wiſe a comman-
der as *P. Scipio* was, he tooke a bad and raſh reſolution: for hauing left his campe to the gard
of a few men, vnder the commaund of *T. Fonteius* his lieutenant, hee parted about midnight M
to goe and encounter *Indibilis*, and to fight with him: the which he did, and had eaſily de-
feated him, if the Moores and Numidian horſemen (who had watched *Scipioes* departure) had
not come and charged the Romanes in flanke, the which cauſed a great terrour among them;
and beſides they were charged in the rereward with all the Carthaginian armie, which had
followed them. Being thus enuironed of all ſides, doubtfull where they ſhould make head, or

which

A which way they ſhould force through the enemies, and eſcape that daunger, their Generall *P.Scipio* fighting and encouraging the ſouldiors, and going to all places where his preſence was needfull, was thruſt through the right flanke with a launce, ſo as he fell downe dead from his horſe. Then the enemies which had charged that troupe which was about *Scipioes* perſon, ſeeing him on the ground, went running throughout the armie, leaping for joy, and crying out that the enemies Generall was ſlaine. This accident gaue the Carthaginians an aſſured victorie, the Romans (being deſtitute of a head) thinking onely how they ſhould flie and ſaue themſelues. It was eaſie for them to make way through the Numidians, who were but lightly armed, but to ſaue themſelues by flying againſt ſo many horſemen, and footmen who did run in

P.Scipio ſlaine, and the Romans defeated.

B a manner as ſwift as horſes, there was no meanes: ſo as the ſlaughter of the Romans was very great, both in the fight and in the flight, and hardly had any one eſcaped, if the darkeneſſe of the night had not fauoured them. The happineſſe of ſo great and important a victorie of the Carthaginians, was no whit impaired by the negligence of their captaines, but making good vſe thereof, preſently after the conflict, hauing giuen ſome little reſt vnto their ſouldiours, the armie diſlodged, and marched with all ſpeed to *Aſdrubal Barcins* campe: being aſſured, that all their forces vnited together, they ſhould eaſily vanquiſh the other Romane armie which remained, and by that meanes end the warre in Spaine. Being arriued, the joy was great among the captaines and armies, rejoycing at this late obtained victorie, whereas ſo great and redoubted a captaine of the enemies had beene ſlaine, and all his armie defeated:

The victorious Carthaginians purſue the victorie.

C wherefore being full of hope, they aſſured themſelues to doe as much vnto the others.

There was yet no newes of this lamentable defeat in *Cneus Scipioes* armie, but there was ſeene a ſad mournefull ſilence, as if they had had ſome ſecret preſage, as it happens often to ſuch as doe diuine of an approaching miſchiefe. The Generall of the armie, beſides that he found himſelfe weakened, and abandoned by his allies, hearing that *Aſdrubals* armie was ſo much renforced, was much perplexed, and could not by any conjecture and reaſon of warre imagine other, than what had happened: For what reaſon were it to thinke, that *Aſdrubal* and *Mago* could paſſe without fighting, if his brother had beene liuing? Why did he not hinder them? or at the leaſt coaſt them and follow them, to come and joyne with his brother, if he could not keep the enemies armies from joyning? Being in this perplexitie, ſee-

Heauineſſe in Scipioes armie without any apparant cauſe.

D ing no other meanes to aſſure himſelfe, but by a retreat, hee parted ſecretly in the night, vnknowne to the enemie, cauſing his armie to make a long march: But the day hauing diſcouered his departure, the Numidian horſemen were preſently ſent after; who ouertooke the Romane armie toward the euening, and skirmiſhing, ſtayed them much, charging them ſometimes behind, and ſometimes vpon the flankes. *Scipio* gaue order, that in fighting the armie ſhould ſtill aduance, fearing the enemies battailons of foot, which marched with all ſpeed after their horſe. In the end night approached, and yet the Romanes had not much aduanced, being forced to make often ſtands againſt the Moores, who did continually annoy them. Wherefore *Cneus Scipio* retired with all his troupes to a little hill, a place of ſmall aduantage for them that were alreadie wauering, yet the ſeat was ſomewhat higher than the fields

E about it: There he lodgeth, and puts his horſemen and all his baggage in the middeſt, and his footmen make a circle round about, and ſo did eaſily reſiſt the attempts of the Moores. But when as the Generals with their complete armies were joyned together, hee ſaw there was no meanes to make it good by fightiug, if he did not intrench himſelfe after the accuſtomed manner: Wherefore he began to aduiſe by what meanes he might make his paliſadoes; but he was come into a bare, barren, and drie ſoyle, where there was neither trees nor buſhes, nor any ground fit to make flagges; neither could they digge into it, nor make it hard for the enemie to approach, for the aſcent was eaſie on all ſides: yet to make a kind of rampar, hee cauſed them to take their packe-ſaddles and dorſers, and to tye them together, wherewith the ſouldiours made as it were a wall of a conuenient height round about them, filling vp the pla-

F ces which wanted, with ſuch baggage as they had.

The Carthaginians being arriued, put themſelues in order to aſſaile this little hill, but diſcouering a new kind of rampar, and not accuſtomed, they were ſomewhat amazed: but their commaunders began to crie; How now ſouldiours, why ſtay you? why doe you not ſpeedily pull vp and ſcatter this baggage which doth amaze you, and is not fit to ſtop women nor children? The enemie is ours, wee hold him faſt, being hidden behind thoſe

cofers

cofers and burthens. Thus contemptuouſly did the captaines ſpeake, yet was it not ſo eaſie G
to make a breach, nor to paſſe ouer them: but in the end they forced them, and the ſouldiors
found paſſage in diuers places, ſo as they made a great ſlaughter of the Romans; yet the grea-
teſt part of the vanquiſhed ſaued themſelues by flight, who finding woods and foreſts, a good
number of them, after a long and tedious journey, came vnto *P. Scipioes* campe, commaun-
ded by *T. Fonteius*, the lieutenant. *Cn. Scipio* was alſo ſlaine in this aſſault at the hill, as ſome
ſay, in the beginning of the fight: others notwithſtanding affirme, That he thought to ſaue
himſelfe with ſome few men, in a tower which was there adjoyning, the which being enuiro-
ned by the enemie, and the gates ſet on fire, they were all taken and ſlaine. Behold two great
captaines, brethren, dead, and their armies defeated, in leſſe than a moneth, leauing the Ro- H
mans affaires in Spaine ſo troubled, and in ſuch deſpaire, as they might well ſay, all was loſt:
But humane things are gouerned by a higher power, who doth not alwaies impart his decrees
to our diſcourſes.

The Roman armie forced and defeated.

Cn. Scipio ſlaine.

Anno 541 *of Rome.*

9 There was a Roman knight called *L. Martius*, ſonne to *Septimius*, a yong man, actiue,
hardie, and of greater courage than could be expected in a man of his condition, who aſſured
the remainders of the legions, and the faithfull allies of the Roman ſtate, and reuiued Spaine
from their ſorrow and mourning, for the loſſe of two ſuch great perſonages, and of ſo ma-
ny good men, and from the calamitie and daunger they were then in: and in the end recoue-
red the honour and fame of the Romanes, which was growne contemptible. Hee had with
his generous diſpoſition learned good diſcipline vnder *Cn. Scipio*. And hauing gathered many I
of them together which had fled from the defeat, and drawne a good number of ſouldiours
out of the garriſons and vnited townes, he made a little armie, and came and joyned with *T.
Fonteius*, *P. Scipioes* lieutenant. This armie being on this ſide Ebro, in a campe well fortified,
it was reſolued to chuſe a head that ſhould commaund ouer all, and that they ſhould take
their voyces therein, as the bands ſhould enter into gard one after another. *L. Martius* be-
ing but a knight, was ſo gracious, as all in generall gaue him their voyces, and he was choſen
Captaine Generall of the Roman armie. After which time hee was verie carefull to fortifie
himſelfe in places of ſtrength, and to prouide ſtore of victuals and munition, finding the
ſouldiours readie to execute whatſoeuer hee commaunded. But it was not long before
there came newes vnto the campe, That *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſgo* marched towards K
them, to make an end of the warre, and to free the countrey of thoſe few Romanes which
were yet remaining in Spaine. Then the ſouldiours remembring their old captaines, began
to faint at their new captaines commands; ſo as the centeniers and other officers and bands,
yea and *L. Martius* himſelfe had much adoe to reuiue them, reproaching them, that they be-
haued themſelues faintly like women, making fruitleſſe lamentations, which was not the
meanes to reuenge the deathes of their Generals, nor to recouer their loſt honour. The ene-
mies were not far off, and it was time to preach to them; when as ſuddenly there was ſeene a
ſtrange alteration throughout all the Romane campe: Their mourning was conuerted into
furie, euerie man fell to his armes, and they cried out, that they ſhould bring them to the ene-
mie. They ſally forth of their gates, and with great courage receiue the Carthaginians, who L
came diſordred, and in a manner contemning them whom they had alreadie vanquiſhed. This
reſolution of the Romanes amazed them, wondering at the number and order of theſe men,
who had gathered them together, or what captains they had remaining after the death of the
two *Scipioes*. But in the end they were forced to flie, and were hotly purſued that day, vntill
that *Martius* thinking the ſouldious did abandon themſelues too much, cauſed a retreat to be
ſounded, and himſelfe ſtanding before their enſignes, ſtayed their raſhneſſe, which might
haue drawne them into ſome diſorder, and ſo (deſiring nothing but reuenge and bloud) hee
brought them backe to the campe. The Carthaginians being thus roughly repulſed from
the Romane trenches, ſeeing they were no more purſued, they preſumed it had beene feare,
and therefore they retired ſoftly, and without care. Being in their campe they vſed the like M
negligence in their gards and watches: for notwithſtanding they did ſee the enemie neere
them, yet they did eſteeme them to be but the reliques of two armies which they had beaten
and defeated ſome few dayes before.

The courage of L. Martius reuiues the Romans from deſpaire.

L. Martius choſen Generall of the Roman army

The Carthaginians proud of their great victorie, are defeated by the Romans.

L. Martius reſtraines the furie of the Romans.

Martius being aduertiſed by good ſpies, what was done in the enemies campe, hee vnder-
tooke rather a raſh than hardy attempt, but the iſſue was fortunat. Knowing that he had the ar-
mie

A mie of *Aſdrubal Giſgo* now in front, the which was followed by the two others, hee thought it leſſe daunger to aduenture to fight with that alone, than to attend and bee beaten by all three together: If he vanquiſhed, he ſhould reſtore their affaires, which were almoſt ruined, and if he were beaten, at the leaſt he ſhould haue the honour to bee the aſſailant. Hauing therefore aſſembled the captaines, centeniers, and chiefe ſouldiors, he deliuered vnto them the pitifull eſtate of their affaires, and how that for the honour and reputation of their countrey, for the loue they bare to the deceaſed *Scipioes*, and for the intereſt of their owne liues, they were to carrie themſelues valiantly and couragiouſly againſt their cruell enemies which purſued them; whoſe negligence and contempt did inuite them to goe and aſſaile them, and
B did promiſe them a certaine and eaſie victorie, eſpecially if they made haſt before all their forces were vnited: the which afterwards they could not withſtand, concluding, that there was no other meanes to make warre, than to iſſue forth the next night, and to goe and force the Carthaginians in their trenches. He found the ſouldiours well diſpoſed at this motion, wherefore he commaunded them to prepare their armes, and to be readie to depart when he ſhould commaund. The Carthaginian armie made two lodgings, about a league and a halfe one from the other: betwixt both was a great valley couered with trees. In this foreſt was an ambuſh of Romane ſouldiours layed, with ſome horſemen, to ſtop the paſſage for ſuch as would runne from one campe to the other: the reſt of the Romane armie was led with great ſilence againſt the enemies, where finding neither gards nor ſentinels, nor any thing elſe to
C ſtop their paſſage, they entred farre, as if they had beene within their owne campe: then ſuddenly the trumpets ſounded, and making great cries they fell to the execution, killing all they met, without mercie, and ſetting fire of the enemies lodgings and tents; but aboue all they ſeiſed vpon the ports and iſſues, that not any one might eſcape. The amazement, fire, cries, and ſlaughter, did ſo trouble the Carthaginians, as they could not heare one another, nor giue any order for any thing. They found themſelues among troupes of armed men: thinking to flie, they were ſlaine at the gates, if any leapt ouer the rampars, they fell into the ambuſhes, ſo as the enemies which were in the other lodging, could haue no intelligence of this ſurpriſe, but by death, which was preſented vnto them at the Romanes comming, who with great celeritie (boyling with furie, and implacable deſire of reuenge) came thither, and
D there found greater negligence than they had done in the firſt campe: For theſe were farther retyred from the enemie, and vpon the breake of day many were gone forth for forrage and wood. There were armes at the ports, but no ſouldiours, ſome here, ſome there, ſome aſleepe, and ſome walking in their gownes in the trenches. The Romans fell vpon theſe careleſſe people, hauing no reſiſtance made at the ports: they entred within the campe, and in the middeſt thereof began a bloudie fight, the enemies running from all parts at the firſt crie and tumult, ſtriuing vertuouſly to repulſe the Romanes. Which conflict was likely to continue long: but when as the Carthaginians diſcouered their enemies targuets all polluted with bloud, they fainted, hauing thereby an aſſured argument of the deſeat of their companions. This feare put them in rout, and to a miſerable flight, euerie one ſauing him-
E ſelfe where he found any way open to eſcape, and abandoning the campe. So in one night and the day following, there were two campes taken, vnder the conduct of *L. Martius*. The number of the dead, according vnto ſome, was ſeuen and thirtie thouſand, and aboue eight hundred priſoners. The ſpoyle was verie rich, and among other things, there was found a great targuet of ſiluer, weighing one hundred thirtie and eight pounds, on the which was grauen the picture of *Aſdrubal Barca*, the which was afterwards ſet in the temple of the Capitoll, and it was called *Martius* targuet, remaining for a memorie of the victorie which hee had gotten againſt the Carthaginians, where it continued vntill the Capitoll was burnt.

The ouer great boldneſſe of Martius, which proued ſuc eſfull by the enemies negligence.

A great deſeat of the Carthaginians.

A targuet of ſiluer a monument of Martius victorie.

This action reſtored the Romans power and authoritie in Spaine, and was the cauſe that
F ſome time was ſpent without any enterpriſes of either ſide, either fearing to hazard any thing after ſo great loſſes.

10 Theſe diuers and contratie accidents teach vs how little wee ſhould relye vpon the euents of war, and that it is not in the power of man to maintaine himſelfe one day: wherefore if modeſtie be neceſſarie in humane things, yea in greateſt proſperitie, and to beare a re-

ſpect to the diuine power, preſuming little vpon our owne judgements, wiſedomes, happi- G
neſſe, and fame, it is chiefely in the conduct of warre. There wanted no qualities in the two *Scipioes*, to make them great and famous captaines; yet they tooke bad counſell, both together, and diuided and ruined themſelues by their ouerweening, and by too much attempting at one inſtant. The Carthaginians by the victorie which they had gotten, had made the way open to ouerrun all Spaine at their pleaſures: and moreouer, conſidering the cruell warres which the Romanes their aduerſaries endured with much difficultie in Italie; they had now time, and a wiſhed opportunitie to ruine them quite, drawing all their forces into thoſe parts: but being growne inſolent and careleſſe in this great proſperitie, they are ſuddenly ſtai-
ed by a ſouldiour of no fame, without qualitie, and almoſt vnknowne, whom the diuine pro- H
uidence would make an inſtrument to ſhew that it is he, and not the wiſedome of man that doth raiſe or ruine eſtates. The griefe which they had conceiued at Rome, for the defeat of their armies, and the death of ſuch excellent captaines as the two *Scipioes*, was ſomewhat appeaſed by the ſucceſſe of *Martius* enterpriſes: and conſulting in the Senat touching that which hee had written, there was not any one but did allow his actions to be high and generous, and did much commend him: But as for the title which he gaue himſelfe, of Propretor, or Lieutenant to the people of Rome, the gouernement being vacant, that ſeemed vn-
to them all arrogant and ambitious, yea a verie bad example, and of worſe conſequence; For that (ſaid they) if they ſhould ſuffer the ſouldiors to chuſe captaines at their pleaſure, it would
blemiſh and ouerthrow the authoritie of the Senat, of the people, the lawes and magiſtrats. I
Some were of opinion, they ſhould treat of that in Councell before all other things: but it was thought fitter to deferre it for a time, and to ſend backe thoſe knights which had brought theſe letters to Rome, with a good anſwer. Wherefore they did write vnto *L. Martius* (without giuing him any other title) touching the prouiſion of victuals, apparell, and other things belonging vnto the armie.

God onely doth raiſe and ruine eſtates.

A commendable ſeueritie in the antient Romans.

Theſe men being diſpatched, it was firſt of all reſolued by the Conſuls and Tribunes, to propound vnto the people, to name ſome one to be ſent into Spaine, to commaund the army
whereof *Cn. Scipio* had had the charge. But this was deferred vpon ſome new accident, ſo as by way of prouiſion they ſent *C. Nero* with twelue thouſand foot, halfe choſen out of the Ro-
mane legions, and halfe of their allyes, three hundred Romane knights, and eight hundred K
of the confederat townes. With which forces he paſt into Spaine, and landed at Tarracone, whereas he preſently went to field, hauing armed all the mariners, to make the greater ſhew. To him, as Propretor, and lieutenant generall for the people of Rome, *T. Fontcius*, and *L. Martius*, deliuered vp the legions, and all the forces which they had preſerued, and happily imployed after the defeat of the two *Scipioes*. With this armie *Nero* went to ſeeke out the e-
nemie, who was camped at a place called Pierres noires, or Blacke ſtones, in the country of the Oretanes, betwixt the townes of Illiturgis and Mentiſa. *Nero* had ſeized vpon the ſtraits, and ſo preſt the enemie, as *Aſdrubal* for feare of a worſe accident, ſent a herauld vnto him, to offer and promiſe him, That if he would ſuffer him to goe out of thoſe paſſages, hee would breake vp his campe, and ſend his ſouldiours out of Spaine. This was pleaſing vnto *Nero*, L
wherefore a day was appointed to conferre and capitulate betwixt the heads of the armies. At their firſt meeting there was propounded by the Romanes, That the Carthaginians ſhould deliuer vp their citadels, and at a certaine day draw their garriſons out of the townes which they held, and that they ſhould haue libertie to carrie away all that was theirs. All this
being granted them, *Aſdrubal* gaue order in the night (whileſt that the Romanes were fed with a hope of peace) that they ſhould begin to packe away their baggage ſecretly, and to draw away that which was moſt troubleſome in the army, which way they could: yet he pro-
uided, that few men ſhould goe out of the campe, leaſt the enemie ſhould diſcouer his fraud. The day following they entred againe into conference, where as many friuolous things were propounded, to paſſe away the day: and at night the Carthaginians did as they had M
done before, ſpending many dayes after this manner, in diſputes and difficulties, and ſtill diſcharging that at night which hindered them moſt. After that they had drawne all their footmen and baggage into a place of ſafetie, there remained nothing but the horſemen and Elephants.

Anno Rome 542 C. Nero ſent Propretor into Spaine.

Aſdrubal a politique captaine, circumuents Nero.

Aſdrubal,

A *Aſdrubal*, as his feare decreaſed, ſo did his faith diminiſh, hauing no care to keepe that which hee had promiſed: Yet they were to meet againe one morning, when as a thicke foggie miſt had couered all the earth. *Aſdrubal* making vſe of this occaſion, ſent to intreat *Nero* to excuſe him, if he came not to the parley, for that it was a feſtiuall day with the Carthaginians, and therefore he could not with a good conſcience treat of any buſineſſe. This was well taken by *Nero*. In the meane time *Aſdrubal* through the fauour of this miſt, eſcaped with all his horſes and Elephants. The third part of the day being ſpent, the Sunne diſperſed this fog, and then the Romanes found that they were deceiued, and that the enemie was eſcaped: whereat *Claudius* being much grieued, began to follow him, but hee could not force him to
B fight, there were onely ſome light skirmiſhes made betwixt the forerunners of the Romane armie, and the Carthaginians rereward.

Aſdrubal makes no conſcience how to deceiue his enemies.

All things ſtanding in this eſtate, Spaine remained quiet: ſuch as had forſooke the Romans after the aboue mentioned defeats, returned not; and ſuch as had continued conſtant vntill that time, reuolted not. At Rome the Senat and people were troubled to ſend a commaunder into Spaine, that were of ſuch authoritie and vertue, as he might deſerue to ſucceed the two brethren, the *Scipioes*. Euerie one was carefull to whom he ſhould giue his voice: and as there was much diſſenting in ſuch a choice, in the end it was decreed, that the election of him which ſhould be ſent Gouernour into Spaine, ſhould be made in a generall aſſemblie of the people, by the voyces and ſuffrages of the companies: For the which a day was appointed by
C the Conſuls. They ſuppoſed this charge would haue beene affected and ſued for, like vnto other dignities; and that ſome would preſent themſelues, and deſire to be admitted: but no man appeared: for euery one feared to go thither, where as two of the greateſt ſouldiours that were among the Romane captaines, had beene defeated and ſlaine in leſſe than thirtie daies, one after another.

12 *All affect honors but euery man flies the danger.*

The people being aſſembled at the appointed day, in great care and amazement, to ſee the magiſtrats and prime men of Rome gazing one on another, without a word ſpeaking, euerie one apprehended the ruine of their commonweale: but *P. Corn. Scipio*, ſonne to him that had beene ſlaine in Spaine, ſhewes himſelfe in a place ſomewhat higher than the reſt, and declares openly, That hee demaunded the gouernement. Euerie one then began to crie out
D for joy, and to ſhew him ſome ſignes of fauour, as preſaging vnto him a happie and proſperous ſucceſſe in that charge. The voyces being gathered, he was by a general conſent choſen head and Gouernour of Spaine for the people of Rome. *Scipio* was not then foure and twentie yeares old: wherefore after this election made, the people repented them to haue been ſo inconſiderat, as to giue ſo great a charge to ſo young a man, euerie one calling to mind the late misfortune of that houſe, and euen with horrour of his name, who was ſo neere allyed to two ſuch deſolate families; who went to make warre in a place where both his father and vncle had beene ſlaine, and euen among their ſepulchres. But *Scipio* finding this ſuddaine alteration, ſpake vnto them, of his age, and of the charge hee vndertooke, with ſo great an aſſurance, as hee purchaſed a good opinion with the people, and filled them all with
E great hope.

Great confidence of P. Corn. Scipio ſon to P. Scipio ſlain in Spaine.

People inconſiderat do often repent.

If there were euer any one among the Romans indued with ſingular vertue, and that could put it in practiſe, and make good vſe of it, from his youth, it was this *Scipio*, ſo as wee may rightly ſay, that he had both the apparence and effect of vertue. He was I ſay, both vertuous and an hypocrite both together, making vſe eſpecially of religion to win the peoples fauour, and the obedience of ſuch as he commanded; an vſuall policie which hath beene practiſed by the great and wiſe men of this world in all ages, ſaying, that they muſt keep the people in awe with the terrour of religion: the which were commendable, if they would adde vnto it, the title of True: and that in ſtead of making men religious, they would not draw them to ſuperſtition. *Scipio* did neuer begin day, but by prayers vnto his gods, faining often, that hee had viſions
F in the night, and receiued diuine commandements; and finally, that he had ſecret conference with the gods, which in his time they did worſhip at Rome. Such was the peoples opinion of his vertue, as they held him to be ſomewhat more than an ordinarie man, and they told a fable of his birth, ſomewhat like vnto that of *Alexander* the great: which was, That he had been ingendred of ſome god, who in the forme of a great ſerpent came & lay with his mother, and that oftentimes ſuch as entred into her chamber, had ſeen this apparition, but it vaniſhed preſently.

Scipio vertuous and hypocriticall.

The antients vſed religion to keepe the people in awe.

A fable of Scipioes birth.

He maintained himſelf in this reputation with ſuch art, as neuer any one complained that he had been deceiued by his reuelations or myracles, finding means to breed an impreſſion ther- G
of in the hearts of men, without affirming or denying them directly. The people of Rome referred to the direction of a man thus qualified, and ſo young, one of the moſt important gouernments, and of the greateſt charge in their whole eſtate. At the ſame time when as he laboured for the gouernment of Spaine, *Marcellus* returned out of Sicile, where hee had taken Siracuſe, by the treaſon of *Meric*, a Spaniſh captaine, entertained by the Siracuſans. There were appointed for *Scipio* (beſides the forces that were in Spaine) 10000 foot, and 1000 horſe;

M. Iulius Syllanus lieutenant and counſellor to Scipio.

and there was giuen him for his lieutenant and aſſiſtant, *M. Iunius Sillanus:* who parting out of the mouth of Tiber with 30 galleaſſes, hauing fiue oares on a ſide, and coaſting along the H
ſhore of Tuſcane and Gaule, they arriued at Empurias, at the foot of the Pyrenee hills, a Grecian towne, founded by the Phocians, where *Scipio* landed with his armie, the which hee led along the ſhore to Tarracone, cauſing his fleet to follow cloſe by the ſhore.

Being at Tarracone, he held a generall aſſemblie of all the confederat townes of Spaine, who ſent their deputies and embaſſadours vpon the brute of his arriuall. He laied his ſhips on ground, according to the auntient manner, and ſent backe foure Marſilian galliots, which had come to doe him honour. There hee heard the embaſſadours of the countrey, which wauered, and were amazed at the accidents paſt. And although he had a great preſumption of himſelfe, and of his vertue, yet did hee neuer let ſlip any proud ſpeech, or that was ill taken by any: but carried ſuch a majeſtie in his words, as they were forced to beleeue what I
he ſaid.

Maieſtie ioyned with modeſtie in P. Scipio.

Parting from Tarracone, he went to viſit the confederat townes, and came vnto the place where as the old armie did winter; whereas he did commend the ſouldiours, that after two ſuch great defeats, they had vertuouſly defended and preſerued the prouince, not ſuffering the enemie to enjoy the fruits of his victorie, but hauing chaſed him out of the countrey on this ſide Ebro, had aſſured, and faithfully defended the friends and confederats of the people of Rome. Hee did greatly honour *L. Martius*, yet ſo, as he would haue the world know, that his owne glorie could not be ecclipſed by another mans. *Syllanus* tooke the place of *C. Nero:* and lodgings were appointed for the new come ſouldiours to winter in. *Scipio* hauing thus diſpoſed of all things, and viſited all places where his preſence was required, hee returned K
to Tarracone. His fame was no leſſe among his enemies than friends, and euen now their hearts were ſeiſed with ſome feare, but could giue no reaſon for it: which was as a preſage vnto them of that which ſhould happen. The Carthaginian armies were retired into diuers places to winter. *Aſdrubal* ſonne to *Giſgo*, was lodged farre off, about Calis, neere the Ocean, *Mago* more into the land, aboue Caſtulo, in the ſtraits and neere foreſts: and *Aſdrubal* ſon to *Amilcar*, about Sagunt, ſomewhat neere vnto the riuer of Ebro.

Scipio honors L. Martius, yet without diſparaging himſelfe.

13 In the beginning of the Spring, *P. Scipio* hauing put his gallies to ſea, and called the ſuccours of his allies to Tarracone, he commanded that both the ſhips of war and of burthen, ſhould bend their courſe towards the mouth of Ebro: thither the legions were appointed alſo to come from the places where they had wintered. Then he himſelfe parting, with 5000 L
of the aſſociates, from Tarracone, came vnto the armie. There he ſpake much in commendation of the old ſouldiours, which had beene in ſo many vnfortunate encounters, incouraging them to better hopes vnder his commaund, not forgetting his fained reuelations. Hee layed before their eyes the diuiſion of the Carthaginian captaines, who kept their forces diſperſed: which was the cauſe of the defeat and ruine of his father and vncle. Finding the armie willing and reſolute, he left *M. Syllanus* to gard that which lies on this ſide Ebro, with 3000 foot, and 300 horſe, and he himſelf paſt on with the reſt of the armie, the which conſiſted of 25000 foot and 2500 horſe. Some were of opinion, that the enemies armies lying farre diſtant one from another, he ſhould goe and fight with the neereſt: But he thought otherwiſe; for he doubted, that whileſt he ſhould ſpend his time to draw the enemie to fight, and to ſeeke his ad- M
uantages, the others would make haſt to come into thoſe parts: ſo all three armies being vnited together, he ſhould not be able to make head againſt them. Wherefore he reſolued to go and ſuddenly to beſiege new Carthage, a towne verie rich of it ſelfe, and abounding with all ſorts of prouiſion, of victuals, armes, and treaſure, which the enemies had laid vp there for the warre, and in the which the hoſtages of all the good townes and prouinces of Spaine were kept:

Scipio begins his charge with a great enterpriſe

A kept: ſituated in a commodious place to paſſe into Africke, hauing an ample port, and capable of any great fleet, and the beſt of all that coaſt of Spaine. Yet hee did not acquaint any man liuing with this his reſolution, but onely *C. Lelius*, who commanded the armie at ſea, hauing giuen him charge ſo to direct his courſe, as at one inſtant they ſhould come before the towne with both armies. The ſeuenth day of their departure from the riuer of Ebro, Carthage was beſieged both by ſea and land. The campe was planted on the North ſide, and fortified with a paliſadoe. The ſituation of Carthage was after this manner. In the middeſt of that coaſt of Spaine, is a gulfe, which runnes fiue hundred paces into the land, and hath not much leſſe in breadth. The mouth of this gulfe is couered with a little iſland, which de-

B fends it from all winds, except that which carries the name of Africke, of the place from whence it comes, which we may cal Southeaſt, or Libecchio, according to the Italians. Within this gulfe there riſeth a peece of ground, almoſt like an iſland, on the which the towne is built: Which peece of ground is enuironed with the ſea on the Eaſt and South ſides, hauing towards the Weſt a mariſh, which doth couer ſome part of the North, the which is not verie ſafe, being in ſome places deeper than in others, as the ſea doth riſe and fall. A little hill joynes the towne vnto the firme land, being ſome two hundred and fiftie paces. This part was left open by *Scipio*, without any fortification: whether hee did it to braue the enemie, or leaue this paſſage open to make continuall courſes, and attempts vpon the towne, and then to haue his retreat eaſie. Hee alſo planted his gallies within the port, ſeeming as if hee

C would alſo beſiege the towne by ſea: giuing charge vnto the captaines to be watchfull, and to ſtand vpon their gards: For in the beginning of a ſiege, he that is ſhut vp doth moſt commonly make greateſt ſallies.

Silence required in a great captaine.

C. Lelius Generall of the gallies

The ſituation of new Carthage.

Hauing therefore prouided for all things neceſſarie for a ſiege, he then reſolued to impart his deſigne vnto his ſouldiors, and to ſhew them the reaſons which had mooued him to begin warre by a ſiege: and to perſuade them, that it was eaſie to take it ſuddenly, whileſt their forces were farre off. Hee ſhewed them, That new Carthage was of ſuch conſequence, as the taking thereof would conquer all Spaine for the Romanes: by reaſon of the hoſtages of the princes, potentates, townes, and commonweales of the countrey, which were kept there: the which being taken, the enemie, who had not any but mercinarie ſouldiours

D (which muſt alwayes haue money) would ſoone bee abandoned by their men: for that the money appointed for their pay, was within the towne, in the which the Carthaginians made their treaſurie, the magazine for their victuals, and for all ſorts of munitions and engines: All which things, ſaid hee, the towne being taken, will come into our hands, and the enemie ſhall bee left naked of all meanes to make warre. We on the other ſide, ſhall be furniſhed of all things neceſſarie, but aboue all, wee ſhall get a good towne, and commodious port, to receiue all things whereof wee ſhall haue need, as well by ſea as land: yea we ſhall haue an eaſie paſſage into Africke, if it be needfull to go thither.

He made ſo liuely an impreſſion of the opportunitie, profit, and eaſineſſe of the ſiege and enterpriſe, as they began to crie, that he ſhould lead them to the aſſault, the which he did pre-

E ſently. *Mago* commanded within the towne, who ſeeing that they prepared to come vnto an aſſault, gaue order on his ſide to withſtand their furie. He aſſured himſelfe of the caſtle for his retreat, putting fiue hundred ſouldiours into it, and as many vpon a high ground within the towne, on the Eaſt ſide. He appointed two thouſand ſouldiours to make a furious ſally vpon the enemie, and the reſt of the multitude were put in conuenient places to ſuccor where need ſhould require. Theſe Carthaginians opening their gates, iſſued out vpon the Romans, comming to the aſſault, and ſtaied them, wher as the fight was long doubtfull: but the Romanes hauing ſtill freſh ſupplies, the Carthaginians were in the end forced to turne their backes, in ſuch feare and diſorder, as, if they had beene eagerly purſued, they had entred pell mell with them into the towne, in the which the tumult and confuſion was no leſſe, than

F in the fight: for many of them left their gards for feare, as if the towne had beene taken. *Scipio* obſeruing what was done, and watching all occaſions from an eminent place, ſeeing the walles abandoned in ſome places, hee put all his armie in battaile, commaunding them to march towards the towne with their ladders. He himſelfe being couered with ſome ſoldiours that were well armed, goes among the troupes, to encourage them, and to be an eye witneſſe of the valor & cowardiſe of euery one. The wals were again furniſht with ſoldiors by the

diligence of *Mago*, wherefore the ſouldiours comming to the aſſault, were entertained with G
a ſhower of darts and arrowes which fell vpon them, more vpon their flanks than in afront:
beſides the wall towards the firme land, was very high. Notwithſtanding the ſouldiors ani-
mated by their Generals preſence, and with a deſire to vanquiſh and ſpoile, planted their lad-
ders of all ſides, and mounted couragiouſly, ſtriuing who ſhould get firſt to the top of the wal.
But many of the ladders, being ouer-laden with the multitude, brake, and they fell into the
ditch; beſides moſt of them were too ſhort. They gaue an aſſault in like manner towards the
ſea, but with more amazement than danger, and of euerie ſide there was more brute than ef-
fect: ſo as for this time the Romans were repulſt, which gaue courage vnto the enemies, and
hope they ſhould be able to keepe the towne; perſuading themſelues, they were out of ſcala- H
doe, and that their armies ſhould haue time ynough to come and ſuccour them. But *Scipio*,
who was reſolued to take this towne, did not ſuffer them to continue long in this errour: for
as ſoone as he had cauſed them which had giuen the firſt aſſault to retire, being wearie and
wounded, he made other freſh ſouldiours to aduance againſt the towne, to renew the aſſault,
taking the ladders from their companions. He had beene aduertiſed by fiſhermen of Tarra-
cone, which were in his campe, and who had waded through the mariſhes on the Weſt ſide
of the towne, That there was no great ſtore of water along the wall, when the tyde was ſpent,
and that it was eaſie to goe to the foot of it: and withall had obſerued, that on that ſide the
wall was but low, ill rampared and fortified, and without gards, for that they aſſured them-
ſelues of this ſtil water. Wherfore vpon the ebbe, and a ſtrong Northerly wind, which draue I
out the water, it was eaſie to wade through: he embraced this occaſion, and ſent ſome troups
thither, ſhewing them the eaſie acceſſe; ſaying, That the gods did inuite them, and aſſure
their paſſage, cauſing the ſea to retire, whereby they might take the towne, as it fell out: For
finding no man to reſiſt them, whileſt that all were buſie in other places, where as they feared
moſt, they entred into the towne, and marched directly towards the port where as the com-
bate was hotteſt, where they were ſooner felt than heard; and the enemies were charged both
in front and in flanke, before they knew that the towne was taken: ſo as the number increa-
ſing ſtill, one helping another ouer the wall, euerie one ſought to ſaue himſelfe, and not any
New Carthage taken. one made any more reſiſtance. Wherefore the gate being broken, and an entrie made for the
armie, they entred in battaile into the towne, with their commaunders and enſignes, and ſei- K
ſed vpon the chiefe places. Thoſe which had paſt ouer the walls, made a great ſlaughter of
the inhabitants. The Carthaginian ſouldiours retired themſelues into two forts, the one was
to that high peece of ground aboue mentioned, on the Eaſt part of the towne, garded by fiue
hundred ſouldiours, and the other was the caſtle, which *Mago* had reſerued. The mount be-
ing aſſailed by a part of the Romane armie, was preſently forced: Soone after *Mago* ſeeing
there was no more hope, hauing made ſome reſiſtance, yeelded the fort alſo, and all that was
within it. Vntill that time the Romanes ſlew all they met aboue foureteene yeares of age:
but the caſtle being yeelded, they were commaunded to ceaſe from killing: then they began
The number of the priſoners taken at Carthage to fall to the ſpoile, which was verie great, where they had ten thouſand priſoners, all men of
free condition. Thoſe that were naturall citizens were ſet free, and the towne reſtored vnto L
them, and all that was found belonging vnto them. There were alſo found about two thou-
ſand artiſans, whom *Scipio* adjudged to the publique of the people of Rome, giuing
them hope of ſpeedie libertie, if they carried themſelues like good men, and did imploy them-
ſelues valiantly in the warres. With the reſt of the youth which was able and ſtrong, he furni-
ſhed his gallies: and encreaſed his armie at ſea, with eight gallies taken from the enemie. Be-
ſides this multitude, there was found within the fort the Spaniſh hoſtages, whom hee treated
Scipio intreats the Spaniſh hoſtages kindly. as honourably as if they had beene allyed to the people of Rome. Thus this wiſe Generall by
his mildneſſe and humanitie woon the hearts of the people, with more honor, and much leſſe
paine and daunger, than if he would haue forced them by armes, the which notwithſtanding
he could well employ at need. The engines to batter and defend townes and forts, were infi- M
nit: there were threeſcore and fourteene enſignes taken: the gold and ſiluer was carried to
the Generall: there were two hundred threeſcore and ſixteen cups of gold, euery one weigh-
ing a pound; and in ſiluer coined eighteene thouſand and three hundred pounds weight, with
great ſtore of ſiluer plate. All which things were deliuered by weight to *C. Flaminius* the trea-
ſurer. Beſides, there was found 40000 buſhels of wheat, and 270000 of barley. There were

taken

A taken within the port an hundred and thirteene ſhippes of burthen, whereof many were ſtill laden with armes, corne, ſiluer, yron, cloth, ſtuffe to make ropes, and other things for the vſe of ſhippes: ſo as in regard of the ſpoyle, the towne of Carthage was eſteemed of leaſt value.

14 The heat and furie of the ſouldiours being paſt, and *Scipio* in quiet poſſeſſion of the towne, without any contradiction, the ſame day leauing the towne in gard to *Caius Lelius*, with the ſouldiors of his gallies and mariners, he brought backe the Armie and Legions to their campe, very much tyred with ſo many exploits of warre which they had done in one day: for they had fought hand to hand in field, had giuen an aſſault, and taken the towne with
B extreame paine and danger, and that being taken, they had been ſtill forced to fight with great diſaduantage againſt them that held the caſtle: wherefore he ſuffered them to reſt vntill the next day, when as he cauſed the whole armie both of ſea and land to aſſemble, thanking firſt of all the gods, who not onely had deliuered into their hands the richeſt towne of all Spaine, but had gathered together in it as it were a ſpoyle of all that was precious in Spaine and Africke; ſo as their enemies were left naked of all things, and they were abundantly furniſhed with ſuperfluitie. Then did he publikely acknowledge the valour of his ſouldiors, commending ſuch as had done their duties, according to euery mans vertue and reſolution, where-
C with they had repulſed the enemies, who had ſallied out ſo furiouſly againſt them; and notwithſtanding the height of their wals, the dangers of vnknowne paſſages in the moores, and the munition of their forts and citadels, they had paſt all, and ſurmounted all obſtacles. Wherefore although he knew that all deſerued much, yet it was expedient to haue an eſpeciall regard to thoſe that had firſt mounted vp the wals, and therefore he commaunded they ſhould ſhew themſelues. There were two ſouldiors which pretended this honour to be due vnto them: it was a crowne of gold made with battlements, which the cuſtome and auncient militarie order of the Romanes did giue vnto him that mounted firſt vp the enemies walls. One of theſe was *Q. Trebellius*, a Centenier of the firſt Legion; and the other, *Sextus Digitius*, a ſouldior of the ſea armie; who (as it happeneth often) had put the whole armie into factions, either being ſupported by them of his ranke. *C. Lelius* maintained them of the fleet, and
D *M. Sempronius Turditanus* the Legionaries; which contention had almoſt bred a mutinie, but *Scipio* gaue them arbitrators, which were the two abouenamed, and *P. Cornelius Caudinus* for a third, who ſhould examine the cauſe, and informe him. Notwithſtanding, after they had taken from them theſe men of reſpect, who ſhould be judges in ſtead of ſupporters, the diſorder grew greater: for although they ſeemed partiall, yet they did reſtraine the violent paſſions of both parties, rather than maintaine them: which *C. Lelius* perceiuing, leauing the aſſembly, he went and informed *Scipio*, that this buſineſſe was handled without modeſtie, order, or reaſon, and that they were like to fall to armes: and although they proceeded not ſo farre, yet was it diſhoneſt and a very bad example, that honour due to vertue ſhould be ſought in that manner by corruption and falſe witneſſes: for on the one ſide the Legionaries, and on the other the mariners, offered to ſweare what they would haue them, not knowing the truth,
E nor conſidering that in ſo doing they made themſelues guiltie of perjurie, and did draw the puniſhment of that crime not onely vpon their owne heads, but vpon the whole armie, and on the Romane Enſignes and Eagles, violating and contemning in this manner the reuerence of an oath: Hee aduertiſed him of theſe things by the aduice of *Cornelius* and *Sempronius*, the two other arbitrators. *Scipio* gaue him thankes, and did much commend him for it: wherefore hauing called the ſouldiours together, he let them vnderſtand, That he was duly informed, how that *Q. Trebellius* and *Sext. Digitius* were the firſt that mounted vp the wals of Carthage, and the one as ſoone as the other, and therefore in witneſſe of their vertues he did honour either of them with a murall crowne. And thus he wiſely pacified a great ſeditiOn among the ſouldiors, and did auoid a deteſtable profanation of all religion; the which
F was of great conſequence among the Romanes, who were no leſſe deſirous, that the world ſhould be as well conceited of their pietie and juſtice, as of their valour. He afterwards rewarded euery one according to his merits, and among others, *Lelius* Generall of the armie at ſea, to whom he did as great honor as he would haue done vnto himſelfe, giuing him a crowne of gold, and thirtie oxen. Hee cauſed all the hoſtages of Spaine to be brought before him, which were found in new Carthage, to whom he ſpake courteouſly, giuing them good hope, and

Scipio doth firſt giue thanks to the gods for his victorie.

He commends the ſouldiors valour.

A murall crown.

Emulation for honour.

The reward of vertue muſt not be ſought by vicious meanes.

Romans religious

Scipio doth wiſely pacifie a great tumult.

and letting them vnderſtand, That they were fallen into the hands of a Nation, which de- G
ſired more to win the hearts of men, and to tye them vnto them by their good deeds, than
Scipio ſeekes to win the Spaniards hearts by his great bountie. to conſtraine them by feare or force; and had rather haue other nations for their faithfull companions, than to ſubdue by an odious ſeruitude. He cauſed the names of the Townes and Communalties of Spaine to bee giuen him in a Liſt, and enquired of the number of priſoners of either of them, to whom he ſent meſſengers, willing them to come and receiue their owne. If at that time there were any embaſſadours of any of thoſe places within his campe, hee preſently cauſed theirs to be deliuered vnto him. *C. Flaminius* Treaſurer generall had the charge of the reſt, with commaundement to entreat them well. Whileſt theſe things were in hand, a Spaniſh Ladie, who was very old, ſtept out of the troupe of H
A Spaniſh ladie having honor in recommendation hoſtages, and caſt her ſelfe at *Scipioes* feet: ſhee was wife to *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, Lord of the Ilergetes: beſeeching him to giue eſpeciall charge vnto the gards, to entreat the women well and honeſtly: To whom *Scipio* anſwered, That they ſhould not want any thing: *But* (ſayth ſhe) *it is not the feare of any want that maketh me thus carefull: for what doth not ſuffice them that are in our eſtate? I feare another thing; it is the youth of thoſe that are about me, whom I ſee in danger to receiue diſgrace: as for me, my age doth free me from that misfortune*. There were about her the daughters of *Indibilis*, and manie others of great houſes, very faire, and in the flower of their ages, which honoured this Ladie as their mother. Then *Scipio* with a noble and vertuous courage anſwered thus: *Truely, the diſcipline which I haue learned among the Romanes, and which I obſerue, doth admoniſh me,* I
that whatſoeuer is held worthie of reſpect in any part of the world, ſhould not bee violated or
Scipio honours the vertue of ladies, priſoners. *corrupted by vs: but aboue all this, your vertue and modeſtie inciteth mee to be more carefull to preſerue you, ſeeing you ſhew that you haue not any way forgotten that which doth moſt honour and adorne women.* He therefore gaue them in gard vnto one, whoſe modeſtie and continencie was well knowne vnto him, commanding him to keepe them with as much honeſt reſpect, as if they were the wiues and mothers of their owne allies. Then they brought vnto him a young virgine a priſoner, fit to be married, and ſo exceeding faire, as ſhe drew vnto her the eyes of all that beheld her. *Scipio* enquired of whence, and what parents ſhe was of? Among other things he vnderſtood, That ſhe was promiſed to a young Nobleman of the Celtiberians, called *Allucius*: He cauſed her to be carefully kept; and ſent K
vnto the virgines parents, and to her future husband, that they ſhould come vnto him: who being arriued, he ſpake vnto this yong man (whom he knew to be exceedingly paſſioned with loue) vſing a more artificiall ſpeech vnto him than hee did vnto the virgines parents.

I am (ſayd hee) *young, and ſo are you, wherefore my deſire is, that wee conferre more freely together: Your Spouſe being brought before mee by our ſouldiours, and vnderſtanding that you loued her with great affection, I did eaſily beleeue it, ſeeing her beautie: for if it were lawfull for me to ſeeke the pleaſures which youth demaunds, and that my mind and thoughts were*
Scipio ouerrules his owne deſires, to honor himſelfe and his countrey. *not wholly employed for the affaires of the Commonweale, I would willingly be excuſed, if I did abandon my ſelfe to the paſſions of loue, being ſo iuſt and lawfull, as of her that ſhould bee my* L
wife: wherefore I fauour yours as much as I may. Your Spouſe hath beene kept here with mee with ſuch honour and reſpect, as if ſhee had beene with her father and mother, and hath beene garded to make a pure and abſolute preſent vnto you, worthie of my qualitie and yours. I demaund onely in recompence of this gift, that you will be a friend to the people of Rome, and if you thinke me thereby to be an honeſt and a good man, ſuch as they of this countrey haue heretofore knowne my deceaſed father and vncle to haue beene, know that there are many ſuch in the citie of Rome; and remember, that there is not any nation vpon the earth, whoſe hatred you and yours ſhould more ſeeke to auoid, and to ſeeke their friendſhip, than ours.

This vnexpected fauor, the which could not be comprehended nor equalled by any recompence or thanks, held this Spaniard ſeized with joy and ſhame: who taking *Scipio* by the right M
hand, prayed all the gods to requite the great fauour he had done him, ſeeing he found himſelfe inſufficient to make any ſatisfaction as he deſired. Then were the virgins parents called, who ſeeing their daughter alreadie freed without any ranſome, entreated *Scipio* very earneſtly to receiue the gold which they had brought to redeeme her, which was of a good quantitie, ſaying, they would hold it for a great grace, that he had preſerued their daughter vndefiled.

Scipio

A *Scipio* being much importuned by them, was content to pleaſe them: whereby hee cauſed theſe preſents to be brought before him, and hauing called for *Allucius*, hee ſayd vnto him: Beſides that which you are to receiue of your father in law in dowrie with your wife, take this preſent from me, commaunding him to carrie this gold away with him. *Allucius* hauing receiued theſe honours and preſents from *Scipio*, he returned joyfull and content to his houſe, filling the whole countrey with his prayſe and merits: and in truth it was an act as generous, liberall, chaſt, and religious, as hath beene in the memorie of any age done by a Pagan in his youth and vigour, and who had commaundement and ſoueraigne power in that behalfe ouer the enemie; but it may be it was not without ambition, nor humane conſi-
B derations. *Scipio addes liberalitie to his continencie.*

There was a bruit throughout all Spaine, That there was a young man come like vnto a god, who ſurmounted all things, as well by force of armes, as by his courteſie and bountie: wherefore *Allucius* hauing made a leuie of his friends and vaſſales, came within few dayes vnto *Scipio*, being accompanied with foureteene hundred horſe, to doe him and the people of Rome ſeruice. *Vertue giues to euery one his due reward.*

Scipio after hee had ſtayed *C. Lelius* with him ſome dayes, to diſpoſe of the hoſtages, the ſpoyle, and all other things with his aduice and counſell, he ſent him to Rome with a galeaſſe, and *Mago* with him, who was late Gouernour of new Carthage, and about fifteene Senators priſoners, to bee meſſengers and aſſured witneſſes of his victorie. During his abode at Car-
C thage, he exerciſed his ſouldiors in all exerciſes fit for the warres, as well by land as ſea. The firſt day he cauſed the Legions to run armed foure myles together, which makes a league: the next day he made them to ſcoure their armes before their tents: the third day they fought in forme of battaile with poles and darts blunted: the fourth day they reſted, and the fifth they ran againe with their armes. Thus he did employ his ſouldiors during his abode at Carthage. The mariners did exerciſe themſelues in rowing vp and downe in their gallies, and made ſea fights to trie the ſwiftneſſe of their gallies. Theſe things were done without the wals of the towne, to faſhion their minds and bodies to all warlike exerciſes: but within Carthage there was nothing but preparation to armes, the Generall being carefull to ſee all things himſelfe in perſon. Sometimes he went aboord the gallies, ſometimes he ran with the
D Legionaries, ſometimes he went to viſit the workmen in the Port and Arſenall, vſing incredible care and diligence. Hauing thus prouided for all things neceſſarie, repaired the breaches of the towne, and manned it with good ſouldiours, he went to Tarracone. In the end the deputies of many townes of Spaine came vnto him, where he had aſſigned an aſſembly for all the allies of the people of Rome, as well old as new, whither came many deputies on this ſide Ebro, and ſome beyond it. *Militarie exerciſes done by Scipio.* *The care and diligence of a good Generall.*

The Captaines and Commaunders of the Carthaginians did what they could to conceale the loſſe of Carthage; and when as they found it was generally knowne, they ſought with good words to repaire their loſſe, ſaying, it was but a towne loſt, ſurpriſed by a young man, who perſuaded himſelfe, that he had thereby woon all: but when he ſhould ſee three great
E captaines and three victorious armies approach, he would abate his pride, and remember the miſerable end of his houſe. This they bruited among the people, yet knew they that the loſſe of Carthage had much weakened their forces. *The Carthaginians diſſemble their loſſe.*

The 34 day after that *Lelius* was parted from Carthage, he arriued at Rome with his priſoners, to the great contentment of the people. The next day hee deliuered vnto the Senate what had beene done in Spaine; the towne of new Carthage (the chiefe of the whole countrey) taken in one day, and many townes which were reuolted, returned again to the Romans, and many others receiued into a new league; the which was verified by the priſoners anſweres. The Romans aboue all things feared *Aſdrubals* paſſage: for they had worke ynough to reſiſt *Hannibal* alone. *Lelius* was ſent backe into Spaine in the ſame veſſell which had
F brought him.

The yeare following, when as *Qu. Fab. Max.* for the fifth time, and *Qu. Fulv. Flacc.* for the fourth time were Conſuls of Rome. *Scipio* hauing ſpent all the Winter to win the hearts of this barbarous nation, ſome by preſents, others in deliuering them their hoſtages and priſoners, *Edeſco* a famous captaine among the Spaniards came vnto him: His wife and children were with the Romanes, the which was partly the cauſe of his reuolt: and withall, he found *Ann. Roma* 544

all

all the Spaniards to affect the Romanes, and to abandon the Carthaginians, as *Indibilis* G
and *Mandonius* did, who were then the greateſt noblemen in Spaine, and were diuided from *Aſdrubals* campe, lodging with their troupes on the ſides of certaine hils, from whence their paſſage was ſafe and eaſie vnto the Romanes. *Aſdrubal* finding this disfauour in the Carthaginians affaires, reſolued to hazard a battaile, before they were quite abandoned by their allies; and *Scipio* on the other ſide demaunded nothing more: for beſides the happie ſucceſſe of his enterpriſes, which puft him vp, he thought it more expedient to fight, thinking it more ſafe to charge *Aſdrubal* alone, than to ſtay vntill the other two Commanders and armies were joyned with him. Notwithſtanding all this, he had prouided for all euents, if he ſhould be forced to fight with many: for ſeeing that all the coaſt of Spaine H
was cleere from the Carthaginian gallies, and therefore hauing no vſe of his, hee diſarmed them at Tarracone, and put both the ſouldiors and mariners among his Legions, and thereby did much encreaſe his armie: for he had found wherewithall to arme them within Carthage, beſides the armes which hee cauſed to be daily made. With this reſolution he departed from Tarracone, after the returne of *Caius Lelius*, without whoſe aduice *Scipio* did not attempt any matter of conſequence, and croſſing a great countrey, hee found all things quiet and fauourable for his armie: vpon the way he encountred *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who came to meet him with their troupes. *Indibilis* ſpake vnto *Scipio* for them all, not raſhly or fooliſhly, after the manner of the Barbarians, but with great grauitie, modeſtie, and pertinent reaſons, rather excuſing than glorifying themſelues, that they were I
come vnto him, leauing the Carthaginians partie; letting him vnderſtand, That they did it not lightly, or vpon the firſt occaſion: for they knew well, that the name of reuolt was execrable among old allies, and alwaies ſuſpect vnto new, by the generall cuſtome of all nations, the which (ſayd he) I doe not diſallow, ſo as the hatred which is borne vnto ſuch men, be grounded vpon the cauſe, and not meerely vpon the name of reuolt. Afterwards he made a diſcourſe of that which they had done for the Carthaginians, and of the pride, couetouſneſſe, ingratitude, and wrongs which had beene done vnto them by their ſouldiors; proteſting, that for theſe conſiderations they had long before reſolued to addreſſe themſelues vnto the Romanes, with whom they thought that juſtice and reſpect had place, although their perſons were in the Carthaginians armies. Moreouer he ſayd, That they K
had recourſe vnto the gods by prayers, who neuer ſuffer the violences and inſolencies of men vnpuniſhed; and they entreated *Scipio* not to eſteeme them leſſe for their retreat vnto him, nor to value them more, but that he ſhould hereafter vſe them according to their merits, and according to the zeale and affection hee ſhould find in them. *Scipio* anſwered, That he would doe ſo, and that he did not eſteeme them rebels, which held not themſelues tied to any alliances made with men, which make no account of any diuine or humane lawes; commaunding, that their wiues and children ſhould be preſently deliuered vnto them: which was a pleaſing and acceptable gift vnto theſe Spaniards. The next day *Scipio* hauing taken their oathes, and contracted with them, he ſent them into their countries, to make new leuies of men: afterwards, by the direction of theſe noblemen of Spaine, the Romane armie went to L
meet with the enemie.

Aſdrubal thinks to repaire their loſſes by a battaile.

Mandonius and Indibilis reuolt vnto the Romans

In reuolts the cauſe and not the name is to be regarded.

It is no rebellion to leaue them which deſpiſe God and nature.

• *Aſdrubal* was come to lodge his campe neere vnto Becula, a towne or riuer (for in this point the Authors are doubtfull, it may be it was both) beyond the riuer of Ebro, and had ſet gards and ſentinels on horſebacke vpon the approches; the which were at the firſt charged by the fore-runners, and by them of the Romane fore-ward; who made ſo ſmall reſiſtance, as they might eaſily judge, how much the two parties did differ in courage. Theſe horſemen made a ſpeedie retreat towards their campe, being purſued by the Romanes, who carried their colours euen vnto the enemies trenches and rampiers; and hauing that day onely quickened their courages a little, they planted their campe. In the night *Aſdrubal* remooued his armie vnto the ſide of a hill, where there was a large plaine, hauing a riuer be- M
hind him, and on either ſide ſteepe craggie rockes. This place commaunded another plaine, the which had alſo a ſteepe deſcent round about it, the which was hard to mount vnto. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing the Romane armie in battaile in this lower plaine, he ſent downe the Numidian horſemen, the ſouldiors of Maiorca, which were lightly armed, and the Africanes. *Scipio* went from ranke to ranke to encourage his men, telling them, That the enemie fled the fight, and

Aſdrubal comes towards the Romanes.

Scipio encourageth his armie to fight.

A and durſt not come downe to battaile, but ſought places of ſtrength, as one that had no confidence in his vertue, nor armes: wherefore they ſhould remember, that the walls of Carthage (which were much higher than thoſe rampiers) could not hinder their entrie, and that there was no obſtacle could repulſe the vertue of the Romanes. *To what end ſhall thoſe high clyffes where they are lodged, ſerue? but to make them haue the greater fals when you ſhall chaſe them, and they flye to ſaue themſelues; but I will ſtop that paſſage:* and thus he encouraged his ſouldiours. Hee then ſent two companies, the one to ſeize vpon the ſtrait of the valley by the which the riuer did run, and the other to keepe the way, by the which they came from the town by the vallies and paſſages of thoſe hils into the open field. Then he led the moſt actiue
B and light ſouldiours, which had the day before broken the enemies gards, directly to them which were vpon the edge of the firſt plaine. When they began to mount, they found no other hinderance but the roughneſſe of the way, but when they came to approch within the reach of their darts, they were preſently entertained with a ſhower of arrowes, darts, and ſtones, whereof the ſouldiors and horſe-boyes had abundance in that place. Although the place were hard to aſcend, and the Romanes much galled with their darts, yet thoſe which had beene accuſtomed to the aſſaults of townes, growing obſtinat againſt all oppoſition, in *He chargeth the enemie.* the end got vp; then was the chance turned: for as ſoone as the Romanes could get any ſure footing, and come to handie blowes with the enemie (where they were not ſo expert as in running and leaping) they were ſoone diſlodged, and chaſed with great ſlaughter vpon their
C owne battaile, which ſtood in order vpon the hill. Then *Scipio* hauing commaunded his victorious ſouldiors to purſue and to charge this battaillon in the middeſt couragiouſly, he diuided the reſt of his troupes betwixt himſelfe and *Lelius*, whom he commanded to compaſſe in that little hill on the right ſide, and to ſeeke ſome eaſie way to get vp vnto it, and he in the meane time went and charged the enemies vpon the flanke, who were much amazed and troubled, thinking to turne the head of their battaile againſt the Romanes, whoſe cryes they heard on euery ſide, when as ſuddainely *Lelius* came vpon them: ſo, as being preſt on all ſides, they were ſoone diſordered, they themſelues opening their rankes, to giue paſſage to their *Aſdrubal and the Carthaginian armie defeated by Scipio.* companions which fled, hauing no meanes to retyre in good order, in a place which was ſo ſtrait and of ſuch diſaduantage. Here there was a great ſlaughter made, and it preuailed lit-
D tle to flye: for the gards which were ſet by *Scipio* vpon the paſſages, ſtayed them; yea, the multitude was partly ſtayed by the Captaines and Commaunders, to ſaue the baggage, whileſt the reſt did fight: beſides, their Elephants being terrified, were as hurtfull to them as to the Romanes. There died eight thouſand of the Carthaginian armie. *Aſdrubal* ſtayed not to the end of the battaile, but hauing ſent ſome of the Elephants before with his ſiluer, he retyred almoſt in the beginning of the fight, following the riuer of Tayo, vntill hee got vnto the mountaines, where hee gathered them together that fled. *Scipio* ſeized vpon the enemies campe, and gaue all the ſpoyle vnto the ſouldiors, except the priſoners of free condition, whereof there were ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; among the which, *Scipio ſeekes to win the Spaniards by his bountie.* ſuch as were Spaniards were ſet free without ranſon, and ſent home to their houſes: the
E Africanes were deliuered to the Treaſurer to be ſold. The Spaniards which were in the Romane armie, as well thoſe that were before yeelded, as priſoners, rejoycing at the happineſſe of this victorie, honoured with his bountie, running about *Scipioes* lodging, began to ſalute him with the title of King; but he let them vnderſtand, that he was not pleaſed therewith: wherefore hauing enjoyned them to ſilence by a trumpet, he ſayd vnto them: *That he held himſelfe ſufficiently honoured to bee called by his ſouldiours by that name which the Romanes in their tongue gaue vnto their Generall; which was,* Imperator, *as one would ſay, he that commaunds an Armie, which was a great title for him. As for the name of a King, it may be it was eſteemed among other Nations, but the Romanes could not endure it: yet hee had a royall heart, and if they found ſuch a diſpoſition to be worthie of reſpect, they ſhould be content to thinke ſo, and vſe no* *Scipio as a Roman deteſts the title of a King.*
F *more that word of King.* The Barbarians did obſerue an admirable greatneſſe of courage in *Scipio*, that being ſeated in ſo high a degree, yet hee contemned the title which all other men doe ſo highly eſteeme. After this, he beſtowed preſents vpon the noblemen of Spaine, and gaue three hundred horſes to *Indibilis*, ſuch as he would chuſe of thoſe which had beene taken.

As

As they were ſelling of the Africane priſoners, by the Generals commaund, there was a goodly young ſtripling, whom the Treaſurer (hearing that he was royally deſcended) ſent to *Scipio*: being demaunded by *Scipio*, What he was, and of whence, and why he followed armes being ſo young? he anſwered with teares, *That he was a Numidian, and that his name was* Maſſiua, *who being left an Orphan, retyred to* Gala *king of the Numidians, his grandfather by the mothers ſide, and there had beene bred vp, and had followed his vncle* Maſſiniſſa, *who came lately into Spaine to ſuccour the Carthaginians with ſome bands of horſe: That before that time hee had neuer beene in any combat, for that his vncle reſtrained him, by reaſon of his tender age: but the day of the laſt charge he had ſtolne from him, and hauing found meanes to recouer horſe and armes, he had thruſt himſelfe into the battaile with the reſt, where he had beene ouerthrowne by the default of his horſe, and was taken by the Romanes.* *Scipio* commaunded, that this Numidian ſhould be kept, vntill hee had finiſhed that which concerned the publicke. Being afterwards retyred to his tent, he ſent for him againe, and asked him if he would returne to his vncle; who anſwered with great ſignes of joy, That he would be very glad. Then *Scipio* hauing giuen him a gold ring, a rich embrodered robe, a caſſocke after the Spaniſh faſhion, with a claſpe of gold; and hauing mounted him vpon a good horſe, with rich furniture, he ſent him away, giuing him certaine knights to conduct him where hee pleaſed. Theſe things being thus paſt, as they conſulted among the Romanes touching the affaires of the warre, many were of opinion, That he ſhould purſue *Aſdrubal*; yet *Scipio* was content to place a garriſon in the ſtraits and paſſages of the mountaines, employing all the reſt of the Summer to win the Spaniards by gifts and other fauours, receiuing many into the alliance and protection of the people of Rome.

Maſſiua nephew to Maſſiniſſa priſoner to the Romans.

17 In the meane time the two other captaines *Mago* and *Aſdrubal* ſonne to *Giſgo* came into baſe Spaine, to joyne with *Aſdrubal Barcinien*, ſomewhat too late after his deſeat, but very fitly to conſult of their affaires. They ſaw the Spaniards were daily practiſed to reuolt, and that the Carthaginians ſhould not be able to hold any one place in Spaine, if they did not ſpeedily preuent it. *Aſdrubal* of *Giſgo* relyed much vpon the Spaniards which dwelt along the Ocean, and about Gadiz, whereas the Romanes had not yet beene: but the other two did foreſee that the Romanes bountie would corrupt them as well as the reſt; aſſuring themſelues, that there was not any Communaltie, nor priuat man in Spaine, which began not to wauer, and would neuer ceaſe to reuolt, if they did not vſe one meanes to preuent it: which was, That *Aſdrubal Barcinien* ſhould gather together all the Spaniards he could, and lead them into Italie, as it had beene formerly concluded: and by this means Spaine ſhould be diſarmed of her owne forces, and more eaſily kept in awe by feare; and as for their armies, they would ſupply them with other ſouldiors: and therefore they were of opinion, That *Mago* ſhould leaue his troupes to *Aſdrubal Giſgo*, and paſſe ſpeedily into the Iſlands of Maiorca and Minorca, with ſtore of treaſure, to make good leuies of that nation: In the meane time *Aſdrubal* of *Giſgo* ſhould retyre into the fartheſt bounds of the Luſitanians, to auoid all occaſion of fighting with the enemie: That *Maſſiniſſa* with three thouſand horſe choſen out of all the bands, ſhould ſpoyle the enemies countrey on this ſide the riuer of Ebro, and ſuccour their friends and faithfull allies. Theſe things being concluded by the Carthaginian captains, were preſently put in execution.

The Carthaginians reſolue to carry all the Spaniſh ſoldiors out of Spaine, to preuent reuolts.

In the eleuenth yeare of the ſecond Punicke warre, *M. Marcellus* and *T. Quintius Criſpinus* being created Conſuls at Rome, the gouernments of Spaine were confirmed for another yeare to *P. Cor. Scipio* and to *M. Sillanus*. The ſea Armie in Spaine being eightie gallyes, as well of thoſe which came out of Italie, as were taken at Carthage, were reduced vnto thirtie by a decree of the Senate, commaunding *Scipio* to ſend fiftie into Sardinia, as well for the defence of that Iſland, as of Italie, by reaſon of the great preparation which was made in Africke, whereas they ſaid the Carthaginians did arme two hundred ſayle, to come vpon the coaſt of Italie. This yeare Spaine was ſomewhat quiet, *Aſdrubal* thinking onely of his voyage into Italie, and to prepare his armie, wherein he vſed exceeding great diligence, vntill he had paſſed the Pyrenees. Being entred into Gaule with great ſtore of treaſure, hee leuied ſouldiors of that nation, and aſſured his paſſage by the Alpes; the which did much trouble the Romanes: for they had then worke ynough to make head againſt *Hannibal*: but the wiſe-

Aſdrubal Barcinien paſſeth into Italy.

dome

A dome of *C. Nero* and *M. Liuius*, the new Conſuls for the yeare following, freed them of that care: who by an aduenturous, but a neceſſarie ſtratageme of warre, whileſt they kept *Hannibal* play in Apulia, defeated and ſlew *Aſdrubal*, neere vnto Senegaille, with almoſt all the Spaniards, Gaules, and Ligurians, whereof his army conſiſted: a defeat which did recompence that of Canes, yet was it not without great effuſion of bloud on the Romanes ſide, who loſt aboue 8000 men. Yet this did aſſure their eſtate, which vntill that time had beene in great danger; and *Hannibal* vpon the newes of his brothers death, began to diſtruſt his owne good ſucceſſe and his countries.

Aſdrubal and his armie defeated in Italie.

Spaine during *Aſdrubals* preparation, and a while after his paſſage into Italie, had ſome reſt
B from warre, but they fell ſoone againe to armes. At that time *Aſdrubal*, ſonne to *Giſgo*, kept about the Iſland of Gades, and in the Weſt marches, neere vnto the Ocean. The Romanes commaunded all along the Mediterranean ſea, and held all that part of Spaine which lies towards the Eaſt. In the place of *Aſdrubal Barcinien* they had ſent *Hanno* from Carthage, with a new armie; who hauing paſſed the ſea, joyned with *Mago*. Theſe two had leuied among the Celtiberians (which is in the middeſt of Spaine) great troupes of ſouldiors, in a ſhort ſpace. *Scipio* ſent *M. Syllanus* againſt this armie with 10000 foot and 500 horſe; who making great marches, by difficult and ſtrait paſſages, which are ordinarie in Spaine, he approched by the meanes of certaine Celtiberian guides (who had changed their partie) neere vnto the enemy, before they had any newes of him, being alſo aduertiſed by the ſame Celtiberians, when hee
C came within two leagues of them, that vpon the way hee ſhould encounter two of their campes; that of Celtiberians, newly leuied, on the left hand, being ſome 9000 men; and the other of Carthaginians, on the right hand. As for theſe, they obſerued good diſcipline, kept their gards, and had their ſentinels placed in good order; but the others regarded it not, but were ſecure and careleſſe, like new ſouldiors: who thinking themſelues at home, apprehended nothing that was to be feared. Wherefore *Syllanus* marched firſt towards them, cauſing his troupes to goe on the left hand, as cloſely as they could, leaſt the Carthaginians in the other lodging ſhould diſcouer him. Then he ſent forth ſome to diſcouer the enemies countenance, and marched ſpeedily after them. He was now within leſſe than halfe a league, before the enemie had any notice of his comming: for he went by broken wayes and deepe vallies
D full of trees, where he fed his armie: there they returned vnto him, whom he had ſent forth to diſcouer, who confirmed that which the reuolted Spaniards had deliuered vnto him. Then the Romanes (leauing their baggage vpon the place) put themſelues in battaile, and marched againſt the enemies, whom they found in great amazement, ſeeing the Romane armie ſo neere. *Mago*, who was in the other campe, poſted thither vpon the firſt bruit, to put them in defence. There were ſome 4000 good ſouldiours among the Celtiberians, carrying targuets, and 200 horſe, the which were ſet in the front, and the reſt to ſecond them were lightly armed; and in this manner they came to fight. They were ſcarce come without their rampiers, when as the Romanes caſt their darts at them, but the Spaniards ſtooped to auoid them: then riſing ſuddainely againe, they caſt theirs againſt the Romanes, who ſtanding
E cloſe, and couered with their targuets, defended themſelues from any harme; but approaching neerer, they came to the ſword. The place where they did fight was of great aduantage for the Celtiberians, by reaſon of the vneuenneſſe, whoſe cuſtome was to skirmiſh with leapes and jumpes, contrarie to the Romanes, who fight cloſe, and ſtand firme: and therefore this vneuen ground did not much trouble them, but that they were ſometimes conſtrained to breake their rankes, by reaſon of the ſtraits and little groues, wherewith the countrey is full, fighting ſometimes one to one, and two to two; the which did alſo hinder the enemies from flying, and expoſed them to the ſlaughter. All thoſe of the fore-ward which carried targuets, were in a manner ſlaine, and they continued killing and ouerthrowing thoſe that were lightly armed, and the Carthaginians which were come to their ſuc-
F cours, led by another *Hanno*, who was taken aliue: but *Mago* retyred in the beginning of the battaile with about 3000 foot and all the horſe, and the tenth day after came vnto *Aſdrubals* campe. The Celtiberian ſouldiours which remained, got home into their countrey through the woods and forreſts. This victorie was very pleaſing vnto *Scipio*, who did greatly extoll *Syllanus* his vertue, and was in hope to end the warre, if he did ſpeedily ſet vpon *Aſdrubal*, who remained in the remoteſt part of Spaine, in the Betique Prouince, which now

Hanno ſent from Carthage into Spain with a new armie.

M. Syllanus ſurprizeth and defeats the Carthaginians.

is Andalouſie. He hauing intelligence,that *Scipio* marched towards him,diſlodged from the G
Aſdrubal breaks vp his army,and leaues the field to the Romans. place where hee encamped, and retyred in great diſorder towards the Iſland of Gades, then thinking,that whileſt he had an armie in field,they would not ceaſe to purſue him, he reſolued to breake vp his campe,and to put his ſouldiours into garriſon, as well for their ſafetie, as the townes,and he himſelfe went into the Iſland.

Scipio being aduertiſed,that the enemie had no armie in field, and ſeeing that he muſt make warre in diuers parts of the countrey, and beſiege one towne after another, a matter of ſome difficultie,and of more toile than profit,he turned head again:yet for that he would not wholly abandon that part of Spain to the enemy,he left *L.Scipio* his brother with an army of 10000 foot and 1000 horſe,to trie if he could take Auringe,the chiefe place of the country, ſituated H
in a fertile ſoyle, vpon the marches of the Melleſians, the inhabitants whereof were naturall Spaniards. There were certain mynes of ſiluer found,& it was *Aſdrubals* retreat,from whence he made his courſes into the countrey. *L. Scipio* being come neere the towne, before he did wholly beſiege it,he ſent ſome to parle with the inhabitants,to know their minds,and to perſuade them rather to trie the Romans friendſhip than their armes. Preuailing nothing,he beſieged it,and caſt a trench about it,with a double palliſado, diuiding his armie into 3 troupes, the which ſhould keepe the towne in continuall alarme. The firſt aſſault giuen by one of the three troupes was valiantly maintained,and their ladders,with the ſouldiors which mounted, throwne into the ditch,and the aſſailants were often in danger to be drawne vp with hooks of
The Romans beſiege Auringe. yron,which the beſieged caſt downe from the wals and towers, ſo as the Romans were forced I
to retire. *L.Scipio* finding that the ſmall number which he had ſent to the aſſault made the partie vnequall,hauing therefore cauſed the firſt to retire,he ſent all the reſt of his armie to giue a new aſſault: the which did ſo amaze the beſieged,being tyred with the firſt aſſault,as the inhabitants abandoned the wals; and the garriſon of Carthaginians thinking that the towne had bin yeelded,left their gards where they had bin ſet,and put themſelues into one body. The inhabitants fearing,that if the enemy forced the town,they ſhould be all put indifferently to the ſword,reſolued to preuent this danger by yeelding:and hauing opened a gate,they went forth in troupes,carying only their targuets,to defend themſelues from the Romans darts, and holding vp their right hands naked in ſign of peace,they let the Romans vnderſtand that they yielded. It is doubtfull whether they did vnderſtand their meaning,ſeeing them come a far off,or K
Auringe taken by L. Scipio. whether the Romans did doubt ſome fraud; but they charged theſe poore Spaniards, and cut them all in peeces,and by the ſame port entred the towne with their colours flying, killing all they met without exception,& in the meane time ſome of their troups forced the other gates, and made way vnto their companions. The horſemen being entred,ſeized vpon the chiefe places,as they were commaunded, being followed by them which they called *Triaires*, which are footmen,fighting alwaies in the rereward,to ſecond where need required. The reſt of the legionaries diſperſed themſelues throughout the towne,putting all to the ſword. In the end the Carthaginians were taken priſoners,and ſome 300 of the inhabitants:the reſt which remained after the furie were pardoned,and their houſes and libertie yeelded them. There died at the taking of this towne 2000 of the enemies,and ſome 90 of the Romans. It was a pleaſing exploit L
to them that did execute it,but eſpecially to *P.Scipio*,who commended *Lucius* his brotherwith all the honorable tearmes he could,equalling the taking of Auringe to that of Carthage: and ſeeing winter approched,& that there was little reaſon to purſue *Aſdrubal*,& leſſe to vndertake the ſiege of Calis,he retired with his campe on this ſide Ebro,& ſent his ſoldiors to winter. He ſent *L.Scipio* to Rome,with newes of that which had bin done,and with him he ſent *Hanno*,one of the enemies captains,and many other great priſoners: this done,he retired to Tarracone.

19 The Romans after this good ſucceſſe were in hope to chaſe their enemies out of Spain: for hauing defeated one of their armies, taken one of their chiefe commaunders, the reſt of their forces being disbanded,and forced to liue within their forts and garriſons,in the fartheſt parts of the countrey, *Scipio* thought there was now no cauſe of any preſent feare,but that he M
might diſpoſe of his affaires at leyſure: yet he was deceiued: for Spaine by reaſon of their ſtirring ſpirits, and the opportunitie of places, was in that reſpect as fit as any Region in the world (after ſuch defeates) to leuie new armies, and to reuiue the warre. *Aſdrubal* then, ſonne to *Giſgo* (who did ſecond the *Barcins* in wiſedome and valour worthie of a great Commaunder) being aſſiſted by *Mago*, ſonne to *Amilcar*, did ſo deale with the Spaniards,

A as he leuied 50000 foot and 4500 horſe of that nation, beyond the riuer of Ebro: he muſtered them neere vnto the towne of Sylpia, and there did the two Carthaginian captains encampe, being reſolued to accept of a battaile if it were offered. *Scipio* aduertiſed of this great vnexpected preparation, drew his Legions to field, although he held them not ſufficient to oppoſe againſt ſo mightie an armie. As for the ſuccours of Spaniſh allies, his meaning was to make ſome ſhew vnto the enemie: yet would he not fortifie himſelfe with ſo great troupes, as he ſhould haue cauſe to feare his ruine by their trecherie, as had happened vnto his father and vncle: wherefore he ſent *Syllanus* to Colca, who commaunded ouer 28 townes, to demand the ſuccours of horſe and foot, which he had promiſed to enroll during the Winter: and he him-

Scipio truſts not vnto mercinaries, as his father had done.

B ſelfe going from Tarracone, as he paſſed by the townes of his allies, tooke vp ſuch ſouldiors as he thought good, and came to Caſtulo, whereas *Syllanus* met him with 3000 foot and 500 horſe. From thence he marched beyond Becula, hauing in his armie, as well of citizens of Rome, as of allies, of foot and horſe about 45000 fighting men. As they made their lodging, and did rampier it after the accuſtomed manner, behold *Mago* and *Maſſiniſſa* come with all their horſemen, and charge them that were buſie at worke; whom they had put to rout, if *Scipio* had not cauſed certaine bands of horſemen to gard them, being in battaile behind a little hill, who aduaunced againſt the firſt that were approched neere the rampiers, forcing them to retyre in the beginning without any great difficultie. The fight was long, and ſomewhat doubtfull againſt them which came afterwards cloſe and in good order, but when as

Mago and Maſſiniſſa charge the Romans.

C the Romane bands which were diſperſed here and there approched, and that the ſouldiours which laboured at the rampiers, left their worke and fell to armes (being ſo commaunded) the wearied refreſhed with new ſupplies, and greater numbers comming ſtill from the campe, then the Numidians and Carthaginians finding the charge hote, retyred in the beginning in good order, but being ouerpreſſed by multitudes, they could no longer make head, but were put to rout, euery man ſauing himſelfe as he could. This encounter did puffe vp the hearts of the one, and abate the courage of the others, yet there were daily skirmiſhes betwixt the horſemen and them that were lightly armed. In the end *Aſdrubal* put his army into battaile, the which *Scipio* did alſo on his part: but either armie continued in that manner neere his fort, vntill the euening: whereupon firſt the Carthaginians and then the Romanes retyred into

The two armies in battaile readie to fight.

D their campes, and thus they continued for certaine dayes together, *Aſdrubal* comming firſt to field, and making his retreat firſt, without any attempt one againſt another. The Romans held the middle part in their battaile, and the Carthaginians did the like in theirs, being mixt with Africanes: vpon the wings in either armie were their allies, all Spaniards: before the Carthaginians battaile were their Elephants, which a farre off ſhewed like caſtles, and it was giuen out, That the armies ſhould fight in that manner, and that the Romanes and Carthaginians (betwixt whom the quarrell was, holding the middeſt of the battailes) ſhould encounter with like armes and courage. *Scipio* hearing that this opinion was generally beleeued, changed the order of his battaile: wherefore at night hee cauſed warning to bee giuen ſecretly throughout the campe, That euery one ſhould be readie for the breake of day, that both men

E and horſe ſhould refreſh themſelues, the horſemen ſhould be armed, and the horſes ſadled and bridled: And when as day began to appeare, he ſent all his horſemen, and the footmen that were lightly armed, againſt the *Corps de gard*, which were vpon the approches of the enemies campe, and then he marched himſelfe with the whole armie, hauing againſt the expectation both of his own ſoldiors and of the enemie ſet the Romans vpon either wing, and the troupes of their allies in the midſt. *Aſdrubal* moued at the noyſe which his horſemen made, goes out of his tent, and ſeeing the tumult which was before the trenches and paliſadoes of his campe, the ſmal aſſurance of his ſoldiors, the enemies colours gliſtering a far off, and all the fields couered with their troups, he preſently ſends forth his horſemen againſt the Roman horſe, and he himſelfe hauing put his footmen in battell, goes out of his campe, without changing any thing of

F his former order. The horſmens encounter continued long, without any aduantage: for whē as any one was forced to giue back (the which was ordinarie on either ſide) they had a ſafe retreat to their ſquadrons of foot: but after that the bodies of both armies were neere one vnto another, *Scipio* giuing a ſigne, cauſed his horſe to retire, & opening the ranks of foot, receiued them within the battell: then he placed them in two ſquadrons behind the points of it, to reenforce and ſupport his foot; and when he ſaw it was time to charge, he commanded the battaillon in

the middeſt (which were all Spaniards) to march ſoftly: he himſelfe leading the right point, G
had giuen charge to *Syllanus* and *Martius* (who had charge on the other ſide) that as they
ſhould ſee him aduance, they ſhould doe the like, and begin the battaile with the enemy, with
the moſt reſolute of their horſe and foot, before the two ſquadrons in the middeſt ſhould
come to joyne. Wherefore ſtretching forth in this manner both the wings, either of them
with three companies of foot and as many horſe, and ſome forlorne hopes lightly armed,
went with all ſpeed to affront the enemie, whileſt the others followed. Betwixt both
wings there was a void place, for that the Spaniards marched more ſlowly; and they had alrea-
die begun the charge on either ſide, when as the chiefe ſtrength of the enemie (which conſi-
ſted in the Carthaginians and old African ſouldiors) was yet a croſſe-bow ſhot of, and durſt H
not turne towards the wings to ſuccour their companions, leaſt they ſhould leaue the bat-
taile naked and open to the enemie, who came againſt them. The horſemen and Romane
ſouldiours did wonderfully gall the enemies wings vpon the flankes, the companies of foot
which made the point, preſt them in front, and ſought to cut off the wings from the reſt of
the battaile, and euen now the partie was not equall in any part: for beſides that the
points of the Carthaginians armie were furniſhed with horſe-boyes and Spaniards newly
leuied, who had to deale with Romanes and braue Latine ſouldiors, the day being far ſpent,
Aſdrubals armie grew weake, for that they had beene ſurpriſed by the alarme in the mor-
ning, and were forced to put themſelues in battaile without feeding; the which *Scipio* had
done of purpoſe, and to that end had delayed the fight for many houres, beginning it as I
late as he could. It was paſt noone before the foot companies which were in the wings be-
gan to charge, and much later before the battaillons in the middeſt did joyne, ſo as be-
fore that all their forces came to fight, the heat of the Sunne, the toyle being ſo long on
foot, laden with armes, hunger, and thirſt, had ſo tyred the Carthaginians and young A-
fricanes, as they were forced to ſupport themſelues vpon their targuets, they were ſo faint.
Beſides the Elephants (terrified with the furious combate which was vpon either wing)
had run through their middle battaillon. Wherefore the Carthaginians tyred in bodie,
and fainting in courage, began to recoyle, but without diſorder, euen as if they had retyred
by their Generals commaund. But the victorious Romanes charging them with great reſo-
lution on all ſides, when as they found them to ſhrinke, notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions K
of *Aſdrubal* to keepe their rankes vnto the next hils, where they had a ſafe retreat (being
not able to withſtand the enemies force) they all turned their backes and fled, feare being
of more force than ſhame. Being come vnto the foot of thoſe hils, they would haue ſtay-
ed their enſignes, and rallied themſelues to make head againſt the Romanes, who had
made a ſtand to put themſelues in order to aſſayle them: but when they ſaw they were
eagrely purſued, they fled into the fortification of their campe, with great amazement, be-
ing chaſed ſo neere by the Romanes, as they had almoſt entred pell-mell with them. There
fell ſo great a ſhower after the heat of the Sunne, as they which purſued, were forced to
ſtand ſtill, and to retyre with great toyle vnto their campe: yea, there were ſome which did
ſuperſtitiouſly beleeue, That it was not good to proceed any farther that day. Although L
the night and the raine did inuite the Carthaginians (who were tyred and wounded) to take
ſome reſt; yet feare and danger made them to fortifie their campe with all expedition, which
they preſumed would be aſſayled by the enemie at the breake of day: and ſeeing they could
not conquer by armes, they rayſed their rampiers with ſtones, gathered out of the neere val-
lies. Hereupon they did ſee themſelues abandoned by their allies: wherefore they thought
it beſt to be gone, holding flight more ſafe for them than any force. The beginning of the
Spaniards reuolt was by *Atanes* Lord of the Turditanes, who paſſed vnto the Romans campe
with great troupes of his ſubjects: and ſoone after two forts of importance were yeelded
vnto the Romanes by ſuch as had them in gard. *Aſdrubal* fearing this miſchiefe would grow
greater, truſſed vp his baggage and diſlodged. *Scipio* being aduertiſed in the morning, that M
the enemie was gone, ſent his horſemen after them, and then marched after with the Legi-
ons and the reſt of the armie with all ſpeed: who if they had followed them the right way,
they had ſoone ouertaken them: but they truſted to their guides, who aſſured them of ano-
ther way, which conducted them to the riuer of Betis, where they might cut off their paſſage.
Aſdrubal hearing that way was ſtopped, was once in mind to haue retired towards the Ocean:
but

The Romanes and the Carthaginians ioyne in battaile.

Scipioes policie deceiues Aſdrubal.

Feare is of more force than ſhame

Trecherie of the Spaniards to the Carthaginians, their allies.

A but his ſouldiours (obſeruing no kind of diſcipline) marched like men that fled, ſo as they got ſome ground of the Romane Legions: yet the horſemen and ſouldiors which were lightly armed, purſued them ſtill, and did not abandon them; but charging them ſometimes in the rere, and ſometimes in the flanke, did ſtay them and force them to fight, vntill the Legions arriued: then was there no more any combat, but a ſlaughter, as of ſheepe, vntill that their Generall (the author of their flight) ſaued himſelfe with about ſeuen thouſand men, moſt without armes; the reſt were in a manner all ſlaine or taken. The Carthaginians which eſcaped with their captaine, entrenched themſelues ſuddainely vpon a mount, and there defended themſelues eaſily againſt the Romanes, who did ſtriue to get vp; yet being in a naked and deſart
B place, and vnfit to endure a ſiege of few dayes, many disbanded and went to the Romanes campe: the which *Aſdrubal* perceiuing, he abandoned his ſouldiors, embarked himſelfe, and paſſed into the Ile of Calis. *Scipio* aduertiſed of his flight, left *Syllanus* with tenne thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to beſiege their campe, and he with the reſt of the armie returned in 70 daies to Tarracone, where he ſhould diſpoſe of the affaires of the princes and noblemen of Spaine, and giue rewards according to euery ones merit.

An abſolute defeat of the Carthaginians.

After his departure, *Syllanus* had ſecret conference with *Maſſiniſſa*, who hauing new deſignes in his head, paſſed into Africke with a ſmall traine, that he might draw his people to his owne humor. The cauſe of his ſuddaine change did not then appeare, the which he did afterwards juſtifie by a long and conſtant loyaltie, wherein hee did perſiſt vntill his death.

Maſſiniſſa praeſtiſed by Syllanus.

C *Mago* did alſo paſſe into the Iſland of Gades, *Aſdrubal* hauing ſent backe the veſſels: ſo as the armie (being abandoned by the Commaunders) was diſperſed, ſome ſauing themſelues by flight in the neighbour townes, and ſome yeelding to the Romanes. In this manner were the Carthaginians chaſed out of Spaine, about the twelfth yeare of the ſecond Punick warre, by the conduct and happineſſe of *Publius Scipio*, fiue yeares after that he had had the charge of the armies and gouernment of Spaine. Within few daies after *Syllanus* came to *Scipio*, being at Tarracone, bringing him newes, that the warre was ended. *L. Scipio* was ſent from thence to Rome, with many priſoners of marke to carrie newes of the abſolute victorie obtained of the Carthaginians in Spaine. But *Scipio* not content to haue effected ſo great matters in that countrey, had a greater deſigne, ſo great was his mind, and ſo deſirous of glorie.

The Carthaginians chaſed out of Spaine.

D Wherefore knowing, that there was not any one man to make head againſt him in Spaine, he embraced all Africke, whither he paſſed to make factions, and to trouble the Carthaginians Eſtate: the which ſucceeded happily, but it may be with greater hazard than was fit for his ranke.

Great dangers accompany great enterpriſes.

Pub. Cornelius Scipio being returned out of Africke, where he had withdrawne from the alliance of the Carthaginians king *Siphax* their neighbour, and although hee did now ſee Spaine quiet in reſpect of the Africanes; yet he knew, that ſome townes did containe themſelues more for feare than for any loue, as thoſe which had greatly incenſed the Romanes during the precedent warres: the firſt and chiefe, either in greatneſſe or offence, were Caſtulo and Illiturgis: Thoſe of Caſtulo had ſhewed themſelues friends during the proſperi-
E tie of the Romanes; but after the defeat and death of the two *Scipioes*, they had reuolted to the Carthaginians. The Illiturgians had done worſe: for beſides their reuolt, they had deliuered ſuch as had ſaued themſelues there after theſe defeats, to the ſlaughter. Theſe crimes were wiſely diſſembled by *Scipio*, when hee came firſt into the Prouince, and that matters were yet doubtfull: for if he ſhould then haue puniſhed them, he ſhould haue reſpected juſtice more than profit. All things being now aſſured and quiet, hee thought it a fit time to puniſh them. Wherefore hauing called *Lu. Martius* to Tarracone, he ſent him to beſiege Caſtulo, with the third part of his forces; and hee himſelfe departing from Carthagena, led the reſt of his armie before Illiturgis, whither he came in fiue dayes march. The inhabitants doubting, that they would not leaue their trecheries vnpuniſhed, had fortified their
F towne, and furniſhed themſelues with all things neceſſarie to endure a ſiege. *Scipio* let his ſouldiors vnderſtand, That theſe Spaniards did rightly feare that which they had merited, exhorting them to goe againſt them with greater furie than againſt the Carthaginians themſelues. *For* (ſayd he) *the quarrell which wee haue had againſt them of Carthage, was onely for glorie and deſire of rule, but wee take armes againſt theſe men, to puniſh them for their wickedneſſe and cruell treaſon. The time is now come, when wee ſhall reuenge the murthers done*

Caſtulo and Illiturgis trecherous and rebellious townes.

Not expedient at all times to be iuſt.

Scipio beſiegeth Illiturgis.

vnto our companions, and the trecherie which they had prepared for you, if you had fallen into G
their hands after the defeats: and therefore let vs deale ſo, as neuer any Nation ſhall hereafter
dare to wrong the ſouldiors or citizens of Rome in any diſgrace whatſoeuer. Hauing animated
his ſouldiors with theſe words, hee commaunded ladders ſhould be brought, and diſtribu-
ted to the moſt aſſured companies: then diuiding his armie into two, he commaunded, That
Lelius his Lieutenant ſhould aſſayle the towne on the one ſide, and he would lead the reſt
into diuers places; the which was executed with great courage and reſolution. The towneſ-
men had no need of any captaine to encourage them in their defence: for euery one know-
The remembrance of great crimes make men deſperat. ing his danger, was both a ſpurre to himſelfe and his companion, ſaying, That it was not
the honour of a victorie which they ſought of them, but their puniſhment: That they muſt H
make an account to die, but it was more honeſt and ſafe to hazard it fighting (whereas
euery one giueth as well as taketh, and oftentimes the vanquiſhed riſeth, and the victor fal-
leth) rather than to be led bound and manacled (after that wee ſhall haue ſeene our towne
burnt to aſhes) to end our liues with torments, and all ignominie, in the ſight of our wiues
Honor and liberty animate valiant men. and children, who ſhall be made ſlaues. Wherefore they came reſolutely to the walls, not
onely ſuch as were able to carrie armes, but old men, women, and children, which made reſi-
ſtance aboue their forces; they brought ſtones, and gaue armes to thoſe that did fight. It
was not onely a queſtion of libertie which giueth courage to valiant men, but they did ap-
prehend the horror of puniſhments, and the vild and ignominious death which they ſhould
ſuffer: euery one tooke courage, ſeeing his companions valour: Wherefore if it was well I
aſſayled, it was better defended: ſo as this Romane armie, which had ſubdued all Spaine,
being often repulſed by the inhabitants, did ſhamefully wauer. Which *Scipio* perceiuing,
he feared leaſt his men ſhould faint after ſo many vaine attempts, and the enemies ſhould
grow more hardie, wherefore hee thought it needfull to hazard his owne perſon, and to bee
partaker of the danger: whereupon he commanded them to make ready their ladders againe,
Scipio obſtinate to vanquiſh or die. and reproching the ſouldiors of cowardiſe, he aduanced to mount himſelfe (if he had found
them ſlacke) and came neere vnto the wals, not without great danger: but the ſouldiors be-
ing very carefull of their Generall, began all to crie out, and carried ladders to all parts. *Le-*
lius did alſo preſſe them on his ſide: ſo as then the valour of the defendants was forced to
giue place, and they abandoned the rampiers. It happened, that during this tumult, the K
fort which was held impregnable was ſurpriſed: for certaine ſouldiors of Africke reuolted,
which were in the Romane armie, ſeeing that they of the towne were buſied to withſtand
an aſſault in the moſt dangerous places, and the Romanes as buſie to get an entrie into
the towne, they obſerued the higheſt part of the towne, couered with a ſteepe rocke, which
had neither rampier, gard, nor defence. Theſe men being actiue and nimble, began to
creepe vp this rocke, with the helpe of certaine pykes of yron, which they did ſtrike into
Illiturgis taken, and the execution cruell. the ſtones, and made ſteps of them, the firſt helping vp their companions which followed;
ſo as in the end they got vp to the top of the rocke, from whence they began to run with
horrible cries towards the towne, which was alreadie woon by the Romanes. Then ſhew-
ed they the fruits of their choler and hatred: none were ſpared, but all put to the ſword, L
men, and women, of all ages and ſexes; yea, and poore infants: no man cared for ſpoyle,
And quite ruined. the fire deuoured what might be conſumed, and the reſt was ruined, for that the Romanes
would not leaue the markes of a towne, nor the memorie of any habitation of ſuch e-
nemies.

From thence *Scipio* led his armie to Caſtulo. This towne was not onely kept by Spa-
niards, which were come thither from diuers places, but alſo by the remainder of the Car-
thaginians, which were brought thither to garriſon after the retreat of their armie. But be-
fore that *Scipio* arriued, they had newes of the taking of Illiturgis, which ſtrucke a great rerror
among them, and made them almoſt to deſpaire: and as euery mans guilt was not alike, ſo euer-
y one ſought to prouide for his owne ſafetie. Wherefore they began to diſtruſt one another, M
and in the end fell to an open diuiſion, the Spaniards ſeperating themſelues from the Carth-
ginians: *Cordubelus* commaunded the Spaniards, who ſpake openly, That they muſt yeeld vn-
Cordubelus yeeldeth vp Caſtulo, and the Carthaginian garriſon. to the Romans: *Himilco* was chiefe of the Carthaginians, whom *Cordubelus* deliuered vp with
the towne vnto the Romans. By this voluntarie reddition, being alſo not ſo culpable as they
of Illiturgis, the victorie was vſed with leſſe rigor.

22 From thence *Martius* was ſent againſt them of that nation, which plaid the rebels, to ſubject them to the Romane yoke: and *Scipio* returned to new Carthage, to performe the vowes which he had made vnto his gods, and to repreſent the games of fencing which he had prepared in honour of his deceaſed father and vncle. Theſe fencers which were brought forth, were none of his ſlaues, nor ſuch as had beene made free, which the maſter fencers were wont to preſent vnto the people, which ſell their bloud, and are hired for money: but all thoſe that did fight, came willingly without any fee: for ſome were ſent by the noblemen of the country, to ſhew the valour and dexteritie of the nation; others preſented themſelues vnto the combat, for the loue they bare vnto their Generall; others thruſt forth with glorie, defied, or being challenged, accepted the combat willingly. Some there were, which not able to end their ſuits by pleading, reſolued trie it by the ſword, who were of no baſe condition, but gentlemen of noble houſes. Among others *Corbis* and *Orſua*, two couſin germines, who contended for the principalitie of the towne of Ibis, would end their controuerſie by armes. *Corbis* was the elder. The father of *Orſua* had lately ruled in that towne, hauing ſucceeded to that ſeigniorie by the death of his brother. *Scipio* would haue reconciled them by juſtice, and knowledge of the cauſe; but they both anſwered, That it was not the cuſtome among kinsfolkes, and that they would not haue any gods nor men to be their judges, but *Mars*. *Corbis* was the ſtronger, and *Orſua* the more couragious, by reaſon of his youth, both reſolute to die, rather than to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his aduerſe partie. With this reſolution they ſhewed themſelues to the whole armie. The eldeſt alſo had more experience in his weapon, and was more cunning, ſo as he did eaſily vanquiſh the fooliſh preſumption of the younger. To theſe ſights of fencers were added funerall plaies, according to the manner of the Pagans, with preparation fit for the countrey, and as at the warre.

Combats vpon furious ambition.

A ſuit decided by armes.

23 During theſe ſhewes, the Romanes loſt no time, *Scipioes* lieutenants being ſeriouſly imployed about their affaires. *Martius* hauing paſt the riuer Betis (called Circe by them of the countrey) tooke two good and rich townes, without ſtriking ſtroke. There was another towne called Aſtapa, the which had alwayes held the Carthaginians partie, and made profeſſion to hate the Romanes deadly, yea when there was not any neceſſitie of warre: and yet their towne was neither ſtrong by nature, nor art, whereby they ſhould grow proud: but the nature of theſe men (who had no delight but in theeuing) had cauſed them to ſpoile the countries of the Romane allies, and to ſtrip their victualers, ſouldiors, or merchants, if they found them ſcattered; yea they had layd an ambuſh for a great troupe of men paſſing through their countrey, and hauing ſurpriſed them in a ſtrait, had ſlaine them. When as the armie came before the towne, the inhabitants prickt with the feeling of their faults, expected no mercie of their enemies, and ſeeing no meanes to hold againſt a ſiege, they tooke a cruell and deteſtable reſolution: for they brought into the middeſt of their market place all that was good and precious within the towne, and laied it on a heape, vpon the which they ſet their wiues and children; then they planted great ſtore of fagots and other wood round about it: this being done, they appointed fiftie yong men well armed, for the gard thereof, enjoyning them, that whileſt the euent of the fight betwixt them and the Romanes was doubtfull, they ſhould remaine there, and be faithfull gardians of their goods, and of thoſe perſons whom they held deereſt: but if they ſaw it ſucceeded ill, and that the towne was in daunger to bee loſt, they might then be aſſured, that all they which had ſallied out vpon the enemies were ſlaine in the fight: wherefore they did conjure them by all the celeſtiall and infernall gods, to remember their liberties, which that day ſhould end by an honeſt death, or by an infamous ſeruitude: and therefore they ſhould not leaue any thing that belonged vnto them, wherewith the enemie in his furie might glut his crueltie: to which end they had both fire and ſwords in their hands; and that therefore ſuch things as were to periſh, ſhould be deſtroyed by the hands of their faithfull friends, rather than be expoſed to the ſcorne and inſolencie of the enemie. This ſpoken, they added an execrable curſe vpon thoſe that ſhould ſuffer themſelues to be mooued with any pitie or tenderneſſe of heart, and forbeare to execute that which they had decreed; then hauing opened the gate, they marched directly to the Romane trenches, with more than a brutiſh furie. The Romanes had no conceit they ſhould ſally thus forth vpon them, wherefore they found the paſſages vnto the campe but ill garded. Some troupes of horſe and foot light-

Aſtapa.

Aſtapians deſperat thieues.

A barbarous & deteſtable reſolution of the Aſtapians.

lightly armed, were ſuddenly ſent out againſt them, where they came to fight with more furie than good order: Wherefore the horſemen which came firſt to charge the enemie (being repulſed) amazed the footmen, ſo as the Aſtapians had come vnto the Romanes campe, if the legions (hauing ſome little leaſure) had not put themſelues into battell. There the enemies like madde men, ran deſperatly vpon their weapons: but the old ſouldiours keeping their ground, and ouerthrowing the formoſt, ſtayed them that followed: then ſeeking to beat them backe, finding them obſtinatly reſolued to dye where they ſtood, they opened their battailon, compaſſing them in with the multitude, and ſlew them all. This was done like ſouldiours, againſt incenſed enemies, that were armed: but within the towne there was a barbarous ſlaughter, where as the citizens themſelues murthered the weake vnarmed multitude of their wiues and little children, caſting their bodies yet breathing into the fire, whoſe bloud did in a manner quench the flames. In the end being tyred with this pitifull ſlaughter of their owne, they leapt armed as they were into the middeſt of the fire. Thereupon the victorious Romanes entred, who beholding this cruell ſpectacle, ſtood amazed for a ſeaſon: then ſeeing the gold and ſiluer ſhine through the fire (thruſt on with greedineſſe) they went in to gather it vp; but many of them were roaſted in the fire, being kept in by the preaſe that followed them.

The Aſtapians do barbarouſly murther their owne wiues and children.

Thus ended the ſiege of Aſtapa, being conſumed by fire, with all her treaſure, whereas the Romans got no ſpoile. After this exploit *Martius* tooke in many other places of the country, which yeelded to his mercie, and then returned with his victorious armie to new Carthage.

The Gaditanes offer to deliuer their town vnto the Romans.

About this time there came certaine deputies ſecretly out of the iſland of Gades, who promiſed to yeeld vp the towne with the Gouernour, into the Romans hands, and all the Carthaginians which were there in garriſon. *Mago* was retired thither, after the diſſolution of the campe, when as he was forced to flie, who hauing gathered together certaine ſhips, aſſembled ſome troups out of Spaine and Africke, neere vnto the ſtrait. Theſe citizens being heard, and hauing plighted their faith one vnto another, to obſerue what had beene promiſed, they were ſent backe. *Scipio* ſent *Martius* thither by land with his ableſt troupes (and *Lelius* by ſea) with ſeuen gallies and a galleaſſe, to the end, that with a mutual conſent they ſhould mannage this enterpriſe both by ſea and land.

Scipio falls verie ſicke.

24 Whileſt they are buſie to ſurpriſe Gades, *Scipio* fell verie ſick, but it was made greater, according to the common cuſtome of men: the which did much trouble the whole countrie, and euen thoſe that were fartheſt off: and it ſeemed by the diſcord which grew of this falſe brute, that if it had beene true, it would haue bred a great alteration of the affaires in Spaine; for neither the allies, nor the Romane armie, could containe themſelues in their duties. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* being ſorie that the effect was not anſwerable to their conceptions, which was, to make themſelues kings, as ſoone as the Carthaginians were expelled, mooued the Lacetanes of their countrey to armes, with many Celtiberians, forraging and ſpoyling the fields of the Sueſſetanes and Sedetanes, who were allied to the Romanes. Beſides, there grew a mutinie in the Romane campe, neere vnto the riuer of Sucro, or Xucar, where as there lay eight thouſand men in garriſon, to keepe the people in awe on this ſide the riuer of Ebro. Theſe troupes had begun to grow diſordered, before the vncertaine brute of *Scipioes* death: which grew through idleneſſe, the which doth commonly fall out, when as ſouldiours want imployment. Then they grew licentious, and diſcontented, for that being accuſtomed to take ſpoiles, and to riot at their enemies charges, during the warres, they now ſaw themſelues reſtrained, and gouerned according to the orders of the time, when as the warre ceaſed. And theſe were their reaſons. If they make warre (ſaid they) in any part of Spaine, why doe they keepe vs here, where there is no imployment? If the warre be ended, why do they not lead vs backe into Italie? Then they demaunded their pay after an inſolent manner, not like vnto ſouldiours well diſciplined. When the captaines and officers of companies went the round in the night, thoſe that were in the corps de gard vſed many opprobrious ſpeeches againſt them. Some ſtealing forth in the night, ſpoyled the countrey of their friends and neighbours: yea they grew ſo inſolent, as euen in the day time they would goe out of the campe, and abandon their enſignes without leaue. Finally, all was done after the appetite of ſouldiors which were without order or diſcipline, and without any commaund of their heads

Ambition makes Mandonius and Indibilis diſſoial

Idleneſſe makes ſoldiors inſolent and mutinous.

They that are accuſtomed to liue vpon ſpoile, cannot ſubiect themſelues to diſcipline.

A heads and Tribunes; onely they were content there ſhould be ſome forme of a Roman campe maintained, and did ſuffer the captaines to ſit in their accuſtomed places to doe juſtice: they tooke the word from them, went to the gard in their turnes, and ſet their ſentinels. And although they had in a manner ſuppreſt the authoritie of their commaunders, yet they made a ſhew to obey them, whom in truth they commaunded. This they did, thinking that in the end their captaines, being infected with their frenzie, would joyne with them. But when they ſaw that they reprehended them ſharpely, and that they ſought to ſuppreſſe their furies, and openly refuſed to be companions vnto them in their inſolencies, they chaſed them firſt from their ſeats, and in the end forced them to forſake the campe. Which done, they began to
B chuſe the moſt ſeditious among them for their leaders and captaines, creating with a generall conſent *C. Albius Calenus*, and *C. Atrius Vmber*, ſimple ſouldiours, to be their Tribunes: who not contented to take the markes of Tribunes, preſumed to vſurpe the authoritie of the Soueraigne head, cauſing rods and axes to be carried before them, not remembring that thoſe rods and axes wherewith they thought to terrifie other men, ſhould fall vpon their owne ſhoulders: for the conceit they had of *Scipioes* death, did blind their vnderſtandings, imagining they would preſently take armes throughout all Spaine, and that in theſe tumults they ſhould haue meanes to ſpoyle the champian countrey, and to ranſacke townes; and that any exceſſe in ſuch a tumultuous time, would be held light. As they did expect from time to time freſh newes not onely of *Scipioes* death, but alſo of his funerall, when as they ſaw that not a-
C ny one did come, and that this bruit did vaniſh by little and little, they began to find their owne errours, demaunding in a rage, Where they were that had abuſed them with that vntruth; ſeeking to perſuade themſelues, that they had not maliciouſly inuented it, but rather beleeued it inconſideratly. Wherefore theſe new captaines were abandoned, and they began now to abhorre the falſe markes and titles, and the commaund which they had vſurped, apprehending the force of juſtice, whereunto they were ſubject. This ſedition being ſomewhat pacified, and certaine newes come of *Scipioes* recouerie, there came ſeuen Colonels, ſent by him vnto the campe: at whoſe arriuall the ſouldiours began againe to fall into their frenzie, but they were pacified by them with good words, addreſſing themſelues to ſuch as were of their acquaintance: then going about the lodgings and tents, euen vnto the Gene-
D rals ſeat and lodging, if they found any aſſembled together, they ſpake mildly vnto them, demaunding the reaſon of their alteration, and blaming in ſome ſort their actions. Their generall excuſe was, That they were not payed, and that they had beene carefull to puniſh them of Illiturgis for their wickedneſſe committed after the defeat of two armies, and of two great captaines, but not rewarded their deſers, which after theſe misfortunes had maintained the honour of Rome, and preſerued the countrey by their vertue and valour. The Tribunes or Colonels ſeemed to allow of their reaſons; ſaying, That they would make report thereof vnto *Scipio*, and that they were exceeding glad there was no harme, but that might be eaſily cured: that (thankes be to God) *Scipio* and the commonweale of Rome, had meanes both to content and reward them.

The Roman captaines chaſed out of their camp by the mutined ſouldiours.

In a confuſion of the ſtate all exceſſe ſeemes light

The diſcretion of the Colonels to pacifie the mutinie.

E *Scipio* was better acquainted with warre than with ciuile ſeditions, ſo as he was ſomewhat troubled how he ſhould carrie himſelfe in this action, fearing that as the ſouldiours had done in their exceſſe, ſo he in puniſhing them might exceed meaſure: he therefore reſolued to proceed with mildneſſe. There were collectors ſent preſently to the tributarie townes, to leuie money, giuing the ſouldiours hope by that meanes, that within few dayes they ſhould be muſtered and paied: and then he made a proclamation, That all the ſouldiours ſhould come to new Carthage, to receiue their pay, either all together, or by companies apart. In the meane time the Spaniards which were rebelled, retired home to their houſes, the which did wholly pacifie the ſedition in the Romanes campe. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* being aduertiſed, that *Scipio* was liuing, gaue ouer their enterpriſe, and were abandoned by all thoſe that had fol-
F lowed them, finding not any one, neither Romane nor ſtranger, that would bee a companion of their follies.

There grew a queſtion among the ſeditious, Whether they ſhould go to Carthage or not, euerie one caſting what was moſt ſafe and expedient for them: if they muſt needs goe, whether they ſhould goe all together, or in companies one after another: in the end they reſolued,

The mutinous ſouldiors reſolue to ſubmit themſelues to Scipioes mercie.

ued, that their beſt courſe was to ſubmit themſelues vnto *Scipioes* mercie; ſaying, That he had G
pardoned enemies, and that their offence was none of the greateſt, for there had not beene a-
ny man ſlaine nor wounded: And for the ſafeſt, they ſhould goe all together. Whileſt they
conſulted what they ſhould doe, they alſo reſolued at Carthage, how they ſhould intreat
them: Some were of opinion to puniſh them all in generall; ſaying, That it was a meere re-
bellion, and no ſedition: others aduiſed to puniſh the authors onely, which might bee ſome
fiue and thirtie in all. This aduice was followed, that the puniſhment ſhould end whereas
the offence began. And to the end they ſhould not thinke this counſell was held to puniſh
the ſeditious, as ſoone as euer they came forth, a proclamation was made, That euerie one
ſhould haue his horſe and armes readie to march againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, and that H
they ſhould giue order to haue victuals readie for certaine dayes, and to make other prepara-
tions for the armie, which ſhould march.

The ſeuen Tribunes which had beene ſent to the mutined ſouldiours, and who had pacified
them with good words, were ſent againe to meet them; to either of which was giuen a note,
in the which were written fiue names of the authors of this diſorder, with commaundement,
That being among them, either of them ſhould ſeeke to draw them that were in his roll into
his lodging, and there make them good cheere, and to drinke of the beſt vntill they were
drunke, and then to put them into ſafe keeping, without any brute. Theſe troupes approa-
ched to new Carthage, and vnderſtood by all thoſe they met, that the next day they ſhould
march againſt the Lucetanes, vnder the conduct of *Syllanus* and *Lelius*: the which did great- I

The heads of the ſeditious are puniſhed for the multitude.

ly rejoyce them, not onely freeing their hearts from feare, but alſo perſuading themſelues,
that by that meanes their Generall ſhould rather be in their power, than they in his. About
Sunne ſet they entred into the towne, finding the other ſouldiours preparing themſelues to
march. They were entertained with words fit for the buſineſſe which was in hand; That their
comming was pleaſing vnto the Generall, the other armie being readie to march, with ſuch
like words. They lodged and refreſhed themſelues, and the heads of the mutines were
drawne by a deuice into certaine houſes, where they were taken and bound. A little before
day the baggage of the armie which they made ſhew ſhould diſlodge, began to march, and
at the breake of day the companies followed: but they ſtayed at the gates, whereas they ſet
good gards, that no ſouldiour might goe out of the towne. Then they called theſe ſouldiors K
newly come, to the aſſemblie, who came before the Generals Tribunall with great arrogan-
cie, as if they would haue terrified him. Then the Generall went vp to his ſeat of juſtice, and
at the ſame time the companies which were in armes at the gates, were called backe, who
compaſſed them in behind, they being vnarmed: then their hearts began to faint, and that
which did moſt amaze them (as they confeſſed afterward) was the vigorous countenance of
Scipio, whom they expected to find leane and pale. Hauing continued there ſome ſpace with-
out any word ſpeaking, vntill the chiefe offendours were brought vnto the place; they be-
ing come, he began to reprehend them ſharpely, for that contrarie to their dueties and the
naturall bond they had vnto their countrey, and againſt the oath made vnto their commaun-
ders, they had ſhewed themſelues rebels, diſobedient, perjured, and enemies both in word L
and deed: hauing followed men that were not well borne, nor eſteemed for any vertue, but
raſcals, to whom they had giuen full power and commaund ouer them, ſuch as *Atrius Vm-*
ber, and *Calenus Albius*. *I do not thinke that you haue all runne willingly into this furie, but that*

Scipio makes a notable inuectiue againſt the ſeditious ſouldiors.

ſome were the motiues and beginners, and the reſt were infected by their acquaintance, as with the
plague: when I conſider that the brute of my death hath beene receiued, beleeued, and hoped for a-
mong my ſouldiours; who haue ſo carried my ſelfe, as I need not feare that any one in Spaine (the Car-
thaginians being chaſed away) ſhould hate my life, no not our enemies themſelues. I beleeue then,
that our whole armie is not ſo ill affected, but if it were ſo, I would willingly dye here in your preſence:
I beleeue rather, that this miſchiefe hath proceeded from the malice of ſome few. But I will forbeare
to ſpeake of my ſelfe, and ſuppoſe you haue my name in deteſtation, and diſdaine my commaund: thinke M
of your offences, and conſider how great they are againſt your countrey, your parents and children, a-
gainſt the gods, witneſſes of your oathes and promiſes, againſt your commaunders and captaines, a-
gainſt all order and martiall diſcipline, and againſt the manners of your anceſtors. What offence had
your countrey done you, that you ſhould take armes againſt it, and betray it, in conferring your

coun-

A *counſels with* Mandonius *and* Indibilis. *What had the commonweale of Rome committed, whoſe maieſtie you haue troden vnder foot, wreſting the authoritie out of the Tribunes hands, who were created by the peoples voyces, to giue it vnto priuat men? and not content to haue them for Tribunes, you haue giuen them the markes of a Generall, to them I ſay, who neuer yet commaunded ouer a poore ſlaue.* Albius *and* Atrius *haue beene lodged in the Generals tent, by you Romanes, the trumpet hath ſounded before them, they haue giuen you the word, they haue ſet in the Proconſull* Scipioes *chayre, they haue had an officer to make place, when as they had the rods and axes carried before them. What more monſtrous and deteſtable crimes can you imagine? the which in trueth cannot bee purged, but by the bloud of ſuch as haue committed them. But what frenzie made you preſume, being but*
B *eight thouſand men (better without doubt than* Albius *and* Atrius, *to whom you haue ſubiected your ſelues) to be able to take the prouince of Spaine from the Romanes by force, I being dead or aliue, the reſt of the Romane forces being ſafe, with the which I haue in one day taken new Carthage by aſſault, defeated foure great captaines, and chaſed foure Carthaginian armies out of Spaine? Thinke you that the greatneſſe and ſtrength of the Romane commonweale conſiſts in the life or death of any captaine whatſoeuer? What am I more than* Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Poſthumus, Albinus, M. Marcellus, T. Criſpinus, C. Fuluius, *the two of our houſe, and ſo many other braue and valiant captaines which haue died in this warre, and yet the people of Rome ſtand firme, and would ſtill, although there ſhould dye a thouſand more, either by ſword or ſickneſſe? much leſſe can the Romane ſtate ſhrinke or decay by my death. After that my father and vncle (who were your captaines) had*
C *beene ſlaine in theſe countries, you your ſelues did chuſe* L. Septimius Martius *to bee your head againſt the pride and inſolencie of the Carthaginians (I ſpeake of him as if Spaine wanted other captaines.)* M. Syllanus, *is not he here alſo, with equall authoritie to my ſelfe?* L. Scipio *my brother, and* C. Lelius, *lieutenants, are not they here alſo? Would not theſe men haue maintained and defended the maieſtie of the Romane Empire? What compariſon can you make betwixt the armies, the commaunders, and the cauſes? And admit you had all aduantages, ſhould you therefore take armes againſt your countrey and fellow citizens, renounce the countrey which hath bred you, with your wiues and children, to adhere vnto the enemie, and to chuſe your abode at Succron? And what was the reaſon? for that your pay was a little protracted, by reaſon of your Generals ſickneſſe? O worthie cauſe to make you violate all diuine and humane lawes! O Romanes, you*
D *haue wonderfully erred, beleeue me, you haue loſt all reaſon and iudgement, and the infirmitie of your minds hath beene worſe than that which afflicted my bodie. My words ſeeme ſharpe vnto you, but your actions haue beene farre more ſharpe: which if you repent, I deſire there ſhould bee no more mention made of them, but remaine buried in forgetfulneſſe, holding the repentance of ſuch deteſtable acts, to bee a ſufficient chaſtiſement, for as much as concernes you all in generall. But as for* Albius Calenus, Atrius Vmber, *and others which haue beene the authors of this wicked ſedition, they ſhall expiate their follies with their bloud: the which ſhould not be diſpleaſing vnto you, but rather deſired and applauded, ſeeing they ſought to ruine you, and haue offended none more than you.*

E In this manner *Scipio* ſpake vnto the ſeditious ſouldiours, and preſently execution was done of theſe fiue and thirtie men, with horrour and great feare to all the reſt of the offendors: For the armed ſouldiours which ſtood about the aſſembly, began to beat their targuets, the names of them that were condemned, were openly pronounced by the crier, they were drawne naked, tied to poſts, vnto the place, beaten and torne with rods, and then beheaded, all the aſſiſtants being ſo amazed with feare, as there was not a ſigh heard among them. The bodies being carried away, and the place cleanſed, after the accuſtomed manner, *Scipio* made the ſouldiours to take a new oathe, and they were paied what was due vnto them, calling them by name one after another. This was the end of the mutinie and ſedition made at Succron, vertuouſly and yet mildly chaſtiſed by *Scipio*, conſidering the qua-
F litie of the crime, which was of ſuch conſequence for great eſtates, as many haue not ſpared innocents themſelues, to terrifie others.

The puniſhment of the chiefe offendors.

Sedition is a miſchiefe which doth much import eſtates.

At the ſame time *Hanno* had bin ſent by *Mago* to the mouth of Betis (which is now Guadalquiber) with a ſmall number of Africanes, who gathered together ſome 4000 men vpon thoſe marches: but he was charged by *L. Martius*, and forced in his campe, and moſt of his ſouldiors ſlain, ſome at the aſſault of his rampars, and the reſt in the field, being purſued by the horſemen

as

as they fled, and he with a ſmall number ſaued himſelfe. Whileſt this was doing about that riuer, *Lelius* arriued with his ſea armie at Carteia, hauing paſt the ſtrait, at the entrie whereof this towne is ſituated in the Ocean. The Romanes thought they ſhould haue meanes to ſurpriſe the towne of Gadiz by intelligence, as they had contriued it with ſome of the inhabitants: but this buſines was diſcouered before the execution; the complices were taken, and deliuered by *Mago* vnto the Prætor *Adherbal*, to be led to Carthage the great; who put the conſpirators into a galeaſſe, and for that it was heauier and more ſlower than the gallies, he ſent it a little before, & himſelfe followed it with eight gallies. This galeaſſe was alreadie entred into the ſtrait; when as *Lelius* diſcouering it out of the port of Carteia, put forth alſo with a galeaſſe, being followed by his ſeuen gallies, and aſſuring himſelfe that the enemies galeaſſe carried by the current within that ſtrait (being hard to force) could not turne backe, he went to affront *Adherbal* and his gallies. The Carthaginian ſeeing himſelfe ſurpriſed, was doubtful whether he ſhould flie after his galeaſſe, or elſe make head. Whileſt he ſtands in ſuſpence, *Lelius* commeth vpon him, and it was not in his power to auoid the combat. They were in a ſtrait, whereas nothing could be done after the manner of ſea-fights, by the iudgement of captaines and mariners: for the ſea going high in that place, they could not turne their gallies at their pleaſures, the which were carried by the waues as well againſt their own as againſt the enemies, notwithſtanding all their endeuours; ſo that oftentimes they might haue ſeene a gallie flying turne her ſpurre ſuddenly againſt that which purſued her, by the turning of a waue, and that which chaſed her, to flie away. The gallies being in this ſtrife, it happened, that the Roman galeaſſe (whether by her weight, or the number of her oares) maſtring the waues better than the reſt, forced two Carthaginian gallies, ſtemming the one, and diſarming the other of all her oares of the one ſide, as ſhe paſſed by her, and would in like manner haue endamaged the reſt, if ſhe had incountred them: but *Adherbal* with the helpe of his ſailes and oares, recouered that coaſt of Affricke which was neereſt. *Lelius* being victor, returned to Carteia, and informed of all that which had paſſed at Gadiz, how that their practiſe was diſcouered, and that the conſpirators were ſent to Carthage, he aduertiſed *Marius*, that it was labour loſt to ſtay there, being more expedient to returne towards their Generall: which they did both within few daies after, and came to new Carthage. *Mago* hearing of their departure, and freed from feare, did not only reſume new courage, but was alſo in hope to recouer all Spain by the rebellion of the Ilergetes; wherefore he ſent preſently to Carthage, to acquaint the Senate with the ſedition which had lately happened in the Romanes campe, and the rebellion and reuolt of their allies, giuing them charge to make them greater than they were; perſuading them, that it was now a fit time to recouer the Seigniorie of all Spaine, which they had receiued from their anceſtors, and therefore they ſhould ſend forces to do it.

The practiſe of the Gaditans diſcouered and ſuppreſt.

A fight at the ſea betwixt Lelius and Adherbal

Mago brother to Hannibal and Generall of the Carthaginians, hopes to recouer all Spaine.

As for *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who were gone to the field, vpon the brute of *Scipios* death, thinking to make vſe of the Roman ſoldiors which were mutined, when as they vnderſtood the truth of all things, they retired home to their houſes without any alteration, attending what ſhould be done vnto the ſeditious; preſuming, that if *Scipio* pardoned his own ſoldiors, he might alſo vſe the like clemencie towards them: but when as they vnderſtood with what rigor he had puniſhed them, they thought it was a preſage for them to attend the like, for that they were guiltie of the ſame crime: wherfore they gathered their forces together, and cauſed their confederats to arme, meeting in the territorie of Sedera, where they had camped in the beginning of their reuolt, being ſome 20000 foot and 2500 horſe. *Scipio* hauing eaſily pacified the diſcontentment of his ſoldiors, paying vnto euery man what was due vnto him, ſhewing them a good countenance, and vſing good words, to whom before his departure from Carthage, he made a ſpeech in ſome bitter tearmes againſt the rebellion of theſe two noble men.

Scipio prepares to goe againſt Mandonius and Indibilis.

Scipios ſpeech to his ſoldiors.

I goe not (ſaid he) *againſt theſe men to puniſh their ingratitude and wickedneſſe with the like affection, as when I did chaſtiſe the offences of our fellow citizens, for what I did then was very ſparingly, as if I ſhould haue torne out part of mine owne bowels; wherefore I was content to correct the error or the offence of* 8000, *by the puniſhment of* 35 *men: but now that I march with you to ruine the Ilergetes, to whom we are not tied neyther by birth nor friendſhip, ſeeing that league which was betwixt vs had bin wickedly broken and violated by them, I know that all you of mine armie are eyther Romanes or Latins: beſides, there are few of you which haue not bin brought out of Italie hither by my vncle*

Cn. Scipio,

A Cn. Scipio, *who firſt brought a Romane armie into Spaine, or by* Publius *my father, or by me, and that you are all accuſtomed to the names and conduct of the* Scipioes. *Wherefore I deſire to carrie you backe, that you may be partakers of the triumph, which we haue well deſerued. As for this warre whither wee go, let vs not call it a war, if we will remember what we haue done in this country. I do more eſteem* Mago, *who hath ſaued himſelfe in an iſland (out of the world as a man may ſay) with a few ſhips, than of the Ilergetes. He is a Carthaginian captaine, and holds ſome forme of a garriſon where he is, but theſe are theeues, and captaines of theeues, which are of no moment in a well gouerned warre, but onely to ouerrun and ſpoyle their neighbours fields, carrie away their cattell, and ſet fire of their farmes: whoſe force and valour conſiſts in flying ſwiftly, and not in fighting well. If I goe firſt againſt them, doe not*
B *thinke it is for any danger, or difficultie, or for any feare I haue that the war wil be long by their means, but onely to the end ſo wicked a rebellion ſhould not remaine long vnpuniſhed, nor to leaue any enemie in armes, if it be poſsible, in a prouince conquered with ſo great happineſſe and valour as we haue done.*

Then he exhorted them to follow him vnder the conduct of the gods, not to the wars, but to puniſh wicked men: injoyning them to be readie for the next day. Being parted, he made ten lodgings with his campe, before he came to the riuer of Ebro, which hauing paſſed the fourth day following, they preſented themſelues in ſight of the enemie. Betwixt both was a large vally, compaſſed in with mountaines: there *Scipio* made ſome troupes of cattell which had beene taken in the enemies countrey, to be put, to draw them forth to fight, cauſing them to be kept with ſome ſouldiours which were lightly armed. The Spaniards fall vpon this boo-
C tie, and the Romane ſouldiours goe to reſcue it. Hereupon *Lelius* arriues, being appointed to ſecond theſe footmen, with ſome bands of horſe, who arriued fitly, for the combat was doubtfull. The Spaniards were repulſt by theſe ſuccours with great ſlaughter, yet they fainted not for all this, but preſented themſelues the next day in order of battel, vpon the ſame place: and for that the vallie was not able to containe all their forces, they brought forth ſome two third parts of their foot, and all their horſe. The Romans held the ſtraitneſſe of the place to bee an aduantage for them, for that their ſouldiours did fight better cloſe than in an open field, who kept their rankes, and did not run vp and downe like vnto the Spaniards: beſides, they ſaw that they ſhould haue to deale but with two third parts of the enemies armie. And *Scipio* reſolued of a ſtratagem: for ſeeing that he could not flanke his footmen with his horſe, by reaſon of the
D ſtraitneſſe of the place, and that by the ſame reaſon, the enemies horſe were alſo vnprofitable, he commaunded *Lelius* to lead all his horſemen about the hills, and to ſeeke ſome paſſage to charge the Spaniſh horſemen vpon the backe, and to draw them from their foot. And to the end the enemie ſhould not diſcouer what *Lelius* intended, he preſently went againſt the enemie with his footmen, placing foure companies onely in front, for that he could not do otherwiſe: ſo the battell began in two ſeuerall places, betwixt two battailons of foot, and two of horſe, whereas one could not ſuccour another, till in the end the Spaniſh foot being put to rout, their horſemen being preſt before by the legions, and behind by the Roman horſe, were all preſently ſlaine, ſo as of all the horſe and foot which fought in the vallie, there eſcaped not any one. The other third part of the Spaniſh army, which came not to fight, but had only been
E ſpectators in a ſafe place, on the top of the hils, had all means to flie away; among whom there eſcaped *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*. The campe and all their baggage was taken, with 3000 priſoners: and of the Romans there were ſlaine about 1200, & about 3000 hurt. There is no doubt, but they had gotten this victorie with leſſe bloud, if the field had beene larger, and that the Spaniards might haue fled more eaſily. After this rout, *Indibilis* reſolued to lay aſide armes, and as the ſafeſt way, to ſubmit himſelfe to *Scipioes* faith and clemencie, the which hee had tried: and therefore he ſent *Mandonius* his brother vnto him, who did proſtrate himſelfe at his feet, confeſſing their fault, which ſeemed (ſaid he) to be as a fatall diſeaſe in that ſeaſon: hauing not onely run among the Ilergetes and Lacetanes, but alſo infected the campe and Romane armie: finally, that both he and his brother were come thither, being readie either to yeeld vp
F their liues to *Scipio* (from whom they had receiued them) if it were his pleaſure, or in taking them againe from him, to be for euer bound vnto him. It was an auntient cuſtome with the Romanes, not to capitulate, nor to haue any peace with them with whom they had no allyance nor friendſhip, before they did yeeld into their hands whatſoeuer they held, were it holy or prophane, giuen hoſtages, deliuered vp their armes, and receiued garriſons into their townes. *Scipio* was content to receiue *Mandonius* preſent, and *Indibilis* being abſent at that

A battell betwixt the Romans and naturall Spaniards.

The Spaniards defeated.

Mandonius and Indibilis yeeld to Scipios mercy

Scipio pardons the rebellious Spaniards.

time,with ſome bitter ſpeeches giuing them to vnderſtand, that they had deſerued death: but they receiued their liues by the grace of the people of Rome. Moreouer, that hee would not diſarme them, which was the aſſurance they did vſually take of rebels,but would they ſhould hold them freely, and to be void from feare: but if they reuolted againe, they ſhould know he would not be reuenged of innocent hoſtages, but vpon ſuch as had offended, and that he would puniſh thoſe that ſhould preſent themſelues in armes, and not the diſarmed: Wherefore they ſhould chuſe,whether they would haue the Romanes fauourable vnto them, or incenſed againſt them. Thus was *Mandonius* ſent away, without any other puniſhment than money,which they commaunded him to furniſh to pay the armie. *Scipio* hauing ſent *L. Martius* before,to paſſe the riuer of Ebro,and *Syllanus* to Tarracone,he ſtaied ſome time,vntil the Ilergetes had paid their money, and then he followed after *Martius*(who approached neere vnto the Ocean)with ſome few men,and no baggage.

25 The treatie begun with *Maſſiniſſa* had beene delaied for diuers reaſons: for this Numidian would treat with *Scipio* himſelfe,and make his promiſes to him.This made *Scipio* to vndertake a long voiage.*Maſſiniſſa* was in the iſland of Gades,where hauing intelligence by *Marius*,that *Scipio* approached,he told the Gouernour *Mago*, That the horſes and horſmen were ſpoiled in the iſland,where they cauſed a dearth of all things, to the hurt of others; deſiring him to giue them leaue to paſſe into the firme land, to make ſome courſes into the enemies countrey. Being paſt, he preſently ſent three of the chiefe among the Numidians to *Scipio*, two of the which ſhould remaine for hoſtages, and the third returne to bring him notice of the day and place where the enteruiew ſhould be; where they met with a ſmall companie. *Maſſiniſſa* firſt of all thanked *Scipio*, That he had ſent him his nephew,his brothers ſonne:then he ſaid vnto him, That he had long deſired to ſee that day, and that hee deſired much to doe ſomething that might be acceptable vnto him, and profitable to the Romans: wherein hee would imploy himſelfe more willingly than any ſtranger whatſoeuer, the effects whereof he could not yet ſhew in Spain(a country vnknowne vnto him)but in place where he was borne and bred,hoping to ſucceed his father in the kingdome: and that if the Romanes did ſend *Scipio* into Africke,he did hope to worke ſo,as the eſtate of Carthage ſhould not ſtand long. *Maſſiniſſa* was welcome vnto *Scipio*,who heard his words with great content, knowing that whatſoeuer had beene valiantly performed in Spaine by the horſemen, was done vnder the onely leading of *Maſſiniſſa*,who ſhewed by his carriage and countenance,that he was a yong prince of great hope. So hauing plighted their faith one vnto another, they parted, *Scipio* towards Tarracone, and *Maſſiniſſa* to Gades: and to the end hee would not ſeeme to haue paſſed into the firme land in vaine, he ſpoyled ſome of the neighbour countrey,neere the ſhore, with *Scipioes* conſent.

A parley betwixt Maſſiniſſa and Scipio,to the preiudice of the Romans.

26 *Mago* being made fruſtrat of his conceiued hope,to repaire the Carthaginians affairs in Spaine,by the Spaniards rebellion, vnder *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, and the ſedition of the Romane ſouldiours,reſolued to goe into Africke,when as being readie to depart,he receiued order from the Senat of Carthage, by the which he was commaunded to paſſe with all the ſhipping he had at Calis, into Italie, and to leuie all the ſouldiours he could in Gaule,and along the ſea coaſt,and to joyne with his brother *Hannibal*, to the end the warre which had bin begun with ſuch animoſitie, might be continued with the like reſolution. For the effecting whereof they brought money from Carthage, and he for his part got all hee could from the Gaditanes, hauing not onely exhauſted their common treaſure, but vnfurniſhed their temples of their jewels and other riches, and forced euerie priuat man to bring him all the gold and ſiluer he had. As he paſſed along the coaſt of Spaine,comming neere vnto new Carthage he landed ſome ſouldiours, which forraged the countrey neere vnto the ſea, and gaue an alarme vnto the whole prouince. Then he approached neere vnto the towne, and hauing kept his ſouldiours aboord the gallies in the day time,at night he put them on ſhore, towards that part of the wall whereas the Romanes had entred; ſuppoſing that Carthage had not been verie well manned with ſouldiours, and that haply ſome of the inhabitants might reuolt: but the flight of the countrey-men,and the centinels (which had diſcouered the armie at ſea the day before) had alreadie giuen aduertiſement to the town,who imagined that it was not without ſome deſigne,that the gallies had caſt anker ſo neere vnto them. Wherefore the garriſon kept themſelues in armes,and ſtood readie at the port next vnto the poole, and towards the

Mago,Hannibals brother, commaunded to paſſe into Italy.

Mago ſpoils the Gadstanes.

A the ſea. The enemies came in troupes mixt of ſouldiours and mariners, vnto the foot of the wall, with more brute than effect: and then the port was ſet open, whereas the Romans made a furious ſallie vpon them, with great cries, wherewith they were ſo amazed, as at the firſt charge, they turned their backes in diſorder towards the ſea, whither they were purſued with great ſlaughter: and if their gallies had not beene verie neere to receiue them, there had not any one eſcaped. Hauing gotten aboord, they were not yet aſſured, but feared that ſome of the enemies gallies would come out of the port againſt them: wherefore they drew vp their ladders and bridges ſpeedily, and for that they would looſe no time in weighing their ankers, they cut their cables. And it happened, that many thinking to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming, *Mago makes a vaine attempt vpon new Carthage.*

B not able to diſcerne their gallies, by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the night, went out of their way, and were drowned. This armie returned ſpeedily towards the Ocean, from whence they had parted. Day being come, the Romanes found aboue 800 men ſlaine, betwixt the towne and the ſhore, and aboue two thouſand cuiraſſes. To *Mago* (who thought to returne vnto Gades) the entrie was refuſed: wherefore he returned vnto a place neere vnto it, called Cimbis, from whence he ſent certaine gentlemen vnto Gades, to know the reaſon why they ſhut the gates againſt him, who was their friend and allie. To whom they anſwered, That it had beene done by the multitude, who had beene diſcontented at the ſpoiles and inſolencies which the ſouldiours committed, when they imbarqued. Then he ſought to draw their Suffetes out of the towne (which were thoſe that held the ſoueraign magiſtracie in that Phenici-

Suffetes, Magiſtrats of the Gaditanes.

C an nation) to parley with them, and with their chiefe treaſurer. When he had them, hee cauſed them to be ſcourged with rods, and then to be hung vpon a gibet. Which done, he ſayled towards the Pytiuſes (being iſlands ſome hundred miles from the firme land, and inhabited at that time by Carthaginians) where both he and his whole armie were well entertained, the which was not onely refreſhed with victuals, but furniſhed with ſouldiors and armes by thoſe iſlanders. *Mago* relying vpon theſe things, came vnto the Baleares, ſome fiftie miles from thence, thinking to winter in the greater of them, the which was rich, and full of men, with a large and ſafe port; for now Autumne drew neere: But he found himſelfe deceiued: for the inhabitants of Majorca went in hoſtile manner againſt him, no leſſe than the Romanes would haue done, and with their ſlings kept them from landing; ſo as the Carthaginians were forced

Magoes tyrannous rie our againſt the Gaditanes.

D to put out to ſea, & went to Minorca, which is the other iſland of the Baleares, as fertile as the other, but not ſo ſtrong of men. There they landed, and without any great reſiſtance became maſters of the towne and iſland: where they inrolled two thouſand men of that nation, the which they ſent to Carthage to winter. When as *Mago* had left the Ocean, to enter into the ſtrait, the Gaditanes yeelded vnto the Romans.

The Gaditanes yeel'd vnto the Romans.

Theſe were the affaires which paſſed in Spain, vnder the gouernment of *P. Corn. Scipio*, who hauing reſigned the prouince and the armies vnto *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, returned to Rome with ten gallies: where being arriued, he made known vnto the Senat the great exploits of warre which he had done, the battels woon, the townes taken, and the people and countries ſubdued vnder the obedience of the Romans; finally, that in Spaine he had left no

Scipio returnes to Rome.

E enemie. Theſe things were deliuered by him with great ſtate, rather to ſee if they would grant him a triumphant entrie into the citie, than to demaund a triumph: For in truth, vnto that day there had not any captaine entred in triumph into the citie of Rome, how great ſoeuer his exploits had beene, if it were not with the title of a Roman magiſtrat. Being entred into Rome, he brought into the publique treaſurie, of the remainders of the ſpoyle of Spaine, 14352 pounds of ſiluer in maſſe, and great ſtore of coined money.

Proconſuls no magiſtrats in Rome.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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The

A 1 THe 14 yere of the ſecond Punick war, which, according vnto the moſt certaine writers, was in the yeare 548 of the foundation of Rome, *P. Corn. Scipio* and *P. Licinius Craſſus* were choſen Conſuls. During their magiſtracie there grew a great war in Spaine; and from that time the Roman affaires were nothing more quiet, notwithſtanding they had chaſed away the Carthaginians: For the Spaniards, who are naturally enemies to reſt, and deſirous of libertie, and yet contemning the onely meanes to maintaine it, which is, concord and good correſpondencie, did mutine vpon euerie light occaſion. *Concord the ground of liberty*

B If they had beene as wiſe in that point, as they were valiant and hardie in combats, the Romanes had laboured in vaine to ſubdue this countrey, where they imployed much time, much policie, and the bloud of their beſt men. Vntill *Scipioes* departure, & ſome time after, the Romanes had not tried the nations dwelling in the mountaines, which runne through the middeſt of Spaine, nor thoſe which were towards the North: they had not yet extended their conqueſts farre from the Mediterranean ſea, nor gone much beyond the riuer of Betis. But afterwards they knew what difference there was among the Spaniards themſelues, when as they were mercinaries, and carried armes for anothers quarell, and when they fought for their owne liberties, houſes, and families. And as they paſt farther into the country, they found the difference betwixt thoſe who by their frequentation with ſtrangers, had accuſtomed themſelues to gaine, and to hunt after honours and delights: and the others, who be-

C ing eſtranged from all commerce, had no other ambition, but not to be ſubject to any other but to their own lawes; nor other couetouſneſſe, but of a prey conquered by arms, in the day time, and in fight, thruſt on by neceſſitie, without any other reſpect. Theſe laſt for the moſt part were of the race of the auntient Gaules and Celtes, which had crept into Spaine, and did hold all that which we call at this day Nauarre, Biſcaye, Alaua, the Aſturians, Gallicia, Caſtillia the old, and a great part of Portugall. All theſe did not know the Romanes, but as men which laboured to take away other mens goods, to chaſe them out of their countries, or to ſubject them as ſlaues, and to make their profit of them. They were long before they made any alliances with them, louing them better farre off than neere. In the meane time all theſe people of Spaine (who generally were couragious and hardie) wanted ciuilitie, and the

D knowledge of juſtice, neither knew they how to practiſe and entertaine the lawes of friendſhip among themſelues: the which at length reduced them all into ſeruitude, they of whom wee haue ſpoken, being the firſt which yeelded vnto the yoke, who had ſeene the Carthaginians and Romanes among them, and had conuerſed with them for ſome yeares. For beſides that they were before a mixt people, by the acceſſe of Grecians, Phenicians, Africanes, Celtes, and other nations, whoſe vices they had mingled with theirs, they were in the end wholly corrupted, by the promiſes and perſuaſions of either of theſe mightie commonweales, either of them ſeeking to draw aid and commoditie from them againſt the other, during the warres; whereof they were glorious, proud, and ambitious, and if they were not held in ſuch eſtimation, as they thought they had deſerued, they were diſcontented. *Whereas ſtrangers abord, there vice and corruption abounds.*

E They were falſe and treacherous to ſtrangers, enuious among themſelues, and alwayes apt to rebell, and to breed quarels: of which vices the Romanes (ſeeing themſelues freed from the Carthaginian warre) could wiſely make vſe to ſubject them, who let them know, that notwithſtanding all their ſeeking of the Spaniards, and the fauours and gifts wherewith they had honoured ſome of that nation, yet their meaning was alwayes to hold them in the ranke of ſubjects, and not of companions: the which their fooliſh Spaniſh preſumption could not diſcerne, vntill they were taught it to their coſt: as it happened to *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, princes of the Ilergetes, people of Cattelonia, where as Lerida and Hueſca are at this day. *The Spaniards were glorious, ambitious, enuious and treacherous.*

F Theſe people being puſt vp with pride, and full of ingratitude (as ſoone as they did ſee *Scipio* out of Spaine, thinking there was not his like among the Romanes) in contempt of them which remained, they brake the peace, the which they had entertained onely through feare, and admiration of his vertue: and knowing that the Romans were much troubled in Italy againſt *Hannibal*, they preſumed they would ſend him no more backe into Spaine, and that he had carried away the beſt men with him, leauing onely new ſouldiors in Spaine, and thoſe that were of leaſt vſe for the warres. Wherefore thinking there could not be a better oppor- *The laſt rebellion of Mandonius and Indibilis.*

tunitie offered to effect their deſires, and to make themſelues kings of the other people of Spaine, which vnto that time had beene ſubject, ſometimes to the Carthaginians, and ſometimes to the Romans, and oftentimes to both; they acquainted their ſubjects, and the Auſetanes their neighbours, with their deſigne: vaunting, That if they maintained themſelues in vnitie, they might eaſily expell the Romans out of Spaine, as well as they had chaſed away the Carthaginians: With whom they preuailed ſo by their perſuaſions, as in few dayes they had gathered together in the fields of Sedete 30000 foot, and 4000 horſe, and there made the bodie of their army. The leaders of the Roman army, were *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius*, who being aduertiſed of this reuolt, meaning to preuent this miſchiefe in time, went ſpeedily to field, and paſſing quietly through the Auſetanes countrey, as friends, they came whereas the enemies were, and encamped within a league of them. There they tried firſt by meſſages and embaſſages, to diuert them from their fooliſh enterpriſe, perſuading them to lay aſide armes: but it was in vaine. Some forragers of the Romanes being charged by the Spaniſh horſe, they were forced to ſend ſome troups of horſe to ſuccour them, where there was an encounter that day, but to no effect. The day following, at the Sunne riſing, the Spaniſh armie aduanced in battel, within a mile of the Romane campe. The Auſetanes held the middeſt, hauing the Ilergetes on the right hand, and on the left ſome other Spaniards of ſmall fame. They had left betwixt the battailon in the middeſt and the two wings, a good large ſpace, to giue paſſage to their horſemen, when it ſhould be time to come to the charge. The Romanes ordered their armie after their accuſtomed manner, yet imitating the enemies therein, they left a ſpace alſo to bring in their horſemen. This done, *L. Lentulus* bethought himſelfe, that they ſhould make beſt vſe of thoſe horſemen which ſhould enter with them firſt into theſe ſpaces which were betwixt the ſquadrons of the enemies foot: Wherefore he commaunded *Ser. Cornelius*, who had charge of the Romane horſemen, to enter into thoſe ſpaces of the Spaniſh armie. In the meane time he hauing the twelft legion, being preſt in the beginning of the battell by the Ilergetes, on the left hand, made it good vntill they were ſeconded by the thirteenth legion, the which he cauſed to aduance, to ſuccour them in the front of the battell: and hauing thus aſſured that part, he ran towards *L. Manlius*, who did his duetie, encouraging the ſouldiours, and ſending ſupplies where he ſaw any need; aduertiſing him, that the footmen on the left wing behaued themſelues well, and that hee had ſent *Ser. Cornelius* with the horſemen, to charge furiouſly into the enemies troups: the effect whereof did preſently appeare: for *Ser. Cornelius* being entred with his horſe into the middeſt of the enemies, he made all their battel of foot to wauer, and withall ſtopt the paſſage to the enemies horſe, ſo as they could not come to fight: which made the Spaniſh horſemen to leaue their horſes. The Romane captaines ſeeing the Spaniards in ſome diſorder, they cried out, incouraged, and intreated the ſoldiours to proceed valiantly, and to keepe them from joyning together againe. The enemies began now to forſake the fight, if *Indibilis* leauing his horſe, had not come and preſented himſelfe in the head of the footmen. There was a long and bloudie fight, the which they maintained, vntill that *Indibilis* and thoſe that fought about him, were ouerthrowne and ſlaine one vpon another: then they began to flie of all hands, and the Romans to purſue them, of whom they made a great ſlaughter, and withall tooke their campe, and all their baggage. There were 13000 ſlaine vpon the place, and about 800 priſoners. Of the Romans there died two hundred, or not many more, eſpecially on the left wing. The Spaniards being thus defeated, the reſt which eſcaped retired home into their countrey.

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Ouatio.

A great defeat of Spaniards.

The Roman Gouernors great exactors.

the men, but more againſt their purſes; by reaſon whereof the inconſtant nature of the Spaniards was now very wauering. G

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5

The gouernment of Spaine giuen to two Pretors.

C. Corn. Cethegus and *Quin. Minutius Rufus* being Conſuls at Rome, Spaine hauing vntill that time beene but one Conſularie Prouince, gouerned by two Pro-conſuls, was diuided into two gouernments, and two Pretors ſent thither, who had charge to make a diuiſion of their juriſdictions, whereof the one ſhould be called the hither Spaine, and the other the farther: but not as before, when as the riuer of Ebro made the limit, for the hither Spaine paſſed much beyond it. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* was ſent into the hither Spaine, and *Marc. Heluius* into the other, for Pretors. Both of them were intangled with great and doubtfull warres: for a-

The Spaniards riſe againſt Heluius the Pretor.

gainſt *Heluius* there did riſe *Colca* and *Lucinius*, great noblemen of Spaine, who conſpired with H many good townes, as Cardona, Bardona, and many others vpon the ſea coaſt, which had not yet reuolted. As for *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, hee was defeated in his gouernment, and ſo wounded, as he died ſoone after.

Wherefore *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claud. Marcellus* being created Conſuls, *Qu. Fabius Buteo* and *Q. Minutius Thermus* were ſent Pretors into Spaine, either of them with a legion of Romane ſouldiors, and foure thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, Latines, of their allies. Thus the warre reuiued in Spaine the fifth yeare, after the end of the ſecond Punicke warre; and from that time the Romanes had to deale with the Spaniards alone, without any ſupport of the Carthaginians. The danger of this warre was ſo apprehended by the Se-

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nate, that one of the two Conſuls, with a Conſular armie of two legions, fiue thouſand I foot and fiue hundred horſe of their allies, Latines, ſhould goe in perſon with twentie gallies, and ſuch a number of other veſſels, as ſhould bee fit to tranſport his armie. *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Portius Cato* were created Conſuls: Spaine was allotted vnto *Cato*, to whom

Anno 558. *M. Portius Cato Conſul ſent into Spaine.*

P. Manlius was appointed as Pretor in the hither part of Spaine neere vnto Gaule, and *Appius Claudius Nero* in the further Spaine. To theſe Pretors were appointed (beſides the legion which either of the Gouernours in Spaine then had) two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, newly leuied.

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Whileſt theſe things were preparing, *Q. Minutius Thermus* came to battaile with *Budares* and *Beſaſides*, two commanders of the Spaniards, neere vnto Turbe, where he defeated them, and ſlew about twelue thouſand of their men, tooke *Budares* priſoner, and put the reſt in rout. K

The Spaniards defeated by Q. Minutius Thermus.

Theſe newes did ſomewhat reuiue the people of Rome, who were mightily perplexed for theſe warres of Spaine. *M. Portius Cato* being Conſull, paſſed into Spaine the ſixt yeare after the peace made betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, to reduce that Prouince wholly vnto the obedience of the people of Rome: wherein his ſeuere carriage did much auaile: for mildneſſe is not alwaies fit for all nations, nor for all diſeaſes. He embarked his armie in the riuer of Genes, whither he had drawne fiue and twentie ſhips of warre, whereof there were twentie of the ſtate of Rome, and fiue of their allies, with a great number of others. They arriued ſafely at Roſas, then called Rhoda, at the foot of the Pyrenees, where they chaſed away a garriſon of Spaniards which held the caſtle. From thence he paſſed to Empurias, and there

A ſtrange and enuious manner of liuing of the Empuritanes.

he landed his ſouldiors. At that time Empurias was a double towne, diuided with wals, the L one inhabited by Grecians iſſued from Phocea (from whence alſo the Marſilians came) the other by Spaniards. The Greeke towne was in a manner all in the ſea, and was not much aboue foure hundred paces in circuit: the Spaniards habitation was much more, containing about three thouſand paces; alwaies liuing in jealouſie one of another, aſſured onely by their diligent gard, and continuall diſcipline of warre, as if the enemie had beene at their gates. The Grecians entertained no Spaniard within their wals, neither did they goe out raſhly towards the land: the ſea was free for all men. Amid theſe jealouſies they receiued great commodities one from another: for the Spaniards (who were very ignorant of nauigation) had many ſtrange commodities from the Grecians, and did furniſh them in exchange with the fruits of their countrey. This traffique was the cauſe that the Spaniards towne was open vnto the M Grecians, who for their better ſafeties were allied vnto the Romanes, and maintained themſelues with as great loyaltie in their friendſhip, as the Marſilians themſelues could doe, although they were not ſo mightie. The Conſull *Cato* arriuing there, they receiued him with all the honour and bountie they could. He ſtayed there ſome time to diſcouer what forces

the

A the enemies might haue, and where they were; and for that hee would not ſpend the time in idleneſſe, he cauſed his ſouldiors to be trained. *Catoes* arriuall was in harueſt: wherefore he did forbid the purueyors and Commiſſaries to make any prouiſion of corne, but ſent them backe to Rome, ſaying, That the warre could maintaine it ſelfe. Departing from Empurias, he put the enemies countrey to ſacke by fire and ſword, and filled all with terror.

Souldiors ſhould be alwaies in action.

A ſharpe beginning of the warre.

At the ſame time *M. Heluius* meaning to retire out of baſe Spaine, which he had gouerned, being accompanied with 6000 men, which the Pretor *Appius Claudius* had giuen him for conuoy, he was encountred by the way with 20000 Celtiberians, neere vnto the towne of Illiturge (either that which *Scipio* had deſtroyed, being repaired, or another of that name) whom
B he did fight withall, and vanquiſh, and ſlew 12000 men: then he tooke Illiturge, where he put all the inhabitants aboue the age of 14 yeres to the ſword: and from thence he came vnto *Catoes* campe: from whence hee afterwards paſſed to Rome; into the which he made a ſolemne entrie, with ouation, for that hee had gouerned his prouince happily. Hee brought 14732 pounds of ſiluer in maſſe, 17000 Bigats (which is a piece of coyne, ſtampt with a chariot drawn with two horſes) and of the ſiluer of Oſca 120438. Preſently after *Heluius*, *Q. Minutius Thermus* returned to Rome, who had the honour of a triumph; which was the firſt that was graunted, by reaſon of his victories in the wars of Spaine: he brought alſo into the Treaſurie 34800 pounds of ſiluer, 78000 Bigats, and 278000 of Oſca.

A notable victorie gotten by the Pretor Heluius.

Qu. Minutius Thermus triumphed firſt at Rome for his victories in Spain.

In the meane time the Conſul *Cato* was not farre encamped from Empurias, whereas three
C embaſſadours came vnto him from *Biliſtages*, Lord of the Ilergetes; among the which was one of his ſons, complaining, That their caſtles were beſieged by the other Spaniards, whom they could not reſiſt, but with aid from the Romanes. That if it pleaſed him to ſend them fiue thouſand men, it would be ſufficient to force the enemie to retyre. The Conſull anſwered, That he was moued with the danger wherein they were: but he had not at that time ſuch forces, as he might with ſafetie ſend away ſo great a number, eſpecially being not farre from the enemie, with whom he expected to fight euery day. The embaſſadours hearing theſe words, caſt themſelues at his feet, and embracing his knees, beſought him, not to abandon them in their great neceſſitie, ſeeing the Romanes were the onely refuge they had in this world: they let him vnderſtand, That if they would haue falſified their faith, and conſpired with others
D that were reuolted, they might eaſily haue auoided that danger; but they would not doe it, although they had beene ſollicited with threats and terrifyings, hoping, that the ſupport of the Romanes ſhould be their warrant: but if that ſhould faile them, and that the Conſull ſhould refuſe to aid and defend them, they did proteſt before God and men, That they ſhould be forced to leaue the Romane partie, leaſt they ſhould fall into the miſeries and calamities of them of Sagunt. That day *Cato* made them no other anſwer, yet he did not leaue to meditate thereon all night, to find ſome meanes to free the Ilergetes from this danger, and not to diminiſh his forces: for that would haue ſtayed him from fighting with the enemie, as he deſired; or elſe in fighting he might be too weake and in danger. In the end he conſidered, that hypocriſie and diſſembling in warre haue oftentimes auailed much, and that thoſe which attend ſuccors,
E being perſuaded to haue them ſpeedily, haue often vpon this hope taken courage, and grown ſo reſolute, as they haue preſerued themſelues: Wherefore the next day he told the embaſſadours, That he was content for their ſakes to incommodate himſelfe, and that notwithſtanding that he had great occaſion to employ his ſouldiours, yet he would ſend them ſuccours. Hereupon he commaunded they ſhould take the third part of all the companies, and that they ſhould prepare victuals and ſhips to embarke them the third day. Whereupon he ſent away two of theſe embaſſadours, to carrie newes to *Biliſtages* and the Ilergetes, retaining the third, who was ſonne to *Biliſtages*, making him good cheare, and honouring him with preſents. The embaſſadours before their departure ſaw the troupes embarked, and being very well ſatisfied, went away, making great bruit of theſe ſuccours. The Conſull thinking that he had
F made ſhew ynough, cauſed the ſouldiors to land againe, and to returne to the campe. And for that the ſeaſon began to grow vnfit to make warre, he cauſed Winter lodgings to be made for the armie, within a myle of Empurias, from whence he ſent the ſouldiors on euery ſide to ſpoyle the enemies countrey. Leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the campe, he made them goe forth in the night, that they might goe the farther without diſcouerie, and more eaſily ſurpriſe the Spaniards. In this manner he did exerciſe his new ſouldiours, and ſurpriſed many of the

Diſſembling in warre doth often import.

ene-

enemies, who durſt no more goe out of their forts. *Cato* hauing by this meanes ſufficiently tried the hearts both of his owne men and of the Spaniards, he called the Captaines, Knights, and Centeniers together, and ſaid vnto them: *That it was now time to ſet their hands to the worke which they had ſo much deſired, to ſhew their vertue by a battaile, and not by rauinging and ſpoyling, as they had hitherto done, and that they muſt no more buſie themſelues with the prey of the champian countrey, but prepare themſelues to enioy the riches of townes. The eſtate of the affaires in Spaine* (ſaid he) *is reduced to that point, that whereas in the time of our predeceſſors, when as there was neither captaine nor armie for the Romanes in this region, they did capitulate, That their power and command ſhould extend vnto the riuer of Ebro: and now when there is a Conſull, two Pretors, and three Armies, and that the Carthaginians haue beene wholly excluded for theſe tenne yeares, wee haue not in a manner any thing on this ſide that riuer. We muſt then recouer it by our armes and valour, and reduce this nation (which hath beene accuſtomed to begin warre with more raſhneſſe, than to maintaine it vertuouſly) vnto the yoake, which they would ſhake of: wherefore goe and refreſh your ſelues, and be readie to depart this night.* About midnight he diſlodged, that he might encampe at his pleaſure, before the enemie ſhould haue any intelligence. So as taking a long circuit, he marched beyond the Spaniards armie; and when as day began to breake, he put his men in battaile, and ſent three companies of foot vnto the rampier of their campe.

Catos ſpeech to the captaines.

Cato ſeekes to make his ſouldiors hardie by conſtraint, taking all places of retreat from them.

The Spaniards being amazed to ſee their enemies behind them, ran to armes: then the Conſull ſaid vnto his ſouldiors: *There is now no more hope but in our valour, the which I haue done of purpoſe; for the enemie lyes midway betwixt vs and our lodging: all that is behind vs is the enemies; wherefore there is no better ſafetie than to truſt to our owne vertues.* He then cauſed his companies which were gone to skirmiſh, to retyre, as if they would haue fled, that he might draw forth the enemie, as hee did: for the Spaniards (thinking that the Romanes had retyred for feare) left their campe, and came out armed, filling the place betwixt their trenches and the Romanes armie, and there put themſelues confuſedly and haſtily into battaile: but the Conſull gaue them no leiſure, but cauſed certaine troupes of horſemen to aduance, who came and charged theſe Barbarians thus diſordered: but the Romanes on the right hand were preſently repulſed, and, retyring in haſt, had almoſt put the footmen in rout. The Conſull perceiuing this, he preſently ſent two bands of foot, who paſſing along the enemies right flanke, preſented themſelues behind, before the battaillons of foot came to joyne: the which did ſo amaze the enemies, as the partie which before was doubtfull for the Romans, by reaſon of the diſorder of their horſe, was now almoſt equall: yet both the horſe and foot on the right wing were ſo troubled, as the Conſull could hardly make them ſtand firme: yea, he was forced to take ſome by the hands, to turne them againſt the enemie. Whileſt they did fight with their darts a farre off, the encounter was doubtfull: yea, the Romanes wauering on the right wing, could hardly be kept in order. On the left wing and in front the Spaniards were ſorely preſt, and beſides, they feared thoſe companies which came in the rere to charge them: but when they were approched, and ſo joyned, as no blow fell in vaine, and that there remained no hope but in their reſolutions and valours, being come to the ſword, and that *Cato* had refreſhed his tyred men with new troupes, which charged the enemie like lightening, then were they forced and put to rout, ſo as they did what they could to ſaue themſelues in their campe. Then *Cato* galloping to the ſecond Legion, which he had reſerued for ſuccours, he cauſed them to aduaunce ſpeedily towards the enemies campe, to force it, but with ſuch order, as if any one aduaunced too faſt, or went out of his ranke, he beat him into his order with a jaueline which he carried, commaunding the colonels and captaines to doe the like. Now did the Roman armie giue an aſſault vnto the enemies rampiers & paliſadoes, who defended themſelues valiantly, repulſing their enemies with ſtones, ſtaues, and other arms: where a new Legion arriuing, the combat was more furious, both parties growing more couragious; the one through hope, the other through deſpaire. The Conſull riding about the campe, obſerued what part was worſt manned, or weakleſt defended: and finding that the gate on the left hand was but ill furniſhed with men, he ſent ſome of the formoſt rankes of the ſecond Legion thither, and ſuch as carried long ſtaues, who forced the gard which was at this gate, and entred into the campe. The Spaniards ſeeing the enemies within their trenches, leaue their armes and enſignes, flye out of their ports, and caſt themſelues ouer their rampiers, euery man ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe, and one hindering another with haſt, ſo as there was a great ſlaughter of them

The Spaniards defeated by Cato.

A them that fled, and their baggage was all taken. Some hold, that there died in this battaile fortie thouſand Spaniards. There are three commendable things noted in *Cato* in this action: Firſt, to take all hope of ſafetie from his ſouldiors, but by their armes and vertue, he had led them far from their campe and ſhips, betwixt the enemies campe and his countrey: Secondly, that he did ſend two companies behind the enemies armie, whileſt that he charged them in front: and for the third, that he had reſerued the ſecond Legion behind the reſt, and led them in good order to aſſayle the enemies campe, whileſt that all the other troupes were disbanded and buſie in fight. *A great ſlaughter of Spaniards.*

After this great victorie, he gaue his ſouldiors no great reſt: for being a little refreſhed in
B their campe, he led them to ſpoyle the enemies countrey; the which they did ouerrun at their pleaſures, for that they were all fled. This was the cauſe which made the Spaniards of Empuria to yeeld, and many other people thereabouts. There were many inhabitants of other Cities and Communalties fled to Empuria, whom *Cato* cauſed to come before him, and courteouſly entreated them, commaunding to giue them meat and drinke, and then he ſent them home to their houſes. Soone after he marched with his armie towards Tarracone, and in all places where he paſſed, he met with the embaſſadours of townes, which yeelded vnto him; ſo as all Spaine on this ſide Ebro was reduced vnder the obedience of the people of Rome before he came to Tarracone: and from all places there were preſented vnto him and freely giuen an infinite number of priſoners, Romanes, Latines, and other allies, which
C had beene taken by diuers accidents. The bruite was, That hee would lead his armie into Turditane, which is the furtheſt part of Spaine, towards the ſtrait, and ſome ſayd, That he would paſſe vnto the mountaines and places vnknowne. Vpon this falſe bruit, there were ſeuen ſtrong places in the countrey of the Bargiſtanes which rebelled, whom hee ſubdued without any great toyle, or memorable combate: but ſoone after the Conſull being returned to Tarracone, they rebelled againe; ſo as hee leading his armie thither againe, ſubdued them: but they eſcaped not ſo good cheape as at the firſt; for he cauſed them all to be ſold for ſlaues by the drumme, to the end they ſhould trouble the peace no more. *The Spaniards alwaies apt to rebell.* *Catos ſeueritie in the Spaniards relapſe.*

In the meane time the Pretor *P. Manlius* hauing receiued the armie from his predeceſ-
D ſour *Qu. Minutius*, and being joyned with that which *Appius Claudius Nero* had in the farther Spaine, all old bands, he marched into the countrey of Turditania (the which is Andalouſia) and the countrey adjoyning. The Turditanians were eſteemed the worſt warriours among all the people of Spaine; yet truſting in their multitudes, they came to encounter the Romans: when the Romane horſemen diſordered them at the firſt charge; then the Legions arriuing, they put them wholly to rout. But the war was not thus ended: for the Turditanians did entertaine in pay ten thouſand Celtiberians, and continued to make warre with theſe mercinaries.

The Conſull being incenſed at the double rebellion of the Bargiſtanes, vſed his natu-
E rall rigor and ſeueritie againſt all the Spaniards which dwelt on this ſide the riuer of Ebro: for he diſarmed them all, thinking, that if they were armed, they would vpon any occaſion fall into rebellion. This was taken ſo diſdainefully by theſe people, as many grew furiouſly mad, and ſlew themſelues: A nation in truth fierce and warlike, who eſteemed not that life which paſſed without armes: Whereof the Conſull being aduertiſed, he cauſed the Senatours of all the townes of that countrey to come vnto him, to whom he ſayd: *That what hee had done, was more for their profites, than any intereſt of the Romanes: For when they were to make warre, you know* (ſaid he) *it was decided with more misfortune and loſſe for the Spaniards, than trouble or paine for the Romanes: Wherefore to preſerue you hereafter from ruine, I thought there was but one onely meanes; which is, to keepe you from rebelling: Let vs then bethinke our ſelues of the mildeſt courſe, and giue me your aduice; beleeue me I will not willingly entertaine any, but what you ſhall giue.* Theſe Senatours demaunded time to aduiſe thereon: and being called againe, they anſwered not any thing. Whereupon the Conſull cauſed all their townes to be demanteled in one day: and from thence marched with his armie againſt their neighbours, which were yet in armes, whom he brought to obedience, namely, Segeſtica, a towne of great importance, and rich, the which he tooke by ſappe. It was a greater difficultie for *Cato* to ſubdue theſe people of Spaine, than it had beene for the firſt captaines which *The Spaniards eſteemed not the life which paſſed without armes.* *Cato demanteles the townes in Spaine.*

which came thither for the Romanes, when the Carthaginians did rule there: for at that time if the Spaniards were wearie of the Carthaginians commaund, they had recourſe vnto the Romanes: but *Cato* making warre againſt them, they had no other refuge, but from an vſurped libertie they muſt fall into ſlauerie. Finally, he found all this Prouince altered, ſome hauing taken armes, ſome being beſieged by their neighbours, to force them to take armes; who (if they had not beene preuented in time) would haue alſo rebelled with the reſt. This Conſull had ſuch an actiue ſpirit, as all things both great and ſmall muſt paſſe through his hands, neither did he thinke it ſufficient to reſolue, diſcourſe, and commaund that which he held fit to be done, but he himſelfe did execute many things; neither was he more ſtrict and ſeuere to any one in his commaundements, than to his owne perſon. There was not any one to be found in his armie, that did watch, faſt, and toyle more than himſelfe. Finally, he had no aduantage among thoſe that he commaunded, but the honour to commaund.

The Turditane warre grew more difficult to *P. Manlius*, by reaſon of the mercinarie Celtiberians: wherefore the Conſull being called thither by letters from the Pretor, he marched with his armie. At his arriuall he found, that the Turditanes had their campe diuided from the Celtiberians: being encamped, the Romans had continuall skirmiſhes and light encounters with the Turditanes, who had alwaies the worſt. As for the Celtiberians, he cauſed them to be ſolicited by the colonels and captaines of his armie, propounding vnto them the choice of three conditions: If they would turne vnto the Romanes, they ſhould haue double the pay which the Turditanes had promiſed them: or if they would retyre to their houſes without taking any partie, they promiſed them abolition of all which they had done: and for the third, if they deſired warre, they ſhould come to field, and preſent themſelues in battaile. The Celtiberians demaunded reſpite to make anſwere, and then did communicate theſe propoſitions in open Councell to the Turditanes; where there was great contention, but no concluſion: ſo as many daies paſſed without any aſſurance of peace or warre: during the which, the Romanes ouerrun the enemies countrey, and ſpoyled their townes, as if it had beene in open warre: oftentimes making priuat treaties and accords, they entred, went and came into their forts. The Conſull *Cato* ſeeing that hee could not draw the enemie to battaile, hee firſt ſent ſome troupes with their enſignes, to ſpoyle that part of the countrey where they had not yet beene: then hearing, that the Celtiberians had all their baggage in the towne of Seguntia, he went thither to take it; and yet could hee not draw them out of their campe. In the end hauing muſtered and payed his armie, he left all the forces with the Pretor, and returned with ſeuen bands (which made about 3500 men) towards the riuer of Ebro. With theſe few men he tooke townes, and forced obedience from the Sedetanes, Auſetanes, and Sueſſetanes. As for the Lacetanes, (a people dwelling in a ſauage countrey, and out of the way) beſides that their rough and barbarous diſpoſition kept them in armes, they had highly offended the Romanes, whileſt that the Conſull was buſie in warre vpon the marches of the Turdules, ouerrunning and ſpoyling the lands of their allies: Wherefore the Conſull led vnto the ſiege of their towne not onely the Romane bands, but alſo the youth of thoſe allies, whom they had wronged. This towne was long, but not very broad. Encamping within foure hundred paces of it; there he placed certaine choſen companies, commaunding them not to ſtirre, vntill he returned vnto them, and then he led the reſt of his forces vnto the other ſide of the towne. There were a great number of Sueſſetane ſoldiors among the ſtrangers allies, whom he cauſed to march againſt the towne, and to aſſayle the wall. Theſe being diſcouered by the Lacetanes, and knowne by their armes and enſignes to be ſouldiors of Sueſſe, whoſe territorie they had ſpoyled at their pleaſure, and many times defeated their troupes, they ſallied out vpon them: but the Sueſſetanes ſcarce ſeeing them approach, crying out and ſhaking their armes, fled, and the others purſued them. The Conſull, who expected no leſſe, gallopped along the wals vnto the companies which he had left on the other ſide; and whileſt the townesmen purſued the Sueſſetanes, he ſeized vpon their towne being vnmanned, and tooke it, before the townesmen were returned from the chaſe, forcing them to yeeld vnto his mercie. Preſently after this exploit, he went againſt a ſtrong towne, called Vergium, which was the receptacle of all the theeues in the countrey, who robbed and ſpoyled all men which dwelt thereabouts, or paſſed that way. The Lord of the place came foorth preſently to meet with the Conſull, excuſing himſelfe, That neither he nor his ſubjects did wrong any man, but that certain theeues being

Cato ſeekes to corrupt the Celtiberians.

Plinie maketh mention of a Saguntia in the Eetique Prouince, beſides that which is now called Seguenſa.

This towne it may be is that which they now call Iacca.

A being receiued into the towne, they had made themſelues maſters thereof. The Conſull ſaid vnto him, That if it were ſo, he ſhould returne into the towne, and find ſome meanes (when he ſhould giue an aſſault) to ſeize vpon the citadell or fort, with them of his faction, whileſt the theeues were buſie to defend the walls. This was cunningly put in practiſe, and the theeues which held the towne were ſurpriſed in diuers places, being encountred on the one ſide by the Romane armie, and on the other ſide by them of the fort. Thus *Cato* woon this place, and hauing pardoned them which held the fort, with their kinsfolkes and friends, graunting them their liues and goods, he commaunded the Treaſurer to ſell all the reſt of the Vergeſtanes for ſlaues, to them that would giue moſt: and as for the theeues and robbers, he
B cauſed them all to be hanged.

Vergium taken by Cato.

By theſe actions the Conſull *Cato* had reduced the Prouince to more quietneſſe, and then he began to diſpoſe of the publicke reuenues for the Romanes in theſe countries, renting out the mynes of yron and ſiluer, which made it rich. The yeare of his Conſulſhip being ended, he returned to Rome, whereas *P. Corn. Scipio* the ſecond time, and *Titus Semp. Longus* had beene created Conſuls. There he entred in triumph, and brought into the Treaſurie 25000 pounds of ſiluer in maſſe, 123000 Bigats, and 540 of Oſca, with 1400 pounds of gold. Beſides, there was payed vnto euery footman 370 Aſſes, and thrice as much to euery horſeman, *Cato* ſaying, That euery one muſt taſt of their ſpoyles.

Cato diſpoſeth of the reuennes of Spaine.

Anno Rome 559

8 There were ſent into Spaine for Pretors *P. Cor. Scipio*, ſonne to *Cn.* couſin to the other,
C for the further Spaine, and *Sex. Digitius* (it may be it was he which was honoured with a murall crowne at the taking of new Carthage) into the hither part. As for the armies, that of the Pretors was entertained, and the Conſuls caſt. One of theſe Gouernours was more fortunate than the other: for *P. Scipio* did not onely defend all that which belonged vnto his prouince, but put the Luſitanians (who came to aſſayle him) to rout. *Sex. Digitius* had many great troubles in his gouernment, and many vnfortunate encounters, ſo as he deliuered not halfe the men which he had receiued at his comming, to his ſucceſſor: and without doubt all Spaine had riſen, if the other Pretor had done no better. *P. Corn.* ſonne to *Cn.* by his iudgement and dexteritie did ſo terrifie the enemies in the fartheſt parts of Spaine, as aboue fiftie Townes and Communalties yeelded vnto him. After the expiration of his gouernment,
D attending his ſucceſſour, he ſet vpon certaine Luſitanian theeues, who returned with a great bootie, which they had taken from the ſubjects and allies of the Romanes: and although he were in great perplexitie and danger in this charge, deſpairing almoſt of the victorie, for the which (if he did obtaine it) he did vow games to *Iupiter Olympicus*: yet he woon it, and (being much inferior in number of ſouldiors) defeated the Luſitanians; where hee ſlew twelue thouſand vpon the place, tooke fiue hundred and fortie priſoners, all horſemen, and carried away an hundred thirtie foure Enſignes, hauing loſt very few of his men. This encounter was neere vnto the towne of Ilipa, whither the Pretor went with his armie, and brought foorth all the bootie that was recouered, ſuffering euery one to carrie away the goods and cattell which had beene taken from him by the enemie, and cauſing the reſt to
E be ſold, with the which the ſouldiors were recompenced. *Scipio* obtained this victorie in qualitie of Vice-Pretor.

P. Cor. Scipio and Sex. Digitius ſent Pretors into Spaine.

Sex. Digitius vnfortunat.

A great victorie of P. Cor. Scipio, ſonne to Cn. againſt the Luſitanians.

9 *L. Corn. Merula* and *Q. Minutius Thermus* being created Conſuls at Rome, *C. Flaminius* was choſen Pretor for the hither part of Spaine, and *M. Fuluius Nobilior* for the further: *C. Flaminius* ſhould ſucceed *Sex. Digitius*, to repaire the bad ſucceſſe which had happened during his gouernment. He demaunded of the Senat, That he might take one of the Legions appointed for the citie, and that mingling with them ſuch ſouldiors as he ſhould leuie, he might chuſe out of the whole number 6500 foot & 300 horſe; and that with this Legion thus made, he might vndertake the affaires: for he did not much relye vpon thoſe forces which remained with *Sext. Digitius*, the which were in a manner ruined, ſaying, That the warre growing hote
F in Spaine, they might not goe vnfurniſhed; ſpeaking of the good and bad ſucceſſe of that Prouince, as well by himſelfe, as by his friends, much to his owne aduantage. The auncient Senatours were not of opinion, That the Senat ſhould make any decrees vpon the reports of priuat men in fauour of magiſtrats, and that they muſt not giue credit to that which was ſpoken touching matters of gouernment, if it were not aduertiſed by the Gouernors themſelues, or embaſſadours ſent to relate the ſucceſſe. Finally, the Senat reſolued, That if there

Ann. Rome 560

The wiſdome of the Romans reſpected no common bruites in matters of ſtate.

were any troubles in Spaine, they ſhould leuie men there: yet they write, That *C. Flaminius* went into Sicile, where he enrolled certaine bands; and that paſſing from thence into Spaine, he was caſt vpon the coaſt of Africke, where he tooke an oath of ſome ſouldiours which he found there, being the remainders of the armie of *P. Scipio Africanus*: and that beſides all theſe, he leuied men in Spaine. But whatſoeuer he did, yet he found not the affaires of Spaine ſo difficult as they had giuen it out. Being in his gouernment (which extended vnto the Oretanes) he tooke the towne of Ilucia, and hauing lodged his ſouldiours to Winter, there were many light skirmiſhes betwixt him and the Spaniards, whereas he had not alwayes the better, but loſt many of his men. G

The other Pretor which gouerned the further Spaine did great exploits: for he fought a battaile with the Vacceans, Vectons, and Celtiberians all together, neere vnto Tolede, put them in rout, and defeated them, taking their king *Hilerme* aliue. The yeare following the gouernment was continued to theſe two Pretors. *Flaminius* tooke the towne of Litabrum by force, the which was ſtrong and very rich: he alſo tooke *Corribilo*, a nobleman of great fame, priſoner. *Fulvius* in the further Spaine did fight happily with two armies, tooke the townes of Veſcelia and Holo from the Spaniards, with many caſtles, ſome by force, and ſome by compoſition: and then paſſing by the Oretanes country, he ſeized vpon Nobilia & Cuſibis, and came vnto the riuer of Tayo, on the which Toledo ſtood, a ſmall town, but ſtrong of ſituation: whilſt he did batter it, an armie of the Vectons came to ſuccour it, but he defeated it: then continuing his ſiege and batterie, he tooke the towne. This done, he returned to Rome, *L. Emilius Paulus* being choſen to ſucceed him, when as *P. Cor. Scipio*, ſonne to *Cn.* and *M. Attilius Glabrio* were Conſuls. He entred into Rome with the ſolemnitie of Ouation, bringing into the common treaſurie 130000 Bigats of ſiluer, 12000 pounds of ſiluer in maſſe, and 127 pounds of gold. *C. Flaminius* was continued in his Pretorſhip in the hither Spaine. H

The happie exploits of Fulvius Nobilior.

I

10 But whereas other Pretors had but ſix officers which caried rods and axes before them, *L. Emilius* had twelue, ſo as his Pretorſhip was equall with the honor & dignitie of a Conſul. To either of theſe Pretors (beſides the armies which were in the countrey) were appointed a ſupplie of 3000 foot and 300 horſe, newly leuied; two third parts of them of their allies, and the other third part of Romane citizens. *Paulus* did twice defeat the barbarous Spaniards in battaile, and ſlew 30000, hauing taken his aduantage vpon the paſſage of a riuer. He brought vnder the obedience of the Romanes 250 places, by their voluntarie yeelding, and yet with the honour of all theſe gallant exploits he returned to Rome, hauing not enriched himſelfe one dragma during his gouernment; the which is a rare thing in a man of commaund. His gouernment being then continued for another yeare, he did ſomewhat blemiſh the glorie of his victories, by a notable rout which he had in the Baſtitanes countrey, whereas he loſt 6000 men vpon the place, the reſt of his army recouered their campe with great difficultie, and then was forced with long marches to retyre himſelfe into places of more ſafetie: but afterwards attending the comming of *L. Bebius*, who ſhould ſucceed him, he was reuenged of the Luſitanians for his former loſſe, of whom, he ſlew 18000, tooke 330, and woon their campe, with their baggage.

P. Emilius Pretor with Conſulare authoritie.

The great integritie of P. Emilius in his gouernment.

P. Emilius put to rout by the Spaniards.

K

L

L. Bebius had beene choſen at Rome to ſucceed him: but as he marched by the riuer of the Liguſticke ſea, he was ſet vpon by certaine Ligurians, who ſlew moſt part of his men, and himſelfe being wounded, hee was forced to ſaue himſelfe in Marſeilles, with a ſmall number, and without vſhers, whereas the third day after he died. Theſe newes being ſent to Rome by them of Marſeilles, the Senat appointed, That *P. Brutus* in the Pretors place ſhould take the gouernment of the further Spaine, and leauing the armie and prouince of Tuſcane to one of his lieutenants, he ſhould ſpeedily depart. In the other part of Spaine, neerer vnto Gaule, *L. Plautius Hipſeus* was appointed in *C. Flaminius* place, whoſe gouernment was reaſonably quiet.

The vnfortunat encounter of L. Bebius.

Ann. Rome 564

M. Valerius Meſſala and *C. Liuius Salinator* being made Conſuls at Rome, the hither part of Spaine was giuen to *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and to *C. Catinius* the farther: who continued in the ſame charge the yeare following: in the which the Luſitanians and Celtiberians troubled the peace, & went armed to field: the which being written to Rome by the Pretors, they did chuſe *L. Quintius Criſpinus*, who had that part of Spaine which lyes beyond the riuer of Ebro, and *C. Calphurnius Piſo* for the other part. Whileſt they prepare, *C. Catinius* came to fight with the Luſitanians in the territorie of Aſta, whom he defeated in battaile, woon their campe, and

Anno 565.

M

C. Catinius defeats the Luſitanians.

A and ſlew 6000 vpon the place: but as he gaue an aſſault to the towne of Aſta (the which was taken without any great reſiſtance) he was wounded, and died ſoone after. *L. Manlius* the other Vice-Pretor had an encounter with the Celtiberians in his gouernment, yet no man knew who had the victorie; onely the Celtiberians diſlodged the night following, confeſſing thereby, that they were vanquiſhed. The Romans being maſters of the field, had leyſure to burie their dead, and to gather vp their ſpoyles. *He that leaues the field, confeſſeth he is vanquiſhed.*

Within few dayes after the Celtiberians hauing augmented their forces, they came and aſſayled the Romanes neere to Calaguris, which now is Calahorra, but they were beaten, and loſt 12000 men vpon the place, 2000 were taken priſoners, and they were chaſed out of their *The Celtiberians defeated.*
B campe, and loſt their baggage. And ſuch was the heat of this victorie, that if they had not beene reſtrained by the comming of the new Pretors, the Celtiberians had beene wholly ſubdued. *Quintius* and *Calphurnius*, as ſoone as they were within their prouinces, lodged their armies to Winter. *L. Manlius* being returned to Rome, made his entrie with the ceremonie called Ouatio, whither he brought 52 crownes of gold, 132 pounds of gold, 16300 pounds of ſiluer, and declared in open Senate, That beſides all that, his Treaſurer *Qu. Fabius* brought 10000 pounds of ſiluer and 80 pounds of gold, to be put into the common Treaſurie.

11 The Spring time being come, the two Pretors went to field with their armies, and *Beturia now called Eſtremadura.*
joyned together in Beturia, marching towards the Carpetanians countrey, where the ene-
C mies were then in field. The beginning of their exploits was not very ſucceſſefull, but in the end they made reparation of their errors. The fight began betwixt the forragers on either ſide, neere vnto the townes of Hippo and Tolede; to whoſe ſuccours there came ſome from either army, and in the end all their forces came thither: ſo as the Spaniards ſeeing themſelues in a conuenient place for their manner of fighting, the two Romane armies were defeated in this vnexpected skirmiſh, and repulſed with great diſorder and amazement, within their *The Romans defeated, but the Spaniards can not purſue the victorie.*
palliſadoes and rampiers, and yet the enemies could not follow their good fortunes. The Pretors fearing to be aſſaulted, diſlodged in the night: and at the breake of day the Spaniards preſented themſelues before the trenches; but ſeeing no ſhew of any enemie, they entred into the campe, whereas they made bootie of that which the Romanes could not carrie away with
D them. This done, they ſtayed there ſome dayes, without attempting any thing. The Romans loſt in this combat and in the flight about fiue thouſand men, of their citizens and allies, with whoſe ſpoyles the Spaniards armed themſelues, and marched towards the banks of Tayo. All the reſpite the Romane Pretors had, they employed it to fill vp their bands with Spaniſh ſouldiors of their friends and allies, and to aſſure the reſt which had bin beaten. Wherefore when as they did ſee their forces reaſonably well repaired, and their ſouldiours hearts reuiued (who demaunded nothing more than the enemie, to reuenge the diſgrace which they had receiued) they came and encamped within twelue miles of the riuer of Tayo: when as a good part of the night was ſpent, they tooke vp their enſignes, and came by the breake of day to the riuers ſide, whereas they put themſelues into a ſquare battaile. The enemies were on the other ſide, en-
E camped on the ſide of a hill, and the Romans hauing found a foord in two places paſſed ouer; *Quintius* on the right hand, and *Calphurnius* on the left, but the enemie moued not: who being *The Spaniards know not how to embrace the occaſion.*
amazed at their ſuddaine arriuall, ſpent time in conſultation what they ſhould do, when they might haue diſordered all the Roman armie, being troubled at the paſſage of this riuer. In the end all paſſed, both ſouldiors & baggage, the which they laid all together: for they neither had any conuenient place, nor any leiſure to make any trenches, nor to plant their campe, for that the enemie began to arme, ſo as they put themſelues in order to fight, placing the ſtrength of their armie (which conſiſted in two Legions) in the middeſt. The field betwixt both enemies lay open, which did aſſure them from ambuſhes and ſurpriſes. The Spaniards ſeeing theſe two Legions in two great ſquadrons, put themſelues in battaile on the riuers ſide where they
F were, thinking to diſorder them before they ſhould be able to joyne with the bodie of their armie; wherefore they went and gaue them a furious charge. The fight in the beginning was fierce, the Spaniard being puffed vp with pride for his former victorie, and the Romans mad with deſire to deface the ignominie to haue beene vanquiſhed, contrarie to their cuſtome. The two Legions in the middeſt fought valiantly, and could not be forced: wherefore the Spaniards reſoluing to pierce through them by ſome means, they ſent a great troupe

A battaile betwixt the Romanes and Spaniards.

in forme of a wedge, to breake this battaillon. The furie of the fight was great, and *Calphurnius* feared the Legions ſhould not be able to reſiſt: wherefore he ſent *T. Quintius Varus* and *L. Iuuentius Thalua* (two Lieutenants) vnto them to aduertiſe them, That there was no means to hold Spaine, nor to ſaue themſelues, neither euer to ſee their houſes, nor Italie; no, not to get vnto the other ſide of the riuer of Tayo, if they did not vanquiſh their enemies: and he at the ſame inſtant, with the horſemen of the two Legions, went and charged this pointed troupe in flanke, and *Quintius* came on the other ſide with a certaine number of horſemen, but with leſſe courage than *Calphurnius*, who fought in the middeſt of the preaſſe: ſo as by reaſon of the Pretors preſence, and the danger whereinto hee thruſt himſelfe, the legionarie ſouldiours and all the reſt were greatly encouraged to doe their duties; ſo as they firſt put their enemies to rout, and then to flight, towards their campe: whither they were purſued by the horſemen, who entred pell-mell with them that fled; where they were ſorely preſt by them that had beene left to gard the baggage, ſo as they were forced to leaue their horſes, and to make head againſt them, vntill the fifth Legion arriued, and the other bands, one after another, who freed them from this danger, and put all the Spaniſh armie to the ſword: ſo as of

A notable defeat of Spaniards.

fiue and thirtie thouſand which were in the beginning of the battaile, there eſcaped but foure thouſand; whereof three thouſand recouered a neere mountaine, and a thouſand being naked and diſarmed, wandered vp and downe the fields. The Romans carried away an hundred thirtie three of the enemies enſignes: they themſelues loſt in this conflict little aboue ſix hundred men, and about an hundred and fiftie Spaniards of their confederats. Fiue Colonels and ſome Romane knights (which were ſlaine there) made the victorie ſeeme leſſe fortunat. The Romane armie was lodged in the enemies campe, for that they had no time to rampier their owne. The day following *Calphurnius* did highly extoll the ſouldiors valour, and gaue them gifts in teſtimonie of their vertue: to knights he gaue capariſons, ſhewing, that by their valour chiefely the battaile had beene woon: many captaines of the two Legions were alſo rewarded. Theſe two Gouernours returned to Rome, *A. Terentius Varro* and *P. Sempronius* being choſen in their places, during the Conſulſhip of *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Portius Licinius*. They brought many crownes of gold, and readie money, with gold and ſiluer in maſſe, whereof the number is vncertaine; and they triumphed for the victories which they had gotten againſt the Luſitanians and Celtiberians.

Ann. Rome 568

A. Terentius had the hither part of Spaine, and *Sempronius* the further: they alſo had prolongation in their charge for the yeare following. *Varro* had ſome encounters in this ſecond yeare with the Auſetanes, a people inhabiting in the countrey of Cattelogne, not farre from the riuer of Ebro, and againſt the Celtiberians, whom he vanquiſhed, and tooke ſome ſtrong places and townes, which they made their retreat in thoſe marches. As for *Sempronius* gouernment, it was quiet: for the Luſitanians ſtood in awe of the Romans fortune, and the Pretor was continually afflicted with a troubleſome diſeaſe, which made him vnfit for all publicke gouernment, and in the end killed him in Spaine. *P. Manlius* did ſucceed him, who had once beene Pretor in the hither Spaine, when as *Cato* was Conſull, and *Quintus Fuluius Flaccus* ſucceeded *Varro*.

The hither Spaine was in armes, and had need of a captaine and ſouldiors to ſuppreſſe the enemie: but in the other prouince the Romanes had no worſe enemies than themſelues: for that by reaſon of *Sempronius* long infirmitie, the ſouldiors were idle, and in a manner without a head, all were corrupted, inſolent, and without any militarie diſcipline; the which they muſt chiefely remedie. The Senate therefore decreed, That there ſhould be foure thouſand foot and two hundred Roman horſe newly leuied, to be ſent into Spaine, with ſeuen thouſand foot and three hundred horſe of their allies.

Idleneſſe and eaſe an enemie to vertue, corrupt the Roman armie.

Terentius Varro yeelded vp the prouince and the armie to *Qu. Fuluius Flaccus*, who beſieged a towne called Vrbicua, whereas the Celtiberians came to aſſaile him, making diuers skirmiſhes to rayſe the ſiege, in the which many Romanes were ſlaine or hurt. But *Fuluius* continued firme, and by his perſeuerance woon the towne, the enemies (tyred with fighting) being forced to retyre. The towne being deſtitute of ſuccours, was within few dayes taken and ſacked. *P. Manlius* did no other thing in his gouernment, but gather together the diſperſed ſouldiours, ſo as both he and *Fuluius* after the taking of Vrbicua lodged the armies to Winter. *Terentius* being returned to Rome, entred in pompe, and brought into the trea-

A treaſure 9320 pounds of ſiluer, 80 pounds of gold, and two crownes of gold of 67 pounds weight.

The yeare following theſe two Pretors were continued in their gouernment, and the warre grew hoter in *Fuluius* prouince than euer: for the Celtiberians went to field with thirtie fiue thouſand fighting men: againſt whom, *Fuluius* fortified himſelfe with all the Spaniards he could leuie among the Romane confederates: but hee did not equall the enemies in number: yet hee marched into the Carpetanians countrey, and encamped neere vnto Ebura, into the which he put a garriſon. The Celtiberians approched ſoone after, and planted their campe within halfe a league of the Romanes, at the foot of a hill; whereas the Pretor ſent to
B diſcouer them by two companies of their confederats horſes, being led by his brother *M. Fuluius*, commaunding him to approch neere vnto the enemies trenches, and to obſerue of what compaſſe they were, and if they came forth to charge them, they ſhould retyre without fighting: the which he executed accordingly. Some daies were ſpent without any action of importance. In the end the Celtiberians reſolued to goe foorth with all their forces, who preſented themſelues in battaile, in the plaine which was betwixt the two armies, and there attended the Romanes: yet *Fuluius* ſtirred not, but kept his men foure dayes together within his campe; during the which, the Spaniards ſhewed alwaies the ſame countenance: then ſeeing that the Romans lay ſtill, and that there was no means to fight with them, they kept themſelues alſo quiet for a time; onely the horſemen went forth, keeping themſelues readie, if the
C enemie ſhould make ſhew to aſſayle them. The forragers on both ſides went foorth behind their armies without any let. This hauing continued ſome dayes, the Romane Pretor (thinking that he had made the enemie ſecure) commaunded *L. Acilius* to march with ſix thouſand Spaniſh foot of their allies, and ſome of the horſemen of the left wing, about the hill vpon the enemies backe, and there he ſhould attend vntill he heard the crie of the Legionaries and the reſt of the armie, and that then he ſhould come and aſſayle the enemies campe. *Acilius* parted in the night, becauſe he would not be diſcouered. *Fuluius* at the breake of day cauſed *C. Stribonius* Colonel of the Latines, to march towards the Celtiberians trenches, accompanied with the extraordinarie horſemen of the left wing. The enemie ſeeing him better accompanied than the day before, ſallied preſently foorth with all his horſe, being followed by their
D footmen. *Stribonius* ſeeing them come, turned head, as he had beene commaunded, and retyred towards the Romanes campe. The Celtiberians purſued them ſpeedily both with horſe and foot, perſuading themſelues, the day ſhould not paſſe, before they were maſters of the Romanes campe, being now within fiue hundred paces. Then *Fuluius* ſeeing that hee had drawne them farre ynough from their fort, he made way for his armie, being readie in their trenches, cauſing them to ſally foorth by three ſeuerall ports at one inſtant, commaunding them to make great ſhouts and cries, not ſo much to giue courage to the ſouldiors, as it was their cuſtome, as to aduertiſe them that were in ambuſh behind the hill, attending a ſigne to aſſayle the enemies campe. When as they heard the crie, they ran vnto their rampiers according vnto their directions: The Celtiberians had onely left fiue hundred men to gard it,
E who made no great reſiſtance, being amazed both at their own ſmall number, and at the multitude of thoſe that came ſuddainely to aſſayle them. *Acilius* hauing woon their campe, hee preſently ſet fire on ſuch places as lay open to the enemie. The flame appearing, did much daunt the Celtiberians, and gaue courage vnto the Romans, being aſſured thereby, that their campe was taken. Notwithſtanding, the Celtiberians ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of a retreat, fought like deſperat men, and did much annoy the Romanes: but in the end being oppreſſed both with the firſt troupes and with freſh ſupplies, and by *Acilius*, who returned from the taking of the campe, and by the garriſon of Ebura, who ſallied forth in the heat of the battell, they were vanquiſhed, and great numbers ſlaine vpon the place, and afterwards wholly defeated, the horſemen purſuing them that fled. They write, That in this battaile there died
F 23000 Spaniards, and 4800 priſoners taken: the Romanes tooke aboue 500 horſe, and 88 enſignes. Doubtleſſe the victorie was great, yet not without bloud: for there were ſlaine about 200 legionarie Romanes, 830 Latines, allies, and 2400 ſtrangers. Which done, the Pretor brought backe his victorious armie into his campe. *Acilius* was ſent vnto the campe which hee had taken, and the next day they gathered vp the enemies ſpoyles, and the ſouldiors being publickely aſſembled, euery one was rewarded according

A memorable victorie of Q. Fuluius Flaccus againſt the Celtiberians.

The number of the dead.

to his merits: then hauing left the wounded men at Ebura, the Legions were led to Contrebia, by the territorie of the Carpetanians. This towne being beſieged, they ſent to demaund ſuccours of the Celtiberians, but the towne was yeelded before they came. There had fallen ſuch aboundance of raine at this ſeaſon, as *Fuluius* was forced to lodge his armie within the towne. The Celtiberians, who could not come by reaſon of the high waters and the bad way, knew nothing of the yeelding of this towne, vntill they were charged by the Romanes which were within it: for ſeeing no ſignes of a campe about it, they imagined the enemie had beene gone; ſo as they approached the towne without order, fearing no danger: from whence the Romanes ſallied forth vpon them with great furie, and put them to flight: and although the field was ſpacious, and the commoditie great to ſaue themſelues, yet there died twelue thouſand men, fiue thouſand were taken priſoners, foure hundred horſes of ſeruice, and ſixtie two enſignes gotten. Theſe Celtiberians being diſperſed, they aduertiſed their companions which came vnto them, of their defeat: whereupon they returned, and all this preparation went to ſmoake. In the further or Weſt part of Spaine, the Pretor *Manlius* did alſo fight happily againſt the Luſitanians. After theſe exploits *Q. Fuluius* ſent *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant to Rome, with two Colonels *T. Meuius* and *L. Terentius Maſſaliota*, to carrie newes, That the Celtiberians had beene wholly vanquiſhed in two great battailes, and that the Senate ſhould not need to make prouiſion of money or any other thing for the entertainment of their ſouldiors that yeare, for that (ſayd they) the warre was ended. They demaunded alſo, That the Pretor might haue leaue to bring backe the armie, which he and others before him had ſo happily managed and employed: the which (they ſayd) was not onely reaſonable, but very neceſſarie, for that euerie one demaunded leaue, ſpeaking openly, That if it were not graunted them, they would take it.

Contrebia taken by the Romanes.

Another defeat of the Celtiberians by Fuluius.

G H I

13 At the firſt generall aſſembly *A. Poſth. Albinus Luſcus* and *C. Calphurnius Piſo* being made Conſuls, they alſo created new Pretors to ſend into Spaine: the hither part by Ebro fell to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Poſthumius* had the Weſt part. *T. Sempronius* was not much pleaſed with the requeſt made on *Fuluius* behalfe, to whom he ſhould ſucceed: whereupon he proteſted, That if they ſent him thither with an armie newly leuied, hee would keepe himſelfe within his garriſons, and not expoſe vnexperienced ſouldiours againſt an enemie ſo long trained vp in warre. Thereupon the Senate did decree, That they ſhould rayſe a Legion of fiue thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred Romane horſe, and beſides it a thouſand Romane foot and fiftie horſe; and the Latines their allies ſhould be enjoyned to furniſh ſeuen thouſand foot and foure hundred horſe: and that with this armie *Sempronius* ſhould goe into Spaine: giuing leaue vnto *Qu. Fuluius* to bring backe the ſouldiors which had beene ſent thither before that *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Qu. Martius* were Conſuls; which was ſix yeares before: and moreouer, when the new leuie were come into the countrey, it ſhould be alſo lawfull for him to bring all backe that were aboue two complete Legions, of tenne thouſand foure hundred foot and ſix hundred horſe, Romanes, and twelue thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe of their allies, Latins, of thoſe ſouldiors with the which *Fuluius* had gotten two victories againſt the Celtiberians.

Ann. Roma 573 *New Pretors ſent into Spaine.*

K L

Whileſt theſe new Pretors were expected in Spaine, *Qu. Fuluius* in qualitie of Vice-Pretor vndertooke to goe and aſſayle the Celtiberians lying a farre off, for that they had not yet reconciled themſelues vnto him. This did rather incenſe the Barbarians than amaze them: wherefore going to armes, they ſeized vpon the ſtrait or paſſage called Manlian, by the which they knew the Romane armie muſt returne. *Gracchus* had giuen charge to *L. Poſthumius Albinus*, going to his gouernment in the further Spaine, to aduertiſe *Qu. Fuluius*, That hee ſhould come and meet him with the armie at Tarracone, where hee would diſcharge the old bands, diſtribute the ſupplyes which he had brought, and diſpoſe of the whole armie; appointing a ſhort time vnto *Fuluius* for the effecting thereof. Vpon which newes he was forced to depart ſuddainely out of the Celtiberians countrey: which made the people ſurmiſe, that he had ſome intelligence, that they did ſecretly arme, and that he retyred for feare: Wherefore they began to gard the paſſage more ſtraitly and proudly than before. The Romane armie being entered into this paſſage at the breake of day, they were aſſayled in two ſeuerall places at one inſtant, *Qu. Fuluius* giuing order for all things,

M

The Romanes charged by the Celtiberians in a ſtrait.

A things,according to the time and place, and making a briefe exhortation to his ſouldiors,he aſſured them. The fight began to grow hot,but not with like aduantage: for the legions and the Latines vpon the wings did fight valiantly, but their Spaniſh ſouldiours could not reſiſt their countrey-men,who were better ſouldiours than they. The Celtiberians ſeeing they could not vanquiſh the Romanes,fighting hand to hand with them in a ſet battell, they had recourſe vnto their accuſtomed faſhion,which was, to ſhape their troup like a wedge. Being thus ordered,they are more firme and violent, and can hardly be withſtood: by this meanes they had almoſt diſordered the legions. The which the Generall perceiuing,hee ran preſently to the legionary horſemen,asking them,What they did there,and what ſuccour might be ex- *The Romans diſtreſſed.*

B pected from them? To whom they anſwered,That they were readie to obey whatſoeuer hee ſhould command.*Ioyne then* (ſaid he) *all the horſes together of the two legions,and with a full carriere breake through that wedge of men which doth force our ſquadron; yea take the bridles from your horſes,as our aunceſtors haue often done with good ſucceſſe, that you may ouerthrow them with more violence.* Whereunto the horſemen ſpeedily obeied, and ſetting ſpurres to their vnbridled horſes,they paſſed and repaſſed through this troupe of the enemies, breaking their ſtaues, and making great ſlaughter of them. When this wedge was broken and diſperſed, in the which the Spaniards did wholly relye, they had no other thought but vpon flight. The Latin horſemen moued with the valour of the Romanes,without any further commaundement,fell vpon the enemies already broken,ſo as there was a great ſlaughter made in the flight through- *Another great defeat of the Celtiberians by Q. Fuluius.*

C out all the ſtrait. For this victorie the vice Pretor did vow a temple vnto Fortune, and games vnto *Iupiter.* There died in this encounter ſeuenteene thouſand Celtiberians, aboue three thouſand priſoners, and two hundred threeſcore and ſeuenteene enſignes taken, and about one thouſand and one hundred horſes gotten. The victorious armie did neither intrench nor rampar for that day:But this victorie was not without loſſe to the Romans,for there were foure hundred threeſcore and ten citizens ſlaine,a thouſand and nineteen Latines,and of Spaniards and other ſtrangers,their allies,three thouſand. Thus this armie hauing redoubled her fame by this victorie, it arriued at Tarracone, whereas *Sempronius* the Pretor (who arriued there but two dayes before) went forth to meet him, and did congratulate with *Fuluius* and the ſouldiours, their happie exploits for the commonweale.Then did they louingly and with *The number of the dead of either ſide.*

D great concord, diſcharge and retaine what they thought fit among the ſouldiours, according to the decree of the Senat: And for that yeare there was little done in Spaine by the new gouernours,for that they arriued late by reaſon of the death of one of the Conſuls, and the ſubrogation of another, which ſtaied their expedition. The yeare following they were continued in their gouernments.

Q. Fuluius Flaccus being returned to Rome, when as he ſtayed without the towne, to haue *Anno Roma 574* order for his triumph according to the cuſtome, he was choſen Conſull with *L. Manlius Acidinus*,and then he entred in triumph,with the ſouldiours which he had brought out of Spaine. He brought into the publique treaſurie one hundred and twentie foure crownes of gold, 31 pounds of gold,and 173200 deniers of coined money of Oſca, beſides he gaue fiftie deniers,

E being about fiue crownes, to euerie footman, twice as much to the centeniers,and thrice as much to the horſemen,as much to the allies and Latines,and to all in generall double pay.

This yeare the Gouernors in Spaine diuided the warre betwixt them, ſo as *Albinus* ſhould goe and aſſayle the Vaccens by the country of the Luſitanians,and from thence ſhould come into the marches of the Celtiberians. *Gracchus* ſhould enter into the heart of their countrey, for that the warre was hotteſt there. There he firſt tooke the towne of Munda by force, hauing ſet vpon it ſuddenly in the night,and hauing taken hoſtages,and put in a garriſon, he battered ſome caſtles,and did forrage and burne the countrey vntill he came vnto another ſtrong towne called Certima:whereas hauing begun to plant his engines to batter it, deputies came vnto him from the inhabitants,who vſed a ſimple kind of ſpeech vnto him, after the auntient

F manner,without any diſſembling,telling him freely,That they would make warre if they had meanes, deſiring that they might haue leaue to goe vnto the Celtiberians campe, to demand ſuccours: the which if they could not obtaine, they would then take counſell of their affaires diſtinctly from the other nations. *Gracchus* yeelded to their demaund: and within a few daies after they returned,bringing with them ten other deputies. It was about noone. The firſt words which they ſpake vnto the Pretor,were,That they intreated him to commaund ſome of *The ſlee ſimplicitie of the Spaniards.* *Gracchus his facilitie and courteſie to the Barbarians.*

his

his people to bring them drinke: which done, they demaunded more, making all the aſſiſtants G
to laugh at their groſneſſe, and want of ciuilitie. Then the eldeſt among them began to ſpeake,
ſaying, That they had beene ſent vnto him by them of their nation, to know, vpon what
ground he was come to make warre againſt them. *Gracchus* anſwered, That it was vpon the
aſſurance of a goodly armie, which he had, and if they would ſee it, to make a more certaine
report vnto their men, he would ſuffer them, commaunding ſome captaines to cauſe them all
to arme, and to make them march and skirmiſh together. Theſe deputies reported vnto their
people what they had ſeene; which diuerted them from ſending any ſuccours to the towne
beſieged: The inhabitants whereof (ſeeing themſelues abandoned) yeelded, paying the va-
lue of 62000 crownes, and gaue fortie knights, of the nobleſt among them, not in ſhew as H
hoſtages (for they put them among their bands to carrie armes) although in effect they were
as pawnes of their promiſes and accords. From thence *Gracchus* led his armie to Alce, a town
whereas the Celtiberians (who had ſent the ten deputies vnto him) were camped, againſt
whom for ſome dayes he ſent his light horſmen, to tire them with light ſkirmiſhes, euen with-
in their gards, ſending more men daily, to the end he might draw them out of their trenches
to battell. The which ſucceeding according to his deſire, hee commaunded the Generall of
the allies, to begin the fight, and that preſently turning their backes, and making ſhew to bee
oppreſſed with multitudes, they ſhould returne with all ſpeed towards the campe. He in the
meane time put his armie in battell within the rampars, neere vnto euerie gate, and ſuddenly
when he ſaw his men turne head towards the campe flying, as he had commanded them, and I
the enemie following with no leſſe ſpeed; hauing retired his men, he drew forth his armie by
all thoſe ports, with great cries, ſo as the enemies could not make any reſiſtance: and it hap-
Gracchus victo- pened, that thoſe which came running to take the Romanes campe, could not defend their
rie againſt the owne; for preſently they were repulſed, put to rout, and beaten into their paliſadoes, where
Celtiberians. they were ſoone after forced. There were nine thouſand ſlaine that day vpon the place, three
hundred priſoners, 112 horſes of ſeruice, and 37 enſignes woon. On the Romanes ſide there
died but 109 men. After this defeat *Gracchus* led the legions to ſpoyle the countrey of the
Celtiberians, waſting and carrying all away. Wherefore many, either for feare, or other-
wiſe forced, yeelded vnto him: ſo as in few dayes he reduced vnder the Romanes obedience
Some of the an- one hundred and thirteene townes, and tooke great ſpoyles. From thence hee returned a- K
tient ſaid theſe gaine towards Alce, and began to aſſaile it. The inhabitants endured the firſt aſſault, but af-
113 townes were terwards ſeeing them prepare their engines to batter it, diſtruſting in their owne ſtrength,
but farmes, or they retired all into the caſtle, the which yeelded ſoone after, ſubmitting themſelues to
doue-houſes, to *Gracchus* his mercie. The ſpoyle was great, and many noblemen and of good houſes were
eclips the glorie taken priſoners; among the which there was a ſonne and a daughter of *Thurtus*, who was
of Gracchus.
Thurtus a petie the greateſt nobleman of the countrey, and to whom the place belonged. Hearing what
Spaniſh king was happened, he came with a ſafe-conduct into the armie to *Gracchus:* of whom he deman-
lord of Alce. ded life, both for himſelfe and his, whereof *Gracchus* aſſured him. Then he deſired to be ad-
mitted to carrie armes with the Romanes, the which was granted him: and from that time he L
ſhewed himſelfe faithfull and valiant in their ſeruice, and did greatly aduance the Romane
affaires in Spaine.

Ergauica a mightie and famous towne, being amazed with the miſeries and ruines of her
neighbours, opened the gates to the Roman armie. Some write, that theſe yeeldings were not
done faithfully, and that as ſoone as the legions were gone, they entred into rebellion, ſo as the
Caunus, mount Pretor had two encounters with the Celtiberians, the one neere vnto mount Caunus, where
Caio at this day. the fight continued ſix houres, with great ſlaughter on either ſide, neither partie confeſſing
himſelfe to be vanquiſhed. The ſecond time (which was the third day after) the Romans had
an aſſured victorie; where there were 22000 of the enemies ſlaine vpon the place, and 300 pri-
ſoners, and as many horſes, and 72 enſignes taken. By which defeat the war was ended in that M
countrey, and the Celtiberians demaunded peace, the which they did faithfully entertain for
a time, without rebelling. They write, that *L. Poſthumius* had at the ſame time woon two bat-
tels of the Vaccens, others ſay, of the Brecaires, which are betwixt Minio and Duero, and had
ſlaine 35000 of the enemies, and tooke their campe.

Ann. Rome 575 At Rome *M. Iunius Brutus*, & *A. Manlius Volſo* being choſen conſuls, *M. Titinius* & *T. Fonteius Capito* were created Pretors & gouernors of Spain: *Titinius* had that part which was neereſt

vnto

A vnto Gaule, and *Capito* the Weſterne part: and then *Sempronius Gracchus* and *L. Poſthumius* came to Rome, who had the honour of a triumph granted them, for that they had gouerned the affaires of the commonweale wiſely and valiantly. *Gracchus* entred firſt in triumph for the Celtiberians, bringing into the treaſurie fortie thouſand pounds weight in ſiluer. His companion entred ſome dayes after, triumphing for the Luſitanians, and other neighbour people, who alſo brought twentie thouſand pounds. To euerie one of the ſouldiours was giuen fiue and twentie deniers, which is worth two crownes and a halfe: to the centeniers double, and to the horſemen treble as much, and to the ſouldiours of their allies as much as to them of Rome.

B Spaine tyred with warre, was quiet during the gouernment of the new Pretors, who continued there two yeares.

The third yeare *Cn.Corn.Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q. Petilius Spurrinus* being Conſuls, *M. Corn. Scipio Maluginenſis*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, were choſen Pretors in Spaine: *Craſſus* had the hither Spaine, and *Scipio* the further; but either of them pretended excuſes not to go, and therefore *Titinius* and *Fonteius* were continued in the gouernment as vice-Pretors, to whom there was appointed to fill vp their armies, three thouſand foot, citizens of Rome, and two hundred horſe, and fiue thouſand Latins of their allies, with three hundred horſe: yet there is no mention of any tumult in Spaine, during their abode, nor after they were changed, vntill the Conſulſhip of *Sp. Poſthumius* and *Q. Mutius*, which was two yeres after, in the which the gouern- *Anno Rome 579*
C ment of the hither Spaine fell to *P. Furius Philo*, and the further to *Cn. Seruilius Cepio*. We read that whileſt theſe Pretors prepared themſelues to go into their prouinces, the Celtiberians being in armes, *App. Claudius Cento* (who was vice-Pretor there) gaue them a great defeat, ſo as they were forced to ſubmit themſelues vnto the yoke. They began their rebellion by a ſudden aſſault which they came to giue vnto the Romanes campe at the breake of day: Being diſcouered by the centinels, they cried to armes, ſo as the ſouldiors were preſently armed, and readie to ſallie forth, as they did by the ports: but the Celtiberians were ſo neere, as they kept them long from comming forth, ſo as the combat was in a manner equall. But the formoſt ranks being thruſt on by their companions, in the end they got out of their paliſadoes into the plaine, where they had meanes to draw out their front, and the wings of their battell, equal to
D that of the enemies, with the which they were in a manner compaſſed in: but they behaued themſelues ſo well, as they repulſt them, and in leſſe than two houres put them to flight, with the loſſe of aboue fifteene thouſand of their men; ſo as the warre was ended: for ſuch as eſcaped, ſubmitted themſelues ſoone after to the Romanes yoke, ſo as the new Gouernours had not any warre.

Anno 577. The new Pretors refuſe their charge in Spaine

The Celtiberians defeated.

The next yeare *L. Poſth. Albinus*, and *M. Pompilius Lenas*, being Conſuls, *Cn. Fabius Buteo*, and *M. Matienus* were choſen to gouerne Spaine: and then arriued *App. Claudius*, who entred the citie with the pompe of ouation, bringing ten thouſand pounds of ſiluer, and fiue thouſand of gold. *Fabius Buteo*, who had the hither Spaine, going vnto his gouernment, fell ſicke at Marſeilles, where he died, ſo as *P. Furius Philo* was continued in his gouernment, and
E *Matienus* came into the further prouince. As it is a thing too well knowne, that gouernments are not affected but to get authoritie and wealth: ſo it falls out often, when as Gouernours find not matter to maintaine their greatneſſe among the enemies by the warre, they can hardly doe juſtice to their fellow citizens and allies in time of peace: then they begin to moleſt the richeſt families, by falſe accuſations, to faine neceſſities, to exact vpon the publique, and to vſe other ſuch practiſes, to fill their cofers, and enrich their miniſters with the ruine and deſolation of the commons. Thus did the Pretors and lieutenants of the people of Rome in Spaine.

Publique charges affected for priuat profit.

Theſe two Gouernours *Furius* and *Matienus*, either in his juriſdiction, hauing (by reaſon of the peace) no other prey but thoſe that were giuen them in gard, they polled them in ſuch 14
F ſort, as not able any longer to endure their extortions and fraud, the poore Spaniards were conſtrained to ſend embaſſadours to Rome, after that the Pretorſhip was ended: who hauing audience, caſting themſelues vpon their knees, they made a pitiful complaint of the pride and couetouſneſſe of their Gouernours, beſeeching the Senat not to ſuffer their friends and allies to be oppreſſed and ſpoyled by them with greater violence than if they were enemies. Many crimes were objected by them, but concuſſion was beſt verified. The Senat decreed, That

The Spaniards complaine of their gouernours couetouſneſſe.

Lu. Ca-

Spaine made one gouernment, and L. Canuleius Pretor alone.

Lu. Canuleius (to whom the gouernment of Spaine was fallen) ſhould chuſe iudges from among the Senators, to examine the fact; and that the parties ſhould chuſe aduocates of the ſame order. *Titinius*, who had beene Pretor, during the Conſulſhip of *A. Manlius* and *M. Iunius* in the higher Spaine, was drawne in queſtion: but when as they had pleaded two ſeuerall dayes, he was abſolued: but *P. Furius Philo* (who had beene Gouernour in the ſame prouince) and *M. Matienus* in the further Spaine, being accuſed of diuers crimes, and their cauſes often pleaded, when as it was againe to be heard, they were excuſed, being abſent, for that being loath to attend the ſentence, they had voluntarily retired themſelues, the one to Preneſte, the other to Tybur: and ſo the matter was left vndecided. G

Canuleius deſiring to ſuppreſſe this purſute, to the end that many ſhould not bee moleſted by the Spaniards, began to giue order for the affaires of his gouernment, and to inroll ſouldiours, to lead them into the prouince which was appointed for them, and ſo he parted. The Senat letting paſſe what had beene formerly done, prouided for the future, that the Romane magiſtrats ſhould ſet no taxe vpon corne, and that they ſhould not force the Spaniards to ſell the twentieth part at their pleaſures, which was a certaine tribute: and that they ſhould ſend no more Commiſſaries into their townes to leuie money. H

At the ſame time there came another kind of embaſſage to Rome, from them that had bin borne of Romane ſouldiours and Spaniſh women, and not maried. Theſe were about foure thouſand men. The Senat commaunded they ſhould giue in their names, and be inrolled by *L. Canuleius* the Pretor: and that ſuch as he ſhould make free, ſhould be conducted vnto Carteia, vpon the Ocean ſea, to dwell there. That the inhabitants of Carteia that would remaine there, ſhould be receiued, and portions of land aſſigned them: and this colonie ſhould be held for Latines, and be called the Libertines. I

A colonie of Libertines.

Spaine diuided againe into two gouernments.

It ſeemes that the Romanes hauing no warres at that time in Spaine, were reſolued to reduce it to one gouernment, and to ſend but one Pretor. After *Canuleius* mention is made of *Claudius Marcellus*, and then of *P. Fonteius*: of whoſe deeds there is no mention in auntient writers; ſo as it is to be preſumed, this prouince continued quiet. But in the yeare 586 of the foundation of Rome, *Q. Ælius* and *M. Iunius* being Conſuls, they did againe create two Pretors, which were *Cn. Fulutius* on the hither part, & about the riuer of Ebro; and *C. Licinius Nerua* in the further. After which the Romanes contenting themſelues for many yeares, with their conqueſts in Spaine, they ſought as it ſeemed to make them whom they had ſubiected, or drawne vnto them, ciuile, and to faſhion them by little and little to the manners and inclinations of the Romanes: without ſeeking the other people which were more barbarous, who alſo for their parts were glad to be left in peace, being terrified with the Romanes power, whom they would not incenſe, neither had they any care to ſeek their friendſhip, becauſe they hated them, as violaters of the lawes of nature, and oppreſſors of mans libertie. K

Ann. Rome 600

15 In the yere 600 of the foundation of Rome, *Q. Fuluius* and *T. Annius* being Conſuls, the Celtiberians (who had beene vanquiſhed and ſubdued by *T. Gracchus* fiue and twentie yeares before) began againe to ſtirre, the inhabitants of Sediga, a towne of the Areuaces, hauing (againſt their capitulations, and the commaundement of *Gracchus*) repaired the walls of their towne, and refuſed to pay tribute vnto the Romanes: by reaſon whereof other people being alſo rebelled in Spain, the Senat reſolued to ſend an armie, and a Conſul to be the General, ſo as *Q. Fulutius* was ſent, who was not verie fortunat in the beginning. This yeare by a new cuſtome the Conſuls entred into charge the firſt of Ianuarie, whereas before they did not begin their magiſtracie vntill the fifteenth of March: whereunto they were induced by the rebellion of the Spaniards: the which was afterwards continued. Of this beginning followed the warre of Numancia, which laſted twentie yeares. The Senat of Rome hauing firſt forbidden them of Segida to raiſe their walls, and then commaunded them to goe to the war with their Conſuls and Pretors, according to the pacification made by *Gracchus*, they anſwered, That they had capitulated, not to make any new forts, but not to repaire their old. And as for going to the warre, they were exempt from that charge, by the treatie of *Gracchus*: the which was true. But the Senat added a gloſe to theſe conditions, that is, As long as it ſhall pleaſe vs: the which the Spaniards would not heare of. Wherefore ſeeing that *Quintus Fuluius Nobilior* came againſt them with an armie of thirtie thouſand men, they left their towne, which was not yet in defence, ſent their wiues and children to their neighbours, and vnder the conduct L M

The Celtiberians and other people repaire the demantled towns.

The Romane magiſtrats change the day of entring into their charges.

The ſtronger conſtrue treaties as they pleaſe.

of

A of one *Carus*, they aſſembled to the number of 20000 foot, and 5000 horſe, and came and camped in a place couered with wood, verie fit to ſurpriſe their enemies, whom he met withall in the woods, and both gaue and took many wounds. Afterwards in a great encounter *Carus* had the victorie, hauing ſlaine 6000 Romans, wherewith being growne inſolent and careleſſe, the Conſull had means to haue his reuenge, ſending his horſemen to charge the Spaniards which were ſcattered and out of order: who put 6000 to the ſword, and more had bin ſlaine, if night had not ſeperated them. This made the Celtiberians more circumſpect. The ſame night the people of the countrey aſſembled at Numance, and being reſolued to reſiſt the Romanes, they made choice of *Ambo* and *Leuco* for their captaines. The Conſull *Fuluius* hauing receiued
B 300 horſe, with ſome Elephants, from king *Maſſiniſſa*, a Moore (an auntient friend to the people of Rome) marching forward, he came and offered battell to the enemies vnder Numance. He had placed his Elephants behind the firſt rankes, that they might not be ſeene, thinking to terrifie them ſuddenly, and to defeat them by that meanes; but it fell out otherwiſe: for being come to joyne, and the ranks opened, when as the Elephants ſhewed themſelues, they did ſomewhat terrifie the Spaniards and their horſes, which were not accuſtomed to ſee ſuch beaſts; ſo as turning their backes they went towards the towne: But one of theſe Elephants comming neere the walls, being hit on the forehead with a ſtone, he entred into ſuch a rage, as turning againſt the Romanes themſelues, he trode them vnder his feet; after whoſe example the reſt began to run through the Romane troupes, and diſordered them: For it is the nature
C of theſe beaſts, when they are terrified, they know neither friend nor foe: wherefore many call them common enemies. The Spaniards which were within Numance, ſeeing this confuſion, ſallied out vpon the Romanes, and ſlew foure thouſand men, and tooke three Elephants, and many enſignes; yet they loſt two thouſand of their men.

Carus a captaine of the Spaniards

A conſpiracie of the Spaniards at Numance.

Elephants held by the wiſe to be common enemies.

The Conſull hauing refreſhed himſelfe ſomewhat after this rout, he was repulſed againe at the fort of Axenium, the which he aſſailed, to haue the victuals which the enemie had in it, and in this misfortune the Romans receiued a third rout, whereas *Biaſius* a leader of ſome horſe of their allies, was ſlaine, with many good ſouldiours. Theſe many loſſes did moue the inhabitans of Ocilis, or Ocelon, allies to the Romanes, and gardians of the money and victuals of their campe, to reuolt, and to follow the Celtiberians partie. So as vanquiſhed
D with ſo many misfortunes, the Conſull *Fuluius* could take no better courſe, than to fortifie his campe for to winter: the which hee did with the greateſt want that might be, beſides, haile, ſnow, raine, and all the rigour of the ſeaſon, ſo as many of his ſouldiours periſhed for cold.

Ocelon reuolts from the Roman partie.

16 The yeare following *M. Claudius Marcellus* ſucceeded *Fuluius*, and brought 8000 foot and 500 horſe into Spaine. This man was more politique than his predeceſſor, to keepe himſelfe from the ſurpriſes of his enemies, leading his armie ſafely to Ocilis, the which hee tooke in few dayes, and pardoned their offence, paying a fine of thirtie talents, and ſome hoſtages, which he demaunded of them. This clemencie of his made the Nertobriges, another nation, to ſend embaſſadors vnto him, to demaund peace and pardon: to whom he made a pleaſing
E anſwer, demaunding an hundred horſemen of them; the which they promiſed. But during this treatie, they ſent certaine troupes, which fell vpon the Romanes baggage, and ſpoyled ſome of it. Hereupon the hundred horſemen, which the Conſull had demaunded, arriued, whom he committed to priſon, and ſold their horſes, by reaſon of their treacherie. Then he led his armie againſt their towne.

M. Marcellus Conſull ſent into Spaine.

The inhabitants ſeeing themſelues inuironed with ditches and trenches, ſent forth a herauld attired in a wolues skin (a ceremonie vſed by the Barbarians in ſuch ſupplications) crauing pardon. To whom hee made anſwere, That hee would not grant it, if the Areuaces and the other rebels their allies did not ſue for it all together. Which being knowne vnto them, they all ſent their embaſſadours to intreat the Conſull *Marcellus* to referre them
F to the accord made in former time with *T. Gracchus*, impoſing vpon them (according to his clemencie) a tollerable puniſhment.

Ceremonies of the Barbarians when they are ſuters.

There were ſome people allyed vnto the Romanes, which hauing beene wronged by them, oppoſed themſelues to this demaund: wherefore *Marcellus* ſent them all to the Senat of Rome. The Senat made no other anſwer, hauing heard their debate, but that *Marcellus* ſhould tell them what they were to do.

In

Ann. Rome 602

17 In the meane time, in the yeare 602, Spaine fell by lot to the Conſul *L. Lucullus*, and then they began firſt to inroll ſouldiours by lot. *Lucullus* led with him *P. Scipio Æmilianus* (he that made himſelfe famous by the euerſion of Carthage the great, and of Numantia.) *Marcellus* hauing aduertiſed the Celtiberians of the comming of this Conſull, and of the warre which was prepared, he aduiſed them, before they attended any greater extremitie, to yeeld to his diſcretion, promiſing them all good vſage, and reaſonable conditions; for he deſired to end this war before the comming of *Lucullus*: the which they did. This *Marcellus* (as *Strabo* writes) did build the citie of Corduba, and impoſed a tribute of ſix hundred talents vpon Spaine, continuing his gouernment a good while after that *Lucullus* was choſen Conſull, gouerning as Proconſull.

Corduba built by Marcellus.

Lucullus being couetous ſeekes occaſion of war.

Lucullus finding nothing to doe at his arriuall, he laid the foundation of a new warre, being as deſirous to make ſome ſpoyle (for he was but poore) as to get honour. He entred therefore as an enemie into the Vaccens countrey, who had in no ſort offended the Romanes: and hauing paſſed the riuer of Tayo, he went to beſiege Cauca. The inhabitants demaunded what he would of them, and why he beſieged them. He anſwered, That they had wronged the Celtiberians, allies to the Romanes, and that he came to reuenge it. Whereupon they retired into their towne, and put themſelues in defence. Soone after they ſallied forth ſuddenly vpon them that went to forrage, and ſlue a great number. But the Romane ſouldiours going forth to ſuccor them, they repulſed the Spaniards, beating them euen vnto their town gates, whereas they ſmothered one another with the multitude, ſo as there were aboue three thouſand ſlaine. Thoſe which remained being amazed with this loſſe, they ſent the next day the moſt antient among them, with girlands of oliue branches, deſiring *Lucullus* to receiue them as friends, and to ſet downe the conditions; who impoſed an hundred talents of ſiluer, and hoſtages, commaunding them to ſend their horſemen to the warre with him: which hauing granted, *Lucullus* ſaid, That he would haue them receiue a garriſon into their towne: wherevnto they were alſo willing to obey, ſo as preſently there were two thouſand of the beſt ſouldiours in the armie ſent, with commaundement to ſeiſe vpon the ports, towers, and ſtrongeſt places of the towne: which they did. Then *Lucullus* drew in all the reſt of the ſouldiors, and by the ſound of the trumpet, did moſt cruelly put all the inhabitants to the ſword, ſparing neither age nor ſexe: yet ſome ſlipping ouer the walls, and creeping through the preaſe, eſcaped, who proclaimed the Romanes treacherie, couetouſneſſe, and crueltie, throughout all Spaine: whereupon all thoſe that dwelt in the champian countrey, and in places of eaſie acceſſe, retired vnto the mountaines, or into fortified townes; carrying with them what was good and precious: and what they could not carrie they burnt, being loath to leaue any ſpoyles to ſo cruell an enemie.

Orieuous burthens laid vpon them of Cauca by Lucullus.

Lucullus treacherous crueltie againſt the inhabitants of Cauca.

Cauca being thus ruined, *Lucullus* led his armie through a great part of the countrey which was barren and deſart, vntil he came to the towne of Intercatia, where there were ſome twentie thouſand foot and two thouſand Spaniſh horſe, gathered together: of whom *Lucullus* demaunded indiſcreetly, If they would not come to compoſition with him. But they asked, If he would receiue them with the like faith as he had done them of Cauca? reproaching vnto him with opprobrious words, this treacherous and inhumane fact. Wherewith *Lucullus* being incenſed (as commonly all thoſe are which find themſelues touched) he ſpoiled all their countrey, and then beſieged them. They knowing there was no reaſon to come to battel with the Romane armie, maintained themſelues with skirmiſhes and ſudden ſallies. During this ſiege a Spaniſh caualier richly armed, and brauely mounted, ſhewed himſelfe often betwixt the armie and the towne, challenging ſome Romane to the combat, and ſeeing that no man durſt come forth, he ſcorned them. But *Scipio Æmilianus* being then verie young, grieued to ſee the Romane knights thus diſhonoured, and hauing leaue from the Conſull, he went to encounter him, and vanquiſhed him: the which bred admiration in both parties, conſidering the inequalitie of the ſtature of the combatants; for *Scipio* was little, and the Spaniard wonderful great and ſtrong. The Romanes conceiued good hope of this victorie: but in the night they were troubled with the cries of certaine horſemen of the towne, which were gone forth before that *Lucullus* did inueſt it, who being the ſame night returned, about the paliſadoes of the Romane armie, made great cries and ſhouts, to whom the beſieged made anſwer: ſo as the Romanes were forced to keepe themſelues in armes, not knowing what part to gard: beſides,

Truth breeds hatred and furie in the wicked when they are touched.

Scipio Æmilianus combats with a Spaniard and conquers him valiantly.

A ſides, they were tyred and growne weake, for that they wanted both bread, wine, oyle, ſalt and vinegre, liuing only vpon veniſon, hares, or pouldred fleſh, the which bred fluxes, wherof many dyed. Continuing their batterie, they made a great breach, but comming to the aſſault, (whereas *Scipio* was one of the formoſt) and being in a manner maſters of the towne, they were ſharpely repulſed: and in their retreat many through ignorance of the place fell into certaine priuies, where they were ſwallowed vp. The beſieged hauing repaired their breach, ſeemed reſolute; but hunger preſſing either partie, they could not long diſſemble their neceſſities: ſo as *Lucullus* perſuaded the Spaniards to yeeld, with the beſt words hee could, promiſing he would not deceiue them, ſo as in the end they gaue him credit, and yeelded, vpon condition *Intercatia taken by compoſition.*

B to ſend ſix thouſand archers to the warre with him, giuing a certaine number of cattell, and ſome hoſtages. Gold nor ſiluer (the deſire whereof had drawne *Lucullus* into Spaine) there *Couetouſneſſe, and no deſire of honour, brought Lucullus into Spaine.* was not any: for the people of that countrie had neuer eſteemed it. Matters being thus compounded, the Romane armie was led againſt Palantia, a ſtrong and well fortified towne, whither many of the champian countrey, and leſſer townes were retired. Moſt of the colonels and captains were of opinion, That they ſhould not ſtriue in vaine againſt ſo mightie a town: but *Lucullus*, a couetous man, knowing it to be exceeding rich, would neuer leaue it vntill that hunger forced him, the horſemen of the towne (which were verie many) ſallying out daily vpon the Romans which went to forrage. Being thus preſſed, he put his armie into bat- *Lucullus retires from Palentia with ſhame.*

C tell, and retired, the Palantines following him in the taile, and purſuing him vnto the riuer of Duero, where they left their purſute, and returned. *Lucullus* paſſing on, led his armie to winter in the countrey of the Turditanes. Thus ended the warre againſt the Vacceans, for the which (although that *Lucullus* vndertooke it without authoritie or commandement from the Senat and people of Rome) he was neuer called into queſtion. *Lucullus making war without authoritie, is not puniſhed.*

18 About that time the Luſitanians, and people of the further Spaine, liuing vnder their owne lawes, had made incurſions vpon the friends and allies of the people of Rome, hauing a certaine Africane for their captaine, and chaſed *Manlius* and *Calphurnius*, Romane captains, killing aboue ſix thouſand of their men, with *Terentius Varro*, their Queſtor or Treaſurer. *Romans defeated by the Luſitanians.* Wherewith this Africane growne proud, he went with a companie of Vectons, a neighbor people, to aſſaile the town of the Blaſtophenicians, a people who, they ſaid, were brought and

D left in Spaine by *Hannibal*. This captaine being ſlaine there with a ſtone, they did preſently make choice of one called *Cæſarus* to be head of their armie: who gaue battell vnto *Mumius* which had beene ſent from Rome with an armie; but he loſt it: yet ſeeing that *Mumius* purſued his victorie inconſideratly, he turned head, and repaired his loſſe, ſo as he ſlew nine thouſand of the Romane armie vpon the place, and not onely recouered his owne baggage, but *Mumius defeats the Spaniards, and is beaten by the vanquiſhed through his own negligence.* tooke the enemies, and carried away a great number of enſignes, which the Luſitanians dragged vp and downe in ſcorne of the Romanes. *Mumius* hauing gathered together fiue thouſand ſouldiours which remained, and reuiued them as well as he could, he found an opportunitie to charge the enemie going to forrage, and did ſo well, as he ſlew a great number, and *Mumius reuangeth his loſſes.* recouered his enſignes.

E The Luſitanians which dwelt beyond the riuer of Tayo, hauing in like maner proclaimed warre againſt the Romanes, and tooke the towne of Coniſtorgis by aſſault, a great and ſtrong towne, confederat to the Romanes, they being led by a captaine called *Caucene*: and not content to make a tumult in Spaine, ſome of them paſſed the ſtrait at *Hercules* pillars, and went to ſpoyle Africke: the reſt went to aſſaile Ocile. But *Mumius* arriuing with a thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe, ſlew about fifteene thouſand forragers, and made them to leaue the ſiege of Ocile. Then going againſt others, who thought to eſcape with the prey, hee left not one aliue to carrie newes of their defeat. Hee diſtributed the bootie which was portable among his ſouldiours, and the reſt (being conſecrated to thoſe gods who hee thought did preſide ouer the warres) he burnt. After all this, he returned to Rome, and triumphed.

F *Attilius*, or *Acilius Balbus*, ſucceeded *Mumius*, who at his firſt arriuall cut ſeuen hundred Luſitanians in peeces, and tooke Oxthraca, being the greateſt and richeſt towne they had, ſtriking terrour in all the neighbour people, which ſubmitted themſelues to his deuotion as far as the Vectons. But when as *Acilius* had lodged his armie for Winter, they rebelled, and began to annoy them that were friends and confederats to the Romanes: Againſt whom *Ser. Galba* ſent Pretor to ſucceed *Acilius*, meaning to ſuccour them, made a march of 15 leagues,

and being come in ſight of the enemie, without giuing reſt to the ſouldiours, he led them G
to fight, and vanquiſhed happily. But as the Romanes purſued the flying enemie in diſ-
order, and made many ſtands being wearie, the Luſitanians turning head, ſlue ſeuen thou-
ſand, and forced *Galba* to flie with his horſemen into Carmel, whither many that had eſcaped
were retired: who hauing rallied them together, and leuied twentie thouſand men of their
confederats, he wintered at Cunes. The Conſull *Lucullus* who wintered in Turditania, hea-
ring that the Luſitanians were in armes, he ſent the beſt of his captaines againſt them, and ſlue
foure thouſand of them, and afterwards hauing made a new head neere vnto Gades, hee cut
fiue thouſand and fiue hundred in peeces. And as *Galba* on his ſide preſſed theſe people, they
ſent embaſſadors vnto him, ſeeming deſirous to enjoy the accord made before with *Attilius*. H
Galba made ſhew to pitie them, and to excuſe their exceſſe for that pouertie had made them
to breake the treaties, and to ſteale: ſaying, That he knew well that the Barbarians of the
countrey was the cauſe of theſe inconueniences: but if they had a true intent to be friends,
he would diuide them into three troupes, and ſend them into fertile places to liue in. The
Luſitanians being woon with theſe promiſes, put themſelues into three troupes, and ſuffered
themſelues to be led to the places aſſigned by *Galba*, who ſpake vnto the firſt, as if they were
in full peace, injoyning them to leaue their arms; which hauing done, he cauſed them all to be
maſſacred: and with the like fraud and crueltie he defeated the other two troupes, before they
could haue any newes of the ſlaughter of their companions. Many ſlipping through the ar-
med troupes, eſcaped; among the which was *Viriatus*, who reuenged the trecherie & crueltie I
of the Romanes againſt his country-men. *Galba* ſhewing himſelfe as treacherous, and it may
be more couetous than *Lucullus*, hauing filled his cofers with the ſpoyles of Luſitania, wher-
of he did defraud both his friends and ſouldiours, returned to Rome, where he was called in
queſtion for his abuſes: but being the richeſt man in the citie, he eſcaped by bribes.

Galba being vi-ctor is defeated by his raſh purſute.

The treacherous crueltie of Serg. Galba.

20 The Luſitanians which remained of *Lucullus* and *Galbaes* treacheries, aſſembled toge-
ther to the number of ten thouſand, and did ouerrun the countrey of Turditania: againſt
whom the Pretor *C. Vetilius* was ſent; who hauing joyned the armie which hee brought from
Rome, with the forces he found in Spaine, he went againſt them which ſpoyled their friends
countrey, and ſlew many of them, forcing the reſt to retire to the ſide of a hill, where he beſie-
ged them, ſo as they muſt either end their dayes by hunger or by the ſword: wherefore they K
reſolued to ſue for mercie, and to intreat him to appoint them a countrey to dwell in; the
which he willingly graunted. But *Viriatus* being in this beſieged companie, who had eſcaped
from *Galbaes* ſlaughter, began to ſpeake in this manner. *How wretched are we, that hauing ſo
often tried the treacherie of theſe Romanes, we will againe offer our throats vnto them, and bee mur-
thered by them, vnder the ſweetneſſe of their falſe promiſes? Do we not know that they with whom we
haue now to deale, are the ſame who by their notable treacherie haue ſlaine our brethren and compani-
ons? Were it not better to keepe our armes, and ſelling our liues at a deere rate, let them feele that wee
are men, than ſuffering our ſelues to be diſarmed by a fooliſh credulitie, to bee afterwards ſlaine like
beaſts at the ſlaughter? No, my companions, let vs not commit ſo groſſe an error, as to deſpaire in that
ſort: let vs rather trie to force vs a paſſage, and you ſhall find the difficultie is not ſo great as you ima-
gine, if you do what I ſhall aduiſe you.* This ſouldiour ſpeaking with a great courage, reuiued their L
ſpirits, who with one voice cried out vnto him, That in a good houre he ſhould be their cap-
taine, and that he ſhould lead them whither he ſhould thinke good. Then he put them all in
battell, except ſome thouſand of the beſt appointed, which he kept with himſelfe, and then
he commaunded euerie one to flie, appointing their Rendezuous at Tribola. *Vetilius* was in
doubt to purſue them that fled, thinking it the ſafeſt courſe to aſſaile *Viriatus*, & his thouſand
ſouldiours which were in battell on the ſide of the hill. But they hauing ſpent that day and a
part of the next, in making a ſhew that they would fight with the Romanes, eaſily freed them-
ſelues, being well mounted, and knowing the countrey; and then came to Tribola: and ſo this
Spaniſh armie was preſerued by the judgement and reſolution of *Viriatus*, who of a ſhepheard M
became a huntſman, then afterwards a theefe, laſtly he was head of an armie, and was in poſſi-
bilitie to make himſelfe king of Spaine. This action did win him much credit and reputation
among the neighbour nations. *Vetilius* meaning to purſue him, fell into ambuſhes which he
had laied in a certaine paſſage couered with wood: ſo as being charged in front by *Viriatus* his
horſemen, and on either ſide by his footmen, the Roman armie was wholly defeated, and the

Viriatus incou-rageth his com-panions not to truſt the Romans

Viriatus choſen captaine by the Luſitanians be-ſieged, deceiues the Pretor.

The Pretor Ve-tilius defeated and taken pri-ſoner by Viriatus.

Pre-

A Pretor *Vetilius* found among the priſoners, who being ſcorned as a man of no value by him that had taken him, for that he was old and fat, he was inſtantly ſlaine. The Romanes which eſcaped at this rout, gathered head at Tarteſſe, being ſome 6000 men, whom *Vetilius*, Queſtor or Treaſurer, cauſed to reſt for a time: and hauing made a new leuie of 5000 of their allyes, he ſent them all to encounter *Viriatus*, but there returned not one, being all cut in peeces: whereupon the Queſtor kept himſelfe within the wals, attending to be releued by ſome other Roman armie. In the meane time *Viriatus* ſpoyled the fertile fields of the Carpetanians. *Another deſeat of the Romans.*

21 Then came *C. Plautius* for Pretor, bringing ten thouſand foot, and thirteene hundred horſe from Rome: Whereof *Viriatus* being aduertiſed, hee made ſhew to flie, after whom B *Plautius* ſent 4000 of his beſt men, who were ſuddenly charged by them that fled before them, and were in a manner all ſlaine. *Viriatus* paſſing beyond the riuer of Tayo, went and campt in a certaine mountaine full of oliues, called Venus mount: whereas *Plautius* burning with deſire of reuenge for their former loſſes, was vanquiſhed again with great loſſe, and forced to retire before his time, and winter in his forts, not daring to ſhew himſelfe in field: ſo as *Viriatus* did run ouer all the countrey at his pleaſure, and ranſomed the townes which would ſaue their corne, and other fruits which was readie to gather; elſe he ſet fire of it. *C. Plautius defeated by Viriatus.*

22 *Claudius Vnimanus*, an other Pretor, being ſent againſt this captain, was alſo defeated, increaſing the diſgrace receiued by his predeceſſors: where he loſt all the forces which he had brought. The rods and axes, the coats of armes of Captaines, and other ſpoyles taken from C the Romans, were hung vp by *Viriatus* in the mountaines, in ſigne of his victories. And ſoone after 300 Luſitanians hauing encountred 1000 Romanes in a certaine ſtrait, the Romanes loſt 320 of their men, and the others but 70: beſides, as the Romane horſemen purſued ſome Luſitanians on foot which retired, one of the troupe turning head, thruſt a Romanes horſe through with a pike, and preſently ſtrucke off the mans head with his ſword; whereat the reſt being amazed, they ſtaied, and purſued not this Luſitanian, who retired ſoftly mocking them. *Cl. Vnimanus defeated by Viriatus.*

23 After *C. Vnimanus* mention is made of *C. Nigidius*, who was ſent Pretor into the further Spaine, and was as vnfortunate as the reſt.

24 *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *L. Hoſtilius* being Conſuls, *C. Lelius* was ſent Pretor into Spaine, *An. Rom.* 608.
D againſt *Viriatus*, who mannaged the warre with great wiſdome; but as the daunger increaſed, and manie people of Spaine moued with the valour and fortune of *Viriatus* rebelled, the Senat of Rome decreed that one of the Conſuls ſhould goe in perſon to that warre, with a Conſular armie: ſo as *Q. Fab. Maximus Æmilianus*, ſonne to *Paulus Æmilius* (who ſubdued *Perſeus* king of Macedonie) was ſent thither; a Captaine inſtructed in the ſeuere diſcipline of his father: who hauing leuied two legions of new ſouldiors, with ſome bands of their allyes, he led ſome 15000 foot, and 2000 horſe into Spaine. Being arriued at Orſone, a towne in Spaine, he would not expoſe his new ſouldiors, which had not been tryed in any incounters, but kept them within their forts, and by little and little trayned them with light skirmiſhes: but *Viriatus* carried awaie both ſpoyle and honor for the firſt yeare. But *Fabius* charge being E prolonged, and he remaining Proconſull in Spaine, ſuppoſing that his armie was now ſufficiently trayned, he went to field, and vanquiſhed *Viriatus* in a ſet battaile, tooke two townes from him, and purſued him to a place called Becor. After this exploit hee led his armie to winter at Cordoue. *Qu. Fab. Max. Conſull ſent againſt Viriatus.* 25 *Qu. Fab. Max. defeats Viriatus.*

26 *Viriatus* finding himſelf neither ſo ſafe nor ſo ſtrong as he was wont, he ſolicited the Areuaces, Belles, and Titthes, a warlike people, and drew them from the Romanes alliance. Theſe did raiſe a long and dangerous warre, which was called the Numantine, by reaſon of Numance one of their townes. *Viriatus* had *Quintius*, a Romane captaine, againſt him in an other quarter, by whom he was put to rout, & forced to retire into his fort on mount Venus: yet making roads from thence hee ſlue 1000 of *Quintius* ſouldiours at one time, tooke F ſome enſignes, and in the end made the enemies armie retire: beſides, he chaſed away the garriſon which was in Ituca, and ſpoyled the Baſitans country: during which diſorders *Quintius* kept himſelfe within Cordoue, either for cowardiſe, or want of judgement, ſending a captaine of the towne of Italique in Spaine againſt the enemie. *Q. Metellus* the Conſull, was ſent into Celtiberia, who ſubdued the Vacceans with great expedition, and continued his gouernment aboue a yeare.

Ann. Roma 610

27 *Q. Fab. Maximus Seruilianus*, being Conſul, ſucceeded *Quintius*, and went into Spaine G with an armie according to his dignitie, making about 16000 foot and 1600 horſe: he alſo ſent to *Micipſa* king of the Numidians for elephants. As this Conſull conducted a part of his armie to Ituca, *Viriatus* came and charged him with 6000 men, making horrible cries, and wearing long locks, after the accuſtomed manner of theſe barbarians in their warres, whom the Romanes withſtood with great difficultie: but when as the reſt of their armie was ioyned with them; and that ten elephants were arriued out of Lybia with 300 horſes, the Conſul *Seruilianus* went and prouoked the enemie to fight, vanquiſhed him, and put him to flight: yet he could not ſo well conteyne his men, but they purſued in diſorder and confuſion, as it fals out often: ſo as *Viriatus* watchfull vpon all occaſions, turned head vpon them that purſued, H ſlue a great number, and purſued the reſt vnto their campe: the which he attempted to force, and without the vertue of *Fannius*, father in law to *C. Lelius*, he had entred, to the totall ruine of the Romane armie. Night approching, made the enemie retire, leauing the Romanes much troubled and amazed. But afterwards *Viriatus*, a man without reſt, moleſted them day and night, ſometimes by his ſouldiours lightly armed, ſometimes by his horſemen, vntill that he forced the Conſull to diſlodge, and to retyre to Ituca. Then he tooke the waie of Luſitania, being in ſome extremitie for want of victuals, and his forces decreaſing. The Conſull following him, and not able to ouertake him, made warre againſt the Beturians, dwelling in the countrie which is now called Extrema Dura: and cauſed fiue townes to be ſackt, for that they had giuen ayde and fauour to *Viriatus*: then he retires to Cunes, from whence he mar- I ched ſoone after againſt *Viriatus* in Luſitania; and incountring *Curius* and *Apuleius*, two captaines of theeues vpon the waie, hauing with them 10000 fighting men, the Romane armie was ſomewhat troubled; yet *Curius* was ſlaine in the fight: after which the Romanes got the aduantage, ſo as *Seruilianus* took Eſcadie, Gemelle, & Oboliola, by force, with other places held by the garriſons of *Viriatus*, whereof ſome were abandoned to the ſpoyle, others were pardoned: he tooke tenne thouſand priſoners, whereof fiue hundred were beheaded, the reſt he cauſed to be ſould: and with this good fortune he retyred his armie the ſecond time to winter, and then returned to Rome.

The Conſul Seruilianus defeats Viriatus in Spaine, and is put to rout by him.

Fannius defends the Romane campe from Viriatus.

The exploits of Qu. Fab. Max. Seruilianus as Proconſull.

Seuere Execution of Spaniſh priſoners.

28 *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* hauing prorogation of his charge in the hither Spaine or Celti- K beria, in qualitie of Proconſull, he beſieged Trebia, a rich towne of that countrey, the which he tooke by his politike ſtratagems. It happened during this ſiege, that fiue companies being ſet in gard in a certaine place, were diſlodged by the enemie: *Metellus* ſhewed himſelfe ſo ſeuere, as he would not receiue them, but commaunded them to returne to the place, vnleſſe they would be vſed as traitors, and as men that had abandoned the armie: the which he did to make them feele the paine of their cowardiſe, commaunding to cut them in pieces that ſhould flie towards the campe. Theſe ſouldiours forced by neceſſitie, ſhewed themſelues valiant, and recouered the place from whence they had bin chaſed. Beſieging Centobrica, the chiefe man within the towne, called Rhetogenes, retyred to the Romans campe, wherewith the inhabitants being much incenſed, they ſet this fugitiues children vpon the walles, whereas the Romanes engins did batter: the which did ſo moue *Metellus* to pitie, as he left L the ſiege, forbearing rather to take the towne, than to kill theſe poore innocent creatures, which act of humanity, did much daunt the Celtiberians, ſo as from that time they were more tractable. Being demaunded to what end hee made ſo manie turnings and windings with his armie, he anſwered, that if he thought his ſhirt knew his conceptions he would burne it. The glorie of his great exploits in Spaine, were blemiſhed by the enuie he bare to *Q. Pompeius* his enemie, who he vnderſtood ſhould ſucceed him in his charge: to the end hee ſhould find all things difficult, he gaue leaue to all ſouldiors that demanded it, without inquirie of the cauſe: he ſuffered them to ſpoyle the victuals and munition which remained; he commaunded the Candiot archers, to breake their bows and arrows, and did forbid to giue the elephants their ordinary allowance. Hauing thus ſatisfied his ſpleene, he did fruſtrat himſelfe of his triumph, M which hee had deſerued by ſo many glorious deeds, knowing better how to ſurmount his enemies, then his owne choler.

Metellus ſeueritie againſt ſouldiors who had abandoned their gards.

His humanitie to poore Innocents.

Metellus ſeekes to diſhonour his priuat enemie, with the preiudice of the publike.

29 *Q. Fab. Maximus Æmilianus*, or *Seruilianus* according vnto ſome, Proconſull, made warre in the meane time againſt *Viriatus*: and hauing taken a commander among the theeues called *Connoba*, by his voluntarie yeelding, he pardoned him: but he cauſed all his ſouldiours hands

A hands to be cut off, and afterwards puniſhed as many of the reuolted as he could take, in the like manner. He beſieged the towne of Eriſane, into the which *Viriatus* found means to enter by night: from whence at the breake of day he ſallied with great furie, with a troupe of their beſt men, and not onely chaſed away ſuch as wrought in the ditches & trenches, but alſo ſome companies which were ſet there to gard them, with great ſlaughter: Yet *Viriatus* thinking now of the change of humane things, and of the miſeries which doe often follow proſperitie, vſing his good fortune with modeſtie, he began to giue eare to conditions of peace, the which he obtained verie fauourable, both from the Proconſull and Senat, whom they called a friend to the people of Rome, and decreed, That ſuch as had followed him, ſhould enjoy the lands B they then held: wherfore this dangerous war ſeemed to be ended, but ſoon after it was renued.

Fab. Max. doth cruelly execute the Spaniards.

Viriatus fauoured by the Senat of Rome, who gaue him peace.

30 *Q. Cepio* Conſul being come into the further Spaine, ſucceſſor to the Proconſul *Q. Fabius*, began to blame the capitulations made with *Viriatus*, as vnworthy of the honor & greatneſſe of Rome, and had now got leaue of the Senat, to moleſt *Viriatus* vnder hand, that hee might take ſome ſubject to rebell. Then by his importune letters and many meſſages, hee obtained a decree, to proclaime war againſt him: whereupon he went to beſiege Arſa, the which yeelded, *Viriatus* hauing abandoned it. Who marched into Carpetania, which is the juriſdiction of Toledo, ſpoyling and burning all he left behind him: yet hee was followed and ouertaken by the Conſull, but being a politique captaine, he would not hazard a battell, being but weake in regard of the Roman armie, but gaue leaue to moſt of his ſouldiors to ſlip away C by certaine vallies couered with woods; and he himſelfe in the meane time preſented himſelfe vnto the enemie in a ſtrong place, with ſome troups to keepe them occupied, vntil he thought his men were retired into a place of ſafetie. Then he ſuddenly vaniſhed by ſecret paſſages, beſt knowne to himſelfe, leauing the Romans amazed which way he ſhould fly. *Cepio* marching towards the Vectons, and the Callaiques, ſpoiled their fields. At the ſame time did riſe other troups of theeues in Luſitania, after the example of *Viriatus*, againſt whom (according vnto ſome) *Brutus* was ſent. *Viriatus* deſiring to come vnto the former accord, foreſeeing that in the end he ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Roman power, ſent *Audax*, *Ditalcon*, and *Minure*, three of his moſt familiar friends, vnto *Cepio*, to treat an accord with him: but *Cepio* corrupted them with great gifts and promiſes, perſuading them to murther their captaine; the which they did D execute in this manner. *Viriatus* was one that ſlept little, and for that hee would be readie for all accidents, he ſlept moſt commonly armed, giuing free acceſſe in the night to all his friends. *Audax* and his confederats imbracing this opportunitie, came into his tent, vnder colour of ſpeaking with him concerning ſome great affaires: and finding him aſleepe all armed but the throat, they ſtabd him in that place, and ſlew him. And then without any noiſe (being aſſured they had diſpatched him) they retired to the Conſul *Cepio:* who gaue them leaue to enjoy the poſſeſſions which they then held, but as for gifts and recompences which he had promiſed, he ſent them to the Senat. At the breake of day, *Viriatus* ſeruants and the whole armie, wondering that he ſlept ſo long, contrarie to his cuſtome, ſome going in, found him wallowing in his owne bloud; which filled the whole campe with griefe & teares, who beſides their heauineſſe E for the vnworthy death of ſo valiant a man, they were in care of their own preſeruations, and for the dangers which did inuiron them. Beſides, they were the more diſcontented, that the traitors were eſcaped. Wherefore taking his bodie, and wrapping it in a rich cloth, they laid it vpon a high pile, and hauing ſacrificed many beaſts, they did celebrate his funerals, after their manner, the ſouldiors both horſe and foot running about the fire, and filling the aire with the name of *Viriatus*, vntill the fire had conſumed all: after which in memorie of his name, they had ſword plaiers which did fight for their liues. Thus *Viriatus* ended his dayes, being deſired and lamented of all his ſouldiors, for that in war he was the firſt in danger, but when it came to diuide the ſpoyles, he was but equall, & it may be inferiour to all the reſt: and he had that happineſſe aboue moſt captaines, that hauing an armie of diuers nations, he led them to the wars F for the ſpace of eight yeares, without any mutinie or ſedition among his ſouldiors; who in *Viriatus* place choſe *Tantalus* for their captaine, verie contrarie to him in manners and vertue. This fact did purchaſe no leſſe infamie to *Cepio*, than to the traitours which did execute it. *Tantalus* was ſo preſt by him, as he left both armes and armie, vpon compoſition, to whom there were certaine lands appointed; ſo as for a time the Luſitanians contained themſelues in peace.

Anno Romæ 613

Qu. Cepio breaks the treatie made with Viriatus.

Barbarians eaſie to corrupt with money.

Viriatus treacherouſly murthered to the diſhonour of the Romans, and of the Conſul Cepio Traitors deceiued by him that ſuborned them.

Viriatus lamented of his ſouldiours for his valour and bountie

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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Quintus

A 1 QVintus Pompeius Aulus Conſull, in the yeare 612 comming very late in his Prouince, and hauing receiued an armie but in bad equipage from the hands of *Q. Metellus*, he went to beſeech the Numantines; for of all the townes againſt whom *Metellus* had made warre, only Numantia and Thermancia continued in armes: Thermancia was ſtrong by nature, ſituated among the woods and betwixt two riuers, and therefore of hard acceſſe: wherefore hee went firſt to Numantia, in the which there were eight thouſand of the beſt and moſt reſolute ſouldiours that were in all Spaine, as the Romanes found by experience. The Romane armie was in all about thirtie B thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. Being at this ſiege, the Romane forragers were charged by a ſuddaine ſally of the beſieged, ſo as many of them were ſlaine vpon the place. *Pompey* was then abſent; who being aduertiſed of this rout, haſted to the campe: but the Numantines notwithſtanding his diligence retired without loſſe, and continued daily to skirmiſh with the ſouldiours, and to haue the aduantage: wherewith *Pompey* being diſcontented, he left it, and would attempt Thermancia, to ſee if he could repaire his honour, and get ſome profit: but he loſt ſeuen hundred of his beſt men at the firſt encounter, and they chaſed a Colonel, which conducted victuals to the campe. Soone after hee had a third rout, with the loſſe of many horſe and foot, and with ſuch an amazement of all the reſt of the armie, as they ſtood all night in armes; and day being come, the Thermantines running vnto their trenches, and pro- C uoking the enemie, they fought with equall aduantage all day long, vntill night. Whereupon *Pompey* did alſo diſlodge from thence, and marched towards Malia, a little towne held by a garriſon of the Numantines; the which was yeelded by the treaſon of the inhabitants, hauing ſlaine the ſouldiors which were ſet there to gard it: where hauing left ſome companies, after that he had diſarmed the inhabitants, he marched towards Sedetane, to defend it from the ſpoyles of *Tangin*, captaine of the theeues, whom he defeated and tooke priſoner, with a great number of his ſouldiors, but he could neither draw ranſon nor ſeruice from them: for theſe Barbarian captiues entred into ſuch a rage, as in a manner they all ſlew themſelues, or murthered their maſters which had bought them; being vnable to endure ſeruitude: yea, ſome were ſo malicious, as paſſing the riuers, they made holes in boats, ſo as they ſunke with their D burthens. After all this, *Pompey* would needs returne to Numantia, where he ſought to diuert the courſe of the riuer of Duero, which paſſed along the towne, that hee might cut off their paſſage for victuals. The inhabitants and ſouldiors within the towne fighting againſt his deſignes, repulſed both them that were at worke, and thoſe that garded them, or that came to ſuccour them; and in many skirmiſhes and ſallies they ſlew many Romane horſemen, with *Oppius*, a Colonell of a thouſand foot: and in another place, at a trench which the Romanes had made, the Numantines ſallying forth ſuddainely, ſlew foure hundred men, with the ouerſeer of the worke.

Numantia attempted in vain by Q. Pompeius.

Q. Pompeius retyres from Thermancia.

The Barbarians impatient of ſeruitude, kil themſelues.

During theſe exploits, there arriued certaine Romane Senatours at the campe, with ſome new bands, to ſupply the places of the old ſouldiors, which deſired to be diſmiſſed, hauing ſer- E ued ſix yeares in thoſe warres. *Pompey* being aſhamed of his bad ſucceſſe, did that which his predeceſſors had not yet done, continuing his ſiege before Numantia all the Winter: ſo as many which were not accuſtomed to the raine, ſnow, and cold of that Region, died of collicks and paine in their bellies. Beſides, he had another rout, ſeeking to ſuccour his ſouldiors which were gone to forrage, whereas he loſt many, as well of the Roman nobilitie, as of priuat ſouldiors: ſo as tyred and waſted with ſo many loſſes, he was forced to retyre and to lodge his armie, attending him that ſhould come to ſucceed him in the Spring. But fearing to be cenſured, for that hee had managed that warre ſo ill, hee reſolued to make a kind of compoſition with them of Numantia: who being much weakened with the miſeries which they had endured, and fearing they ſhould be diſtreſſed for victuals, liuing in a barren countrey, they conſen- F ted to ſend embaſſadours to *Pompey*, who in open ſhew demaunded, That they ſhould yeeld vnto the Romanes diſcretion; but vnder hand he graunted many of their demaunds, drawing from them ſome talents, certaine hoſtages, and them that were reuolted. There remained yet ſome part of the compoſition money to pay, for the which *Pompey* ſtayed, when as *M. Popilius Lenas* a Conſull arriued in Spaine to ſucceed him. Then *Pompey* being freed from the care of the warre, denied that he had accorded any thing vnto the Numantines, notwithſtanding

Negligence and cowardiſe of captaines puniſhed ſometimes at Rome.

Diſſimulation of Pompey to cuer his faults.

Ann. Rom. 614

Pompey doth impudently deceiue the Numantines.

ſtanding that many captaines and Romane Senatours did affirme the contrarie: Whereupon *Popilius* ſent this controuerſie to Rome vnto the Senat, whereas the embaſſadours of Numantia and *Pompey* did plead: but the Senate was of opinion not to confirme any thing that *Pompey* had done, and that the warre ſhould continue againſt the Numantines. *Popilius* then continuing warre againſt them, did nothing that was memorable, although his charge were prolonged, but loſt his honour, and many good ſouldiors. G

Popilius Lenas vnfortunat in the warre of Numantia.

Ann. Rome 615 3 During his time, the Luſitanians hauing rebelled againe, *D. Iunius Brutus* was ſent into the further Spaine. Others ſay, That he did execute that which followes, vnder the Conſull *Q. Cepio*, and that he was ſent by him as his Lieutenant, by reaſon of the diſtance of places betwixt the riuers of Betis, Anas, Tagus, Durius, and Lethes, by the which the theeues eſcaped, and made ſuddaine incurſions, not onely moleſting them that purſued them, but alſo putting them out of hope to take them, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the places. *Brutus* therfore tooke this courſe, he would not trouble himſelfe in running after theſe nimble fellowes, who knew all the meanes to eſcape; but went directly to their owne countrey, that he might in one expedition both puniſh them, and enrich his ſouldiors with their ſpoyles; aſſuring himſelfe, they would come to defend their holes: wherein he was nothing deceiued: for both men and women came running to repulſe the Romane armie, fighting with a deſperat furie: ſo as being halfe dead, diſmembred, or couered with wounds, they were neuer heard grone: yet many leſſe couragious, taking vp as much as they could carrie, fled to the mountaines, whom *Brutus* afterwards (vpon their ſuite) pardoned. Hauing paſſed the riuer of Duero, he ſubdued many people, and tooke hoſtages, and was the firſt of all the Romans which led an armie beyond the riuer of Lethes, called Limia, where he aſſayled the Brecaires, a people of Galicia, who had ſpoiled the victuallers comming to his campe. This nation was accuſtomed to lead their wiues to the warre, and both men and women did fight ſo obſtinately, as they were neuer ſeene to turne their backs, nor caſt out any cries vnworthie of ſouldiors for any wounds which they receiued. The women that were taken priſoners, ſlew themſelues and their children, rather than to be ſlaues. Many of their towns and retreats yeelded vnto *Brutus*, but he was conſtrained to ſubdue them againe; for finding him ſomewhat retyred, they rebelled againe. The inhabitants of Talabrica in another part of the prouince made triall of the magnanimitie and clemencie of the auncient Romanes: for being often reuolted, and hauing abuſed the pardon which he had giuen them, *Brutus* hauing forced them to yeeld to his diſcretion, demaunded firſt the fugitiues, and then the priſoners taken in warre. Then he diſarmed them, and tooke the chiefe among them for hoſtages: which done, hee made them all goe out of the towne, with their wiues and children, and hauing cauſed them to be enuironed by the armed bands, hee ſpake vnto them, reproching them with their many rebellions and ingratitudes; for the which they attended no leſſe than the ſentence of death: but he ended his ſpeech with reproches and bitter words, and then beyond all hope ſent them home to their houſes, depriuing them onely of their armes, horſes, and other equipage for warre, and of their common treaſure. They write, That he did aſſigne lands for them that had ſerued *Viriatus* in the warre, and that he gaue them the towne of Valence in Luſitania to dwell in. This yeare *C. Maticnus* being accuſed at Rome, That he had abandoned the army, whereof he had charge in Spaine, was beaten with rods, and ſold for a Seſterce (which in our Engliſh money is a penny) by a decree of the people. H I K L

Exploits of D. Brutus the Conſul.

The obſtinate courage of the Barbarians.

Brutus the firſt Roman that entred with an armie into Galicia.

Women in Spain warriors and valiant.

Brutus magnanimitie and clemencie to rebels.

A worthy puniſhment of a cowardly captaine.

As for *Popilius*, who made warre againſt the Numantines, or rather they made warre againſt him, he returned to Rome, at the comming of the Conſull *C. Hoſtilius Mancinus*, who was altogether vnfortunat in his enterpriſes; the which was ſignified vnto him by preſages, before he came out of Italie: for as he tooke ſhipping at Port *Hercules*, there was a ſtrange voice heard, ſaying, *Mancinus* ſtay; and as hee tooke port at Genes, there was a great Snake found in his ſhip, the which eſcaped. He was beaten euery where by the Numantines, hauing thirtie thouſand men in his armie. Being terrified with a bruit, That the Cantabrians and Vacceans came to ſuccour Numantia, he fled in the night into deſart places, whereas *Nobilior* had encamped in former time, and there without any munition or rampier, he was the next morning found and beſieged by the enemie, and conſtrained to capitulate a peace with them vpon like conditions, ingaging his faith to make them be ratified by the Senate. *Tib. Gracchus* (who was afterwards ſlaine) being Tribune of the people, then Queſtor in this armie, was the negotiator M

Hoſtilius Mancinus vnfortunat in Spaine.

of

A of this peace: who was ſo fauoured by the Numantines, as they hauing ſpoiled the Romanes campe, and among other things carried away the accompts, quittances, and other papers of *Gracchus*, they reſtored them to him againe very willingly. Although this compoſition were ignominious, yet did it ſaue the liues of twentie thouſand Romane citizens: Which being knowne at Rome, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the other Conſull was preſently ſent into Spaine, and *Mancinus* called home to Rome, to giue an account of his action, the Numantine warre remaining for a time ſuſpended. By reaſon whereof, *M. Æmilius* being impatient to remaine in the Prouince idle (for captaines neuer goe to the warre, but to get honour and profit) whileſt that *Mancinus* proceſſe was in hand, and that hee had receiued newes, hee began to

Mancinus called to Rome to anſwer the ignominious accord made with the Numantines.

B moleſt the Vacceans, ſaying, That they had relieued the Numantines, and vnder that pretext beſieged Palantia, their chiefe towne, being ſtrong and rich, calling *D. Brutus* his father in law to aſſiſt him at this worke, who had his charge proroged in qualitie of Proconſull of the further Spaine. The Senate aduertiſed hereof, ſent *Cinna* and *Cæcilius* embaſſadours into Spaine, to let him vnderſtand, That the Romanes did not hold it conuenient (after ſo many loſſes) to attempt a new warre, and preſented vnto him the Senates decree, by the which he was forbidden to make warre againſt the Vacceans. *Æmilius* (who had alreadie begun the ſiege) anſwered, That the Senate was not well informed how matters paſſed in Spaine, nor how that he had joyned his forces with thoſe of *Brutus*: and that he was well aſſured, that the Vacceans had relieued the Numantines with victuals, men, and money: that if he ſhould

M. Æmilius the Conſul attempts warre raſhly againſt the Vacceans.

C retyre in that ſort, it would be a diſhonour, and that many of their allies would take occaſion thereby to quit the Romanes friendſhip, and to contemne them. With theſe reaſons (the which the Conſull did alſo write vnto the Senat) *Cinna* returned. Then did the Conſull *Æmilius Lepidus* and *Brutus* the Proconſull buſie themſelues to plant many engines to batter the towne, and to furniſh their armie with victuals. *Flaccus* (who was Commiſſarie generall of the campe) cauſing great ſtore of corne to be brought, was ſurpriſed by the enemie, and ſo encloſed, as it was impoſſible to eſcape: but he by a ſingular policie cauſed it to bee bruited among his troupes, That the Conſull had taken Palantia, the which did ſo amaze the enemies, as with a fooliſh credulitie they quit their prey, and retyred. The ſiege of Palantia growing tedious, the Romane armie began to ſuffer ſo much, as both men and beaſts peri-

The policie of Flaccus Commiſſarie of the victuals.

D ſhed for hunger: ſo as in the end he was forced to leaue the ſiege, and retyre in the night, in great diſorder: for there were many ſicke men, who deſired them not to abandon them to the enemies ſword; which mooued all men to pitie: and therefore it was a great hinderance vnto the armie, being purſued by the Palantines: who looſing this wiſhed opportunitie, returned, as if ſome Angell had ſtood before them, to preuent the totall ruine of the Romane armie: yet *Paulus Oroſius* writes, That there were ſix thouſand men ſlaine, and that the reſt were put in rout, and ſaued themſelues without armes. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being called to Rome by reaſon of theſe errours, was degraded and condemned in a great fine. *Brutus* continuing in his charge of Proconſull in the further Spaine, ſpent much time to order things in his Prouince, and afterwards triumphed at Rome: he was afterwards called *Callaique* or *Gallique*,

A ſhamefull treat of two Romane armies from before Palantia.

Æmilius Lepidus puniſhed for his diſobedience.

E for that he had ſubdued the people of Gallicia.

As for the queſtion betwixt *Mancinus* and the embaſſadours of Numantia, it was judged, That the accord made without the authoritie of the Senat ſhould bee void, and they decreed, That *Mancinus*, who was bound vnto the Numantines, ſhould be deliuered vnto them, to diſpoſe of him at their pleaſure, after the example of the auncient Romanes, who had for the like offence deliuered twentie captaines vnto the Samnites. According vnto which decree, *Mancinus* was brought into Spaine by *P. Furius Philus* or *Philo*, Conſull in the yeare 617, and was deliuered by him naked and bound vnto the Numantines, who refuſed him. This *Furius* in a brauerie made *Q. Metellus* and *Q. Pompeius* Conſular men, and his enemies, come with him into Spaine, to ſerue him as his Lieutenants: and this yeare the warre was

The Romanes diſcharged of their bonds, in deliuering the magiſtrates which made that. 5

Mancinus deliuered bound vnto the Numantines.

F managed in Spaine with three Conſular armies: but *P. Furius* did nothing that was memorable. After whom, *Q. Calphurnius Piſo* came into the Prouince: who hauing ouerrun the territorie of Palantia, and taken ſome little prey, hee ſpent the reſt of his time ſhut vp in Carpetania: and this yeare the Romanes receiued a rout by them of the towne of Numantia.

Scipio Æmilianus ſent into Spaine.

6 The people of Rome being wearie of this Numantine warre, which grew daily more G difficult, in the yeare 619 they did chuſe *P. Corn. Scipio Æmilianus*, called *Africanus*, Conſull, for that ſome few yeares before hee had ruined the mightie citie of Carthage; vnto whom Spaine was giuen without lot: whither he went with ſome voluntaries, and a ſmall number of his friends, being ſome foure thouſand men; for Spaine had too many ſouldiors, and wanted onely good captaines. He gaue this troupe in charge to *Buteon* his nephew, and he himſelfe went ſpeedily before. Being arriued in Spaine, he found what he had heard before; That the armie was very ill diſciplined: Wherefore holding it a part of great wiſedome firſt of all to reforme the corrupt manners of the ſouldiors, as ſoone as he arriued, he

Scipio reformes the armie.

chaſed out of the campe all merchants, ſtrumpets, tellers of fortune, and the new ſuperſtitious ſacrificers; to which things the ſouldiors were too much giuen: he cut off their carts and baggage, forbidding them to bring any thing into the campe that was not neceſſarie. He did forbid beds, and he himſelfe gaue example vnto others, lying vpon couerings ſpred vpon girts. Finally, he ſet ſuch an order among the ſouldiours (ſubmitting himſelfe vnto the rigour of his owne ordinances, as in a ſhort time they became modeſt, temperat, and obedient. Then hee began to traine them in warlike exerciſes, remoouing his campe often, whereas he cauſed the ſouldiours to digge and make rampiers, himſelfe being alwaies preſent, from the day breake to the Sunne ſet; and commonly he made them to march in

The patterne of a good and wiſe captaine.

a ſquare battaile, puniſhing any one that went out of his ranke. Hee went about his armie to ſee if they marched in good order, and if he found any ſicke or tyred, he ſet them I on horſebacke, cauſing others to alight: and he was no leſſe juſt vnto beaſts: for if there were any horſes ouerladen, he diſtributed their ſuperfluous burthens among the footmen, Hee appointed euery man his charge and office, and limitted a time for the finiſhing of their workes, which they might not neglect. When as he found his ſouldiours ſufficiently inured to labour, and accuſtomed to obey their commaunders, then he came to encampe

A good beginning is of great importance in matters of war.

neere vnto Numantia, whereas he would not lodge his armie in quarters, as others before him had done, but kept it all vnited, that the enemie ſhould get no aduantage of him in the beginning; the which is of great conſequence. He had no will to ſuffer any one to goe foorth to skirmiſh, vntill he was well informed how to make warre with that people, of the opportunities he muſt ſeeke, and of their manner of proceeding, their counſels and K reſolutions; keeping the enemie by that meanes from ſtraying abroad, and maintaining the countrey, which was behind his armie, aſſured for his forragers: ſaying alwayes, That light skirmiſhes affected vpon brauerie, without neceſſitie, ſhould bee rejected by a wiſe and expert captaine, who ſhould reſpect nothing but neceſſitie, profit, and occaſion, and then he ſhould ſhew himſelfe courageous and hardie. When as he ſaw a conuenient time, hee marched with his armie, and taking a great circuit, he came and encamped in the territorie of the Vacceans, from whence the Numantines had their victuals. There hee waſted the countrey, burning all that could not ſerue to feed his armie. Not farre from Pa-

The Palantines mightie among the Spaniards.

lantia is a place called Coplain, where behind a hill the Palantines had lodged a great L troupe of men, hauing in the meane time ſent out ſome companies againſt the Romanes, which went to forrage the countrey: for whoſe gard *Scipio* ſent *Rutilius Rufus* with foure bands of horſemen, who repulſed the enemie, but with ſuch an inconſiderat heat, as they were carried pell-mell vnto the top of the hill, where they diſcouered the enemies which lay in ambuſh: Then *Rufus* commaunded his men to make a ſtand, and to ceaſe their purſute, for they were to defend themſelues: from which danger they were freed by the Conſull *Scipio*, who arriued with the reſt of the horſemen: for hearing that the enemie began to flye at the ſight of *Rufus*, hee doubted there was ſome ſtratageme. Being aduertiſed, that there were ſome ambuſhes prepared at the paſſage of the riuer, which was full of mud, he tooke another way, and ſpared not his ſouldiors paines M

The foreſight of Scipio.

to free them from danger. In this long and drie paſſage he digged Wells for to eaſe his ſouldiors, being oppreſſed with the violent heat, but they found the waters bitter. In the end he came into a more fertile countrey, with the loſſe onely of ſome horſes and beaſts of carriage.

Paſſing by the territorie of Cauca, whereas *Lucullus* had made that great ſlaughter, hee made

A made proclamations, That the Caucians which were abſent might returne freely to their lands, and from thence he led his armie to winter in the territorie of the Numantines, whereas *Iugurthe*, grand child to *Maſſiniſſa*, came vnto him, bringing certaine companies of archers and caſters with ſlings, with twelue Elephants. In this place ſome Romanes forraging and ſpoyling the neighbour countrey, were ſurpriſed in a Bourg, behind the which the enemies lay hidden in a valley; who were repulſed by *Scipioes* ſpeedie comming to aſſiſt them, but he had no will to purſue them. Approching ſoone after to Numantia, he beſieged it with two campes; one of the which was commaunded by *Q. Fab. Maximus* his brother. There the beſieged made many ſallies, prouoking the Romanes to skirmiſh: but the Conſull laughed at
B them, ſaying, it had beene a great indiſcretion in him to fight with deſperat and mad men, whom he was aſſured to take in a ſhort time by famine. He vndertooke to caſt a ditch and a rampier of a league and a halfe compaſſe about the towne: for the defence of which worke, hauing ſet gards in conuenient places, he commaunded euery man to be carefull in his quarter, and that when as the enemie ſhould offer to charge in one place, that ſuddainely they ſhould in the day time hang vp a red cloth on a pike, and in the night make a fire, that he and his brother might come to ſuccour them. This worke being finiſhed, without it he drew another ditch, making a wall with piles, of eight foot broad and ten high, the which he flanked with towers a hundred and twentie foot one from another: and for that there was a mariſh ground on the one ſide, he cauſed a cauſey to bee rayſed of the height of this wall, which
C joyned vnto it. The riuer of Duero running through theſe rampiers, brought great commoditie to the beſieged; for that way men went both in and out, and boats entred by fauour of the wind and ſwiftneſſe of the ſtreame: to take away the vſe whereof, *Scipio* built two forts vpon the bankes, from the which he caſt pieces of timber into the water, from one banke vnto the other, in the which were faſtened great pikes of yron, which went very deepe into the water; and theſe beames were ſo tied together, as they did turne continually with the force of the ſtreame, ſo as not any one could paſſe, either by boat or ſwimming: for *Scipio* held it a good courſe to amaze the enemie, to take from him all meanes to haue intelligence from abroad, and withall to cut off his victuals. For the gard of theſe fortifications hee appointed thirtie thouſand men, being the one halfe of his armie; to ſuccour the which, hee ordai-
D ned twentie thouſand more, reſeruing the other tenne thouſand for a third ſupplie: which vpon a ſigne giuen ſhould come vnto their quarters, without confuſion. The Numantines attempted often to force theſe rampiers, but they found too great reſiſtance, the Conſull himſelfe going the round day and night, and viſiting the whole circuit, being almoſt two leagues; making his account, that the enemie wanting victuals, armes, and ſuccours, could not long hold out. Matters being in this eſtate, *Rhetogenes*, ſurnamed *Caraunius*, one of the chiefe and moſt reſolute men within the towne, aduentured with fiue of his friends, and ſo many ſeruants, all well mounted, to come in a darke night vnto the enemies rampiers, where they mounted and ſlew the enemies ſentinels, and with certaine engines which they carried, paſſed ouer their horſes: hauing ſent their ſeruants backe, they diſperſed them-
E ſelues in the countrey of the Areuaces, where they beſought thoſe people, That as friends, kinſmen, and allies to the Numantines, they would ſuccour them. Many fearing the Romanes, commaunded them to depart out of their countries, refuſing to heare them: but the young men of Lutia, a rich towne, ſome tenne leagues from Numantia, pitying theſe poore creatures beſieged, did ſolicite the people to relieue them: whereof *Scipio* being aduertiſed by the auncients of the towne, went thither with ſome troupes, and within eight houres ſpace ſhewed himſelfe about their walls, commaunding, That the chiefe of theſe ſeditious young men ſhould bee deliuered vnto him, threatening (if they fayled) to ſacke their towne: ſo as no excuſe preuailing, about foure hundred were brought vnto him, whoſe hands hee cauſed to bee cut off, and the next day returned to the campe. The
F Numantines preſt with hunger and all other extremities, ſent fiue of their citizens vnto *Scipio*, to vnderſtand if hee would receiue them vpon any reaſonable conditions. *Auarus*, the chiefe of this embaſſage, comming before him, began to diſcourſe of the vertues and generous diſpoſition of the Numantines, with high wordes maintaining, That it ſhould not bee imputed vnto them for a crime, if they had ſo eagrely defended their liberties, their wiues and children, for the which they were now fallen into that calamitie.

Scipio repaires Lucullus faults.

Scipio ſhuts vp the Numantines

Scipio ſeekes to take away the vſe of the riuer from the Numantines.

Reſolution of Rhetogenes the Numantine.

Scipioes cruell execution vpon rebels.

An ill aduiſed and impertinent embaſſadour.

Wherefore

Wherefore (ſaid he) *it is reaſonable, ô* Scipio, *that (according to thy ſingular vertue) thou pardon our braue and valiant race, and that thou propound vnto vs ſuch honeſt conditions, as we may endure them: for it is in thy power to haue the towne by this meanes, or to vvrie what ſouldiours (who eſteeme their libertie more than their liues) can doe.* To whom *Scipio* made no other anſwere, but that they muſt deliuer themſelues, their towne, their armes, and all they had, at his diſcretion, for he was ſufficiently aduertiſed by priſoners, in what eſtate they were. When this anſwere was brought vnto the beſieged (although they expected no better) they entred into ſuch a rage againſt theſe poore deputies, as they cut them in pieces, being jealous that they had made ſome agreement with the Romanes for their owne particular. Then reſoluing vpon all extremities, after that their victuals were conſumed, hauing deuoured raw hides, and ſuch like things, in the end they fed vpon dead mens fleſh: and they fell into ſuch miſerie, as the ſtronger oppreſſed the weaker, euery man regarding his own particular, being alſo conſumed with peſtilent diſeaſes, which grew through the extremities which they endured, and from the corruption and ſtinke of dead carkaſſes. Wherefore vanquiſhed with all theſe calamities, in the end they tooke counſell to yeeld, and came and preſented themſelues to *Scipio* like hideous ſuppliants, deformed, filthy, and torne; their haire and beards long, clotted and ſtaring, reſembling rather ſauage beaſts than reaſonable creatures: whom *Scipio* commaunded to deliuer vp their armes that day, and the next day they ſhould all yeeld themſelues in a certaine place appointed them. To this they demaunded a dayes reſpite, for that many were yet remaining within the towne, being reſolued to die rather by the ſword or famine, than to yeeld, but vpon honeſt conditions. So being returned, and hauing conſulted what was to be done, they reſolued, after they had once glutted themſelues with that ſmall ſtore which remained, they would ſallie out vpon the enemie, and die fighting vertuouſly for their countrey. But *Scipio* knowing, that he had to deale with mad men, reſtrained his ſouldiors all he could: the which did the more enflame the Numantines, who notwithſtanding all that he could doe, iſſued forth, and forced the Romanes to defend themſelues, hauing great need to bee commaunded by a wiſe and valiant captaine; for they were more than once forced to fight flying: yet in the end the Numantines were repulſed, hauing loſt their beſt men; notwithſtanding they retired without diſorder: their laſt remedie was to flye out of the towne with their armes: but that being ſtopt, they ſhut their gates, and ſlew one another, by ſword, poyſon, or fire, and by all other kinds of deaths: ſo as *Scipio* entring into the towne, he found all conſumed with fire, and not a man liuing. Others write, That *Scipio* burnt and raſed the towne without the conſent of the Senate, and not the Numantines, for the hatred which he did naturally beare to them, which he tooke by force: beſides that, by the deſtruction of ſuch famous townes he made his renowme greater, or elſe that he held it to be expedient & profitable for the Commonweale: they ſaid alſo, That but ſome of them ſlew themſelues, and the reſt were ſold for ſlaues, onely fiftie were reſerued, to lead them in triumph.

Brutiſh furie of the Barbarians.

Miſeries of a place beſieged.

Numantines reduced to extremitie.

Deſpaire of the Numantines.

Thus the taking of Numantia is diuerſly written, the which did ſo long reſiſt the Romans, and gaue them ſo many routs, hauing in the beginning but eight thouſand men, the which in the end were reduced to leſſe than foure thouſand; which notwithſtanding did greatly importune their enemies. The territorie of Numantia was afterwards diuided among the neighbour people; and *Scipio* (being then Pro-conſull) hauing viſited the countrey, and done right to all men, puniſhing the inconſtant allies by words or threats, and ſome by pecuniarie fines, he returned to Rome, where in one yeare he triumphed of the Numantines, and *D. Brutus* of the Luſitanians and Gallicians. The Senat deputed ten Senators to go into Spaine, to diſpoſe of the affaires of that Prouince. Thus the troubles were pacified, without any alteration for ſome yeares.

Ann. Rome 621

7 In the yeare 630, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *T. Quintius Flaminius* being Conſuls, the inhabitants of the Iſlands of the Baleares, which we call Maiorca and Minorca, liuing by pyracie and theeuing by ſea, miniſtred occaſion to the Romanes to ſend the Conſull *Metellus*, eldeſt ſonne to him that was called *Macedonicus*, who after a great ſlaughter of theſe theeues brought them to a more ciuile life; where hauing left ſome Colonies of Romans, he triumphed at Rome.

Metellus makes warre againſt the Maiorquins.

8 *C. Marius* (he that was afterwards ſeuen times Conſull) about the yeare 640 had the charge of the further Spaine as Pretor, where hee cleanſed the whole countrey of theeues:

which

A which trade thoſe people could not forget, holding it in old time to be very honourable. *Q. Seruilius Cæpio* was alſo ſent with the like charge, who fought with the Luſitanians, and did triumph. A while after there did ariſe new tumults among the Celtiberians: for the appeaſing whereof *Calphurnius Piſo* was ſent, and after him *Sergius Galba*, Pretors: but for that the Romanes were much troubled with the warres of Italie, as well againſt the Cimbrians (a nation comming from the borders of the Northerne Ocean) as againſt the ſlaues which were in armes againe, and forraged Sicile, they ſent certaine Commiſſioners to pacifie the troubles without armes, if it might be. Theſe Cimbrians being vanquiſhed a little before by the Conſull *Carbo*, had fallen vpon the Gaules and Spaine, from whence they had beene repulſed, and
B in the yeare 644 returned againe to inuade Italie, where they defeated the armie of *M. Syllanus* Conſull: but the Luſitanians in the yeare 648 (*P. Rutilius Rufus* and *C. Manilius* being Conſuls) defeated a Romane armie: the Authors ſpeake not of his name that was the Generall, nor of his that was ſent to ſuppreſſe them, in the yeare 652, who ſubdued them. It may be it was *D. Iunius Silanus*. And they ſtayed not long to miniſter matter of triumph to the Romane captaines, hauing rebelled againe in the yeare 654, againſt whom *L. Corn. Dolabella* a Pretor was ſent, who vanquiſhed them and triumphed. The Conſull *T. Didius*, at the ſame time, after that the Cimbrians had beene driuen out of Italie, hauing had the gouernment of Spaine about Ebro, ſlew in battaile 20000 Areuaces and Vacceans, and tooke the towne of Thermiſe, which was great and ſtrong by ſituation, commaunding the inhabitants for a puniſh-
C ment of their ordinarie rebellion to dwell in the plaine, and not to inwall themſelues: after ſeuen moneths ſiege hee alſo tooke the towne of Colenda, and ſold the inhabitants. Other people of the Celtiberians continuing in their theeuing, were by him condemned to die, by the aduice of tenne Commiſſioners, which were then in Spaine for the people of Rome. Hauing then gathered them together, vnder colour that he would giue them land to manure, he cauſed them to be enuironed by his ſouldiors, and cut in pieces: for which deeds he triumphed at his returne to Rome. In the armie of this *T. Didius* was at that time *Q. Sertorius*, who had charge of 1000 men, a man of judgement and valour, whereof he made good proofe, when as vnder this Conſul *Didius*, the Caſtalonians attempted, with the help of them of Girize, to cut his regiment in pieces which wintred in their town, for that during the tumult he rallied them
D together which eſcaped the ſlaughter, with the which he reuenged the death of his ſouldiors, putting all the conſpirators which he found armed to the ſword: & hauing attired ſome of his men with their apparrell and armes, he marcht ſpeedily towards Girize, where being let in by reaſon of this diſguiſing, he made a great ſlaughter of the inhabitants, and ſold the reſt.

Anno 648. The Luſitanians reuolt and defeat the Romans.

9 *Thermiſe taken and raſed by T. Didius Conſul.*

Q. Sertorius.

10 The Luſitanians and people of the further Spaine in the yeare 656 drew againſt them the Conſull *P. Licinius Craſſus*, who triumphed in like manner. And in the yeare 659 *Fuluius Flaccus* being ſent againſt the Celtiberians, who had rebelled, he ſlew 20000 in battell, and reſtrained the reſt by juſtice, euen thoſe which had burnt their owne Senators, oppoſing themſelues againſt the rebellion which they had intended; raſing and demanteling ſome townes. Spaine by means of theſe executions remained quiet, vntill the ciuile diſſentions betwixt *Ma-*
E *rius* and *Sylla*, which miniſtred occaſion of new warre.

Fuluius Flaccus defeats the Celtiberians.

11 Whileſt this Marian ſedition continued, *M. Craſſus* hauing ſeene his father and brother ſlaine by *Cinna* and *Marius*, fled into Spaine, where he had been in time paſt at the warres with his father, and there had gotten ſome friends: but finding that euerie one ſtood in feare of *Marius*, he retired to a countrey houſe belonging to *Vibius Paciacus*, where he hid himſelfe in a caue, cauſing ſome to ſound *Vibius* mind, who hearing that *Craſſus* was eſcaped, he cauſed him to be ſecretly fed there eight moneths by a ſlaue of his, vnto the death of *Cinna*.

A friend is tried in need.

12 After the ciuile warre betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, the infection of this madneſſe paſt into Spaine, by the means of *Q. Sertorius*, who hauing held the partie of *Cinna* and *Marius*, after the defeats of *Carbo*, *Scipio* and *Norbanus* by *Sylla*, he retired into Spaine, where he had been vnder
F the Conſull *Didius*, and there he fortified himſelfe againſt the enterpriſes of the Dictator *Sylla*, cauſing *Iulius Salinator* to keepe the paſſages of the Pyrenee mountaines, with 6000 foot, but it was not long before that *Sylla* ſent *C. Annius*, who not able to force the enemie in a place of ſuch aduantage, obtained the paſſage by the death of *Salinator*, whom *Calphurnius Lanarius* (that did maligne him) ſlew in treaſon. This made *Sertorius* retyre, who had but three thouſand men remaining in new Carthage, from whence he paſſed into Affricke,

Sertorius warre in Spaine.

and from thence the barbarians chaſed him: afterwards thinking to returne, he was repulſed from landing in Spaine: wherefore he ſeazed vpon one of the iſlands of Pytiuſes, in diſpight of *C. Annius* garriſon: but he was chaſed from thence alſo, ſo as being accompanied with ſome foiſts of Cicilian pirats, he was forced to put out to ſea for ſome daies. In the end he paſſed the ſtrait, and put to land aboue the mouth of the riuer of Betis, where hauing information by ſome mariners of the fortunat iſlands, he began to reſolue to liue there in reſt: whereupon theſe pirats diſliking his deſigne, abandoned him, and put themſelues in pay vnder a Moore, named *Aſcalius*, who contended with an other for the kingdome of the Maruſians, whoſe partie *Sertorius* maintained. Comming to fight *Aſcalius* was defeated, and after him one of *Syllas* captaines, called *Paccianus*, who came to ſuccour him: after which *Aſcalius* was beſieged in the towne of Tingis, and taken. By this good ſucceſſe *Sertorius* augmented his armie with the remainders of the vanquiſhed enemies ſouldiors, which came to ſerue vnder him. He did ſo win the harts of the Moores, vſing this victorie modeſtly, as they were afterwards al at his commandment: but as he was in great care what courſe to take, there came embaſſadors vnto him from the Luſitanians, intreating him to be their Generall; for that the Romans of *Syllas* partie made war againſt them, and therefore they had need of a man of judgment & experience, which honor they did according to his merits offer vnto him: vpon which ſummons he left Africke, leading with him about 2500 ſouldiors, which he called Romans, & yet they were for the moſt part Africans; with the which hauing ioyned 4000 Luſitanians and 700 horſes, he made head againſt foure great Romane captaines, vnder whom there were aboue 120000 foot and 6000 horſes, and had in a manner all the townes of Spaine at their deuotion.

Sertorius hauing endured manie croſſes, reſolues to goe and liue at the fortunat iſlands at Canaries.

Sertorius called by the Luſitanians.

What forces were againſt Sertorius in Spaine.

At the beginning of this war, he defeated *Cotta* in a ſea fight, neere vnto the towne of Mellaria, and put to rout *Didius* or *Fidius*, Pretor of Betica, neere vnto the riuer of Betis, where he ſlue 10000 of his men: and by the diligence of his Queſtor *Hertuleius*, he alſo defeated *Thoranius*, lieutenant to the Conſull *Q. Metellus Pius*, to whom that prouince was aſſigned in the yeare 673. Afterwards he had to deale with *Metellus* himſelfe, and did ſo annoy him being a great and an expert captaine, as *Manlius* the Proconſull of Gaule was forced to come to his ſuccours, with three legions and 1500 horſe: but *Manlius* being encountred by *Hertuleius Sertorius* Queſtor, was defeated, put to flight, and forced to ſaue himſelfe in a manner alone within Lerida. *L. Domitius* was more vnfortunat, who was ſlain vpon the place in an other incounter: all which exployts were done by ſurpriſes, and in flying or retiring, the Romane captains not being able to draw *Sertorius* to fight in a pitcht field: whereupon the Senat of Rome, conſidering that *Metellus* age (which was ſomewhat aduanced) made him more ſlow, and therefore not fit to incounter *Sertorius*, who was in the flower of his age, accompanied with ſouldiours as light as the wind, inured to labour, hunger, thirſt, and all the diſcommodities of war, were of opinion to ſend *Cn. Pompeius* vnto him, as an aſſiſtant & companion with like authoritie. In the mean time *Metellus* beſieged the towne of the Langobriges, thinking to take it without difficultie, for want of water, knowing there was but one onely well in the whole towne: but *Sertorius* prouided for this inconuenience; for hauing promiſed a reward to ſuch as would carrie goats skins filled with water, the Moores and other aduenturous people went in with a great quantitie: ſo as *Metellus* (who had victuals but for fiue daies) was forced to retyre, after that *Aquinus* one of his lieutenants, whom he had ſent to forage with 6000 men, had bin defeated by *Sertorius*, who lay continually in ambuſh.

Cotta, Didius and Thoranius defeated by Sertorius.

Sertorius defeats Manlius, and kils L. Domitius.

Pompey ſent into Spaine to aſſiſt Metellus.

About that time *M. Perpenna* arriued in Spaine, with a great armie, the which he ioyned to that of *Sertorius*, not of his owne free will, meaning to make war apart, but by conſtraint, for that the ſouldiours hauing a better conceit of *Sertorius* than of him, would not follow him: which made *Perpenna* to enuie and hate *Sertorius*. With theſe forces in a manner al Spaine beyond Ebro, was conquered by him. When as *Pompey* was come to *Metellus* camp, many throgh his fame, which was great, began to doubt of *Sertorius* affaires, and manie townes which were allyed vnto him began to wauer; but that which hapned at Lauronne did confirme them: for *Sertorius* hauing beſieged Lauronne, & *Pompey* comming thither to raiſe the ſiege, when as the armies were neere, & that *Pompey* expected to giue him battel, he perceiued that at one inſtant *Sertorius* held both the towne & his armie beſieged; for he had lodged 6000 men behind *Pompeys* army, watching an oportunitie to compaſſe him in, ſo as he was forced to be more carefull how

Vertue is alwaies enuied.

Lauronne beſieged and taken by Sertorius in Pompeyes preſence.

how to ſaue himſelfe, than to deliuer the Lauronitanes, whoſe towne he did ſee taken & burnt before his face: the which *Sertorius* did, not vpon any crueltie (for in the whole courſe of his life he was neuer noted of that exceſſe, if it were not by conſtraint) but to let them know (who made ſo great eſteeme of *Pompey*) that he knew more than he; whom he tearmed a yong man, and *Syllaes* diſciple; and in this act of Lauronna, he ſaid, That a wiſe captain doth alwaies looke more to that which is behind, than before. And to ſay the truth, *Sertorius* was one of the politickſt captaines of his time, as it appeared in this warre, whereas he maintained himſelfe and thoſe he led, alwaies inuincible, being neuer beaten but by his Lieutenants, through whoſe errors he receiued many prejudiciall loſſes: the which he repaired afterwards with great honor, as the defeat of *Hirtuleius* by *Metellus*, neere vnto the towne of Italica, where he loſt twentie thouſand men.

After the taking of Lauronne, the armies of either ſide hauing wintered (the one in Luſitania, the other neere vnto the Pyrenees) they began to ſeeke one another: and it happened, that *Pompey* hauing encountred *Herennius* and *Perpenna* neere vnto Valence, he defeated them, and in like ſort *Hirtuleius*, who was ſlaine at that time: wherewith growne proud, he marched towards *Sertorius*, and without attending *Metellus* and his forces, hee came to fight with him, neere vnto the riuer of Sucro or Xucar, whereas *Pompey* was put to flight, and hurt. *Metellus* arriuing, cauſed *Sertorius* to retyre; with whom he did afterwards fight in the territorie of Sagunt, whereas *Memmius*, *Pompeyes* Queſtor, was ſlaine, and *Metellus* wounded: but *Sertorius* ſeeing that he had the worſt, retyred himſelfe cunningly, ſuffering himſelfe to be beſieged in the towne of Calaorre, a ſtrong towne in a mountaine country, where he did more annoy the enemie, than they did him: in the meane time leuying men in the townes of his allies, hee made a furious ſally, and diſperſed his enemies; ſo as *Metellus* went to Winter in Gaule, and *Pompey* in the territorie of the Vacceans: where hauing beſieged Palantia, *Sertorius* made him to rayſe his ſiege. In this countrey *Pompey* found himſelfe much diſtreſſed, ſo as he was forced to demaund money, clothes, and corne for his armie, from the Senat, elſe hee ſhould be forced to bring it backe into Italie: Whereupon the Conſull *Lucullus* gaue order hee ſhould be furniſhed, fearing, that if he brought his armie backe into Italie, he would ſue vnto the people for a Commiſſion to make warre againſt *Mithridates*, which charge hee affected.

Battell betwixt Pompey and Sertorius, wherein Sertorius had the better.

During the Conſulſhip of *L. Lucullus* and *M. Cotta*, the Proconſuls *Metellus* and *Pompey* did all they could againſt the townes allied to *Sertorius*; who did ſo terrifie them, as *Metellus* deſpairing euer to vanquiſh him with all the force of the Romans during his life, made a proclamation by the ſound of the trumpet, to giue 100 talents to him that could kill him, amounting to 60000 crownes, and beſides, 20000 acres of land, if he were a Romane; if a baniſhed man, reſtitution to all his goods and honours. The baniſhed Senatours of Rome, which followed *Sertorius* army, did all malice their Generall, wherunto *Perpenna* (alwaies jealous of his glory) did ſtill incite them: wherefore they began to croſſe him vnder hand in many gallant deſigns, abuſing the authoritie which *Sertorius* had giuen them ouer the Spaniards, proudly, couetouſly and cruelly, vnder colour of juſtice, exacting extraordinarie tributes; ſo as many towns did mutine, and the loue which they did beare vnto *Sertorius*, was turned into hatred: wherefore *Sertorius* was forced (for the ſuppreſſing of many tumults which did ariſe) to ſhew himſelfe ſeuere, againſt his owne nature, and at the laſt became cruell: ſo as in the end he put to death many children of noble houſes, whom he held in the towne of Oſca, vnder colour to inſtruct them in learning, and to teach them the manners of the Romans; the which (to ſpeake truly) were ſo many hoſtages: and others he ſold, to puniſh the infidelitie of the Spaniards, which he diſcouered daily; the which did much blemiſh the luſtre of his vertues. *Perpenna* through his malice drew him to this exceſſe, and did procure him infinite enemies, as well Romanes as Spaniards, and hauing found many confederats, he conſpired with *Auſidius Græcinus*, *Manlius*, *Antonius*, and others, to murther him; the which he put in execution, hauing inuited him to ſupper in his lodging, with the whole troupe of conſpirators, where they ſtabbed him with their daggers. Such an end had this great captaine, by the treaſon of his owne followers; the which being publiſhed, all the people of Spaine ſent embaſſadours vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey*, and yeelded vnto him. The inhabitants of Ebora attribute the foundation of their towne to *Sertorius*, where there are certaine inſcriptions to bee ſeene,

Ann. 679.

Sertorius life ſet to ſale, contrarie to the vertue of the ancient Romans.

Sertorius growes cruell againſt his nature.

Perpenna and his adherents murther Sertorius trecherouſly.

making mention, that he was buried there. He had many times made offer to *Metellus*, to lay G
aſide armes, ſo as he might be called home by a publique decree: for he proteſted that he made
not warre for the Spaniards greatneſſe, but to maintaine the people of Rome, whom he loued
and honoured: ſo as there is no doubt but he was of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, but that
neceſſitie had forced him to this contumacie and rebellion, and the violent and ambitious
purſute of his fellow citizens. *Perpenna* thinking to doe ſome great exploit, made vſe of *Ser-*
Perpenna puniſhed for his treaſon. *torius* forces, but hee was deceiued: for it ſoone appeared, that he was not fit to commaund,
being in a ſhort time vanquiſhed, taken, and ſlaine by *Pompey*. This traitor to redeeme his life,
offered *Sertorius* papers vnto *Pompey*, where there were many letters from the Senatours of
Rome, perſuading *Sertorius* to paſſe with his armie into Italy: but *Pompey* tooke theſe papers, H
and would not once read them, but burnt them all, and ſo put *Perpenna* to death, to the end he
ſhould not name any one, nor reueale that which was contained in them; the which might
Pompeyes wiſedome to extinguiſh the ciuile warre. haue rayſed a new ciuile warre: which was no act of a young man. Of all the towns in Spaine,
Auxima, at this day Oſma, and Calagurri, held out for a time againſt *Pompey:* but in the end
they were taken by force and ruined; Auxima by *Pompey*, and Calagurri by *Afranius:* and ſo
this Sertorian warre was ended: the laſt exploits whereof were about Oſca and Ilerda in Ca-
Anno 682. telogna, tenne yeares after the beginning thereof, in the yeare 682: in the which, *Metellus* and
Pompey for their ſucceſſefull exploits in Spaine triumphed. At that time *Pompey* was but a Ro-
mane knight; and they ſay, That he afterwards erected his trophies in the Pyrenee mountains,
Pompeyes trophies, and the beginning of Pampelone. where he cauſed to be written the names of 871 townes in his victories, among the which, he I
would not put that of *Sertorius*. This was the beginning of Pampelone, according vnto ſome.
There were found in thoſe dayes, in the vallies of Andorre and of Altauaca, certaine great
buckles of yron, ſoldered into the rockes with lead, which were held to be the trophies of *Pom-*
pey. A yeare after we find mention made of *M. Puppius Piſo* Pretor, who triumphed alſo for
ſome victories gotten in Spaine.

13 In the yeare 688 *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *Lucius Manlius Torquatus* being Conſuls, *Cn.*
Cn. Piſo ſlaine in Spaine, *Piſo* a young man, audacious, poore, and ſeditious, ſuſpected to haue conſpired with *Cateline*,
was ſent into Spain with charge (vnder pretext to do him honor, but the true cauſe was to get
him out of Rome) where he was ſlaine, troubling the prouince with exactions, and other ex-
14 ceſſe: & ſome ſay it was plotted by *Pompey*. Then mention is made of *Q Calidius* a Pretor in the K
yere 692: and after him, of *Tubero* in the further Spaine, who gaue the Prouince to *Caius Iul.*
Cæſar his Queſtor, in qualitie of Pretor, *Q. Metellus* and *L. Afranius* being Conſuls at Rome, in
the yeare 693 of the foundation thereof: whereas in few dayes he ſubjected vnder the Ro-
C Iul. Cæſars exploits in Spaine being Pretor. mane yoake all that was to be ſubdued in Galicia, Brecaire, and Luſitania: among others, he
deſtroyed Brigantium in Galicia (the which is Bragance, if it be not the Port of Corugna,
or the Groine, called in old time Portus Brigantinus:) He diſperſed the Herminian mountai-
ners, inhabiting betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, and forced them to retyre into the
iſlands of Cincies, which are thoſe of Bayonne of Minio. And if hee ſhewed himſelfe
actiue and valiant in matters of warre, hee woon no leſſe honour in adminiſtration of ju-
ſtice, and other actions of peace: aboue all things hee pacified many ſuites, commenced by L
vſurers againſt their debtors; the which he ſo ordered, as the creditors ſhould haue two third
parts of their debtors goods, and the reſt they ſhould haue for their maintenance, vntill the
debt were payed: and he made many other good ordinances, for the which he was much ho-
noured. After *Cæſars* returne, he being Conſull, there was a complot made betwixt him,
Craſſus, and *Pompey*, who diuided the Romane Prouinces betwixt them: whereof Spaine fell
15 to *Pompey*; the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: then *P. Lentulus* was ſent thither as
Proconſull, and after him *Q. Metellus Nepos:* in whoſe time the Gaules of Aquitania made
warre againſt *Cæſar* and the Romanes, employing the captaines and Spaniſh ſouldiors which
had carried armes vnder *Sertorius*.

From that time Spaine was gouerned by *Pompey*, or men of his faction: ſo as vpon the be- M
Pompey perpetuall Gouernour in Spaine. ginning of the ciuile warre betwixt him and *Cæſar*, *L. Afranius*, *M. Petreius*, and *M. Varro* did
gouerne it for him: againſt whom *Cæſar* marched, after that he had chaſed *Pompey* out of Italy;
knowing well, that Spaine was a ſeminarie for ſouldiors, and if he tooke it not from *Pompey*, his
deſignes would proue but vaine: being well aduertiſed, that *Pompey* had ſent *Vibullius Rufus*
thither, to keepe that great prouince at his deuotion, and to oppoſe him againſt *Cæſar* in thoſe
parts.

A parts. The lieutenants vpon *Vibullius* comming put themſelues in order, euery one in his gouernment. *Petreius* made a leuie of horſemen in Luſitania: *Afranius* did the like among the Celtiberians, and that part of the Cantabrians, where he commaunded. They joyned their forces together on this ſide the riuer of Ebro, making their ſtore-houſe for the war at Ilerda, hauing in their armies fiue Romane legions, almoſt 80 companies of Spaniards, and about 5000 horſe. *Cæſar* being reſolued to fight with them, and to chaſe them out of Spain, had ſent *C. Fabius* with three legions to ſeize vpon the paſſages of the Pyrenee mountains: then he followed with about 6000 Italian foot, which had alwaies ſerued him in the wars of Gaule, and 3000 horſe, and the like number of other ſouldiors leuied in Aquitania, moſt of them of the B mountaines; of whom he had politickely borrowed all the money they had to pay his armie: where he found, that *Fabius* and the Pompeians were neere, and often skirmiſhed about the riuer of Sicoris or Sigro, whereas *Fabius* had made two bridges, by the which he ſent his ſouldiors to forrage, for all neere vnto him was conſumed, *Petreius* and *Afranius* lying beneath the enemie. It happened, that *Fabius* meaning to paſſe two legions ouer one of his bridges, to ſecond his forragers, when as the ſouldiors were paſt, & the baggage following them, the bridge was ſo ouercharged with weight, as it brake; ſo as *Fabius* armie was diuided, and theſe two legions ingaged, and cut off by the riuer from the reſt of their horſe and foot: which the enemies (who lay beneath them) perceiuing by the timber and other ſtuffe which came down with the ſtreame, *Afranius* did ſuddainly cauſe foure legions and all his horſe to paſſe, to charge *Fabius* C two legions, which were led by *L. Plancus*: who hauing put them into a long forme of battell, leaſt he ſhould be enuironed by theſe horſemen, he endured the ſhocke of theſe foure legions, vntill that *C. Fabius* came to ſuccour him, and to vngage him: for when he ſaw the bridge broken, he doubted what the enemies would doe, and therefore had cauſed all the reſt of his army to paſſe by the other bridge, which was a good league aboue it. Hereupon *Cæſar* arriued with his armie, and marched towards the enemies to draw them to battaile, but he could not: skirmiſhing for three daies together vnder the towne of Ilerda, with loſſe on either ſide, *Cæſars* armie (which lay then in a country about ſeuen leagues compaſſe, betwixt the two riuers of Sicoris and Cinga, which were not to be waded through) was much annoyed with raine and tempeſts that fell, wherewith (the riuers being much riſen) the bridges which *Fabius* had repai- D red were carried away; ſo as they could not bring any victuals from their confederat townes, nor out of Gaule nor Italie, neither yet goe to forrage: and if any did ſtray out farre to ſeeke victuals, they were compaſſed in by the waters, and could not returne to the campe. And on the other ſide, *Afranius* and *Petreius* armie liued in abundance: and to encreaſe *Cæſars* miſeries, great ſtore of victuals, ſtayed by the riuers which were ouerflowne, being conducted out of Gaule, with a good number of foot and horſe, were ſtopped and diſperſed by *Afranius*, who departed in the night with three legions and all his horſemen to deſeat them. But the Gaules defended themſelues ſo valiantly, as moſt of them eſcaped in the mountaines, the which *Cæſar* (hauing found meanes ſoone after to repaire his bridges) receiued, with their leaders. Many daies were ſpent in light skirmiſhes, and to cut off them that E went for forrage: in the meane time there were many ſecret practiſes; ſo as *Cæſar* drew vnto him fiue townes and nations; Oſca, Calagurri, Tarracone, the Lacetanes and Auſetanes: and in the end, the Spaniards which were in *Afranius* campe began to disband, and to flye to *Cæſars* campe, yea, whole bands of the Ilurgauonians: And after the example of theſe neere townes, thoſe that were fartheſt off ſued to *Cæſar* for his friendſhip; who making many ditches and trenches, drew the riuer of Sigro or Sicoris into ſo many ſtreames, as his horſemen might wade through it. *Afranius* and *Petreius* being amazed thereat, reſolued to diſlodge, and paſſe the riuer of Ebro, to retyre into the Celtiberians countrey, where they did thinke to get many horſemen, victuals, and other commodities. According to this reſolution, they diſlodged in the night from Ilerda, where they left a good garriſon, and marcht towards Ebro. F *Cæſar* hauing paſſed his horſe, followed them in the rere, and in the end he was ſo importuned by the legions, as he cauſed them to wade through the riuer whereas the horſmen had paſſed, and made ſuch ſpeed, as he ouertooke the enemies in the morning, ſo as the armies were again neere together, yet did they neither fight nor march, ſpending ſome time to diſcouer the countrey; yet *Cæſar* in the end found meanes to get (but not without a ſharpe encounter) certaine ſtraits, whereby he ſtopped *Afranius* and *Petreius* deſigne for their going to Ebro. 16

Great preparations to reſiſt Cæſar in Spaine.

Cæſar diſarmes Afranius and Petreius.

Whileſt they conſult what they had to doe, and how to preuent *Cæſars* ſurpriſes, their armie G
wearie of them, and woon with *Cæſars* fame and reputation, was eaſily corrupted by the Cæſarian ſouldiors: the which *Afranius* and *Petreius* ſought to hinder; yea, *Petreius* vſing his abſolute authoritie, ſlew many of them that parled. Thinking afterwards to returne towards Ilerda, and to paſſe the riuer Sicoris, but being hindered by *Cæſar*, they put their armie in battaile readie to fight: but *Cæſar* holding them as it were beſieged, reduced them to that extremitie, as they demaunded their liues of him, reſigning their Legions vp vnto him, and all the Prouince.

Varro followes the time and occaſion.

17 *M. Varro*, who was in the further Spaine, hearing the ſucceſſe of the affaires in Italie, in the beginning, he did hold *Pompeyes* ruine to be moſt certain: wherefore he ſpake very ho- H
nourably of *Cæſar*, and ſeemed to deſire to be a neuter in theſe quarrels: but when as he vnderſtood, that *Afranius* and *Petreius* were gone to field with ſo great an armie, and in what difficulties *Cæſar* was vnder Ilerda for want of victuals, he then changed his mind, and followed *Pompeyes* partie; and filling vp two legions which he had, to the which he joyned about thirtie bands of allies, he began to make prouiſion of great ſtore of corne to ſend to *Afranius*, and in like manner to the Marſilians, whom *Cæſar* cauſed to be beſieged: and aſſuring himſelfe of the citie of Gades, he cauſed all the gold, ſiluer, and jewels which were in *Hercules* Temple, to be tranſported thither, making *Caius Gallonius*, a Roman knight, Gouernor thereof, with ſix companies of Spaniards, carrying all the citizens armes into his lodging. Then he began to change his ſpeech of *Cæſar*, and of his exploits, contrarie to that which he had of late vſed: wherefore I
the citizens of Rome being diſperſed ouer the Prouince, being amazed, did eaſily ſuffer themſelues to be taxed in a great ſumme of money, for the ſeruice of the Commonweale, not ſparing (as it is to be conjectured) the townes which he thought to be affected vnto *Cæſar*. And

Varro bandies himſelfe againſt Cæſar.

if there were any one which durſt ſpeake againſt them that followed *Pompey*, he did confiſcate their goods, forcing euery one to take an oath to him and to *Pompey*, and ſo he prepared himſelfe to the warre, making his account to lodge with his two legions in Gades, vpon all euents, and to bring all the corne thither, and to gather together all the ſhipping of that prouince, the which he knew to be too well affected vnto *Cæſar*. Finally, he perſuaded himſelfe, That hee might prolong the warre in this iſland as much as he pleaſed. *Cæſars* affaires preſt him to re-
turne into Italie, yet holding it neceſſarie to diſarme all thoſe that held *Pompeyes* part in Spain, K
he ſent two legions towards Betica, vnder the commaund of *Q. Caſſius*, Tribune of the people; after the which he went with ſome troupes of horſe, hauing in the meane time order for the calling of a generall aſſembly at Cordoua: whither deputies came from all the townes, and in a manner all the Romanes that were in thoſe marches, being much enclined to do what *Cæſar* ſhould commaund them. *M. Varro* was excluded by the aſſembly of Cordoua, who ſet gards in their ports and towers, and they of Carmone chaſed away the garriſon which *Varro* had placed there, which made him haſt the more to bring his two legions to Gades, leaſt he ſhould be preuented: but he was not farre aduanced, before he receiued letters, by the which he was aduertiſed, That the Gaditanes hauing agreed with the captaines of the garriſon which was within their town, had forced *Gallonius* to depart, proteſting, That they would keepe the town L
for *Cæſar*: whereupon one of *Varroes* legions reſolued to leaue him, taking the way towards

Varro diſarmed by Cæſar.

Seuille. Wherewith *Varro* being amazed, and ſeeing himſelfe coopt vp in that countrey, ſo as he had no meanes to paſſe into Italie, he reſolued to yeeld vnto *Cæſar*, deliuering vp his legion which remained, with all the money and victuals that was in his power. *Cæſar* held an aſſembly at Cordoua, and thanked the deputies of townes, the citizens of Rome, and all the captains and others which had ſhewed themſelues fauourable to his cauſe: hee reſtored euery man to his goods that had been ſpoyled, and filled all men with hope by his promiſes. From Cordoua he paſſed to Gades, and reſtored to *Hercules* Temple the gold and jewels which had bin taken away: and hauing left *Q. Caſſius* with foure legions to gouerne the Prouince, he paſſed by ſea to Tarracone, where the deputies of all that part of Spaine attended him: with whom hauing M
conferred, and diſpoſed of the affaires, he went by land towards Narbone, and from thence to Marſeilles, which his lieutenants did beſiege. This was in the yeare 704.

Ann. Rome 704 Caſſius crueltie and couetouſnes thruſts Cæſar into a new war.

18 At Marſeilles *Cæſar* had news, That he was created Dictator at Rome by *M. Lepidus* the Pretor: after which time Spain was gouerned in his name by *M. Lepidus* and *Q. Caſſius* his lieutenants: But they of Corduba oppreſſed with the crueltie & couetouſneſſe of *Caſſius*, forſooke (with

A (with two legions) *Cæſars* party; whereby the war was reuiued in Spain by *Pompeyes* children, after the defeat and death of their father, in the yeare 708. This *Caſſius* being couetous, and a great exactor, did incenſe the ſouldiours againſt him; who hurt him, and had like to haue ſtabd him with their daggers: The authors of this exceſſe were *L. Rucilio, Annius Scapula,* and *Minutius Silo*: yet he was cured; and as he thought to paſſe into Africke by *Cæſars* commandement, almoſt all his ſouldiours abandoned him, and did chuſe one *Thorus*, of the towne of Italica, for their leader. To this *Thorus* (who made a ſhew to beſiege Cordoua) *Marcellus* did joyne, but they did inueſt Mia (which is likely to be Monte-Major at this day:) thereupon *M. Lepidus* came from Rome, where he had proclaimed *Cæſar* Dictator, who kept them from forB cing and taking *Caſſius*. *Marcellus* referred their quarels to *Lepidus*: but *Caſſius* being loath to truſt him, was content to leaue the prouince, and to giue place to *Caius Trebonius*. Being imbarqued at Malaca, with all that he had gotten in Spaine, to paſſe into Italie, his ſhip was caſt by a tempeſt vpon the coaſt, where it periſhed, not farre from the mouth of Ebro.

Theſe two legions were ſomewhat pacified by *C. Trebonius*, who ſucceeded *Caſſius Longinus*, yet they feared to be puniſhed for their rebellion: wherefore they ſolicited *Scipio*, who held Africke for the Pompeyan faction, to ſend *Cn. Pompeius*, ſonne to the great *Pompey*, into Spaine; who went thitherward: but he ſtaied long at the iſlands of the Baleares, as well to ſubdue them, as by reaſon of ſickeneſſe. The legions hearing afterwards of *Scipioes* defeat in Italie, and that *Cæſar* ſent *Didius* with an armie againſt them, fearing to bee oppreſſed before C *Pompeyes* comming, they did chuſe *T. Quintius Scapula*, and *Q. Apponius*, for their commaunders, chaſing *C. Trebonius* out of the Betique prouince. Hereupon *Pompey* arriued, whom they acknowledged for their Generall; ſo as in a ſhort time he reduced the further Spaine vnder his deuotion: with whom there came *Actius Varus*, and *Labienus*. *Cæſar* aduertiſed of theſe things, being in Italie, he ſent *Q. Pedius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* into Spaine: but they were not able to reſiſt *Pompeyes* forces; ſo as *Cæſar* being ſolicited by the townes that were allied vnto him (eſpecially by them of Corduba) he went in perſon into Spaine. Then did *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger of the brethren, hold Cordoua, the chiefe towne of the gouernment, with a good garriſon, and *Cn.* the elder brother beſieged Vlloa, into the which *Cæſar* found oportunitie to put ſome ſuccours, by the meanes of a great wind and raine, and by the dexteriD tie of *L. Iunius Paciecus*, a Spaniard, to whom he had giuen the charge: which put *Cn. Pompeius* out of hope to take it: whereupon he diſlodged, and led his armie towards Cordoua, whither *Sextus* his brother, fearing to be forced by *Cæſar*, did ſolicite him to approach. Hauing incountred *Cæſar* vpon the bankes of Betis, there were many bloudie skirmiſhes, with variable ſucceſſe. *Cæſar* diſlodged in the night, and went to beſiege Ategua, whither *Pompey* went, and camped betwixt Ategua and Vcubis, hauing thirteene legions in his armie; yet he made no account but of three, for all the reſt were compoſed of fugitiues, and men of no value. *Cæſar* was much ſtronger in horſe, and *Pompey* had no will to fight, but was willing to prolong the warre all he could: yet being deſirous to force a certaine garriſon which *Cæſar* had ſet to keepe a peece of ground which was commodious for either of them, there was a great skirE miſh, *Cæſar* comming himſelfe to ſecond his men with three legions; ſo as the Pompeyans had the worſt, and were repulſed. Wherewith *Pompey* being amazed, there being new ſupplies of horſe come to *Cæſars* campe, hee diſlodged, and retired towards Cordoua, being followed by *Cæſars* horſe, whereof he ſlew many, being ingaged in one of his legions. Some paſt from his campe vnto *Cæſar*, among the which were *Q. Martius* and *C. Fundanius*. Ategua being ſorely battered, and well defended for many dayes, in the end yeelded. The which *Pompey* vnderſtanding, he marched towards *Vcubis*, where he cauſed a ſearch to be made for all the inhabitants which fauoured *Cæſar*, cutting off the heads of ſeuentie foure, and caſting many women and children ouer the walls; which made many to flie to *Cæſars* campe, yea captaines, and heads of bands, and the ſouldiours of ſome legions, with ſome townes. Wherefore *PomF pey* fearing that by his delaies he ſhould looſe both his allies, & his armie it ſelfe, hauing ſpent ſome dayes in turning vp and downe, in the end he reſolued to giue *Cæſar* battell neere vnto Munda. In both armies, beſides Romanes and Italian allies and Spaniards, there were many Moores: for *Boechus* a Mooriſh king, had ſent two of his ſonnes to ſuccour *Pompey*; and *Bogud* another king of the ſame nation, was in perſon in *Cæſars* armie: yet the battell was fought in a manner by the Romanes alone. On *Cæſars* ſide the ſouldiours were encouraged by their Gene-

Cn. Pompeius gets the further Spaine to be at his deuotion.

Ategua taken by Cæſar.

Moores in both the armies of Cæſar and Pompey.

Generals preſence, and did wonderfull deeds of armes. In *Pompeyes* armie, whereas the fu- G
gitiue legionaries were, deſpaire to get their pardon made them to fight reſolutely. Being
come to joyne, the allyes of either part turned their backes preſently, ſo as the Romanes
muſt trie it who ſhould haue the better, the which was done with great obſtinacie on either
ſide; ſo as there could no grones nor lamentations be heard, of any one that was dying or
wounded, but onely ſtriking and killing, one encouraging another, and ſhewing themſelues
more prompt with their hands than tongues. The battell was long doubtfull, neither could
Cæſar or *Pompey* judge which had the better, who after they had long beheld it in great per-
plexitie, they came among them to encourage their ſouldiours, whereof there was no great
need. King *Bogud* was the cauſe of *Cæſars* victorie, who ſtanding without the battell with H
his Moores, went vnto the trenches of *Pompeyes* campe, to ſpoyle it: the which *Labienus* per-
ceiuing, he went out of his ranke to make head againſt him: but the reſt of *Pompeyes* ſouldi-
ours taking it to be a flight, with the apprehenſion thereof they were all put to rout; and al-
though they did ſoone after find their owne errours, yet could they not rally themſelues to-
gether againe, but ſome fled to their campe, and ſome towards the towne of Munde. The
ſlaughter was great on either ſide, euen at the taking of the campe, whereas *Cæſars* men could
neuer enter, before they had ſlaine all thoſe that defended it, with like loſſe of their own men.
Cæſar hauing gotten the victorie with great difficultie and danger, he ſaid vnto his ſouldiours,
That he had often fought for honour, but now he had fought for his life. There dyed of *Pom-*
peyes ſouldiours 30000. I

Battell betwixt Cæſar and Pompey.

A miſtaking is the cauſe of Pompeyes ruine.

Great ſlaughter on both ſides.

After this rout Cordoua being abandoned by *Sex. Pompeius*, yeelded, in the which *Scapula*
(who had beene author of the ſouldiours ſedition) cauſed a ſlaue of his to kill him, and to
burne his bodie, with all the treaſure he had. Seuill, Munde, and other places, were ſome ta-
ken by force, with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants, and ſome by compoſition. Many towns
in Spaine (flattering *Cæſar*) after theſe victories, called themſelues after his name: Vcubis
was called Claritas Iulia, Ebora, Libertas Iulia. At this time *Cæſar* did not ſpare the treaſure
of *Hercules* temple in Gades, being greatly diſtreſſed for money: He took away many of their
lands, & laid new taxes vpō thoſe towns which had rebelled, that he might reward his friends.

Pompey hauing eſcaped by flight, he came to Carteia, where he thought to make vſe of the
armie at ſea, which he had kept readie thereabouts: but he was purſued, and the ſhips after a K
great fight falling into the power of *Didius*, were ſome of them carried away by him, and the
reſt burnt; ſo as *Pompey* ſore wounded in the ſhoulder and leg, ſeeking to flie by land, was pur-
ſued, ouertaken, and ſlaine, with many of his men, by the horſemen and ſome companies of
foot which were ſent after him. For theſe victories gotten in Spaine, not againſt ſtrangers, but
againſt citizens of Rome, *Cæſar*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Q. Pedius*, did triumph at Rome, to the great
griefe of the people. After that theſe things had been exploited by *Cæſar*, and all ciuile diſſen-
tions quenched, as he thought to enjoy his Dictatorſhip, ſuffering kingly honours to be done
vnto him, he was ſlaine by *Caſſius*, *Brutus*, and other conſpirators. Then was the eſtate of Rome
in greater confuſion than euer, by the diuiſion betwixt *Octauius Cæſar* and *M. Anthonie*, and af-
terwards by the cruell proſcriptions of *Octauius*, *M. Anthonie*, and *Lepidus*: which *Lepidus* had L
19 triumphed for Spaine in the yere 707, I know not for what victories. It is certaine that he go-
uerned the hither part of Spain by *Cæſars* gift, but it was by his lieutenants, hauing neuer done
any exploit of warre. *Dio* ſaith, That he perſuaded *Sex. Pompeius* to leaue Spaine, promiſing
him reſtitution of his fathers goods. *Domitius Caluinus*, *C. Norbanus*, *Flaccus*, and *Aſinius Pollio*,
were afterwards Gouernours of Spaine, of whoſe exploits there is no memorable mention. In
the yeare 713 *Cornel. Balbus*, borne at Calis, was Conſull at Rome: and in the yeare 714, the
ſecond diuiſion of the empire being made betwixt *Octauius Cæſar*, *M. Anthonie*, and *M. Lepi-*
dus, after the reconciliation betwixt *Octauius* and *M. Anthonie*, and the Peruſine warre, among
other prouinces, Spaine fell to *Octauius*: and from that yere the Spaniards began to account M
their yeares by the Arke or rule of *Cæſar*, the which was 38 years before the comming of our
Sauiour, the which they did continue vntill the yeare 1383 of our ſaluation, when as this cu-
ſtome was left, as ſhall be ſaid.

Cn. Pompeius the ſonne ſlaine.

Lepidus gouerns Spaine vnder Cæſar.

20 In the yeare 726 of the foundation of Rome, *Auguſtus* being ſole Emperour, he
vndertooke to ſubdue the Cantabrians, Aſturians, and Gallicians, who had alwayes held
their libertie, lawes, and auntient cuſtomes, to rob and ſpoyle their neighbours, and would
wholly

Auguſtus in Spaine.

A wholly ſubject them vnder his empire: wherefore he reſolued to goe in perſon into Spaine, where he found thoſe nations aſſured in their countenances, and full of contempt, relying in the ſtrength of their mountaines, from whence they made many ſudden enterpriſes, verie prejudiciall to the emperours armie, the which camped at Sigiſama (the which ſome thinke was that which at this preſent they call Veiſama, in Guipuſcoa or Biſcaye, and not Sigiſama Iulia) where he made three troupes of his forces. Hauing ſpent many dayes there, and nothing aduanced his affaires, *Auguſtus* fell ſicke with care and trauell: wherfore hauing left the charge of the warre to *C. Antiſtius*, he cauſed himſelfe to be carried to Tarracona. The Cantabrians aſſailed both by land and ſea towards Gaule Aquitaine, came to fight with *Antiſtius* and *Firmius*, by whom they were defeated in many encounters, and their townes taken. A great number of Gallicians hauing fortified themſelues on a mountaine, then called Meduillius, neere vnto the riuer of Minio, they were beſieged, and ſo preſſed as they muſt of neceſſitie either fight or yeeld: but hauing not the courage to defend themſelues, and being loath to fall into ſeruitude, they all ſlew themſelues. The Aſturians being campedneere vnto the riuer which giues the name vnto their countrey, thought to ſurpriſe the Romane armie, and without doubt had defeated them, if their enterpriſe had not beene diſcouered. They were afterwards put to rout by *P. Cariſius*, but not without great ſlaughter of his men. Hee alſo tooke Lancia, the chiefe towne of Aſturia, being abandoned. So the warre ended, and at the ſame inſtant *Auguſtus* hauing diſmiſſed the old ſouldiours, hee gaue them leaue to build the C towne of Emerita in Luſitania, at this day it is Merida in Portugall. Then alſo the towne of Salduba was firſt called Cęſar Auguſta, in honor of *Octauius Auguſtus*, it is now Saragoſſe, the which he did much enlarge with buildings. Fiue and twentie yeares before the birth of our Sauiour, the way was paued from Cordoua to Aſtigi vpon the Ocean. It appeares by this inſcription which is at Cordoua, on a pillar of greene ſtone, whereon *Auguſtus* name is grauen, and the number of twelue miles, which is the diſtance from Cordoua to the ſea.

B *Cruell obſtinacie of Barbarians.*

Emerita founded by Auguſtus

Saragoſſe.

Imp. Cæſar. Diui. F. Auguſtus
Cos. VIII. Trib. Poteſt. XXI.
Pont. Max. A. Bæte. & Iano.
D *Auguſto. Ad. Oceanum.*
C. XXI.

This Temple of *Ianus* was by all conjectures built by *Auguſtus* at Cordoua, in ſigne of a perpetuall peace. After *Cæſars* returne *Sextus Apuleius* Proconſull, ſhewed ſome proofes of his valour in Spaine, for the which he triumphed: and afterwards *L. Æmilius* ſuppreſſed the Cantabrians, and Aſturians, who rebelled againe: After which time Spaine was gouerned by Pretors and Proconſuls, the which are ſometimes called in Latine *Præſides*, vnto the time of *Diocleſian* and *Maximin*. *Strabo* ſaith, That in his time, which was during the empires of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, the prouince of Betica was giuen vnto the people of Rome, who appointed a Gouernour or Pretor, hauing a Lieutenant and a Treaſurer; the reſt of Spaine remaining at the emperours diſpoſition: who ſent two lieutenants, the one in qualitie of Vice-Pretor, the other as Vice-Conſull. The Vice-Pretor, with the helpe of a lieutenant or legat, did juſtice, and had juriſdiction ouer all Luſitania, from the riuer of Betis vnto Duero: the other part, being Taracconeſe, did obey the Vice-Conſull, who had a great armie entertained with three lieutenants; the one commaunded the Cantabrians, Aſturians, and the country of Gallicia; the other gouerned along the Mediterranean ſea; and the third had charge of the inner countries. The Generals place of reſidence was at Carthagene, or Tarracone. The emperours which came after, made firſt two, and then one Gouernour of Spaine, and not alwayes of one ſort. About the time of *Maximinian* and *Diocleſian*, the Gouernours were called Earles, and their lieutenants Vicars: and when as the Gothes began to erect a kingdome, that ſmall portion which held for the Romanes, along the ſhore of the prouince of Carthagene, and the mountains of the Cantabrians and Aſturians, were gouerned by Dukes, whom they called *Præfecti*.

E *Gouernment of Spaine vnder the emperours.*

F *Earles and Vicars gouerning Spaine.*

Dukes called Prefecti.

Octauius Cæſar, ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, had held the empire about two and fortie yeares, when our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt the eternall ſonne of God, was borne God and man, of the virgine *Marie*,

The firſt yere of Chriſt.

752 of Rome.

Marie, of the tribe of *Iuda*, in the citie of Beth-leem of Iuda, which was in the yere 757 of the foundation of Rome. The night when as the Lord of peace came vpon the earth, was (as some write) as bright and cleere in Spaine, as the noone day. The computation of times shall hereafter be taken from the birth of our Sauiour; in the 16 yeare of whose life *Augustus* died. Then *Sextilius Hena*, a Poet of Cordoua, flourished in Spaine, being now brought wholly to the manners of the Romans. G

An. 16 *of Christ*

21 The Spaniards being much affected to *Augustus*, did obtaine of *C. Tiberius Nero*, his successour, leaue to build a goodly temple in honour of him, in the towne of Tarracone. This emperour kept the Gallicians, Asturians, and Cantabrians vnder, with strong garrisons, hauing beene formerly subdued by *Augustus*. In his time they of Lisbone gaue it out, That they had seene and heard *Triton* in certaine hollow rockes, singing and playing vpon a cornet, as they painted him: And *Plinie* reports, that vpon the sea shore a Nereide had beene seene couered with scales, yea whereas she caried a humane shape: and that they had heard the grones and complaints she made dying. Vnder *Tiberius*, *Vibius Serenus* Proconsull of the further Spaine, accused by his owne sonne, and conuicted, was condemned as a tyrant, and banished into the island Amorgos, one of the Cyclades. *Iunius Gallio*, brother to *Seneca* the Senator, was also banished, for that he had propounded in Senat, to honour the old souldiours which had beene dismist, with higher seats in the Theatre, and at publique shewes; hauing not first spoken thereof vnto the emperour *Tiberius*. The Spanish flatterers, doing idolatrie vnto princes, would also haue made a temple vnto *Tiberius* and to his mother, the which was prohibited; *Tiberius* saying, That he was a man and no god, demaunding no other thing of them, but that they would retaine a good and commendable memorie of him after his death. H I

Triton a diuelish illusion.

Vibius Serenus a tyrannous gouernor punished.

Tiberius doth indeedly refuse diuine honours. Anno 26.

The six and twentieth yeare of our saluation, *L. Piso*, a great oppressor of the people, was slaine in the hither Spaine, where he was Pretor, by a peasant of Termes, who being taken and tortured, would neuer confesse who had made him to commit this murther. This man slipping out of the officers hands which led him to the racke againe, beat his own head so violently against a stone, as instantly he lost both sence and life. In those times one of the richest men of Spaine, called *Sextus Marius*, was accused, to haue accompanied with his owne daughter carnally: for the which he was cast downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeien: but his great wealth was the cause of his death, more than his crime.

An exacting gouernour slaine by a peasant.

K

Anno 34.

Tiberius had raigned seuenteene yeares, when as our Sauiour Iesus Christ suffered death for the redemption of mankind, hauing finished the three and thirtieth yeare of his life.

The Gospel preached in Spain in Tiberius time.

22 The healthfull doctrine of our redemption by him, was during the empire of *Tiberius* knowne in Spaine, as some hold: but it is doubtfull who was the Apostle. We read in the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, that he had a desire to go thither, but it is not certaine that he performed that voiage, although that *Epiphanius* and others do beleeue it. The Spaniards affirme, That Saint *Iames* the sonne of *Zebedee*, came thither to preach the Gospell in the seuen and thirtieth yere, and that he onely conuerted nine persons: Others, as Pope *Calixtus*, write, That he had many Disciples, but that he had twelue speciall ones, nine whereof hee conuerted in Gallicia. Others affirme, That when he preached at Saragosse, hee dedicated to the virgine *Marie*, the temple which is at this day called *Nuestra Segnora del pillar*: and that hauing left two of his Disciples in Spaine, he returned into Iudea. Wee comprehend by the holy writ, that this holy Apostle liued almost all his life in Ierusalem, and thereabouts: and wee know, that *Herodes* caused his head to be cut off, in the third yeare of the empire of *Claudius*. L

Anno 39. *Herodes & Herodias died in Spaine, as the Spaniards affirme.*

The nine and thirtieth yeare of our saluation, as some authors write, *Herodes* and *Herodias* (she which incited her incestuous husband, to cut off Saint *Iohn Baptists* head) retired themselues into Spaine: who (being spoyled of all their goods and dignities, by *C. Caligula*) dyed there for sorrow. *Caligula* was slaine by *Cherea* and other conspirators: But before them *Æmilius Regula* of Cordoua, hauing attempted his death, was preuented and executed. This yeare *M. Anneus Lucanus* the Poet, was borne at Cordoua, whose father was *Luc. Anneus Mela*, brother to *Seneca* the Philosopher: his mother was called *C. Acilia*, daughter to *Acilius Lucanus* the Orator. This child being but eight moneths old, was carried to Rome. M

23 We haue said, That Saint *Iames* the sonne of *Zebedeus* was beheaded in Ierusalem by *Herods* commaundement, in the third yeare of the emperour *Claudius*. The Spaniards and other authors write, That his Disciples gathering vp his bodie and head, imbarqued it at Iop-

pa,

A pa, and carried it into Spaine, for feare of the Iewes; and that they landed at a place called Iria Flauia, now Padron, where they buried it in a ſecret place, where ſince it was diſcouered, and carried to Compoſtella. In *Claudius* time liued *Pomponius Mela*, borne at Mellaria, and *Turanius Graccula*. *Anneus Seneca* of Cordoua, baniſhed by *Claudius*, was in fauour of *Agrippina* (whom the Emperour had newly married) called home againe, made Pretor at Rome, and appointed ſchoolemaſter and gouernor to *Nero*. This *Seneca* was a famous Orator and Philoſopher, as it appeares by his workes, highly honoured for his great memorie, and auditor to *Socion* the Philoſopher: *L. Anneus Seneca* the tragicall Poet was his ſonne. Then did alſo flouriſh *Portius Latro*, a Spaniard, an excellent Orator. Vnder the Emperour *Claudius*

B there gouerned Spaine, on this ſide Ebro, *Druſillanus Rotundus* his Libertine, with the title of Diſpenſer, and *Vmbonius Silio* ruled Betica.

The Spaniards opinion of S. Iames bodie.

In thoſe times, as *Buter* ſayes, *S. Saturnin* was ſent into Spaine, he who was afterwards Biſhop of Tolouſe, and preached at Pampelone, where in ſeuen daies he conuerted fortie thouſand perſons; a great number for that place: among the which was S. *Fremin*, a citizen of Pampelone.

Anno 61. *Otho a modeſt Gouernour in Spaine.*

In the yeare 61 of the natiuitie of Chriſt, *Otho* (who was Emperour after *Galba*) was ſent by *Nero* into Luſitania: which prouince hee gouerned tenne yeares modeſtly, and without oppreſſion of the people; the which was ſtrange, conſidering the diſpoſition of the man.

C In the yeare 64 *Lucan* the Poet, a confederat of *Piſos* conſpiracie, cauſed his veines to be opened, and died in the 28 yeare of his age. His father *Mela* preſſing *Nero* with great importunitie, for the reſtitution of his ſonnes goods, was accuſed as guiltie of the ſame treaſon, and forced to haue his veines opened, and ſo die. *Seneca* was brought to the ſame death by his diſciple *Nero*, againſt the promiſes which he had ſo often made and ſworne, not to giue eare to his accuſers, nor to hurt him in any ſort: Seeing the bloud come ſlowly out of his veines, he haſtened his owne death, with poyſon taken in a hot bath, the 114 yeare of his age, or according vnto ſome, the 120. *Paulina* his chaſt wife, and a rare preſident of loue to her husband, cauſed her veines to bee opened, to follow him: but whether through womaniſh weakeneſſe, or that *Nero* hindered it, ſhe ſuffered them to be bound vp. *L. Iunius Moderatus Columella* liued alſo in thoſe times, the author of the bookes of Husbandrie, borne in

24

The death of many learned Spaniards by Nero.

D Gades.

Anno 70.

In the yeare 70, which was the laſt of the life of *Nero*, *Silius Italicus* was Conſull at Rome, being borne in Italica, a towne in the prouince of Betica, not farre from Seuille: and at that time *Cluuius Rufus* was in Spaine with ſome commaund. The abhominable diſpoſition of *Nero* made the Spaniards and many other nations to rebell againſt the Romane Empire, a little before his death; for the ſuppreſſing of whom, he ſent *Sergius Galba*: but this old man (who had before time gouerned the prouince of Tarraconeſe eight yeares) hauing diſcouered, that *Nero* had giuen a ſecret Commiſſion to kill him, he declared himſelfe Emperour, and in ſtead of a judge, became head and captaine of the rebellion; whereunto both the Pro-

Galba ſent to ſuppreſſe rebels in Spaine.

E uince and the Romane armie did conſent: but his Empire laſted not long, nor of his two ſucceſſors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*: for in leſſe than two yeares they loſt both their liues and the the Empire; one defeating another, to make place for *Veſpaſian*, who came vnto the imperiall ſeat in the 72 yeare of the Natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt, and graunted vnto the Spaniards the priuiledges of the Latines, which were, That they might demaund offices, and enjoy ſome immunities, but not ſo amply as the citizens of Rome, yet ſomewhat more than the liberties of other cities of Italie. *Otho* was the firſt which joyned Mauritania Tingitania vnto Betica in Spaine, making it of the juriſdiction of Gades. At that time liued *Bellila*, a Spaniſh Chriſtian woman. *Fabius Quintilian* had beene brought vnto the citie of Rome verie young by *Sergius Galba*: about the 90 yeare he erected a ſchoole at Rome,

25

Ann. 72.

F with a publicke penſion, and had manie ſchollers; among the which, they name *Iuuenal* and the younger *Plinie*: As for *Iuuenal*, they doubt whether he were a Spaniard, but *Martial* without all queſtion was borne, and died at Bilbilis, ſeated neere vnto the place whereas now ſtands Calataiud or Calataiub, of the name of *Aiub* a Moore, who built it with the ruines of Bilbilis. *Canius* a Poet, who liued alſo in that age, was a Gaditane, and *Decian* of Emerita.

After

Anno 81. *Domitian the ſecond perſecutor of the church.*

After *Veſpaſian*, his children raigned at Rome. *Titus* in the yeare 81, and two yeares after *Domitian*, the ſecond ſcourge of the Church of God, in whoſe time liued *Eugenius*, the firſt biſhop of Toledo, Diſciple, as they ſay, to *Denis Areopagita*. This *Eugenius* was ſlaine at Paris, whither he was come to viſit his maſter. Of the Flauian familie, from whence theſe emperours were iſſued, there remained ſome markes and remembrances in Spaine, by the denomination of many townes, as Flauio Brigo, Flauium Brigantium, Iria Flauia, Flauium Axatitanum, Aquæ Flauiæ in Gallicia, &c.

A diuiſion of the gouernment of Spaine.

Domitian did prohibit by a new edict, That they ſhould not plant any more vines in Spain, fearing leaſt corne ſhould faile them. Vnder theſe Flauian emperours they number eight Romane Colonies, planted in the prouince of Betica: and foure places for juſtice, which they termed Colonels, at Gades, Seuille, Aſtigis, and Cordoua.

Luſitania had fiue Romane Colonies, one priuiledged citie called Oliſippo, and now Lisbone, and three ſeats of iuſtice at Emerita, Pax Auguſta, and Scalabis. In the reſt of Spain which was the quieteſt gouernment, there were fourteene Romane Colonies, thirteene priuiledged townes, and ſeuen courts for juſtice. At new Carthage, Tarracona, Sarragoſſa, Clunia, Aſturica, Lugo, and Bracara.

Anno 97. 26 *Traian a Spaniard the third perſecutor of the church.*

Cocceius Nerua came vnto the Empire in the yeare 97. a prince who ſeemed to be called by God, to repaire the confuſion which *Domitian* had cauſed in the world, vnder whom the Chriſtians had ſome reſt. The Spaniards will haue him to be of their nation, but it appeares not plainly. But he adopted *Vlpius Traian* a Spaniard without all doubt, borne in the towne of Italica, who through errour cauſed the third perſecution of the Church, whereof being admoniſhed by *Plinius Secundus*, he moderated his edicts. *Mancius* a citizen of Rome in this tempeſt ſuffered death for the confeſſion of the Chriſtian faith at Ebora in Luſitania, vnder the gouernment of *Validius*. By the liberalitie and bountie of *Traian*, Spaine was inriched with many goodly buildings, among the which is the bridge of Alcantara, vpon the riuer of Tayo, where at this day are to be ſeene theſe inſcriptions following.

The bridge of Alcantara Traians worke.

Imp. Cæſari Diui Neruæ F. Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacico. Pontif. Max. Trib. Potes. VIII. Imp. VI. Cos. V. P. P.

Vnder the Arch is in a Table on the one ſide,

Municipiæ.
Prouinciæ.
Luſitaniæ ſtipe conlata
Quæ opus Pontis perfecerunt.
Icæditani.
Lancienſes Oppidani.
Talori.
Interannienſes.
Colarni.
Lancienſes Tranſcudani.
Araui.
Meidubrigenſes.
Arabrigenſes.
Banienſes.
Pæſures.

There is place for three other ſuch like Tables, which haue beene taken away.

Ouer the dore of S. *Iulians* church, at the end of the bridge, is written that which followeth, in Romane capitall letters.

Imp. Neruæ. Traiano Cæſari. Auguſto. Germanico. Dacico. Sacrum.

Templum in rupe Tagi Superis & Cæſare plenum.
Ars vbi materia vincitur ipſa ſua.
Quis quali dederit voto fortaſſe requiret,
Cura viatorum quos noua fama iuuat.
Ingentem vaſta Pontem quod mole peregit,
Sacra litaturo fecit honore Lacer.
Qui Pontem fecit Lacer & noua Templa dicauit
Illic ſe ſolu Vota litant.

Pontem

Pontem perpetui manſurum in ſecula mundi
Fecit diuina nobilis arte Lacer.
Idem Romuleis Templum cum Cæſare Diuis
Conſtituit fælix vtraq; cauſa Sacri.

C. Iulius Lacer. H. S. F. & dedicauit amico
Curio Lacone Icæditano.

The aqueduct of Segobia, is alſo held to be *Traians* worke, where they may eaſily obſerue the ſtately manner of building of the Romanes. This emperour ſent two legions (of fourteene, which were appointed to keepe the prouinces of the empire in awe) into Spaine, to put his edicts in execution, and to raſe all the townes and caſtles which were ſituated vpon the mountaines or places of ſtrength: with commaundement to the people, to build in the open country, where the acceſſe was eaſie. Sublantia was ruined by vertue of this decree, and a towne built, which then was called Legio Germanica, or Gemina, according vnto ſome, but now it is Leon, a royall citie. Vnder *Traian Plinie* the yonger had charge in Spaine.

Edict to race the townes ſtanding in the mountains

The citie of Leon Built.

Adrian, who was emperour after *Traian*, in the yeare of our Sauiour 118, was alſo borne in the towne of Italica, in the prouince of Betica, as *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius* doe witneſſe. *Domitia Paulina* his mother, was of Gades. He had ſome inſtruction, or good opinion of the Chriſtian religion. Being at Tarracone (where he had called a generall aſſemblie of all the people of Spaine) he cauſed (at his owne charge) *Auguſtus* temple, which went to ruine, to be repaired. In which towne he was in danger to haue beene ſlaine by a ſlaue that was madde, who ſet vpon him with his ſword drawne, as he walked without any feare in a garden. This ſlaue being taken, when as the emperour vnderſtood that he was madde, he layd nothing, but that they muſt put him into the Phyſitians hands. Hauing ſubdued the Iewes which were rebelled in Paleſtina, he ſent a great number in exile into Spaine, ſo as from that time this ſect was ſetled there, & had their Synagogues, vntil the raigne of *Dom Fernando* and *D. Iſabella*, in the time of our forefathers. Spaine was then diuided into ſix gouernments, two ruled by vice-Conſuls appointed by the Senat, which were Betica and Luſitania; and foure by the emperors lieutenants, which were the prouinces of Carthagene, Tarracone, Gallicia, and Mauritania Tingitana, where the ſtrait is.

Anno 118.

A generous act of Adrian.

Adrian peoples Spaine with Iewes.

27

28 After the deceaſe of *Adrian*, there ſucceeded in the empire, in the yeare 139, *T. Aurelius Fuluius Antonius Pius*, whom the Spaniards hold to be of their nation. As for his ſucceſſor *M. Ælius Aurelius*, comming to the empire in the yeare 162, he was without doubt of a Spaniſh race; for his predeceſſors were of the towne of Succubite in Betica. Hee was the firſt which had a companion in the empire, imparting his authoritie with *Lucius Commodus Verus*, who was the fourth perſecutor in the Chriſtian Church. In the time of *M. Aurelius*, the Moores inuaded Spaine, and did infinit harme: whom notwithſtanding hee repulſed by his lieutenants, namely by *Seuerus*, who afterwards was emperour. This prince was wiſe, vertuous, and courteous: but as he was indowed with all good qualities, ſo his ſonne *Commodus*, who raigned after him in the yeare 181, was deteſtable and vicious. He was the firſt of the Romane princes, which through couetouſneſſe ſold offices for money. *Veſpaſian* had done it before him, but through neceſſitie, finding the commonweale charged with debts, and the treaſure exhauſted. Vnder *Commodus* were ſlaine in Gallicia, *Facundus* and *Primitius*, holy Chriſtian ſouldiours, vpon the bankes of the riuer Cea, by *Atticus* the gouernor. After him, about the yeare 194. Rome loſt two emperours in leſſe than a yeare, *Pertinax* and *Didius Iulian*, ſo as in the yeare 195, *L. Septimius Seuerus*, a great perſonage, borne in Africke, he who had gouerned Spaine in the time of *M. Aurelius*, tooke the gouernment of the empire. Vnder him was the fift perſecution of the Church, eſpecially in Spaine, whereas *Cornelius* was gouernor, who put *Felix* a prieſt, *Fortunatus*, and *Archilochus* to death at Valence, for that they had preached the Goſpell.

Anno 139.

29

L. Commodus Verus, a perſecutor of the Church.

Ann. 181.

Anno 195.

The fift perſecution vnder

Vnder his ſonne *Caracalla*, *Opilius Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander Seuerus*, who raigned from the yeare two hundred and thirteene, vnto two hundred thirtie and eight, the Spaniſh hiſtorie doth not furniſh any thing memorable, although thoſe times did not paſſe without great exploits, whereof there remaine ſome obſcure markes among the ſtones and medailles

dailles. At Gades there is the baſis of the image of *Mammea*, mother to *Alexander Seuerus*, G where this inſcription is to be ſeene.

Iuliæ Mammeæ. Aug. Matri. Impe. Cæſaris.
M. Aurely Seueri. Alexandri Pÿ. F. Aug.
M. Caſtrorum. Col. Iul. Gem. Accitana.
Deuot. Numini. M. Q. Eius.

But *Maximin* being come to the empire, the ſixt perſecution began of the Chriſtians, in the which *Maximus* and many other faithfull were ſlaine, neere vnto Tarracone. After *Maximin* H vnto *Decius*, the empire of Rome was in great combuſtion, by reaſon of the ordinary murthers of ſuch as did affect the ſoueraignetie, for the ſpace of fifteen yeres; in the which there periſhed by a violent death, *Maximin Balbinus, Puienus, Gordian*, and *Philip*: during which time we find
Anno 241. not any thing of Spaine worth the writing, but that about the yeare 241, *Antherus* biſhop of Rome did write vnto the biſhops of the prouinces of Betica and Toledo, admoniſhing them among other things to be graue and conſtant, and not to fleet from church to church, if neceſſitie and the publique good did not preſſe them: whereby it wil appeare by this hiſtory, that their ſucceſſors had ſmall regard vnto this aduertiſement, but haue rather ſought their priuat commoditie. Many other epiſtles of holy men are found written to the biſhops of Spaine, and to their churches, & among others an epiſtle decretall of S. *Ciprian* and other bi- I
Baſilides and Martiall condemned by the Councell of Africke. ſhops aſſembled at the Councell of Africk, by the which *Baſilides* and *Martiall*, Idolaters and infected with many vices, were declared vnworthie of all Epiſcopall dignities: and it ſeemes that the one was biſhop of Legio Gemina, and the other of Emerita. Whileſt that *Decius* gouerned the empire (vnder whom began the 7 perſecution of the Church) the firſt Councel of Spaine was held at Toledo, whereas *Xyſte* a Grecian was preſent, who ſoone after was biſhop of Rome: yet there is no mention made of this Councell but by Spaniards. The Spaniſh hiſtories write nothing of his time, nor of *Gallus, Voluſianus*, nor *Æmilianus*, which ſucceeded him.
Anno 256. As for *Valerian*, who came to the empire in the yeare 256, he was verie cruel againſt the Chri-
The eight perſecution vnder Valerian. ſtians, and his perſecution is accounted the eight. Vnder him and *Decius*, S. *Laurence* borne at Oſca in Catelognia, was martyred, whom *Xyſte*, who (as we haue ſaid) was come to the Coun- K cell of Toledo, had led with him to Rome, paſſing by Sarragoſſa, whereas this holy man ſpent his time in ſtudie. Vnder the ſame *Valerian*, by the commandement of *Emylian*, the gouernor, there were alſo put to death for the faith of Chriſt, *Fructuoſus* biſhop of Tarracone, with *Augurius* and *Eulogia*, two deacons, of whom *Prudentius*, a Chriſtian Poet, did write hymnes. *Parmenius* was alſo put to death at Cordoua. *Valerian* author of theſe wicked perſecutions, did ſoone after receiue a worthy reward for his impietie: for he was taken by *Sapor* king of Perſia, and kept all his life time ignominiouſly in chains, the which it ſeemes did moue *Galien* his ſon and companion, to leaue the Churches in quiet, although he were the moſt corrupted prince vpon the earth; whoſe baſeneſſe cauſed many tyrants to vſurpe the title of Soueraigne, in di- L
Saxons and French inuade Spaine, uers prouinces of the empire, and encouraged barbarous nations to inuade them: for in his time Spaine was full of great troups of Germans, Saxons, and French, vnder the conduct of *Anthaire* and *Lothaire*, princes, who ruined Tarracone, and ſpoyled the country, almoſt for the ſpace of 12 yeares. To the former martyres we will adde *Narciſſus*, who came to Girone to preach the Goſpell.

30 After *Galien*, *Claudius* was emperor, vpon whom *Tetricus* vſurped Spaine and Gaule,
The ninth perſecution vnder Aurelian. being the chiefe ſtrength and ſinewes of the empire. During the raigne of *Aurelian* (vnder whom was the ninth perſecution of the Church) and of *Tacitus* and *Florian*, which were from the yeare 273, vnto 280, there is no mention made of Spaine. But *Probus* gaue leaue to the Spaniards and Gaules, to plant vines: for good husbands held it not profitable for the com-
31 monweale, that the land ſhould be too much imploied to this kind of plant: but *Probus* was M much affected to it, and therefore he cauſed the mountaines of Almus and Aureus in Hungarie and Myſia, to be planted at his owne charge. In his time the Spaniards did mutine, but *Saturninus* did pacifie them. One called *Bonoſius*, borne and bred in Spaine, whoſe father was a Britan, and his mother a Gauloiſe, a great drinker, cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed emperour in Germanie, and with one *Proculus* would haue ſeized vpon Spaine, Gaule, and other prouin-

A prouinces: but they were defeated by *Probus*. The ſhort empire of *Carus Numerianus* and *Carinus*, make no mention of any thing that belongs to Spaine. *Diocleſianus Iouius*, who ſucceeded them in the yere 288, & *Maximianus Herculeius*, made companion of the ſame dignity the yere after, haue left (by their great crueltie againſt the faithful) an infamous memory of them, in Spain, & throughout all the world. They made an edict in the yere 306, That all the Chriſtians temples ſhould be beaten downe, and all thoſe that confeſſed Ieſus Chriſt, tormented and maſſacred. This was the 10 & the cruelleſt perſecution of the Church of God: for during the ſpace of 10 yeres, there was nothing to be ſeene but burning of temples, running away of poore innocents, murthers, and executions of martyres, wherof Spaine (it may be) did furniſh

B as many as any nation in the world, to their great commendation. The names of theſe conſtant witneſſes of the truth of Chriſt, ſhould not be ſuppreſt. In Sarragoſſe there were 18 at one time, of whom the Chriſtian Poet *Prudentius* made a goodly hymne. Theſe were *Optatus, Succeſſus, Vrbanus, Pubius, Felix, Euentius, Lupercus, Martialis, Iulius, Fronto, Cæcilianus, Primitiuus, Quintilianus, Apodemius*, and foure *Saturnines*. *Encratia* a noble virgine, daughter to a great nobleman of Luſitania, betrothed to a duke or gouernour of Gaule Narbonoiſe, did there alſo end this fugitiue life. *Dacian* was then Gouernour of Spaine, and a diligent miniſter of theſe impieties; who reſiding at Sarragoſſe, and ſeeing the conſtancie of the Chriſtians to ſurpaſſe his inhumanitie, he cauſed a proclamation to be made by the ſound of the trumpet, that all thoſe that were Chriſtians ſhould depart the towne, and haue leaue to retire where they

C pleaſed. The faithfull being joyfull hereof, went forth in great troups, thanking God for this libertie, thinking they would ſuffer them to depart: but they were not gone farre from the gates, before they were compaſſed in by armed ſouldiours, and cut in peeces. The multitude of thoſe that were thus villanouſly murthered, was verie great, and therefore in thoſe dayes the Chriſtians by a certaine humane affection, more than for any religion, made account of the aſhes, bones, and all things which did belong vnto thoſe holy martyres, and did reuerence the places where they had frequented, or were buried: not for any ſuperſtition, but to incite the liuing to imitate their pietie. This cruell Gouernour hauing committed this horrible maſſacre, ſought alſo to depriue the faithful ſeruants (if any remained in the countrey) of all comfort: Wherefore hauing gathered all their bodies together, and murthered vpon

D them all the offendors, which were committed for any crimes, he burnt them all together, that the aſhes (being thus mingled) ſhould not be gathered vp by the Chriſtians: whereupon the bruit was, That God (meaning to giue a teſtimonie of the innocencie of his people) made the aſhes of the faithful to appeare verie white among the reſt, the which, with a ſmall ſhewer which fell, were gathered together in white heapes: whereof thoſe which haue come after, being moued with another zeale than the Chriſtians of thoſe times, haue made their profit. *Lambert* ſeruing a countrey man, was alſo beheaded, for that he would not renounce Ieſus Chriſt. The bruit was, That hauing taken his head in his hands, he went two good leagues, vntil he came vnto the place where the bodies of the martyres aboue mentioned lay, and that there he began to ſing, *Exultabunt ſancti in gloria*, and that they anſwered, *Et letabuntur in cubi-*

E *libus ſuis*; and then he fell vpon them: the which I will not call into queſtion, conſidering the end of myracles. There were many others put to death in Spaine, for the profeſſion of the Goſpell, during the gouernment of *Dacian*, whoſe names for breuities ſake I omit, being not much pertinent to a hiſtorie. *Dacian*, a bloudie inſtrument of theſe cruelties, was during theſe executions ſlaine with fire from heauen. The like perſecutions were in the other prouinces of the empire.

At this time liued *Prudentius*, borne in the prouince of Cantabria, of the countrey which is now called Alaba: he was biſhop of Tarracone, and not the Poet aboue mentioned. There is a decretall epiſtle extant of *Melchiades* biſhop of Rome, who liued in thoſe times, vnto the biſhops of Spaine, touching the Primacie of the Romane Sea: but it ſauours not of

F the Latine ſtile of that age, no more than thoſe of *Marcelin, Marcellus, Euſebius, Syluеſter, Marc, Iulius, Liberius, Damaſus*, and *Syricius*: which muſt bee read with judgement. As for the politique Artes of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, although they were great, and worthie of memorie, yet the hiſtories of Spaine make no mention of them. They receiued into their companie to gouerne the empire, *Maximus Galerius*, and *Conſtantius Chlorus*: the laſt in a good time tooke vpon him the gouernment of Spaine and Gaule, who dying

Anno 288.

Ann. 306.

Edict to ruine the Chriſtian churches.

The tenth perſecution.

Martyres at Sarragoſſe.

From a humane affection of the antient Chriſtians, is grown the ſuperſtition, which in the end is become impious.

The wicked end of Dacian the perſecutor.

in England, left the dignitie of *Cæſar* to *Conſtantine* his ſonne, who learned the firſt principles of religion, of a certaine Spaniard, as ſome write. *Galerius* adopted *Seuerus*, and *Maximian* the young. At the ſame time *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* reſigned the imperiall dignitie at Milan: but *Maximian* repenting himſelfe, as he did ſtriue to reſume his authoritie at Rome, being reiected by his ſonne *Maxence* and the Pretorian ſouldiors, he fled towards his ſon in law *Conſtantine*, againſt whom he practiſed treaſon, and was ſlaine at Marſeilles. *Diocleſian* a ſtrange monſter, who cauſed himſelfe to be called, Brother to the Sunne and Moone, and to bee worſhipped, liued long a priuat life: but God ſhewed a teſtimonie of his wrath vpon him in the end of his dayes; for he died madde, eaten with vermine, and ſo infected and ſtinking, as none could endure to come neere him, howling (as *Nicephorus* writes) like a dog. *Galerius* ſlew himſelfe, as cruell as a butcher; for ſo he had beene from his youth. *Seuerus* was ſlaine by the faction of *Maxence*, whom the Pretorians had created *Cæſar*. *Maximian* the younger died eaten with wormes, hauing beene vanquiſhed neere vnto Tharſe, by *Licinius*, whom *Conſtantine* had ſent againſt him. *Maxence*, a cruel tyrant, and therefore hated of the Romans, as he thought to make head againſt *Conſtantine*, was defeated in battel neere vnto Rome, and drowned himſelf in the riuer of Tiber: all cruell and bloudie princes, enemies to the Church of God, remarkable for ſuch as perſecute it. After theſe, *Licinius* and *Conſtantine* held the empire, the one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt. But *Licinius* who had maried *Conſtantines* ſiſter, a cruell and barbarous man, an enemie to Chriſtians and all learning, tearming them a plague to the commonweale, hauing no good thing in him, but that he perſecuted the courtiſans, whom he tearmed mice, ſought to breake the order made betwixt him and *Conſtantine*: wherefore after that he had beene ſuppreſt aboue once, and reconciled to his brother in law, by the meanes of his wife *Conſtance*, he was ſlaine by his commaundement at Theſſalonica; ſo as *Conſtantine* called the Great, remained ſole emperor, who gaue peace vnto the Churches, much deſired, and (if they could haue vſed it to the aduancement thereof) moſt happie. This prince did great honour vnto the Chriſtians, imbraced the true religion, endowed the churches with rents and riches, cauſed the Gentiles temples to be beaten downe in many places, aſſembled by his imperiall authoritie the Councell of Nice in Bithinia, in the yeare 326, or 328, where there met 318 biſhops of diuers countries; among the which was *Oſius* biſhop of Cordoua, who was alſo at the Councell of Gangre, celebrated the ſame yeare. That of Nice is held the firſt generall Councell, where the impietie of the Arrians was condemned, the which notwithſtanding did afterwards infect many nations. That *Conſtantine* made a donation of the citie of Rome, of Italie, and of all the Weſterne empire, vnto *Silueſter* then biſhop of Rome, or that he had declared him head and primat ouer other biſhops, and granted vnto him and his ſucceſſors, other things conteined in that which is called *Conſtantines* donation, beſides, that Pope *Pius* the ſecond doth jeaſt at it, there is no receiuable teſtimonie therof, nor any probable conjecture: beſides, the hiſtories of following emperors, do argue the contrarie, euen they of the Weſt. In the time of this emperor the Northerne nations inuaded Spaine, and ſpoiled that part of the countrey which lies neere the Ocean, from Gallicia vnto the ſtrait: whither he led a great army, chaſed away the enemies, & reſtored the Spaniards (which were fled into mountaines) vnto their houſes, and ſetled an order in the prouince, as well for that wich concerned the temporaltie, as the churches. There was a prouinciall Councell held by his commaundement at Illiberis, at the foot of the Pyrenees, ſome call it Eliberis, a towne in the marches of Grenado: whither came *Helena* the mother of *Conſtantine*, with *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſonne, to whom he had aſſigned the Gauls and Spaine, for his portion. In this Councell Spaine was diuided into fiue prouinces; that is, that of Tarracone, Carthagene, Betica, Luſitania, and Gallicia, in either of the which there was a Metropolitan appointed at Tarracone, new Carthage (to whom Toledo hath ſince ſucceeded) at Seuille, at Merida, and at Bracara. Some hold, that this Councell was more antient than that of Nice, among which *Beuter* affirmes, That *Conſcius* biſhop of Cordoua, *Oſius* predeceſſor, was there preſent: others ſay, that it was *Oſius* himſelfe, & *Quintian* biſhop of Ebora. Some beleeue that the emperor *Conſtantine* was not baptized vntil he drew neer his death, being deceiued by the error of ſome, which beleeued that the circumſtance of places gaue more authority to baptiſme: for he had a great deſire to be baptized in Iordan. Many thought, that in the end of his daies he fel into the hereſie of the Arrians, for that he had baniſht *Athanaſius* by the perſuaſion of the Arrians, & that his ſiſter *Conſtance*

The miſerable end of tyrants.

Licinius an enemie to learning.

33 *Conſtantine a good prince.*

Anno 326.

Nice the firſt generall Councell

A falſe donation fathered vpon Conſtantine.

Illiberis where Cordubre was built.

Spaine vnder Conſtantine diuided into fiue prouinces.

liuing

A liuing with him was an Arrian: but it is moſt certaine, that before his death he commaunded that *Athanaſius* ſhould be called home againe, and that he did not beleeue the confeſſion of faith, nor the expoſition made by *Arrius*, after that he had called him from baniſhment, but ſent it to the Councell of Ieruſalem, there to be examined. Of *Conſtantines* deeds in Spaine there are many medailles found in that countrey, and elſewhere, in our time, that beare witneſſe. After him there raigned in the Weſt *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, his ſonnes, the Eaſt remaining to *Conſtantius* their brother. To *Conſtantine* was aſſigned Spaine, Gaule, and the iſlands of Britaine, or that which the Romanes held there. But *Conſtantine* being a proud and turbulent prince, he would make warre againſt his brother *Conſtans*, and take Italie from

Conſtantine the yong had Spaine and other prouinces for his portion.

B him: in which enterpriſe he was ſlaine neere vnto Aquilea, in the 25 yeare of his age: wherefore all the prouinces of his portion fell vnto *Conſtans*: in whoſe time the Poet *Aurelius Prudentius Clement* was borne at Sarragoſſa, or rather at Calaorra: *Pacian* biſhop of Barcellona flouriſhed in doctrine and good life.

The repeale of *Arrius*, granted by *Conſtantine* the great, had cauſed greater troubles in the Church than before: for being returned into Alexandria, he had confirmed his doctrine, and drawne many biſhops vnto him; yea the emperour *Conſtantius*, who held the empire in the Eaſt, was infected with this errour, and did perſecute the faithfull beleeuers: ſo as *Athanaſius* being baniſhed againe by him, and *Paul* of Conſtantinople, who retired to *Conſtans* his brother, they wrought ſo, as by the conſent of the two brethren princes, a generall Coun-

C cell was called at Sardica, a towne in Illiria; whither came two hundred and fiftie biſhops, among the which was *Oſius* biſhop of Cordoua, who was then verie old, *Annianus* of Caſtulo, *Coſtus* of Sarragoſſa, *Domitian* of Auguſta (that is to ſay, Bracar) *Florentine* of Emerita, and *Pretextatus* biſhop of Barcellona. There the confeſſion of the faith, or Symbole of the Councell of Nice, was confirmed: But at the ſame time by reaſon of the bad agreement which was betwixt the two brethren *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*, there was another aſſemblie of the Eaſterne biſhops at Philipopolis in Thracia, who agreed not with any that held with *Athanaſius* and *Paul*. And after that there was another held at Syrmium im Hungarie (whither *Conſtantius* went in perſon) and others elſewhere. The Councell of Sardica being ended, *Conſtans* entreated his brother *Conſtantius*, to reſtore *Athanaſius*: the which he did, partly for

The Councell of Sardica.

Councell of Syrmium.

D loue, and partly for feare of warre: But *Conſtans* being dead, *Athanaſius* was forced to ſaue himſelfe by flight, being accuſed to haue perſuaded *Conſtans* to make warre againſt his brother for his ſake: and then the Arrian biſhops began to perſecute them that made profeſſion of *Athanaſius* his doctrine, more cruelly than the Diocleſians or Maximians. The Councell of Syrmium, contrarie to that of Nice, was held in the yeare three hundred and threeſcore, or three hundred fiftie and ſix, according vnto ſome, whereas many wicked decrees were made and maintained, eſpecially by *Photinus*, biſhop of that place, who reuiued the blaſphemies of *Samoſatenus*, denying the two natures in Ieſus Chriſt, borne of the virgine *Marie*.

Arrians perſecute the faithfull.

Anno 360.

This Councell, to ſuppreſſe all controuerſies, would diſguiſe the tearmes and manner of

E ſpeaking, receiued in the Church; and in ſtead of ſaying, That Ieſus Chriſt was coeſſentiall with the Father, or of the ſame eſſence, they propounded the tearme of Like in eſſence: Which two words in the Greeke tongue, doe ſomewhat ſymbolize, ὁμοιούσιος and ὁμοούσιος. By this diſguiſing, vnder which the poyſon lay hidden, the good old man *Oſius* the Spaniard, hauing conſtantly maintained the truth all his life time, ſuffered himſelfe to be deceiued and woon: whether that his great age had dulled his vnderſtanding, or that he did it for feare of the emperour, who examined him vpon that point, and threatned him in the towne of Rimini, where hee had againe aſſembled many biſhops, cauſing him to commit this errour; ſaying, That both the one and the other ſaid well. But the Orthodoxes did ſoone after reject that word of ὁμοιούσιος, as captious and deceitfull. *Oſius*, as *Iſidore* writes, dyed ſoone

The error of Oſius.

F after in his impietie, ſtrucken with the hand of God, in his biſhoprick: and that being brought to Cordoua, *Gregorie* biſhop of Illiberis, according to the Edict made by *Conſtantius* the emperor, againſt the Chriſtians, to force them to the Arrians opinion, he refuſing to yeeld vnto it, *Oſius* preſt *Clementine* Gouernour of the prouince, to baniſh him: but he anſwered, That he could not baniſh a biſhop before he was depoſed from his biſhopricke, and judged incapable. Whereupon *Oſius* richly attyred like a king, meaning to giue ſentence againſt *Gregorie*, who

The magiſtrat did not meddle with clergie men, before they were degraded.

lay proſtrate vpon the earth, praying vnto God, that he would maintaine the glorie of his G
name, and his truth, againſt all Apoſtats: the which he demaunded earneſtly, not to ſaue his life, the which he was readie to looſe a thouſand times for the confeſſion of the faith, but to the end the ſimple ſhould not be abuſed with the deceits of the Apoſtat *Oſius*. Wherupon it happened, that as *Oſius* was readie to pronounce ſentence againſt *Gregorie*, he ſunke downe to the ground, hauing his mouth and necke drawne on the one ſide, and ſo dyed. The Gouernor amazed at this ſtrange accident, kneeling downe, asked *Gregorie* forgiueneſſe, confeſſing his ignorance, and excuſing it vpon the commaundement of the emperour his prince. Theſe things are written by *Iſidorus*: but S. *Auguſtine* giues a better teſtimonie of *Oſius*, writing againſt *Parmenian*. H

Oſius ſtrucken with the hand of God, dyeth.

Anno 369. In the yeare of our redemption 369, there came vnto the biſhopricke of Rome, which was not yet ſoueraigne, *Damaſus* a Spaniard, borne at Vimaranes, a place in Portugall, betwixt Minio and Duero, three leagues from Braga: he ſucceeded *Felix*, who was an Arrian, and therefore not numbred in the catalogue of the Biſhops of Rome; for that they would make this ſea without all blemiſh. Among his other qualities, they ſay, he was a good Poet: Saint *Ieroſme* was his Secretarie. During the time of *Conſtantines* children, *Iuuencus*, a Spaniſh prieſt, and Poet, liued. *Conſtantius* the emperour was alreadie dead, with *Iulian* and *Iouinian* his ſucceſſours, of whom Spaine hath nothing to ſpeake. And then did *Valentinian* raigne in the Weſt, and *Valens* in the Eaſt. Vnder *Valens* the Gothes chaſed by the Dacians, inuaded the Romane empire, whereas at the firſt they were receiued in peace: but the couetouſneſſe and wickedneſſe of Gouernours made them take armes, ſo as there grew a ſharp warre, in the which the emperour *Valens* himſelfe was ſlaine. This nation did erect a kingdome in Spaine, whoſe race, according to the common opinion, hath continued vnto this day. The emperour *Valens* was addicted to the Arrian hereſie, to Negromancie, and other impieties. We read, that being carefull who ſhould ſucceed him in the empire, he was deceiued by the enemie of mankind, a murtherer from the beginning, who ſhewed him the letters Θ E. O Δ and perſuaded him, that his name that ſhould hold the empire after him, ſhould begin with them: Whereof the emperour growing jealous, he cauſed all the *Theodores*, *Theodoſes*, *Theophiles*, and others, whoſe names were compounded of *Theos*, to be ſlaine. But *Theodoſius*, who ſucceeded him, a Spaniard borne, fell not into his hands. Hee was adopted K
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The Gothes inuade the Romane empire.

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lay proſtrate vpon the earth, praying vnto God, that he would maintaine the glorie of his G
name, and his truth, againſt all Apoſtats: the which he demaunded earneſtly, not to ſaue
his life, the which he was readie to looſe a thouſand times for the confeſſion of the faith,
but to the end the ſimple ſhould not be abuſed with the deceits of the Apoſtat *Oſius*. Wher-
upon it happened, that as *Oſius* was readie to pronounce ſentence againſt *Gregorie*, he ſunke
Oſius ſtricken with the hand of God, dyeth. downe to the ground, hauing his mouth and necke drawne on the one ſide, and ſo dyed. The
Gouernor amazed at this ſtrange accident, kneeling downe, asked *Gregorie* forgiuenеſſe, con-
feſſing his ignorance, and excuſing it vpon the commaundement of the emperour his prince.
Theſe things are written by *Iſidorus*: but S. *Auguſtine* giues a better teſtimonie of *Oſius*, wri-
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26 Ricared

26 Ricared *the fifteenth king: abiuration of the Arrian hereſie at the third Councell of Toledo: re-* G
formation of the Gothicke lawes.
27 Luiba *the ſecond of that name, ſixteenth king, cruell, his death.*
28 Vuiteric *the ſeuentеenth king, a tyrant.*
29 Gundamyr *the eighteenth king.*
30 Sizebut *the nineteenth king.*
31 Suintilla *the twentieth king, depoſed for his vices.*
32 Sizenand *the one and twentieth king: the fourth Councell of Toledo.*
33 Cinthilla *the two and twentieth king: and the fift and ſixt Councels of Toledo.*
34 Tulba *the three and twentieth king.* H
35 Cindaſuinthe *the foure and twentieth king, vnder whom was the ſeuenth Councell of Toledo.*
36 Receſuinthe *the fiue and twentieth king: and the ninth and tenth Councels of Toledo.*
37 Bamba *the ſix and twentieth king: rebellion of* Paule *and others in Gothike Gaule, and their pu-*
niſhment.
38 *The eleuenth Councell of Toledo vnder him, and ſome decrees.*
39 Eringe *the ſeuen and twentieth king, and vnder him the twelfth, thirteenth, and foureteenth*
Councels of Toledo.
40 Egica *the eight and twentieth king, vnder whom were the fifteenth, ſixteenth, and ſeuenteenth*
Councels of Toledo.
41 Vitiza *the nine and twentieth king, cruell and infamous: the eighteenth Councell at Toledo.* I
42 Roderic *the thirtieth and laſt king of Gothes in Spaine, his vices: inuaſion of Spaine by the*
Moores and Arabians, and the end of the Gothes reigne.
43 *A Catalogue of the auncient Biſhops of Spaine.*

BEing to treat of the Gothes kingdome in Spaine, it is fit to know from what region they are come, and by what accidents they firſt ſeated themſelues in Spaine, *Honorius* ſonne to *Theodoſius* the Great then reigning in the Weſt.

The Gothes come out of Aſia into Europe.

1 The Gothes are iſſued from the Getes, and their firſt beginning was in Aſia: they paſſed into Europe long before, and did firſt ſeize vpon K
the higher countrey of Thrace and Myſia, which is at this day Bulgaria, Boſna, Raſcia, Seruia, and, it may be, a part of Hungarie; and in the end they came to either banke of the riuer of Danube: and then by degrees peopling all that lyes betwixt that riuer and the Northerne ſhore of the Baltike ſea, they did in the end hold all that continent, which extends it ſelfe in manner of an iſland in the boſome thereof, with all the neighbour iſlands.

Gothes, Getes, & Gepides, all one nation.

They were famous for a long time in Dacia, in thoſe regions which wee now call Valachia, Tranſyluania, and Moldauia, where they were called Getes and Gepides. In the times of *Alexander* the Great there were certaine encounters betwixt the Grecians and the Gothes, not farre from the iſland of Peuce, aboue Conſtantinople, at the mouths of Danube, or Iſter, as they called it in that place. *Syrmius* reigned ouer that nation at that time. We read alſo, L
That *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexanders* ſucceſſors, was vanquiſhed in battaile, and taken by a king of the Gothes, whom hee afterwards ſet freely at libertie, and married his daughter. After which, in tract of time other nations being mingled with them, thoſe which did inhabite the great Peninſule, which the auncients called Scandia and Scandinauia (yet little knowne to them) retained the name of Gothes and the language; the which, as ſome affirme, was like vnto that of the Celtes: others hold, That it was the Teuton or Dutch tongue: which languages being corrupted, differ much at this day from thoſe times, when they were in their greateſt puritie. From theſe Northerne regions, which containe at this day the realmes of Suethland and Denmarke, often and vpon diuers occaſions there came great troupes of people, who tooke poſſeſſion againe of the countries joyning to the Venedique or Baltike ſea, M
and of the iſlands thereof, chaſing away the inhabitants; and aduauncing into the maine land, they did repoſſeſſe Dacia and Myſia, and ouerrun the higher Thrace, vnder *Filymer*, ſonne to *Gandaric*, who was the fift king after this returne. In theſe countries they planted their bounds vpon the Danube, and there reigned ſome ages: they did encreaſe their fame with great victories, and did giue their name to many nations whom they ſubjected. They inuaded the Ro-

The Gothiſh tongue.

mane

A mane Empire in the time of *Decius*, vnder the conduct of their king *Gtua*, and did vanquiſh the Romanes in a great battaile, whereas *Decius* and his ſonne were ſlaine: after which, by many victories they made themſelues fearefull to the Romans, ſo as the Emperous were often glad to haue them for friends and companions in arms; and by the vertue and valor of their troups, which they entertained, did often execute great matters.

About the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, *Hermanaric* reigned ouer the Gothes, who vanquiſhed many nations: who notwithſtanding yeelded to the force of the Hunnes, fathers to the Hungarians, who came at that time out of Aſia into Europe, in great numbers, through the fennes of Meotides. *Hermanaric* being dead, and *Vithimir* his ſucceſſor ſlaine in battaile, *The Huns chaſe the Gothes out of their conqueſts.*

B the Gothes eſtate was ouerthrowne, and troden vnder foot by the Hunnes: wherefore ſuch as would not liue vnder the Conquerors ſubjection, retyred themſelues into diuers other countries. *Athanaric*, who had ſhewed himſelfe an enemie to *Valens*, in ſupporting *Procopius* his rebell, would not truſt him, and therefore he tooke his courſe towards the North, and did inhabite with his troupes in the forreſts of Sarmatia. But *Fritigerne* and *Alauin* being followed with a great number of Gothes, came vnto the bankes of Danube, vpon the confines of the Empire, where deſiring to be admitted to dwell with the other ſubjects, *Valens* conſented, ſuppoſing that they ſhould ſerue as a rampier againſt forraine nations, that would inuade the empire on that ſide.

Then there arriued vpon the ſame marches *Vitheric*, ſonne to *Vithimir*, with his tutors *Alathee* and *Safrax*, and alſo *Farnabe*, conductors of other great troupes. Then did the Romans be- *Diſtinction of the Eaſt and Weſt Gothes.*

C gin to diſtinguiſh theſe people, into Oſtrogoths or Eaſt Goths, and Viſigoths or Weſt Goths: calling thoſe which did remaine vnder the domination of the Hunnes, Oſtrogoths; and thoſe Viſigots which had paſſed the Danube, and dwelt in Hungarie, Myſia, and Thracia: the which diſtinction was ancient among them, according to their countries and abodes, and was againe practiſed in Italie, Gaule, and Spaine, when as this nation had erected kingdomes there; whereof the princes were diuided into two families or factions: that is, the *Hymels* or *Amales*, and the *Baltes*.

2 The name of Ieſus Chriſt had beene many yeares preached among this nation, before *Chriſtian religion among the Gothes.*

D the Emperour *Valens* time: for we read, That at the Councell of Nice, which was vnder *Conſtantine* the Great, among others, there came *Theophilus* a Biſhop of the Gothes: wherefore they were alreadie Chriſtians and Orthodoxes, although there were ſome idolatrous princes among them, and by conſequence, part of the people: ſo as when they came vpon the territories of the Empire, *Valens* reigning in the Eaſt, they had Biſhops, whereof the moſt famous was *Vulphilas*.

The manner how they became Arrians, is reported by *Theodorite*, in the fourth booke of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, ſaying, That after the Gothes had paſſed the riuer of Iſter or Danube, and that they had made their peace with *Valens*, *Eudoxus* who was an Arrian, perſuaded *Valens*, who was alſo infected with this hereſie, to draw the Gothes to his opinions, for that conformitie in religion would make the peace more firme. Wherewith *Valens* hauing acquainted the *Gothes made Arrians by the Romanes.*

E princes & heads of the Gothike nation, they made anſwer, That they could not chãge the doctrine of their anceſtors. Then *Eudoxus* addreſſing himſelfe to *Vulphilas*, whom he knew to be couetous and ambitious, he preuailed ſo with faire words & money, as he got him to perſuade the Gothes to receiue the Emperors confeſſion of faith: the which he did, ſaying, That they were but childiſh contentions, and debates for words, and not for doctrine: for this *Vulphilas* *Docilitie of the Gothike nation.*

was in great credit with the Goths, and they ſay, that he inuented the Gothike letters, and tranſlated the Bible into that tongue. Thus were theſe people gouerned by their Biſhops and Prelates: they were a free people and couragious, and withall, tractable and apt to learning and Philoſophie, the which they learned, frequenting with more ciuile nations: hardie and valiant, and yet familiar and liberall; apt to arms, tall and of a goodly ſtature, ſtrong and patient to en-

F dure all the diſcommodities of warre.

This new nation being ſeated in the territories of the Empire, the Emperor was aduiſed to make his profit of them, and to draw money and other commodities from them for their dwellings, and for the vſe of the land, water, and ayre which he graunted them; the which he could well put in practiſe, eſpecially his gouernors & lieutenants, ſo as this nation found themſelues in a ſhort time oppreſſed with a harder ſeruitude vnder the Romane Empire, than their coun- *The cruelties, auarice, and infidelitie of Valens and his lieutenants againſt the Gothes.*

trymen

treymen were vnder the Hunnes: For the Gothes being diſtreſſed for victuals, *Lupicin* and G
Maximus Gouernours of Thrace, inuented all the wicked deuices they could to make them poore, and to ſtrip them of that they had, making them to eat dogs and other beaſts, for euery one of which they were forced to giue a man to be a ſlaue. Beſides *Lupicin* hauing cauſed *Fritigerne* and *Alauin*, captains of the Gothes, to come to Martianopolis, to conferre with them vpon the complaints which were made of theſe inhumanities, hee incenſed them with proud and injurious words: ſo as hauing cunningly eſcaped out of his hands, they afterwards declared themſelues enemies to the Romane Empire, ſo as there grew a great and cruell warre betwixt the Gothes and the Romanes; by the which the Emperour and his lieutenants were puniſhed for their couetouſneſſe and impieties: *Lupicin* ſeeking to ſuppreſſe the ſpoyles which H
the Goths made, was defeated, and in the end after many vnfortunat encounters betwixt both parties, the Emperour *Valens* hauing loſt a battaile, where the beſt of his men died, he alſo loſt his life, being burnt by the Gothes in a country houſe, into the which he was retired wounded, after the loſſe of the battaile: and without the valour and wiſdome of *Theodoſius* (whom God raiſed vp to ſucceed *Valens* in the Eaſt) the Gothes had rooted out the name of the Romanes in that countrey. But *Theodoſius* a Spaniard, a wiſe and vertuous prince, did ſuppreſſe them, and afterwards made a peace with them: ſo as after the death of *Fritigerne*, his ſucceſſor *Athanaric*, a friend and well affected to the Romane Empire, died in *Theodoſius* court: after which, the Gothes remained 14 yeares quietly vnder the Romane Emperours, without any king of their nation, vntill that *Alaric*, one of their captaines, who had ſerued *Theodoſius* in his warres I
againſt *Eugenius* the tyrant, rebelled, and put the Gothes in armes, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, ſonnes to *Theodoſius*, ſitting in the imperiall ſeat.

Defeat of the Emperor Valens armie, and his miſerable end.

Theodoſius a good Prince.

Alaric chiefe of the Gothes.

3 The Gothes diſdaining to be any more ſubject to the Romanes, and meaning to chuſe a king of their owne, there grew a ſedition and warre among themſelues; ſome deſiring *Alaric*, others *Radagaſe*: but *Alaric* had the ſoueraignetie. Wherfore *Radagaſe* with aboue two hundred thouſand of that nation went into Italie, whileſt that *Alaric* oppreſt Hungarie; againſt whom *Stilico*, who gouerned the Weſterne Empire vnder *Honorius*, oppoſed himſelfe: and finding this armie of Gothes ſhut vp in the Appenine hils, bordering vpon Tuſcane, it was conſumed with hunger and pouertie: their leader *Radagaſe* was taken and ſtrangled, and thoſe which remained, were ſold in great troupes, for ſlaues, at a ſmall rate. This *Radagaſe* was an idolatrer, K
and would haue planted idolatrie againe in Italie. It was at ſuch a ſeaſon, when as the Romane Empire was in greateſt combuſtion, eſpecially in the Weſt: for beſides the inuaſion of the Gothes in Italie, the Frenchmen, a people of Germanie, bordering vpon Gaule, ſought to make a breach there, and entred in great troupes vpon the countrey adjoyning vpon the riuer of Rhene: againſt whom, *Stilico* (who was a Henete or Sclauonian borne) meaning to fortifie himſelfe with barbarous nations) called into Gaule the Bourguignons, Sueues, Alanes, and Vandales, nations which were chaſed out of their countries, on the one ſide by the Hunnes, and on the other by the Gothes: who afterwards raunged and ſpoyled Gaule themſelues, and would haue ſeized thereon; for the which they had many encounters with the Emperours Lieutenants, with variable ſucceſſe. Great was the ver- L
tue and valour then of *Conſtantius Patricius*, who gouerned Gaule Narbonoiſe, the which wee now call by the name of Prouence and Languedoc, by whom the Vandales were repulſed, and forced to paſſe into Spaine; where for a time they did ouerrun the countrey, and being afterwards followed by the Alanes and Sueues, they ſought to ſettle themſelues there. *Gunderic* reigned ouer the Vandales, *Hermeric* ouer the Sueues, and the Alanes were commaunded by *Reſplandian* or *Atace*, according vnto ſome. Theſe diuided Spaine betwixt them: ſo as the Alanes ſhould make warre in the countrey of Carthagene, and in part of Portugall or Luſitania, as it was then called: part of the Vandales, called Silinges, ſhould conquer Betica, called ſince Andaluſia: and the other Vandales, with the Sueues, ſhould ſettle in Gallicia. M

Radagaſe ſlain, and his armie of Gothes ruined.

The French inuade Gaule.

The Barbarians diuide the conqueſt of Spaine betwixt them.

Alaric paſſeth into Italie.

4 After the defeat of *Radagaſe*, *Alaric* marched into Italie with a great armie, and demaunded to diuide the Empire with *Honorius*; to whom by the counſell of *Stilico*, *Honorius* graunted the poſſeſſion of Gaule and Spaine, who were alſo in prey to the French and other nations. *Alaric* and the Gothes marching towards the Alpes, doubting no ſurprize, were charged by an armie which *Stilico* had ſent after them, to keepe them from ſpoyling Italie,

A Italie, vnder the commaund of a Iew called *Saule*, who had a ſecret commaundement to ſet vpon the Gothes armie, when they ſhould be moſt buſied in the ſtraits of the mountaines; the which hee could not put in execution: for the Gothes ſeeing themſelues betrayed, gathered their forces together, and put themſelues in battaile as well as they could, defending themſelues ſo valiantly, as the imperiall armie was defeated: wherefore *Alaric* being victor, and full of a furious deſire of reuenge, leauing the way to Gaule, he turned backe, and did miſerably ſpoyle the countries, which were ſince called Lumbardie, Tuſcane, and Romania, putting all to fire and ſword, euen to the gates of Rome; the which he tooke after a long ſiege, and ſacked it, pardoning the holy places, and thoſe that were fled into them. From thence hee B did ouerrun Italie, euen vnto the furtheſt bounds: then returning towards Rome, he died ſuddainely neere vnto Coſence, and was buried in the riuer of Barſente, turned out of her courſe for that cauſe, and afterwards drawne againe into her old bed by the Gothes: who after his death made choice of *Ataulphe*, his couſin, for their king, being a very wiſe man. Hauing brought backe the armie to Rome, he ſpoyled all that remained of the firſt ſacke: yet he was ſomewhat pacified by the loue of *Placidia Galla*, ſiſter to the Emperour *Honorius*, being priſoner; whom by reaſon of her nobilitie and beautie, he married at Forly in Romania. From that time hauing ſome reſpect to *Honorius*, as his allie, he reſolued to leaue Italie, and take his way into Gaule, according to the firſt agreement betwixt *Honorius* and *Alaric*; where hee erected the kingdome of the Viſigothes, reſtrained the French within certaine limits, and helped to C chaſe away the reſt of the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, beyond the Pyrenees, where he afterwards purſued them.

5 *Trecherie of Stilico and defeat of the imperiall army.*

Rome taken by the Gothes.

The death of Alaric.

Ataulphe Alarics ſucceſſors pacified by Placidia.

A little before theſe accidents, one *Conſtantine*, of a ſimple ſouldior being growne captaine of the Legions which were in great Britaine, hauing ſlaine a tyrant who had ſeized vpon that iſland vnder the Roman Empire, called *Gratian*, had paſſed into Gaule, to vſurpe the imperiall title there, and from thence had ſent Gouernours into Spaine. But two noblemen Spaniards, *Didimus* and *Seuerianus*, or *Verianus*, or *Verinianus* (for this diuerſitie is found in authors) rich and mightie men, oppoſed themſelues: and ſeeking to preſerue the prouince for the lawfull Emperour, they gathered ſome troupes together, of friends and ſubjects, and ſeized vpon the paſſages of the mountaines, to keepe theſe gouernours and their companies from D paſſing. Againſt theſe Spaniards, the tyrant ſent a ſonne of his called *Conſtant*, whom hee had drawne out of a Monaſterie, and proclaimed him *Cæſar*: who being followed by an armie of Barbarians, which he called Honoriaques, he defeated and ſlew the two brethren. Theſe Honoriaques being maſters of the ſtraits and paſſages of the Pyrenees by this victorie, and hauing afterwards rebelled with their captaine *Gerontius*, they (as ſome hold) deliuered Spaine to the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, after the death of the tyrant *Conſtantine*, and of his ſonne *Conſtant*, whereof the one was taken at Arles, and the other diſpatched at Vienna: Theſe nations joyning together to rob and ſpoyle, Palantia, ſince called Palenza, was the firſt towne of Spaine, which fell in prey to theſe Barbarians, who beſieged Toledo in vaine, ranſomed Lisbone, and committed infinite ſpoyles, whileſt that E *Maximus*, another tyrant, being rebelled againſt the Emperour, ſought during theſe combuſtions to make himſelfe king of Spaine of another ſide: who being taken by them that did yet reuerence the majeſtie of the Romane Empire, he was depriued of his vſurped royaltie, yet his life was ſaued.

Conſtantine a tyrant.

Maximus a tyrant.

Spaine for the ſpace of two yeares was thus miſerably oppreſſed, as well by tyrants as by theſe cruell nations: ſo as there remained nothing but the mountaines of the Cantabrians, at this preſent Biſcaye and Nauarre, in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Romanes, maintained by *Conſtantius Patricius*, who was the Emperours Lieutenant on this ſide the Alpes: which was at ſuch time as the Vandales, Sueues, and Alanes made the diuiſion of Spaine. Then did *Ataulphe* paſſe into Spaine, to diſpoſſeſſe them, according to the right he had F by an accord made with *Honorius* his brother in law: but as he was at Barcelona, he was ſlaine, with ſix children which he had had by another wife than *Placidia*. The time and cauſe of his death are not reported alike. *Iornandes* ſayth, That he was ſlaine (hauing reigned three yeares in Spaine and Gaule) being thruſt into the flanke by *Vernulphe*, whom he was accuſtomed to jeſt at. Some affirme, That he had been chaſed, and forced to paſſe into Spaine by *Conſtantius Patricius* Gouernour of Gaule.

Ataulphe ſlaine by his owne men.

The

Anno.402. 6 The Chriſtian religion during theſe troubles and forraine inuaſions was not neglected among the Spaniards: for in the yeare 402 (although others write 420) was held at Toledo the firſt Councell by 29 Biſhops, where *Patron* Biſhop of Toledo did preſide againſt the hereſie of *Priſcilian*. He had beene Biſhop of Auila, and had publiſhed an hereſie mixt with the errors of the Gnoſtiques, Manicheans, and auncient Philoſophers: among other opinions, he maintained, That the ſoule of man was a portion of the Diuinitie: he was condemned firſt at a Councell held at Bourdeaux, and from thence he appealed to *Maximus* the tyrant, who cauſed him to be heard at Treues; then he commaunded his head to be cut off, with ſome of his followers. This Councell notwithſtanding gaue place to a ſingle life, and decreed, That prieſts ſhould liue continually vnmarried. This decree was contradicted by *Vigilantius*, who liued then at Barcelona, who did alſo write againſt the abuſe of reliques, againſt whom S. *Ieroſme* was very bitter. Many learned men liued at that time in Spaine, as *Lucinius*, *Abigaus*, *Abundius*, *Auitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Turbius*, *P. Oroſius*, and others: yet the Church was declined much from her auncient puritie, and then grew in requeſt ceremonies, vowes, merits, reliques, and miracles; for the clergie was then much infected with couetouſneſſe and ambition. Then came the Vandales and Gothes, who were all infected with the hereſie of Arrian, who did in ſome ſort perſecute the good, as we ſhall heare.

The firſt Councell of Toledo.

Learned men in Spaine.

Ataulphe being dead, the Gothes did chuſe *Sigeric* for their king, who reigned but a yeare, and was ſlaine by his owne men, in diſdaine that he was too deſirous of peace. He left many children, *Giſeric*, *Huneric*, *Guntemaud*, *Traſamund*, and *Hilderic*: yet *Vallia* ſucceeded him, to the end he ſhould breake the peace with the Romanes: but God had otherwiſe decreed, for he confirmed it more. With him (according vnto ſome) begins the reigne of the Vice-Gothes in Spaine.

Vallia *firſt King of the Gothes.*

*Ann.*418. 7 IN the yeare of Chriſt 418 *Vallia* was choſen king of the Gothes, whereof next vnto Narbone, Tolouſe was the royall ſeat. In his time the French began to erect a kingdome in Gaule vnder *Pharamond*. *Conſtantius Patricius*, Gouernour for the Emperour in Gaule and Spaine, was admitted by *Honorius* to the dignitie of *Cæſar*, which in thoſe dayes was a degree to attaine vnto the Empire, as in our time the dignitie of king of Romanes, during the life of the Emperour of Germanie. This *Vallia* ſhewed himſelfe a friend and well affected to the Romane Empire. He reſtored to *Honorius Placidia* his ſiſter, widow to king *Ataulphe*, whom he had honoured, and kept in his houſe ſince the death of her husband. She was afterwards married to *Conſtantius Cæſar* aboue mentioned, by whom ſhe had *Valentinian* the third, who was the laſt Emperour in the Weſt vntill *Charlemaigne*. *Vallia* vndertooke by a contract made with *Conſtantius*, to chaſe the barbarous nations of Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, out of Spaine, to the benefit of the Romane Empire, and his owne: whereupon he entred into Spaine, being called by *Conſtantius* to begin this warre, in the yeare 420, and aſſailed the Alanes and Vandales, who held Betica and Luſitania, ſlew their king *Atace*, and reduced them to that extremitie, as thoſe few which remained went and joined with *Gunderic*, who reigned ouer the other Vandales in Gallicia: the battaile wherein they were wholly defeated, was giuen neere vnto Emerita, the which is Merida in Portugall. Theſe victories obtained, he meant to paſſe into Africke, but he was put backe by a ſtorme, and therefore returned into Gaule, where hee purchaſed vnto the Gothes all the countrey from Tolouſe to the Ocean, bounded in by the Pyrenee mountaines, and the riuer of Garonne.

Vallia a friend to the Romanes, makes warre againſt the Barbarians in Spain

Alanes and Vandales defeated by the Gothes.

8 Sometime after the Alanes, which were retyred to *Gunderic* in Gallicia, ſhooke of his yoake, being loth to ſubject themſelues vnto him, and returned into Luſitania, Betica, and the prouince of Carthagena, yet not chuſing any prince ouer them: there they obtained certaine lands, and liued tributaries to the Romanes, diſperſing themſelues as farre as the riuer of Ebro, and to the foot of the Pyrenee mountaines, where ſome maintaine, that of their name the countrey of Cattelogne was called Cattalania, for that they did inhabite there, being mingled with the Cattes, a nation of Germanie, which had paſſed with them into Spaine. In Gallicia (which contained at that time part of the realme of Portugall) there grew debate betwixt *Gunderic* king of the Vandales, and *Hermeric* king of the Sueues, ſo

as

as they fell to armes, and the Sueues were beſieged in the mountaines called Narbaſeens: but the Vandales left them there, deſpiſing that barren countrey, and came into the prouinces of Betica and Carthagena, the which they forraged: then paſſing into the iſlands of Maiorca and Minorca, they ſackt them: returning into Spaine, they tooke and ruined Carthagena, and brought backe their armie into Betica, the which was afterwards called Vandaluſia, of their name: there they ruined the towne of Seuille, and made the countrey deſolate. *Gunderic* died at the ſacke of Seuille, vpon the threſhold of S. *Vincents* temple, which he had commaunded ſhould be ſpoyled: he was ſonne to *Godigiſque*, after whoſe deceaſe *Giſeric* or *Genſeric* his baſtard brother was choſen king of the Vandales.

Warre in Spaine betwixt the Vandales and Sueues.

Betica takes the name of Vandaluſia of the Vandales.

Vallia entred againe into Spaine, to ſuppreſſe the ſpoyles and cruelties of theſe Vandales, whither there was alſo ſent by the Emperour a captaine called *Caſtinus*, who ſhould joyne with *Boniface* Gouernour of Africke, and joyntly make warre againſt the Barbarians. But as *Caſtinus* had nothing in him but vanitie and fooliſh preſumption, he diſdained *Boniface*, who was a valiant and wiſe nobleman; againſt whom hee did alſo bandie *Ætius* Gouernour of Gaules, either through emulation and enuie, or for ſome other cauſe of hatred: ſo as when *Vallia* came with his armie of Gothes to ſet vpon the Vandales, *Boniface*, who was retyred into his gouernment of Africke, being incenſed, ſent meſſengers vnto *Genſeric*, to ſollicite him to paſſe the ſtrait, promiſing to giue him means to lodge himſelfe in Africke with all his men, in deſpight of the Emperour; the which fell out happily for him, being oppreſſed with many enemies: wherefore he left Spaine, but not without bloud: for in a battaile which was giuen him by the people of Spaine, ſubjects to the Romanes, and by the Gothes, he ſlew twentie thouſand of his enemies vpon the place at his departure. The Vandales being then paſſed into Africke with all their families, there remained not any forraine power to make head in Spaine, but that of the Sueues, with their king *Hermeric*, who being fallen into a grieuous ſickneſſe, died about that time, after he had languiſhed long. In the meane time *Vallia* incenſed againſt the Vandales, prepared to purſue them into Africke, but he was preuented by death, hauing reigned 22 yeares.

Diſſention betwixt the Emperors lieutenants, cauſeth the loſſe of Spain and Africke.

Boniface deliuers Africke to Genſeric and the Vandales.

2. Theodoric *or* Roderic.

9 THeodoric ſucceeded *Vallia*, *Valentinian* the third being Emperour in the Weſt, in the yeare 440. *Hermeric* about a little before his death had ſo pacified the people of Gallicia, as he reigned ouer them, and of two nations he made one, taking his ſonne *Rechilan* for companion, whom he made his heire and ſucceſſor in the kingdome, and ſent him into Betica or Vandaluſia againſt *Andenot*, a Romane captaine, whom he defeated neere vnto Singil, a riuer vpon that continent, where he was much enriched. Returning, he beſieged Merida, tooke it, and enlarged the kingdome of the Sueues, the which had a beginning about the yeare 437. *Theodoric* reigning ouer the Gothes, they brake the peace made by *Vallia* with the Emperour *Honorius*, & beſieged Narbonne, the which was relieued by *Lictorius*, Gouernor in thoſe parts for the Empire vnder the Generall *Ætius*: but *Lictorius* was defeated ſoone after by the ſame Gothes, the which was a great prejudice to the Romanes. By reaſon of this defeat, the peace was renued among theſe potentates.

Anno 440.

Romans aſſailed by the Sueues in Spaine, and by the Gothes in Gaule.

Rechilan being king of Gallicia after his fathers deceaſe, hee ſought alſo to enlarge his limits: wherefore he firſt aſſayled Vandaluſia, and the countrey about new Carthage, the which he made ſubject vnto his crowne, and did wholly ſuppreſſe the name of the Silinges Vandales in Betica. Hee made a certaine compoſition with the Romanes, to whom he yeelded the countrey of Toledo in Carpetania, and new Carthage, called now Carthagena.

Rechilan 2. *king of Sueues in Gallicia.*

Theodoric hauing alſo made a peace with the Romanes in Gaule, made a deſigne vpon Spaine; yet being called backe to joyne with the Romanes againſt the Hunnes, who were entred in infinit numbers into Gaule vnder *Attila*: hee was in that memorable battaile, whereas *Attila* was defeated, in the which there died aboue an hundred and eightie thouſand men vpon the field; and among others, *Theodoric* king of the Gothes, hauing reigned foureteene yeares, according vnto ſome. The cauſe of this warre, which *Attila* vndertooke, was his bad diſpoſition to ruine the whole world: whereunto he was incited by *Genſeric*,

Defeat of Attila Anno 453.

king of the Vandales, who was trecherous, cruell,and inhumane, hauing a deſire to ruine the G
Viſigothes in Gaule and Spaine, both for that he had beene chaſed and purſued by them, as alſo fearing that *Theodoric* their king would ſeeke to reuenge the injurie done vnto his daughter,who being married vnto *Humeric*, the ſonne of *Genſeric*, had beene ſent backe by him vnto her father disfigured,without a noſe,vpon a ſuſpition which *Genſeric* had,that ſhe would haue poyſoned him. In this battaile there were fiue kings: *Atila* king of the Hunnes, Generall of the warre: *Valamir*, of the Oſtrogothes,who were tributaries to *Atila*: *Theodoric*, of the Viſigothes in Gaule and Spaine: *Ardaric* of the Gepides: and *Meroue* of the French. This was in the yere 453,and was fought in the fields of Maroche,a word corrupted of *Maurice*, otherwiſe called Cathalaunians: a battaile as remarkable as hath bin ſince the deluge, in regard of the H
great number of men that were in arms,and the ſtrange deſignes of *Atila*, a common enemie of all mankind. Beſides thoſe that died in the battell,there was an encounter the night before betwixt the Gepides and the French,in the which there were aboue 90000 men ſlaine.

Fiue kings in the battell whereas Atila was defeated.

Rechilan died a little before in Merida, being an idolatrer, and after him his ſonne *Recciaire* reigned ouer the Sueues in Gallicia,who was baptized,and had receiued the Chriſtian religion. Hee had alſo married a daughter of *Theodorics*, king of Gothes,whereby he grew proud, aſpiring to great matters. He inuaded the Vaſcons country,which is now Nauarre,and ſpoiled it. From thence he went to ſee his father in law, and in his returne, with the helpe of the Gothes,he ſackt Sarragoſſe,and all the country which we now call Arragon,the which obeyed the Empire. He ſpoyled that of Carthagene, the which his father by a treatie made with I
the Romanes had yeelded vnto them. This paſt before the defeat of the Hunnes.

Recciaire third K. of the Sueues in Gallicia.

3. Toriſmund.

*An.*453. 10 AFter that *Theodoric* had beene ſlaine in that great battaile,the which was woon by the fauor of God,and to the great good of all the countries of Europe,againſt that cruell tyrant *Attila*; his ſonne *Toriſmund* ſucceeded him ouer the Viſigothes, whoſe ſeat was at Toulouſe. He had many brethren,*Theodoric*,*Frederic*,*Turic*,*Rothemer*, and *Huneric*. *Ætius* lieutenant Generall for the Emperour *Valentinian*,made him jealous of them,leaſt they ſhould ſeize vpon the realme in his abſence,aduiſing him to goe ſpeedily to Toulouſe,and to cauſe himſelfe K
to be crowned. This *Ætius* did, for that he diſtruſted the Gothes, whom he loued not neere him; yea,he was grieued to ſee this yong prince full of courage after this victory lately gotten againſt the Hunnes,hauing a deſire to purſue the remainder of this defeated army,and to root them out quite; the which *Ætius* held not profitable for the Romans: for knowing the nature of the Goths to be proud and actiue,he feared,that being puffed vp with many victories, they ſhould enter into the territories of the Romanes: wherefore he ſuffered the remainders of the defeated armie of the Hunnes to ſlip away, which gaue his enemies ſubject to diſgrace him with the Emperour *Valentinian*,who afterwards put him to death: whereby (as ſome ſaid) he cut off the right arme of his eſtate; for he was a wiſe and valiant captaine: yet ſome ſay, That betwixt *Toriſmund* and *Atila* there were ſome happie encounters for the Gothes. *Toriſmund* L
hauing reigned three yeares,was ſlaine by his enemies,as he was let bloud,being ſicke. They write, That one ſtole away his armes, which he kept by his bed, yet hauing a penknife in his hand, he ſlew ſome of the murtherers which came to aſſault him. It is doubtfull whether they were his brethren,or others by their procurement. Some ſay, That the murtherers name was *Aſcalerne*,and that he reigned but a yeare.

Toriſmund ſlain by his brethrens procurement.

4. Theodoric *the ſecond of that name.*

11 THeodoric the 2. ſucceeded his brother *Toriſmund*,about the time that *Valentinian* the 3 was ſlain by the friends of *Ætius*. The Empire of Rome was thē held by one *Maximus*, M
who maried *Eudoxia* by force,being widow to *Valentinian* that was ſlaine,thinking by this conjunction to be more reſpected in the imperial dignitie,which he vſurped: but this woman mad for the wrong ſhe thought was done vnto her, ſought to be reuēged of *Maximus*, to the prejudice of her ſelfe, of Rome, Italy,& of the whole Empire: for by the means of *Boniface* ſhe cauſed *Genſeric* to come out of Africke,who with an army of Vandales,Africanes,Moores,& others,

A dammable deſire of reuenge in a woman.

entred

A entred Rome, and ſlew *Maximus*, ſacked and burnt the towne, ſpoyled all Italie, and led away *Eudoxia* and her daughters, with many thouſands others, priſoners into Africke: yet afterwards he ſet *Eudoxia* and her daughters free, except one, whom he kept to marrie to his ſonne. This was done by a treatie made with the Emperour *Martian*, who reigned in the Eaſt at Conſtantinople, who alſo ſuffered *Theodoric*, in recompence of the ſuccours which the Viſigothes had giuen the Romanes againſt *Attila*, to reigne in Spaine, and to get what hee could from the Sueues.

Theodoric then entred into Spaine in the yeare 458, againſt whom, *Recchiaire* king of the *Ann.458.*
Sueues oppoſed himſelfe, reigning in Luſitania and Gallicia: there was a battaile fought
B neere vnto the riuer of Vrbic, twelue miles from Aſturica, betwixt Aſturica and Leon, in the which the chiefe of the nobilitie of the Sueues were ſlaine, and *Recchiaire* was conſtrained to ſaue himſelfe by flight: meaning to paſſe into Africke, to *Genſeric* king of the Vandales, hee *Defeat of the Sueues, and the death of Recchiaire.* was put backe by a tempeſt to Porto, and there taken and deliuered to *Theodoric*, who cauſed him to be ſlaine, although he were his brother in law. Gallicia being come into *Theodorics* power by this victorie, he left one of his captaines called *Acliulf* of Auuergne, Gouernour in his name, whileſt that he purſued his conqueſts: but when as *Acliulf* ſaw that *Theodoric* had turned his back, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed king, and ſeized vpon the kingdome, for-getting his faith, and the dutie which he ought vnto his maſter, who had honoured him ſo *Acliulf puniſhed for his treacherie.* much: wherewith *Theodoric* being much moued, he returned, and finding him readie to reſiſt
C him, he fought with him, and ſlew him vpon the place.

The Sueues deſirous to be reconciled to *Theodoric*, cauſed their Biſhops to ſue for their pardon; the which they not onely obtained, but he alſo gaue them leaue to chuſe a king of their owne nation. So the Sueues in the furtheſt parts of Gallicia made choice of *Maſ-* *Humanitie of the Gothes to the Sueues vanquiſhed.* *dra*, the ſonne of *Maſsila*, for their king; but being of ſundrie opinions, another faction proclaimed *Frauta*. *Theodoric* after all this paſſed into Luſitania, meaning to ſacke Emerita or Merida, but either for the reſpect he bare to S. *Eulalie*, or for feare (as they ſay) he did abſtaine. From that time hauing diuided his armie into three, he ſent one part into Vandaluſia, vnder the commaund of a captaine named Cherula or Ceurila: another into Gallicia, led by *Sigeric* and *Nepotian*; theſe did much annoy the diſagreeing Sueues: and he himſelfe
D with the other third part returned into Gaule Gothique, which was Languedoc, where in few dayes he tooke Narbonne, by the treaſon of Count *Agrippin* or *Rauennius*, who was Gouernour thereof: or, according vnto ſome, hee receiued it of *Gilon*, who then reigned in Fraunce, during the time that *Childeric* was in exile, meaning by this bountie to fortifie himſelfe with the Viſigothes againſt the French, who began to be diſcontented with his exactions and tyrannies. The majeſtie of the Romane Empire in the Weſt was then troden vnderfoot, after the death of *Valentinian*: for in euery prouince the gouernours and captaines *Gouernours ambitious and diſloyall.* of armies cauſed themſelues to be proclaimed Emperours, and ſupported one another: ſo as Spaine was wholly abandoned to the Viſigothes, and the Gaules to them and the French, and to pettie tyrants.

E The Sueues being diuided in Gallicia, had choſen (as is ſaid) two kings; one faction would haue *Maſdra*, the other obeyed *Frauta*, but he died within few daies; after whom, the ſame faction did chuſe *Rechimund*, who hauing made an accord with *Maſdra*, they entred iointly with a great armie into Luſitania, and ſpoyled it. *Maſdra* was ſlaine by his owne people; after *Foure kings of the Sueues in Spaine.* whom, that partie created *Frumar* king, but *Rechimund* oppoſed himſelfe: ſo as theſe two pettie kings impatient one of another, fell to ſpoyle Gallicia, one on the one ſide, and the other on the other ſide. *Frumar* being dead, *Remiſmund* or *Ariſmund*, the ſonne of *Maſdra*, *Ariſmund 8. K. of the Sueues.* brought all the Sueues vnder his obedience, and was peaceable king of Gallicia. The Sueues ſince *Recchiaire* had receiued the Chriſtian religion, reaſonably pure concerning the principall points, and had continued in the ſame, vntill the time of this king *Ariſmund*, who receiF ued a certaine Gaule called *Atax* an Arrian, thinking ill of the myſterie of the holy Trinitie, into Gallicia, who infected the whole countrey with his hereſie, the which was maintained many yeares by many kings, whoſe names and deeds haue beene buried by writers in hatred of their impieties.

In the meane time there had bin ten Emperors in Italie of ſmall fame, and of leſſe exploits, who made no great oppoſition againſt the Viſigothes and French: ſo as the one ſeized

vpon Spaine,and the other vpon Gaule, leauing but very obſcure markes of the imperiall au- G
thoritie: it may be for the good of theſe two rich regions, who were better gouerned vnder thoſe generous and free nations,than they ſhould haue beene vnder the Romanes, who were corrupted with all vices,and but a medley of all other nations. In theſe times the Biſhops of Spaine would in their life time chuſe ſucceſſors to their Biſhoprickes; the which was reproo-

Reſignation of Biſhoprickes reproued.

ued in a Councell held at Rome,vnder Pope *Hilarie*. *Remiſmund* or *Ariſmund* ſought friendſhip and peace with *Theodoric*, the which he did courteouſly graunt: and moreouer, *Theodoric* made an alliance with him, by the marriage of a daughter of his, the which hee ſent him vnder the conduct of *Sallan*, Maior of the palace, with rich preſents. *Remiſmund* growne proud with theſe honours, he ſeized againe vpon Luſitania, where he tooke Conimbrica, H
and ſpoyled it: Lisbone was deliuered vnto him by *Luſides*, who commaunded there: during which things, *Theodoric* was ſlaine at Tolouſe by his brother *Euric* or *Henry*, hauing reigned foureteene yeares: vnder him liued *Sydonius Apollinaris*, who of an Earle became a Biſhop.

5. Henry *or* Euric *or* Eoric.

*Ann.*471.

12 DEſire to reigne induced *Henry* to kill his brother *Theodoric*, who (as ſome ſay) receiued that which he had done to another: for ſome did thinke, that *Theodoric* and *Frederic* had beene authors of the death of *Toriſmund* their eldeſt brother. *Leon* was at that time I

Exploits of Henry.

Emperour of Rome, ſitting at Conſtantinople. As ſoone as *Henry* was ſeated in the royall throne of the Viſigothes,he entred into Spaine with a great army,and ſeized vpon the whole countrey on this ſide Ebro; for he tooke Pampelone,Sarragoſſe, and other places of the prouince of Tarracona: then running into Luſitania, and ſeeing the combuſtions which were in the Romane Empire,on this ſide the Pyrenees, he aſſayled Arles and Marſeilles, and joyned them vnto his kingdome,and defeated *Riothime*,king of the Britons,who came againſt him in fauour of the Romanes, with twelue thouſand men. *Vindemir*,brother to *Theodomir*,and vncle to *Theodoric*, an Oſtrogothe, being king of Italie, brought him forces out of Hungarie, and gaue him meanes to ſeize vpon part of Gaule. Hee cauſed the Gothes lawes to bee ſet

Prodigies.

downe in writing,who vntill that time had bin gouerned by cuſtomes. Being at Arles, where K
he held a generall aſſembly in armes,according to the manner of that nation, they did ſee the yron of their launces and other weapons change colour, looking greene, red, blacke,yellow,

Henric an Arrian a perſecutor of the Church.

and of diuers other colours; and ſoone after the king died, hauing reigned 17 yeares: He was an Arrian,as his predeceſſors,and did perſecute the churches,ſhut vp the temples, and cauſed them to be hedged about with thornes,that they ſhould forget the way to aſſemble. During the reigne of this *Henry*, *Odoacer* a Herule or Saxon entred into Italie,who hauing forced *Auguſtule*(who tearmed himſelfe Emperor) to leaue his purple robe,he made himſelf king of Italie, the which he held the ſpace of 15 or 16 yeares.

L

6. Alaric.

Puniſhment of a trecherous Gouernor.

13 A*Laric* ſucceeded his father *Euric*, being the ſecond of that name, who reigned ouer the Viſigothes at Tolouſe,when as *Clouis* the firſt Chriſtian king reigned ouer the French. In his reigne the Romanes had yet ſome lands in Spaine, and in Gaule, where they had gouernours; one of the which called *Burdunel*, ſeized vpon the countrey which he commaunded in Spaine, and became a tyrant, but he was taken by the Gothes, and burnt at Tolouſe in a bull of braſſe. *Apollinaris* was alſo at that time Earle, and gouernor of Auuergne, kinſman to *Sydonius*.

Before this time the Viſigothes and the French had been good friends: but *Clouis* with moſt of his people hauing embraced the Chriſtian religion,and left their idols,he thought himſelfe M

Warre for irreligion betwixt the French and the Viſigothes.

alſo bound to purſue thoſe that were not of the ſame opinion,and to force them thereunto by armes. He therefore fell in diſlike of *Alaric* and the Viſigothes,for that they were Arrians: beſides,he tooke an occaſion, for that his enemies and the baniſhed men of Fraunce had ſought refuge at Tolouſe and other places belonging vnto *Alaric*: and moreouer *Clouis* complained, That a day and place being appointed them to parle,he was aduertiſed,that *Alaric* had layd an

am-

A ambuſh to kill him: wherefore there grew a great quarrell betwixt theſe two princes, the which they would decide by ſingle combat betwixt themſelues: but king *Theodoric* (who had newly diſpoſſeſſed *Odoacer* of Italie, and there erected the kingdome of the Oſtrogothes, a wiſe and valiant prince) reconciled them for that time, and the Viſigothes turned the warre into Spaine, where they tooke Tortoſe, and ſlew one *Peter* who had played the tyrant there, whoſe head was carried to Sarragoſſe.

The hatred betwixt the French and the Gothes encreaſed daily, ſo as they muſt come to blows, and there was a battel fought neere vnto Poictiers, in the plaine of Voglad, 10 leagues from the towne, whereas *Alaric* was ſlaine, and with him *Apollinaris* Earle of Auuergne. There B was alſo another battell neere vnto Bourdeaux, where there were an infinit number of Gothes Arrians ſlaine, ſo as the place is to this day called the field of Arri. Among the ſpoyles of the Viſigothes, there were certaine veſſels found, conſecrated in old time to the temple of Ieruſalem. This king *Clouis* is by ſome called *Lodoni*. By meanes of theſe victories the French ſeized vpon Aquitain, & on Tolouſe, the chiefe towne of the Viſigothes, they beſieged Carcaſſone, and meant to purſue their victorie, but *Theodoric* comming out of Italie, made them to rayſe their ſiege.

Battell of Voglad in Poictou and the death of Alaric.

At that time Toledo was the royall towne in Spaine. Many Chriſtian Biſhops chaſed out of Africke by the Vandales Arrians, were retyred into Italie; from whence ſome were ſent into Spaine. At that time liued *Fulgentius*, Biſhop of Ruſpence, a learned & an eloquent man, C who was chaſed away and perſecuted by the Arrian Gothes. *Alaric* (as the Spaniards write) had married *Amalaſunta*, daughter to *Theodoric*, king of the Oſtrogothes and of Italie, and had a ſonne by her called *Amalaric*, who was yet a child, when his father died: wherefore *Geſſelaric* (who was baſtard brother to *Alaric*) tooke the gouernment of the kingdome, his brother hauing reigned 22 yeares.

Toledo the chief towne of the Goths kingdome in Spaine.

7. Genſolaric *or* Geſſelaric.

14 *Genſolaric* was ſonne to *Euric*, by a concubine, hee vſurped the crowne at Narbone, his nephew *Amalaric* being yet but fiue yeares old. He was baſe and a coward: for being D aſſayled by *Gundebault* king of the Bourguignons (who had alſo erected another kingdome in Gaule, to the prejudice of the Romanes) after that he had receiued a great rout neere vnto Narbone, he fled ignominiouſly into Spain, and ſhut himſelfe vp in Barcelone, vntill that *Ilba* (ſent by *Theodoric* king of Oſtrogothes, grandfather as they ſaid by the mothers ſide vnto yong *Amalaric*) came out of Italy to chaſe him from thence. Some make this *Geſſelaric* baſtard ſonne to *Alaric*, and brother to young *Amalaric*.

Ann. 508.

This K. *Theodoric* ſent 80000 men out of Italie into Gaule againſt the French, to reuenge the death of *Alaric*. *Ilba* (who was Generall) joyned his forces with the Viſigoths, and defeated the French, where there were aboue 20000 of them ſlaine. Prouence remained then vnto the Oſtrogothes, and was a member of the realme of Italie, and Languedoc and Gaſconie re- E turned vnto the Viſigothes, as before. *Ilba* then paſt into Spaine, to ſettle the eſtate of young *Amalaric*, and chaſed K. *Geſſelaric* out of Barcelone, the third yeare of his reigne, who fled into Africke to the Vandales, hoping to recouer his dignitie by their means, but he labored in vain: wherefore being returned into Gaule, he was ſlaine neere vnto Durance.

French defeated by the Oſtrogothes.

Amalaric *eight King of the Gothes.*

15 THe Spaniards write, That K. *Theodoric* came out of Italie (where he had reigned 18 yeares) expreſſely into Spain, to ſettle his grandchild *Amalaric* in his kingdome, where (as they ſay) he continued 15 yeares, and that *Clouis* the French king being dead, and his king- F dome diuided betwixt his foure ſonnes, they made a peace with yong *Amalaric*, & aſſured him their ſiſter *Clotilde*, reſtoring to him Tolouſe, or at the leaſt the vſufruit of it. This treatie was made with *Theodoric* his grandfather and tutor.

Ann. 511.

16 Vnder theſe Arrian princes the Chriſtian religion was ſomewhat maintained by the Biſhops, touching the fundamentall points, although intermixed with ſuperſtitions, the which encreaſed daily. There aſſembled tenne Biſhops at Tarracone, who decreed, That the feaſt of

Councels at Tarracone, Sarragoſſe, and other places.

Sunday ſhould begin on Saterday. From whence it came that in Spain and many other places they hold it a profane thing to work on the Saterday; no not the women to ſpin. This Councell makes mention of the firſt Monks in Spaine. At Girone was another prouinciall aſſembly of 7 Biſhops: at Sarragoſſe of 12: in Ilerda at the foot of the Pyrenees of 8: at Valence of 6 Biſhops, wheras alwaies the Biſhop of that place did preſide. Theſe Coũcels were not very free nor aſſured in the Arrians iuriſdiction: but in thoſe places which the Romans did yet hold in Spaine, the pure Chriſtian religion was fauoured. The counſell of Sarragoſſe did ordayne, that no Nun ſhould were a vayle nor be profeſſed before the age of 40 yeares. *Theodoric* king of the Oſtrogoths, regent in Spaine, tooke to wife, as the Spaniſh authors write, a noble woman of that countrie, at whoſe intreatie he ſet at libertie all thoſe of her nation that were in priſon, and had by her a ſonne, called *Seuerin*, Duke of Carthagena, father to *Leandre* and *Iſidore*, who were ſaints. The 15 yeare of his gouernment, he reſigned the kingdome of the Viſigoths to his graundchild *Amalaric*, being now of age to commaund, and returned to his realme of Italie. This was in the yeare 526, when as *Iuſtinian* being emperour, the warre began in Africke by *Belliſarius* againſt the Vandales, and *Gilimer* their king, whereof followed the taking of the king, and the end of the Vandales royaltie, the which had continued in theſe countries 113 years. Vnder the raign of *Amalaric* was celebrated the ſecond Councel of *Toledo* by eight Chriſtian Biſhops, although the king were an Arrian. He hauing (as we haue ſaid) maried *Clotilde*, daughter to *Clouis* king of France, intreated her verie ill, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of religion (for ſhe was well inſtructed) ſo as going through the ſtreets, the people caſt ſtones and durt at her in contempt: being retired ſhe wip't off the bloud and durt with a handkerchiefe, the which ſhe ſent vnto her brethren, letting them vnderſtand the diſgraces and wrongs which ſhe ſuffred: wherewith being incenſed, they proclaimed warre againſt *Amalaric*: the armies incountred neere vnto Narbone, whereas *Amlaaric* was vanquiſhed, who thinking to ſaue himſelfe in Barcellone, was ſlaine, being forſaken by his men. The annales of France ſay, that *Childebert* king of Paris did this execution, and that he tooke Toledo, the royall ſeat, ſpoiled the temples, and carried backe into France, 60 chalices, fifteene plates, and twentie little cofers, where they kept the books of the Goſpell, al of pure gold, and much other treaſure, and that he did diſtribute theſe ornaments among the Churches of France. *Amalaric* raigned fiue yeares and eight months after the gouernment of *Theodoric*. After his death, the kingdom of the Viſigoths remained vnto *Amalaſunta* his mother, ſay the Spaniards, I know not by what title. I cannot concurre with them in this opinion, that this *Amalaſunta* was daughter to *Theodoric* king of Italie, the which we read was maried to a prince of the bloud royall of the Viſigoths, and of the familie of *Hamels*, called *Euthaire*, and had *Athalaric* by him, to whom *Theodoric* his graundfather dying, left the kingdome of the Oſtrogoths in Italie. *Procopius* ſayes, that the wife of *Alaric*, and mother to this *Amalaric*, was called *Theudetuſe*, the which by the report of *Iourdain*, who names her *Theudicode*, *Theodoric* had by a concubine when he was yet in Miſia: others ſay, that this *Theudicode* was maryed to *Gundebault* king of Bourgogne, and that the wife of *Alaric*, mother to *Amalaric* was called *Oſtrogotte*, baſtard alſo to this king *Theodoric*. Howſoeuer it be, it is not credible that *Theodoric* king of Italie, ſhould ſo much affect the affaires of Spaine, as hee ſhould abandon Italie for fifteene yeares, to remaine in Spaine. And there is leſſe likelyhood, ſeeing that *Athalaric* ſonne of *Euthaire* and of *Amalaſunta* ſucceeded him in the realme of the Oſtrogothes, the which hee had of a lawfull marriage, whatſoeuer the Spaniards write, duke *Seuerian* of Carthage, father to *Iſidore* and *Leandre* biſhops of Seuille, and others, the which *Seuerian* ſhould rather haue ſucceeded him in the realme of the Oſtrogothes, than his graundchild, the ſonne of his daughter. That which others write, that he ſent *Ilba* with an armie againſt the French, to reuenge the death of *Alaric* his kinſman, and that he had reteyned for his paines and the charges of war, Prouence (for theſe princes notwithſtanding all their charitie, did not labour for nothing) and that for the loue of conſanguinitie, beeing all of the familie of *Hamels*, he had ſent one of his captaines called *Theude* into Spaine, to be tutor and regent of the yong king *Amalaric* and of the realm of the Viſigots, with his mother *Theudetuſe* or *Amalaſunta*, as ſhe was called: that I ſay comes neere vnto the truth, as we may ſee by *Procopius*. All the raigne of *Amalaric*, as well vnder his tutors, as alone, is counted by all probabilitie 15. yeares.

An. 526.

End of the Vandales raign in Africke.

17

Diuerſitie of religion kils all charitie.

Amalaric ſlaine by the French and the Gothes defeated.

18

G H I K L M

Theude

Theude *the ninth King.*

19 SO it is, that *Theude* or *Theodat*, as others name him, raigned after the death of *Amalaric*, if we ſhal beleeue *Procopius*, hauing maried a great lady of the countrie of Spaine, who, the Spaniards ſay, was mother to the deceaſed king. The reſemblance of names hath deceiued them in al their diſcourſes: for at the ſame time, or therabouts, *Amalaſunta* mother to *Athalaric*, heire of the realme of Italie, maried an other *Theude* or *Theodat* (ſeeing that ſhe was not feared nor reſpected by the Oſtrogoths, for that ſhe was a woman) and made him tutor to her ſonne, and regent of the realme, to her owne preiudice, but this hath nothing common with Spaine. At the comming of *Theude* the Viſigoth, the French entred into Spaine, and ſpoyled the countrie of Arragon, and other places thereabouts: but they were defeated by the Viſigothes, led by *Theodiſcle* their captaine, who ſeaſed vpon all the paſſages and ſtraits of the Pyrenees. They ſay, that ſeeing themſelues incloſed, they entreated them to giue them a day and a night to paſſe away, the which the Gothes graunted, and all that remayned behind, after that time, were put to the ſword: a remarkable victorie, but it was afterwards blemiſhed by the defeat of the Gothes in Africke, as we will ſhew. The French notwithſtanding returned, and tooke Sarragoſſe, with other townes in Spaine: and forced the inhabitants to abiure the Arrian ſect, thinking they ſhould doe much for the Chriſtian religion, if they forced their bodies by armes, being ignorant that religion is a profeſſion of the ſpirit, the which may well be perſuaded by reaſons and doctrine, but no waies forced. It was the cauſe of all the French wars in thoſe daies, ioyned with ambition and the inſatiable deſire of reigne, which vice they thought to obſcure, fighting (ſaid they) for the Chriſtian religion, and inriching the Clergie men of their countrie, with ſpoiles and other gifts. In the meane time moſt of the Monks that were then in credit, ſong in the Churches, and the biſhops became like dumbe dogs, following the courts of princes, and armies; a miſchiefe which hath not beene ſince repaired. In Spaine, whereas the Clergie was not in ſo good eſtate, their gouernment was ſomewhat better: for many of their biſhops were learned, according vnto thoſe times, as ſome writings, which yet remaine, doe witneſſe, namely *Aprugius* biſhop of Paccence, *Iuſtinian* of Valence, *Iuſte* of Vrgell his brother, *Leandre* of Seuille, and according to ſome of Toledo, and others, who did often aſſemble for the affaires of the Church, and held Prouinciall councels: yet they were not without blemiſhes, buſying themſelues more than was fit, about ſeruices, ceremonies and exterior ornaments: from whence ſprung many ſuperſtitions. *Childebert* brought from Sarragoſſe, as ſome ſay, Saint *Vincents* ſhirt, the which was put at Saint Germains by Paris, where he built a temple to that Saint: and the authors ſay, that they of Sarragoſſe redeemed their towne from ſpoiles by this iewell, the which is credible, conſidering the deuotion of that nation. After the retreat of the French, the Viſigoths would paſſe the ſtrait into Africke, to chaſe away the Romanes, who had ſurpriſed the towne of Septe from them: but as this nation poſſeſſed with a ſuperfluous feare, would not vſe their armes vpon a Sunday, for the reuerence of the day, the Romanes who had no ſuch ſcruple, fell vpon them, and finding them careleſſe and diſarmed, they made a pitifull ſlaughter; ſo as there eſcaped not any one to carrie newes. It hapened at the ſame time that King *Theude* (the newes of this rout beeing publiſhed abroad) was ſlaine in his chamber, by one that made himſelfe a ieſter, to haue the better acceſſe, who ſtabbed him in the bellie with a dagger. The king feeling himſelfe wounded to the death, coniured the noble-men that were about him, not to doe any harme to him that had hurt him, ſaying, that God had ſent him a worthy reward for his merits, for that he had alſo beene the murtherer of his captaine. He raigned 17. yeares and fiue moneths.

An.526.

The French defeated in Spaine.

The French inuade Spaine.

Learned and religious Biſhops in Spaine.

The Goths defeated in Africk by the Romans.

10. Theodiſcle.

20 *Theodiſcle* ſeaſed vpon the realme: he was generall or Conſtable of the Goths armies, he gaue himſelfe to luſt and adulteries, poluting honeſt families and great houſes, the which he filled with murthers by reaſon of his exceſſe: wherefore the chiefe of the Goths conſpired

An.544.

The reward of a inſatiall tyrant. conſpired to kill him at Seuille, rioting in his banquets. Some ſay, that he was ſonne to the ſiſter of *Totilas* king of the Oſtrogothes in Italie, and held the kingdom one yere & 7 months. G

11. Agila.

Anno 546. 21 THe Gothes did chuſe *Agila* for their king, who aſſailed the towne and territorie of Corduba, or Cordoua, & did all the diſgraces he could vnto the Chriſtians, treading the bones of *Aſciſcles* and *Victor*, who were martyres, vnder his horſes feet, whereof among that nation the ſuperſtition was great. Comming afterwards to fight againſt the Gothes, which were of a contrarie faction, he was vanquiſhed, his armie defeated, his ſonne ſlaine, and all his baggage, which was verie rich, loſt: he himſelfe flying into Merida, was ſlaine by the faction of *Athanagilde*, who ſucceeded him, hauing raigned fiue yeares. H

Crueltie of Agila againſt the Chriſtians.

12. Athanagilde.

Anno 551. 22 DVring the life of *Agila*, *Athanagilde* had attempted to ſeize vpon the kingdome of the Viſigothes by force, the which after his death he obtained without any difficultie: about the ſame time the kingdome of the Oſtrogothes in Italie was extinguiſhed by *Iuſtinian*, or *Belliſarius*, Generall of his armies, and his lieutenant in the Weſt. The Viſigothes were diuided; ſome followed *Athanagilde*, whom others loued better for a companion than a maſter. I There was an armie raiſed againſt him by *Agila*, who was head of the other partie: being come to battell neere vnto the towne of Seuille, *Agila* was defeated. Hereupon the Gothes conſidering, that by reaſon of their diſſentions, the Romanes, and Spaniards lying vnder their authoritie, might inuade them, to their great prejudice, they agreed in the end, and did acknowledge *Athanagilde* for their king, *Agila* hauing beene vanquiſhed and ſlaine at Merida. They hold, that this king did ſecretly deteſt the profeſſion of the Arrians, and fauoured the Chriſtians. He dyed at Toledo, of a naturall death, hauing raigned foureteene yeares: during the which he had many encounters with the Romanes and their partie, with variable ſucceſſe. In his time the Sueues of Gallicia left the Arrian ſect, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Chriſtians Church. *Theodemir* was the firſt king of Gallicia which imbraced the true religion, by the perſuaſion of a biſhop, or an Abbot of Dume, called *Martin*, who reformed the churches of Gallicia, by the Councels held at Bracar and at Lugo. *Brunichilde*, who was daughter to *Athanagilde*, was maried to *Sigebert* king of Mets, to be a plague to France. K

Diuiſion among the Gothes.

Athanagilde diſlikes the Arrian hereſie.

Brunhaut or Brunichilde.

13. Luiba, *or* Liuba.

Anno 565. 23 THe Gothes diſagreeing in the election of a king, the royall ſeat was vacant for ſome moneths: in the end they choſe *Luiba* at Narbone, who admitted *Leouigilde* his brother to be partner in the kingdome, giuing him the gouernment of the hither Spaine. This *Leouigilde* tooke to wife the widow of *Athanagilde*, called *Goſuintha*; but he had had another wife, which was *Theodoſia* daughter to *Seuerian* duke of Carthagene, by whom hee had *Herminglide* and *Ricared*. This *Seuerian* of whom we haue made mention, is held to be the ſonne of *Theodoric* king of the Oſtrogothes in Italie: and the Spaniſh authors ſay, that he had many ſonnes and daughters by *Theodora* his wife, iſſued from the bloud royal, all which were Saints and men of the Church, as S. *Leandre* and S. *Iſidore* biſhops of Seuille, *Fulgentius* biſhop of Aſtigi, and then of Carthagene; *Florence* an Abbeſſe, whom ſome call *Iuſtina*, and others. *Luiba* hauing raigned 3 yeres, died at Narbone, leauing no other memorie of him, for he was not warlike. L

Seuerian and his poſteritie.

14. Leouigilde. M

Ann. 567. 24 LEouigilde remained ſole king of the Gothes, both on this ſide and beyond the Pyrenees, after the deceaſe of *Luiba* his brother: He did ouerrun the territories of the Baſtitanes, and of Malaca, which is the countrey of Grenado and Mutcia at this day. Hee tooke

A tooke Aſinode, or rather Aſſidon, a verie ſtrong towne, by a compoſition made with one *Framedane*, who commaunded there, and added it to the Gothes kingdome. This place had a garriſon of Romane ſouldiours, and had defended themſelues till then vnder the majeſtie of the Romane empire, *Iuſtine* the young ſitting then in the imperiall ſeat at Conſtantinople. *Leouigilde* did many other exploits of war againſt the Romanes and their partiſans in Spaine, and did much inlarge the Gothes dominions. Cordoua (which they had often attempted in vaine) was by this king ſurpriſed in the night, many towns & caſtles forced, with great ſlaughter of the people. Vpon the frontiers of Gaule hee made warre againſt them of Sauoy and Daulphine, if writers erre not. He diuided his kingdomes betwixt his ſonnes *Hermengilde* and
B *Ricared*, the which he had by his firſt wife. *Exploits of Leouigilde.*

Miro king of the Sueues in Gallicia, made warre at that time againſt the Vaſcons, which are the Nauarrois and Biſcanes: but *Leouigilde* ſtayed him, and ſent his owne forces to the Cantabrians, towards the Ocean (that is Biſcaie) from whence he chaſed all ſuch as had vſurped any townes or ſeigniories, reducing in a manner all thoſe pettie potentates which were riſen in Spaine, to the prejudice of the Romane empire, vnder the crowne and ſcepter of the Viſigothes. Hee made a peace notwithſtanding for a time with *Miro*, by meanes of his embaſſadours: So hauing enlarged his dominions in Spaine, he gaue himſelfe to ciuile affaires.

He built a towne called Ripol, in the hither Spain, beautified it with buildings, and endow-
C ed it with priuiledges. He alſo built the towne of Victoria in Biſcaie, which is not Victoria at this day. He maried his eldeſt ſonne to *Iugunde* daughter to *Sigebert* king of the French: he cauſed a Councell to be called at Toledo, of the Arrian biſhops, where he heapt errour vpon errour, forcing the Chriſtians to be rebaptized, after the Arrian manner, which was, In the name of the Father, to the Sonne, by the holy Ghoſt: and not, In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt: meaning thereby to make three eſſences of that which is but one, diſtinct in three qualities. Herein he was aſſiſted by *Vincent* biſhop of Sarragoſſe, an Apoſtat, againſt whom *Seuerus* a Chriſtian biſhop of Malaca did write. *The politique actions of Leouigilde.* *The Arrians baptiſme.*

As *Leouigilde* buſied himſelfe about theſe matters, ſome good and profitable, others pro-
D phane and wicked, his peace was troubled by the rebellion of his owne ſonne; who either through deſire to raigne alone, or otherwiſe, and by the perſuaſion of *Goſuinthe* his mother in law, he ſeized vpon Seuille, and many other places; and leuied men to fortifie himſelfe againſt his father: who hauing put a great armie to field, marched to Seuille, to ſuppreſſe the raſhneſſe of his ill aduiſed ſonne, beſieged the towne on all ſides, and began to batter it with all ſorts of engines. *Miro* king of Gallicia came to this ſiege, with good troups, as a friend and allie to aid him. The auntient towne of Italica was not farre from Seuille: for we read, that *Leouigilde* made his ſtore-houſe for the warre there during the ſiege, hauing cauſed the walls, which were ruined, to be repaired, the which did much annoy them of Seuille; from the which he turned the riuer of Betis, and preſt the beſieged by continuall batteries, aſſaults, cutting off their victuals, and all other acts of hoſtilitie: ſo as in the end he tooke it, and ſoone after the
E towne of Cordoua alſo, in the which his ſonne had fortified himſelfe, with all the other places which he had vſurped. Being thus ſpoiled of all, and depriued of his dignitie, *Hermengilde* was confined to Valence. This ciuile warre did afflict Spaine, more than all the former, as the Spaniards write. *Conſpiracie of the mother in law and the ſon againſt the father.*

25 During the ſiege of Seuille, *Miro* king of Gallicia died, to whom *Eburic* his ſonne ſucceeded: but *Andeca* ſeized vpon the realme of the Sueues, maried *Siſeguta*, left by king *Miro*, tooke *Eburic*, and ſhut him vp in a cloiſter of Monkes. To reuenge this injurie, and alſo to make his profit thereof, *Leouigilde* entred into Gallicia with an armie, tooke *Andeca*, cauſed him to be polled, and ſent him to Badaios, to liue for euer in a cloiſter. He reduced Gallicia to a prouince, and joyned it to the Gothes kingdome, the which had continued an hundred ſeuentie
F and ſeuen yeares. *The end of the kingdome of the Sueues in Gallicia.*

Hermengilde being found at Tarracone, was there ſlaine by *Sisbert*: yet the Spaniards varie in this point, ſome ſaying, That he was ſhut vp in a tower at Seuille, where he loſt his head, holding him for a Saint, and that he was ſlaine on Eaſter day, by the commaundement of his father, who was an Arrian, for that he had imbraced the Chriſtian religion, for the which he had rebelled, and had cauſed great troubles in Spaine; the which Saint *Gregorie* and *Beda* doth *Hermengilde a Chriſtian ſlaine by his fathers commandement, being an Arrian*

doth witneſſe: and it is likely that this prince was drawne vnto the true doctrine by *Leandre* G
biſhop of Seuille, and by his wife *Iugunde* a French woman, whom, they ſay, he, put in the beginning of the ciuile warres, into the hands of thoſe that gouerned the lands of the empire in Spaine, vnder *Maurice* the emperour, being newly brought in bed of a ſonne, fearing the threats and furie of his father: and that after her husbands death the Romanes cauſed her to paſſe into Africke with her little infant, where ſhe died; but the child was carried to
War betwixt the the French and the Gothes, for the death of Hermengilde. Conſtantinople. *Childebert* king of France, to reuenge the wrong done vnto his brother in law, tooke armes againſt the Gothes, and hoping to recouer his ſiſter and his nephew, hee made a league with the emperour *Maurice*. Againſt the French which did forrage Languedoc, was ſent *Ricaire* the other ſonne of *Leouigilde*, who repulſt them with great loſſe of their H
men, entring into their territories, where he tooke a great ſpoile.

Myracles. They ſpeake of many myracles during the raigne of this king, which God did in fauour and confirmation of the Chriſtian religion, againſt the Arrians and their ſect, the which hee had decreed ſhould haue an end with this king *Leouigilde*. The ciuile warre being (as we haue ſaid) hot in Spaine, the armie of *Leouigilde* purſuing his ſonne, and paſſing by the territories of Valencia and Murcia, the Monkes of the Abbey of Saint *Martin* in thoſe marches, being terrified, abandoned their Abbot, and fled all into an iſland of the ſea neere adjoyning. The ſouldiours being entred into the Abbey, and finding the Abbot all alone, being a verie deuout and religious man, and crooked with age, they did him many outrages: one of them hauing drawne out his ſword to cut off his head, he fell downe ſtarke dead; the which did ſo I
terrifie the reſt, as they preſently fled. This being reported vnto king *Leouigilde*, he commanded, that all the goods which had beene taken in that monaſterie, ſhould be reſtored. An Arrian biſhop meaning to deceiue the king (who reproached him, that the Arrians did no myracles) ſuborned one of his ſect, who could counterfeit himſelfe blind, cauſing him to ſtand in the way whereas he knew the king ſhould paſſe: there this gallant began to crie out, and to entreat this biſhop which did accompanie the king, that he would make him recouer his ſight by his prayers. The biſhop approached, and laying his hands arrogantly vpon his eyes, the king being preſent, and attending to ſee this myracle, it happened, that hee which did counterfeit himſelfe blind, loſt his ſight in good earneſt; and withall was ſo full of paine in that
A counterfeit begger diuinely puniſhed. part, as deteſting the biſhop and his couſinage, hee confeſt openly before the king and his K
traine, That the biſhop had induced him to act this tragedie, and had corrupted him with money. Many other ſignes are written to haue beene ſeene in thoſe times, the which we will not call into queſtion, for that the end and vſe of myracles, is to witneſſe, and to giue credit to the word of God, and his true doctrine, which was then diſgraced by the Arrian princes.

Spaine was furniſhed with many learned and holy men, whileſt that the Arrians did raigne in Africke, and did perſecute the Chriſtians. They make mention of one *Donat* an Abbot, who paſſed out of Africke into Spaine, with about 70 Monkes, and a goodly librarie, where he was the founder of the monaſterie Seruitane: and that they were entertained by a rich ladie called *Minicea*, who then built the firſt monaſterie at Setabis, which is Xatiua. This *Donat* did firſt L
ſet downe certaine rules and orders for a monaſticall life among them; for vntill that time they were not tyed by any vowes, neither had they liued in cloiſters, but were diſperſed in woods and deſarts, leading a ſolitarie life, from whence he retired them. *Leandre* biſhop of Seuille, was then famous for his learning and holineſſe, a great friend to S. *Gregorie*, whom he had knowne at Conſtantinople: of which friendſhip, they ſay, that the image of the virgine *Marie*, which is in great, yea in ſuperſtitious veneration in theſe dayes at Guadalupe, is a witneſſe, and that S. *Gregorie* ſent it to *Leandre*.

As one kind of Antichriſt ſhould haue an end, ſo it was neceſſarie, that (to exerciſe the Church of God) others ſhould come. Wherefore during the raigne of *Leouigilde*, *Mahu-*
Birth of Mahumet. *met* the great ſeducer was borne, with whoſe doctrine the Arabians did a while after infect
Spaine; and ſoone after that grew the quarell for the Primacie, betwixt the biſhops of Con- M
ſtantinople and Rome. And as among thoſe which made profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion there were many abuſes which had beene receiued and embraced, or elſe diſſembled by the moſt learned and religious, the raſhneſſe of the one, and the negligence of the other, gaue place to impietie, the which hath ſince preuailed in the world, vſing force with the one
Anno 580. hand, and fraud with the other. This was in the yeare 580, which the Spaniards account 618

of

of their Æra: yet others ſay, That it was in the yeare of Chriſt 591, that this ſcourge of Gods Church was borne in Arabia, of the race of *Agar* and *Iſmael*. His father was called *Abdalla*, or *Abedela*, his mother *Emina*. A little before the death of *Leouigilde*, *Amalaric* the tyrant would haue made himſelfe king of Gallicia, but he was taken by the kings lieutenants in thoſe marches.

Leouigilde hauing raigned eighteene yeares, dyed at Toledo: who by the report of Saint *Gregorie*, repented himſelfe of the rigour and crueltie he had vſed to his ſonne *Hermengilde*, being deſirous to reforme himſelfe to the pure religion; and dying, recommended his other ſonne *Ricared* to *Leandre*, intreating him to inſtruct him as he had done his other ſonne: and he commaunded *Ricared* to call home the Chriſtian biſhops which he had baniſhed. He was the firſt king of the Gothes raigning in Spaine, which vſed a robe of purple, or other royall ornaments: for vntill that time the kings of that nation were apparelled like vnto the other nobles. He firſt of all began to heape vp treaſure, and filled his cofers with ſpoils of temples, confiſcations, and other violences vſed to good men, whereof many were put to death by him. He corrected the lawes made by *Euric* his predeceſſor, and reduced them into better forme.

Repentance of Leouigilde.

15. Ricared.

Ricared being crowned by *Leandre*, as *Luke Tudenſis* writes, hee was inſtructed in the true Chriſtian religion, the firſt yere of his raigne, and preuailed ſo with mild words and ſtrong reaſons, as hee perſuaded many of the Arrian biſhops to leaue that hereſie, and to follow the better partie; and ſo conſequently the noblemen & common people. He ordained, That the goods which had been taken and confiſcated for that cauſe, ſhould be reſtored; and of a deſtroyer he became a builder of churches. He put *Sisbert* the murtherer of his brother *Hermingilde* ignominiouſly to death: he diſcouered & ſuppreſt the conſpiracy of biſhop *Sunna*, and of *Sugga*, Arrians, who would haue made themſelues tyrants. The biſhop was baniſhed, and *Suggas* hands cut off, and then confined into Gallicia. There was another conſpiracie auerred of biſhop *Vldila*, and of queene *Goſuintha*, againſt *Ricared*, and puniſhed: *Vldila* was baniſhed, and *Goſuintha* died ſoone after: ſhe had beene a perpetuall enemie to the Chriſtians. The French being come into Languedoc with a great armie of aboue threeſcore thouſand men, vnder a captaine called *Deſiderius*, and then vnder *Boſon*, being ſent by *Guntran* king of Orleans, *Ricared* ſent *Claude* duke of Luſitania againſt them, who obtained one of the greateſt and moſt memorable victories that euer was, neere vnto Carcaſſonne: For we read, that with 300 men or thereabouts, he defeated all this great power of the French, and tooke all their baggage.

An. 585.

Ricared of a deſtroyer becomes a nurſe of the churches.

An admirable victorie, and ſcarce credible.

The fourth yeare of his raigne he cauſed a Councell to be called at Toledo, which was the third; at the which there were aſſembled threeſcore and two biſhops of his realme, of either ſide of the Pyrenee mountaines, or threeſcore and ten, according vnto ſome. There he did renounce and abjure the Arrain hereſie, and *Badda* his wife, with all the noblemen Gothes, did the like, all confeſſing the equalitie of the three perſons in one diuinitie. The Metropolitanes at this Councell were: 1 *Mauſona* of Merida. 2 *Leandre* of Seuille, whom *Luke Tudenſis* cals Primat and the Popes Legat. 3 *Euphemius* of Toledo. 4 *Pantard* of Bracara. 5 *Nigith* of Narbona. 6 *Stephen* of Tarracone.

2 Councell of Toledo, where the Gothes abiured the Arrian hereſie.

Theſe were the Archbiſhops and Metropolitanes, by the which the Arrian hereſie was condemned, with the which the noblemen Gothes had beene abuſed two hundred and thirteene yeares. At this Councell did preſide *Leandre* biſhop of Seuille, and *Eutropius* Abbot of the monaſterie of Serui, afterwards biſhop of Valence. Among other decrees it was ordained, That no Iew ſhould be admitted to any publike charge. The acts of this Councell were not onely allowed by the king, but alſo confirmed vnder his hand. Since that time the cuſtome is in Spaine, that euerie one that preſents himſelfe vnto the Communion, is bound to rehearſe the articles of the Apoſtles Creed after the prieſt. This was in the yeare of our Sauiour fiue hundred eightie nine, and adding thereunto thirtie eight yeares, it makes the 627 of the Spaniards Æra. King *Ricared* being thus in peace, and imploying his time about matters of religion in Spain, he diſcouered domeſtike trecheries, which did much trouble him:

An. 589.

him: for a chamberlaine of his, of the number of his captaines, called *Argemund*, attempted againſt his eſtate and life, to raigne in his place. The enterpriſe being proued, his partiſans were executed, and he alſo, after that he had beene whipped, and led vpon an aſſe through the citie of Toledo, to ſerue for an example to all ſubjects, not to rebell againſt their princes for ambition. G

Argimund a traitor puniſhed

The Iewes did what they could to procure the king to aboliſh the decree of the Counceſl made againſt them: and as in a maner all that nation haue euer giuen themſelues to the trade of merchandiſe, and are therefore full of money, they offered a great ſumme to haue it effected: but the king continued conſtant, and they muſt haue patience. This holy reſolution of king *Ricared* and his nobilitie, was ill ſeconded by the Pope and the Prelats of thoſe times, being alreadie accuſtomed to make ſuperfluous ſhewes, and oftentimes merchandiſe of externall things, which were of ſmall vſe for pietie. The king ſent royall preſents to pope *Gregorie* the firſt, who was called Holy, and an Angell vpon earth: and he requited him with reliques, with a linke of the chaine wherewith Saint *Peter* had beene bound by the necke, when he ſuffered martyredome; of the wood of the verie croſſe, of Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* haire, and ſuch other ſingularities, with an Archbiſhops cloke for *Leandre* biſhop of Seuille. Theſe were the exerciſes of pietie, which were then too much vſed among Chriſtians. At that time there was another Counceil held at Seuille, of eight biſhops, whereas *Leandre* their paſtor did preſide. H

Reliques.

Counceil at Seuille.

In Spaine there did flouriſh in thoſe times, beſides the aboue-named biſhops, *Iohn* abbot of Valclaire, who was afterwards biſhop of Girone, a Goth by race, but borne at Scalabis in Luſitania, who hath written a Chronicle vnto the yeare fiue hundred and ninetie: *Fulgentius* biſhop of Aſtigi, then of Carthage, brother to *Leandre*, a man well ſeene in the Greeke, Latine, Arabike, and Syriack tongues, and hath written many bookes: *Seuerus* biſhop of Carthage, *Licinian* of Malaca, and others. *Florentine* the ſiſter of *Leandre*, was Prioreſſe of fortie Nunnes in the towne of Aſtigi. I

Learned and religious biſhops.

Queene *Badda*, who was daughter to king *Arthure* of great Britaine, dyed; after which *Ricared* maried *Clotoſinde* ſiſter to king *Childebert* of Mets: by meanes of which mariage a peace was concluded betwixt the Gothes and the French.

Pope *Gregorie* would not haue the name of Primat, yet in the meane time he did exerciſe a juriſdiction in Spaine: for *Ianuarius* being depoſed from his biſhopricke of Malaca, by the practiſes of ſome of his enemies, he ſent one called *Iohn* to take knowledge of the cauſe, who with Apoſtolike authoritie, reſtored him to his biſhopricke, and puniſhed his aduerſaries. *Ricared* hauing held the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine and in Gaule fifteene yeares, dyed at Toledo, much lamented of all men: for he had raigned verie mildly, ſo as they called him Father of the people. He reduced the Gothike lawes into order, enlarged his dominions, hauing beene alwayes in armes againſt the Romanes, and their partiſans which remained in Spaine: he was verie deuout and bountifull to the Clergie, ſo as hee was commended for a verie religious prince, eſpecially for that he had giuen vnto the church of S. *Felix* at Gironne, the crowne of gold which he ware vpon his head: but, that which is of more eſteeme, he purged Spaine of all hereſies. K L

The death of Ricared: and his vertues.

16. Luiba 2, *and* Victerix 17.

Anno 601.

27 TO *Ricared* ſucceeded his ſon *Luiba*, or *Liuua*, *Maurice* raigning then at Conſtantinople. Some Spaniards ſay, That he was a baſtard; others denie it, and giue him two brethren, *Suinthila* and *Geila*. *Victeric* ſeized vpon the Gothes kingdome, and taking this yong prince, who was but ſixteene yeares old, he cut off his right hand, and in the end ſlew him the ſecond yeare of his raigne. Then dyed *Leandre*, to whom ſucceeded *Iſidore* his brother at Seuille.

Crueltie of Victeric to yong Luiba.

28 *Victeric* was an vnfortunate king, for in many encounters which he had with the Romanes, and thoſe that held their partie in Spaine, he was ſtill beaten. Moreouer hee ſtriued to aduance the Arrian hereſie againe, and in theſe miſerable deſignes raigned ſeuen years. He maried his daughter *Hermenberge* to *Theodoric* king of Mets, who could neuer know her, wherefore he ſent her back to her father a virgine vncorrupted: and they ſay that *Brunichilde*, *Theodorics* grandmother, had bewitched him, and made him vnable to vſe his wife, whom ſhe hated, M

A hated, *Theodoric* being otherwiſe verie licentious, and had made good proofe with other women. We read, that during the raigne of *Victeric*, in the yeare ſix hundred and fiue, *Mahumet* came into Spaine, to preach his doctrine at Cordoua; and that being diſcouered as they went to ſeize on him, he fled away ſo ſecretly, as no man knew what became of him. But we know, that *Mahumet* proceeded to the publication of his doctrine after a more violent meanes, hauing by money and perſuaſions corrupted the Arabian theeues, whoſe armes he imployed to propagate his errours, among other nations, vnder the empire of *Heraclius*: yet it is not impoſſible, that *Mahumet*, being then about fiue and twentie yeares old, ſeruing a rich marchant of Arabia, whoſe widow he after maried, ſhould come into Spaine for his B maſters affaires, and to haue giuen ſome knowledge of the poyſon which lay in his breaſt. King *Victeric* (whom others call *Deteric*, and ſome *Bertric*) as he had put the innocent prince *Liuba* miſerably to death, was by a juſt reuenge miſerably ſlaine by his owne people, as he ſat at the table: a baſe king, who did nothing aduance the kingdome of the Gothes, but in taking the towne of Siguenſa from the Romans.

A diſcourſe of Mahumet not very credible.

The miſerable end of the tyrant Victeric.

18. Gundamir.

29 THe Gothes after the death of *Victeric*, created *Gundamir* king, who came to the crowne about the ſixt yeare of the empire of *Phocas*, in the yeare 610: his wife was C called *Hilduare*. This king at his comming made the churches ſanctuaries, forbidding to take or force any criminall perſon that had fled thither: the which was done at the purſute of a Councell then held at Toledo, of foureteene biſhops, and other Clergie men, *Auraſius* being biſhop there: in the which the Archbiſhop of Toledo was declared Primat of Spaine. All writers make not mention of this Councell, but onely (as the Spaniards ſay) there are memorials found thereof at Toledo: and it is written, That the rights of this Metropolitane were debated there, where he had his Suffraganes aſſigned him in all the prouince of Carpetania, which did comprehend Carthagene: ſo as in this regard the Metropolitane of Toledo had then a greater juriſdiction than at this day. *Iſidore* of Seuille, *Innocent* of Merida, *Euſebius* of Tarracone, and *Beniamin* of Dumes, among others, aſſiſted at this Councell. Hee D had warre againſt the Vaſcons or Nauarrois, and againſt the Romanes or their partiſans with happie ſucceſſe. He raigned two yeares, and dyed at Toledo, of his naturall death.

Anno 610.

Liberties of Churches.

19. Siſebuth.

30 *Siſebuth* ſucceeded *Gundamir*, a wiſe and valiant prince, learned and eloquent (as the Spaniards ſay.) He chaſed away the Iewes which would not bee baptized, wherewith France was ſoone filled: but they were againe forced to flie, *Dagobert* the French king hauing made an edict, by the which they were injoyned to conforme themſelues to the Chriſtian re- E ligion, vpon paine of death. *Siſebuth* imployed his time to conquer the townes, caſtles, forts, ſtraits and paſſages of the mountaines, which were yet held by the Romane garriſons, and did in a manner make himſelfe maſter of all Spaine, *Cæſarius* commaunding there for the Romanes.

Anno 612.

The zeale of religion was great in many at that time in Spaine, but moſt of them wanted the true knowledge. The Church of Toledo was gouerned by *Heladius*, who of a Courtier became a Monke, and from thence had beene taken and aduanced, in his age, to the Archiepiſcopall dignitie, the which was now growne full of ſtate, but not ſuch as it hath been ſince. *Agapite*, or *Agapie*, being alſo turned from a ſouldiour to a Monke, had beene made biſhop of Corduba, not for any learning hee had, but for meere zeale. The nouriſhment he gaue F to his dioceſans, and his religious exerciſes, were in the inuention and veneration of reliques of the bodies of martyres: whereunto the world was then more addicted, than to know the grounds of their Faith. Yet there was a Councell held at Seuille, of eight biſhops, againſt the heretikes which were called Acephali, or without a head, the which denied the truth of the two natures, diuine and humane, in Ieſus Chriſt, where as a certaine Syrian biſhop, a great defender of that hereſie, was vanquiſhed by the ſtrong arguments of *Iſi-*

A Councell at Seuille.

dorus biſhop of that place,and Preſident of the Councel.In all the Eccleſiaſtical orders which were made in Spaine,during the raigne of king *Siſebuth*, he interpoſed his authoritie. He forced *Cecilius* biſhop of Menteſa, to giue a reaſon, for that abandoning his biſhopricke he had made himſelfe a Monke: and he depoſed *Euſebius* biſhop of Barcelona, for that he had ſuffered certaine Comedians to make playes of the falſe Pagan gods. At the ſaid Councell of Seuille, it was decreed, That Nunnes ſhould not talke to any man, except the Abbeſſe to the Abbot or Monke which had the charge of their monaſterie, and that before one or two witneſſes. *Mahumets* ſect began then to ſpread in Africke, which was in the yere ſix hundred and twentie of our Sauiour, and the ſix hundreth fiftie and eight of the Spaniards Æra; the which did run wonderfully throughout all Aſia, and part of Europe, in a ſhort time: whileſt that the Paſtors of the Church of Chriſt did buſie themſelues to adorne their exterior Hierarchie, and to conuert it into a mundane Principalitie; and that the ſumme of the doctrine of the Goſpell was reduced by them to build churches and chappels, and to heape vp rents and reuenewes, to ſeeke out and oftentimes to ſuppoſe the dead bodies of Saints, and that which had belonged vnto them in this corporall life, to reuerence them after an extraordinarie maner, with other ſuch like traditions; which approached neere to impietie, couering all with a cloake of well meaning. We read in the acts of *Siſebuth*, That he made a law, by the which he curſed all his ſucceſſours kings, which ſhould ſuffer any Chriſtian to be held as a ſlaue, or to ſerue a Iew. There is another law of his found, which ordaines, That thoſe which ſhould not go to the warre when the armie ſhould march, or ſhould flie from the enemie, ſhould bee for euer noted with infamie. This laſt hath beene ſince corrected, as too ſeuere. He was happie in warre, ſubdued them of Aſturia, who had rebelled, and triumphed twice for the victories he obtained againſt the Romanes: To conclude, he was ſo mild and courteous, euen vnto his enemies, as being priſoners he paid their ranſoms to his owne men, and ſent them home free; ſo as he exhauſted his treaſure in the redeeming of priſoners. Hee built the church of Saint *Leocadia* at Toledo, and hauing raigned eight yeares, he died, leauing *Ricared* his ſonne, ſucceſſour in the realme; but verie young, and of a ſhort life, whom they doe not put in the number of the kings of Spaine. Some write, that he liued but three moneths after him, others ſeuen.

Anno 620.

Lawes of king Siſebuth.

His mildneſſe and Chriſtian bountie.

20. Suintilla.

Anno 621. 31 THe Gothes did chuſe *Suintilla* for their king, being ſonne to the firſt *Ricared*. This was the firſt king of the Gothes, which obtained the abſolute monarchie of Spaine, and wholly diſpoſſeſſed the Romanes. By that which hath beene ſaid they conclude, That among the Gothes they did not raigne by right of ſucceſſion from father to ſonne; but thoſe were choſen kings among them, which were held worthie to gouerne: which election was made by the nobilitie and the people: and if any one did affect that dignitie by any other vnlawfull meanes, he was excommunicated, and rejected from the companie of Chriſtians, as it appeareth by the fift Councell of Toledo. The Vaſcons inhabiting the countrey which is now called Nauarre, were entred into Arragon, whom he ſuppreſt, and forced them to build at their owne charges, the towne called Olit, or Oligil, neere to Tafalla (which hath ſince beene the kings houſes in Nauarre) to keepe them in awe. We find that the towne of Fontarabie was the worke of this king *Suintilla*, called properly *Ondarriuia*, which ſignifies in the Baſques language, ſand of the riuer. He admitted his ſonne *Ricamire* to a part of the gouernment. In the beginning hee was a good prince, but in the end hee grew exceeding couetous and cruell: wherefore the Gothes made him to reſigne his kingdome, the which *Siſenand* his aduerſarie obtained, with the conſent of the people, and with the helpe of king *Dagobert* of France, who ſent *Abondant* and *Venerand*, two of his captaines, into Spaine, with forces which they had leuied of the nobilitie of Bourgogne. *Suintilla* was not onely depriued of the crowne, but alſo excommunicated by the biſhops (whoſe power at that time began to equall that of kings) at the fourth Councell of Toledo, where they did interdict him, *Geilan* his brother, with their wiues and children, the communion and fellowſhip of the Church, and the poſſeſſion of their goods, gotten by violent and tyranous meanes. *Suintilla* raigned ten yeares.

Monarchie of the Gothes in Spaine.

Royaltie of the Gothes election.

Suintilla depoſed for his vices.

The power of biſhops ballancing that of kings.

21 Siſenand

21. Siſenand.

32 *Siſenand* being ſeated in the royall throne, by the aid of the French, the fourth Councell of Toledo was celebrated, of ſixtie biſhops, or ſixtie ſeuen, according vnto ſome, and as others ſay, by ſeuentie: whither among the reſt came *Iſidorus* of Seuille, *Iuſtus* of Toledo, who did preſide, *Iulian* of Bracar, *Stephen* of Merida, *Audax* of Tarracone, *Silua* of Narbona, all Archbiſhops. In this Councell it was decreed, That from thenceforth the Iews ſhould not be forced to make themſelues Chriſtians: for the ſpirit by the which the doctrine is apprehended, is not to be forced, but perſuaded. The Iewes were in the meane time debarred of all publique charges, leaſt they ſhould thereby doe injurie vnto the Chriſtians. Clergie men were exempt from all politike care, that they might with more liberty attend that which did belong vnto their ſpirituall charge; and as *Baleus* writes, who hath taken it out of *Iſidorus*, lawfull mariage was reſtored vnto the Clergie, and the vſe of concubines forbidden: And it was decreed, That no prieſt ſhould be admitted, before he were thirtie yeares old. Yet were theſe good and wholeſome conſtitutions, mingled with externall ceremonies, which were in great credit in thoſe dayes. Some good men had then care of the Church, but there were others which were violent and ill inſtructed. They ſay, that *Iuſtus* Archbiſhop of Toledo was ſtrangled in his bed, by ſome of his owne Clergie: he was a man without modeſtie, and ſo violent in his actions, as before his death his ſences failed him. King *Siſenand* died nineteene dayes after the Archbiſhop *Iuſtus*, hauing raigned about ſix yeares. The Gothes lawes and ordinances in Spaine, were alſo reformed in this kings time, with the authoritie of the Councell aboue mentioned, in the which was receiued the razing of Clergie mens haire in manner of a crowne.

Ann. 631.

4 Councell at Toledo.

22. Cinthilla.

33 *Cinthilla* raigned after *Siſenand*; in the firſt yeare of whoſe raigne the fift Councell was held at Toledo, *Eugenius* the Archbiſhop of that place preſiding, where there aſſembled 24 biſhops, among the which the vertue and doctrine of *Braule* biſhop of Sarragoſſe was famous. *Eugenius* was alſo learned, eſpecially in Aſtrologie. The ſame yeare *Iſidorus* Archbiſhop of Seuille died, of whom the Spaniards make great eſteeme, for his ſanctitie and learning, and for the number of bookes which he hath written. The yere following there was another Councell held at Toledo, whither came 44 biſhops, and ſix ſuffraganes, or vicars, being, in all as ſome write, 52; where *Eugenius* did alſo preſide. There was a perpetual law impoſed vpon the kings of Spaine, not to ſuffer any one to liue within their dominions, that was not a Catholike, the which their kings ſhould ſolemnely ſweare before they were crowned: and if any king ſhould goe againſt that law which he had thus ſworne, he ſhould be excommunicate and accurſed. Thus did thoſe reuerend Fathers labour to draw the ſick and languiſhing to their ſaluation, after the example of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles. *Cinthilla* dyed the fourth yeare of his raigne.

Ann. 637.

5 Councell of Toledo.

6 Councell of Toledo.

A violent decree of the ſixt Councell of Toledo.

23. Tulca.

34 After him *Tulca* was choſen king, endowed with all the vertues requiſit for a prince, but he died the ſecond yeare of his raigne, as the Spaniards write: but *Sigebert* ſaith, that the Viſigothes did reject him, for his lightneſſe and youth; and that hee was made a Clergie man.

Anno 641.

24. Cindaſiunthe *and his ſonne.*

35 *Cindaſiunthe* tooke the place of *Tulca*, and raigned ſix yeares alone ouer the Gothes, and foure yeares and ſeuen moneths with his ſonne *Flauius Receſiunthe*. The biſhops of Rome were now inthronized in their Primat, & began to force obedience throughout all

Anno 742.

Popes Primacie

Chriſtendome, no leſſe from princes and kings, than from their fellow biſhops: wherefore G to ſettle the Primat in Spaine, they were forced to haue a Bull and permiſſion from Pope *Theodore* the firſt, or *Martin* the firſt, then raigning; by the which this primacie was referred to the election of the biſhops of that prouince. Vntill that time the Archbiſhop of Seuille had held this ranke, rather of honour than of power: but it falling out, that *Theodiſque* the Archbiſhop, a Grecian borne, a man more learned in the tongues, than religous, ſeeing himſelfe purſued by the other biſhops and prelats of Spaine, being accuſed to haue corrupted the workes of *Iſidorus*, who was held a Saint, and therefore depoſed from his Archbiſhopricke in open Councell, he was ſo tranſported, as hauing abandoned the Chriſtian religion, he retired himſelfe into Africke with the Mahumetiſts, the Primacie of Spaine was H then transferred from Seuille to Toledo, whereas the ſeuenth Synode was celebrated, by fortie biſhops, the fiſt yeare of the raigne of *Cindaſiunthe*, when as he receiued his ſonne for a companion and aſſiſtant in the gouernment of his eſtate, ſeeking thereby to make the kingdome of the Gothes hereditarie. This young prince was held verie deuout and ſtudious of diuinitie; but aboue all things he was curious to build and inrich churches. During their raigne there liued another *Eugenius*, ſucceſſour to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, aboue mentioned, famous for his ſanctitie of life and doctrine, aduanced by force by the king to the Archbiſhopricke.

Seuille yields the Primacie to Toledo.

7 Councell at Toledo.

King *Cindaſiunthe* dyed of poyſon, as ſome beleeue, hauing raigned ten yeares, or thereabouts: he and his wife are interred in the monaſterie of S. *Romane*, at this day called Hormiſga, betwixt Toro and Tordeſillas, vpon the riuer of Duero. I

25. Recceſiunthe.

Ann. 652.

36 R*Eccesiunthe* his ſonne, raigned alone, and ſoone after his fathers deceaſe there was a Councell held at Toledo of eight and fortie biſhops, and ten vicars, of ſuch as had lawfull lets and could not come; there were ſome abbots, and many earles and dukes did aſſiſt there. In thoſe times, earles were of greater dignitie than dukes. In this Councell, be-

8 Councell of Toledo.

ing the eight, it was decreed, That they ſhould abſtaine from eating fleſh in Lent, without K leaue, in caſes of ineuitable neceſſitie, vpon paine of excommunication, and not to eat any fleſh in a yeare after: ſo much they did regard theſe acceſſaries of religion, confirming and amplifying in the meane time their authoritie with the people.

Irene a chaſt virgine.

In Luſitania certaine lewd and cruell perſons ſought to rauiſh a virgine called *Irene*, againſt whom ſhe made ſuch reſiſtance, as being impatient in their damnable luſt, they ſlew her, and caſt her into the riuer of Nabanin. Her bodie was carried to the towne of Salabis, the which changed the name, and is called Saint *Irene*; an argument of great ſanctitie, ſeeing ſhe preferred her chaſtitie before her life. The chiefe of theſe luſtfull murtherers was called *Britaud*.

Decree of the Councell of Toledo.

Portamius Archbiſhop of Bracar, was not ſo vertuous: for the celibate of Clergie men L being then in requeſt, and the children begotten by them declared incapable to inherit their fathers goods, and were deliuered for ſlaues to churches, by the ninth Councell held at Toledo, in the ſeuenth yeare of *Recceſiunthe*, he fell to be looſe of life: yet hee did acknowledge it openly in the Councell following, held at Toledo, which was the tenth, and did willingly reſigne his Archbiſhopricke; to whom *Fructuoſus* ſucceeded, a man of a noble familie, being then biſhop of Dume, the founder of many monaſteries and chappels. The eight yeare of the raigne of *Recceſiunthe* Spaine was much terrified, for that there appeared ſtarres in the firmament at noone day, and the Sunne was ecclipſed.

Heretikes Heluidians.

There came two heretikes, called *Theude* and *Pelagius*, out of Gothike Gaule into Spaine, who denied the perpetuall virginitie of *Marie* the mother of our Sauiour; renewing the M hereſie of *Heluidius*: the which were confuted by *Alphonſus*, nephew and ſucceſſour to *Eugenius* in the Archbiſhopricke of Toledo, who wrot a booke vpon that argument. Whereupon the Spaniards ſay, that the virgine *Marie* appeared vnto him: and to this apparition they adde the gift of a cope, to weare when he ſhould ſay Maſſe, the which they affirme is kept at Toledo, or at Ouiedo; but they know not well at which of theſe two places it remaines

maines: for being not lawfull for any one to vſe it after the death of *Alphonſus*, it hath remained inuiſible. To this Archbiſhop, they ſay, that Saint *Leocadia* did alſo appeare, who reuealed vnto him the place where his bodie was buried, and had lyen many yeares hidden. Such graue teſtimonies haue they of the holineſſe of this Archbiſhop *Alphonſus*, ſurnaming him *Chryſoſtome*, the Anchor of the Faith, attributing vnto him other like epithites, by reaſon of his learning and pietie. *Apparitions and reuelations beleeued by the Spaniards.*

There is no other thing found written of this king *Receſiunthe*, being credible, that hauing no warres, he did not much trouble himſelfe, leauing all the affaires of ſtate and Clergie to bee managed by the Prelats and frequent Councels: yet there are ſome lawes found made by him. Hauing raigned nineteene yeares and three moneths, he dyed at Toledo, leauing two brethren, *Theofred*, who was father to *Roderic*, the laſt king of the Gothes in Spaine and Iafila. He was interred in the towne which in old time was called Gertic, and now Bamba, in the territorie of Palenza.

26. Bamba.

37 THe ſame day that *Receſiunthe* dyed, *Bamba* before deſired by the noblemen Gothes, was choſen king. Some ſay, that he would neuer haue receiued this honour and charge but by conſtraint; and that refuſing it abſolutely, there was a nobleman among the Gothes, which drew his ſword, and threatened to kill him, if he did not yeeld to the Gothes intreaties: whereupon he condeſcended, more for feare, than for any deſire to raigne, and was crowned by *Quirin*, or *Quirice*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, in our Ladies church; where they report, that there was ſeene comming out of his head, from among his haire, a vapour like ſmoke, in forme of a pillar, going vpward. There he made a confeſſion of the Catholique Faith, confirmed the ciuile lawes and ordinances of the kings his predeceſſours, and receiued a ſolemne oath from the people. Theſe ceremonies were ſcarce ended, when as they had newes, That the earle of Niſmes, called *Hilperic*, or *Hilderic*, contemning the ordinances of the precedent kings of the Gothes, had brought the Iewes againe into the countrey, and made all Gothike Gaule in a manner to rebell againſt the king. And for that *Arege* biſhop of Niſmes had contradicted him in this exceſſe, he had chaſed him away, and againſt the canons had conſecrated another by two biſhops of his faction. *Gumild* biſhop of Maguelone did counſell and aſſiſt him in theſe actions. Wherefore *Bamba* to ſuppreſſe the inſolencie of this earle, ſent a captaine named *Paul*, allyed to the deceaſed king, but faithleſſe and treacherous to his prince; who turned the armie which had beene giuen him, againſt him, and made an agreement with the enemie, cauſing himſelfe to be crowned king at Narbone, where he ſet vpon his head the crowne which king *Ricared* had giuen to Saint *Felix* church at Girone. Hee drew vnto his partie *Raſmonde* duke of Tarracone, and *Hildigiſe*, who was Gardingue (which was an office of the Crowne) and vſed all the treacheries hee could deuiſe againſt king *Bamba*. He ſpoyled all the churches of Languedoc, and fortified himſelfe with men which hee had leuied in Fraunce and Gaſcoine. But as ſuch attempts doe ſeldome proſper, ſo this ſucceeded ill with him: for *Bamba* hauing raiſed great forces in Spaine, came againſt him, and in leſſe than ſix monethes did happily end a moſt difficult warre: He tooke Barcelone, Girone, and Narbone, the which he beſieged both by ſea and land; then Magdelone, Agde, Beziers, and in the end Niſmes, whereas the chiefe of this rebellion with the reſt of his faction fell into his hands, the ſame day twelue monethes that hee came vnto the Crowne. Hee repaired the ruines which had beene made at Niſmes, and throughout all Gothike Gaule, and cauſed reſtitution to be made of that which had beene taken out of the churches. At the intreatie of *Argebaud* Archbiſhop of Narbone, he gaue the offendors their liues, reſeruing to himſelfe all other puniſhment. He repulſed *Loup* a Commaunder of certaine French bands, neere vnto Beziers. Theſe things being happily performed by him, he returned to Toledo, triumphing, and carrying his rebels in pompe before him, hauing their beards and heads ſhauen, bare legged, attired in ſackcloth, and mounted vpon Cammels. Among others *Paul* the chiefe of the rebels, carrying a crowne of pitched

Anno 672.

Bamba made king againſt his will: a rare example.

Hilderic earle or Gouernour of Narbone.

Diſloialtie of Paul, Bambas captaine.

Defeat of the rebels.

Puniſhment of the rebels.

leather, followed by a long traine of his confederats, was led in ſhew, and expoſed to be ſcorned of all men, and in the end they were all put into darke filthie dungeons, where they miſerably ended their dayes. G

Theſe troubles being pacified, king *Bamba* cauſed the walles of Toledo to bee built, and fortified them with towers and bulwarkes, in one of the which were written theſe Latine verſes.

Erexit fautore Deo Rex inclytus vrbem,
Bamba, ſuæ celebrem protendens gentis honorem.

H

And vpon a port neere vnto the bridge called Alcantara:

Vos Domini ſanc̄ti, quorum hic præſentia fulget,
Hanc vrbem, & plebem ſolito ſeruate fauore.

11 Councell of Toledo,

He cauſed the eleuenth Councell of Toledo to be held, vnder *Quirice*, or *Quirin*, Archbiſhop of that place, and Primat of Spaine; where there were ſixteene biſhops preſent, and many deputies for others that were abſent. They had beene many yeares without calling of any Councell, wherewith the Fathers had beene much troubled, this was in the yeare 675: there king *Bamba* hauing cauſed the acts of the kings his predeceſſours to be ſought out, according to that which they had decreed, and with the conſent of the Fathers, he aſſigned to euerie dioceſſe the bounds of his juriſdiction. The biſhopricks of Lugo and Leon were declared exempt, and not ſubject to any Metropolitane, as they had beene vntill that time. Another Councell was held at Bracar: theſe were prouinciall Councels, which were to be held euerie yeare; and at certaine times they were to call a generall Councell of all the biſhops of the Gothes kingdome, of either ſide of the Pyrenee mountaines, the which was done at Toledo the chiefe towne. I

Prouinciall Councels annual

Arabians firſt attempt vpon Spaine.

In this kings raigne the Arabians holding Africke, began to inuade Spaine: they had a fleet at ſea of two hundred threeſcore and ten veſſels, the which by the diligence and valour of *Bamba* were in a manner all burnt, and the Arabians put to the ſword. They did then ſpoile a great part of the countrey along the coaſt. There was in the Court a nobleman called Eruinge, iſſued from a daughter of king *Cindauſinthe*, and a gentleman of Greece, called *Ardauaſte*, who being chaſed from Conſtantinople, had fled into Spaine, where he had been well entertained, and honoured with this allyance. This *Eruinge* being ambitious of commaund, poiſoned king *Bamba*, ſo as he became madde; for the curing whereof there were many remedies applied, both naturall and ſuperſtitious, but to ſmall effect: ſo as *Bamba* (either willingly, finding himſelfe vnable, or otherwiſe) quit the crowne, and retyred himſelfe into a monaſterie, where he liued ſeuen yeares and one moneth, after that he had beene king nine yeares. The place where he paſſed the remainder of his life, is called Pampliga, neere Burgos. Thus *Eruinge* ſeized by force, as they ſay, of the kingdome of the Viſigothes in Spaine, the which the Archbiſhop of Toledo doth affirme: yet it doth not accord well with the acts of the twelfth Councell held at Toledo, vnder *Eruinge*, where the election of this king *Eruinge* is confirmed, and allowed as lawfull. But to reconcile theſe contrarieties, it is to bee preſumed, that *Eruinge* being king, and hauing power in his hands, gratifying the Fathers in ſome ſort, that he was alſo gratified by them, as one hand waſheth another, or, as they ſay in France, one Barber ſhaues another. K

Bamba poyſoned by Eruinge.

L

27. Eruinge.

Anno 681.

39 WHen as *Eruinge* was ſeated in the royall throne, hee confirmed the lawes of the kings of the Gothes his predeceſſours, and did authorize with his name, ſome made by Saint *Iſidorus:* and that to the end it ſhould not ſeeme, that the Clergie vnder the title of the Church, would vſurpe a ciuile juriſdiction; he rejected many of the plebeians from all dignities and honours, hauing gotten them by money, and other vnlawfull meanes, M

to

A to the diſhonour of nobilitie: he ordained (but with the aduice of the Romane See) That no Archbiſhop ſhould be ſubject to the Primats. To fortifie the beginning of his reigne againſt *Theofrede* the ſonne of *Bamba* (whom he feared much) he gaue *Cixilone* his daughter, whom he had by *Luibigotte* his wife, to an Earle who was rich, and of great authoritie among the Gothes called *Egica*, couſin to *Bamba* deceaſed. And ſoone after the twelfth Councell was held at Toledo, which was in the yeare 681, *Iulian* Archbiſhop of Seuille being Preſident, where there aſſiſted one and fortie Biſhops, fiue Abbots, and fifteene great Noblemen. By the acts of this Councell in the ſeuenth Article it appeares, That the kings of Spaine had power to giue Biſhoprickes, and that to that collation, the confirmation of the other Biſhops
B of Spaine was required, eſpecially of the Archbiſhop of Toledo; the which doth alſo appeare by the anſwere of an Epiſtle written by *Braule* Biſhop of Sarragoſſe, to S. *Iſidorus*, where he is admoniſhed to chuſe ſome good man in the place of *Euſebius*, Archbiſhop of Tarracone deceaſed: *Iſidorus* anſweres him, That he did not know the kings pleaſure therein. This Councell did aboliſh certaine Biſhops newly erected, and created by king *Bamba*, in ſome townes which were not very conuenient.

12 *Councell of Toledo. An.* 681.

Nomination of Biſhops belonged to the kings of Spaine.

Three yeares after, in the yeare 684, was another Councell held at Toledo, which was the thirteenth, of eight & fortie Biſhops, and three Archbiſhops, of Toledo, Bracar, and Merida; yet the Authors varie in the number of theſe Biſhops: one of the decrees of theſe fathers was, That neither the king nor any other ſhould marrie the widow of the deceaſed king, nor
C defile her by adulterie, vpon paine of excommunication, and to be damned to hell fire. And in the yeare 685 the foureteenth Councell was aſſembled at Toledo, of ſixteene Biſhops, and many Vicars of them that were abſent, to confirme the acts of the ſixt Councell of Conſtantinople, begun vnder *Conſtantine* the fourth, and ſome yeares after ended, againſt the errors of *Apollinaris*, renewed then, denying the two natures, diuine and humane in Ieſus Chriſt: which acts the Pope ſent into Spaine, that in a generall aſſembly of the Prelats they might be read, and by their authoritie allowed, and publiſhed throughout all the kingdome of the Gothes. The Archbiſhop of Toledo was then called *Iulian Pomer*, of the Iewes race, whoſe father and mother had made themſelues Chriſtians; a learned man, religious, and of a good life. *Eruinge* hauing reigned ſeuen yeares, died at Toledo of a naturall death, leauing his kingdome to *Egi-*
D *ca* his ſonne in law. In his time there was a great famine in Spaine.

13 *Councell of Toledo. An.* 684.

Decree not to marrie the kings widow.

14 *Councell of Toledo.*

28. Egica.

40 AS ſoone as *Egica*, or (as others call him) *Egican* was king, he put away his wife *Cixilone*, for the wickedneſſe which her father had committed againſt king *Bamba*; yet he did auow the infant *Vitiſa* which he had had by her, and cauſed it to be nouriſhed (in hope to make it his heire) in the towne of Tude or Tuy in Gallicia, as if he had giuen it the realme of Gallicia, and of the Sueues, for a portion, whileſt that he reigned ouer the Gothes. He cau-
E ſed himſelfe to be abſolued at a Councell held at Toledo, in the firſt yeare of his reigne, of the oath which he had taken againſt his dutie to that vnlawfull king. This Councell was called the fifteenth at Toledo, whereas *Iulian* the Archbiſhop of that place did preſide, where there were ſixtie one Biſhops, or ſixtie ſix, according vnto ſome. There *Iulian* did maintaine by reaſons and good authoritie, what he had written in a confeſſion of the Faith ſent to Rome, as well in his name, as of all the Biſhops of Spaine; which was, That in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt were the word, the bodie, and the ſoule; the which had beene rejected by Pope *Benedict* the ſecond, who (as it ſeemes) did not well vnderſtand theſe things: the Article was allowed by the Councell of Toledo, and afterwards being well conſidered, was receiued at Rome. The acts of this Councell were publiſhed in Gothique Gaule in the Cathedrall Churches, for
F that the Biſhops of that Prouince could not come to Toledo by reaſon of the plague; being enjoyned to receiue them vpon paine of excommunication, and the loſſe of the tenth part of their goods that ſhould oppugne them. Six yeares after there was the ſixteenth Councell held at Toledo, *Sigebert* being Archbiſhop of that place, after the death of *Iulian*, and was depoſed by this Councell for his ill deſeruing, and in his place was ſet *Felix* Archbiſhop of Seuille. *Fauſtin* Archbiſhop of Bracar was aduanced to Seuille, and *Felix* Biſhop of Portogallo

An. 688.

15 *Councell of Toledo.*

Pope Benedict an heretick.

16 *Councell of Toledo.*

to

to Bracar: this alteration being made, they did proceed to the acts. The cauſe why they depoſed *Sigebert*, was, for that he had attempted to depriue king *Egica* of the realme, for the which hee was degraded, baniſhed, his goods confiſcated, and excommunicated; ſo as hee might not receiue the Sacraments but at the houre of his death: yea, a penaltie was inflicted vpon all clergie men, of what degree ſoeuer they were, that ſhould attempt againſt their prince. G

17 Councell of Toledo. An.694.

The yeare following, which was 694, the ſeuenteenth Councell was held at Toledo, whereas the king with great humilitie demaunded many things of the Fathers: among other, there was a decree made againſt the Iewes, who being accuſed not onely to haue reuolted from the Chriſtian religion (in the which they had beene once baptized) but alſo to haue conſpired againſt the King and the State of Spaine, it was ſaid, That their goods ſhould be confiſcated, their perſons, wiues and children, and their deſcendants held for ſlaues, and diſperſed throughout Spaine: That thoſe which had them in ſeruice, ſhould not ſuffer them to exerciſe their Iewiſh ceremonies: That their children being once ſeuen yeres old, ſhould be ſent away from their parents, and giuen to Chriſtians to bring vp, and then married to Chriſtians, and by all meanes drawne from the conuerſation and acquaintance of their parents, and men of their ſect: this is to be ſeene in the eight article. H

A decree againſt the Iewes.

What the Councels of theſe times were.

Theſe laſt Councels were generall aſſemblies of the nation, whereas the Clergie held the firſt place, the which in name and ſhew were made to determine of matters concerning religion, but in effect they treated of matters of State, whereas controuerſies betwixt great men and other politicke matters were there decided: and although there were men of all eſtates, yea and of the nobleſt houſes, and that there was an order, that regular men ſhould take knowledge of regular cauſes, and ſecular cauſes ſhould be decided by the ſecular men, yet it is eaſie to judge, that the ſoueraigne and laſt deciſion depended vpon the authoritie of the Fathers in all things: ſo as the ſpiritualtie in the confuſion of theſe two powers did often vaniſh among worldly affaires, and ciuile policie vſurped by clergie men, became tyrannie, as we ſhall ſoone ſee. I

Fafila Gouernor of Biſcaye.

Egica growne old, had ſetled his ſonne *Vitiza* as Viceroy in Gallicia, holding his ſeat at Tuy, then Tude, whither a little before he had confined *Fafila*, duke or gouernour of Biſcaye, ſonne to king *Cindaſiunthe*, as ſome hold, for certaine attempts made againſt him, whoſe wife was corrupted by *Vitiza*, who afterwards by her inſtigation ſlew *Fafila*, that they might enjoy their loues more freely. This exceſſe happened in a towne which was then called Douzemains, and now Palatio, neere vnto the riuer Vrbicum. This *Fafila* was father to king *Pelagius*, who reſtored Spaine, being oppreſſed and ruined by the Moores. *Egica* hauing reigned about thirteene yeares, died at Toledo, being honoured for a wiſe and temperate king. K

29. Vitiza. L

Ann.701.

41 THe diſhonour and infamie of the kings of the Gothes was in the perſon of this *Vitiza*, being full of all exceſſe in his luſt, without feare or reuerence of God in his actions, an hipocrite and diſſembler: for at his firſt comming he ſhewed himſelfe mild, liberall, and religious, but ſoone after he turned to his owne nature. He called a Councell of Biſhops and Noblemen at Toledo, to conſult touching the gouernment of his realme: he cauſed *Theofreds* eyes to be pulled out, who had beene confined to Cordoua, leaſt that hee who was beloued of the people, and brother to *Recceſiunthe*, ſhould aſpire vnto the Crowne. Hee intended to doe the like to *Pelagius*, the ſonne of *Fafila*, whom hee had ſlaine, but hee eſcaped, and fled into Biſcaye, being reſerued for greater matters. Hee committed manie villanies the firſt two yeares, yet ſecretly, but afterwards he exceeded in all vices, without any ſhame: he filled his palace with many wiues which he had married, and an infinite number of concubines, the which he would haue publickely allowed vnto all men, and did perſuade the Noblemen to follow his example. Hee did likewiſe diſannull the Popes Conſtitutions for a ſingle life, and by an Edict which he cauſed to be ſet foorth, ſuffered Clergie men to marrie, and to haue as many women married or vnmarried

18 Councell of Toledo.

The impure and lewd life of Vitiza.

M

A vnmarried as they pleaſed, vſing all the inticements he could to infect them with his licentiouſneſſe, leaſt they ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt him, and by their cenſures draw the people from obeying of ſo filthie and vnchaſt a king. And to preuent all rebellions, this man blinded with his luſtfull pleaſures, cauſed (vnder the colour of peace, which Spaine did then enjoy) all the townes of his realme to be demanteled, except Leon, Toledo, and Aſturica. Beſides hee diſarmed the people, and depriued *Sinderede* Archbiſhop of Toledo (were it juſtly or vnjuſtly) of his dignitie, giuing it to his brother *Opas*, who was Archbiſhop of Seuille: hee diſannulled all the immunities and priuiledges of Churches, called backe the Iewes, and reſtored the baniſhed men to their goods and poſſeſſions, giuing them more B priuiledges than euer they had before. Finally, as a preſage of the future miſeries, he ſhewed (in all ſorts of exceſſe and violence contrarie to the lawes of God and men) what princes, ill inſtructed and ignorant of true pietie, could doe. In the meane time blind *Theofred*, confined to Cordoua, being newly married to *Recilone*, a ladie of the bloud royall of the Gothes, had begotten two ſonnes of her, *Roderic* and *Coſta*, to whom *Vitiza* would haue done as much as hee had done to the father; but they eſcaped, and implored the Romanes aid, as the Archbiſhop *Rodrigo* doth report, or elſe of the nobilitie of the Gothes, who in remembrance of *Receſiunthe* gaue them aid, to chaſe this infamous monſter out of the royall throne, which he did vnworthily hold. Being come to battaile, *Vitiza* was defeated and taken, and according to the preſident which he had giuen, his owne eyes were put C out, and he confined to Cordoua, without title or honour, where he ſpent the reſt of his life in miſerie, hauing reigned tenne yeares. Thus *Roderic* obtained the crowne by the fauour of the Romanes and the ſuffrages of the people.

Towns of Spain demanteled, and the people diſarmed by Vitiza.

Vitiza taken and his eyes put out by Roderic and Coſta, ſons to Theofrid.

30. Roderic *laſt King of the Gothes.*

42 THe time was now come when as the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine muſt haue an end, being come to the height of their iniquities: for in their Commonweale all things, both holy and prophane, were managed with fraud and violence, and their princes af- D fected confuſion, to ſatisfie their ambition and infamous luſts: wherefore it pleaſed God to confound them in their imaginations, to blind them that would be blind, to root out the incorrigible, and to take his graces from them that did obſtinately contemne him. *Roderic* hauing beene an inſtrument to puniſh a tyrant, made no vſe of this correction, nor acknowledged the fauour from whence it came, but preſently after his comming to the crowne he followed *Vitizaes* ſteps, yea, he exceeded him in all vices. He ſhewed himſelfe cruell and inhumane to *Siſebut* and *Elba*, the children of *Vitiza*, whom he purſued with all the indignities that might be, and forced them to flie into Africke, depriued of all their goods, where they were entertained by *Recila*, Earle and Gouernour of Tanger or Tingis. Hee addreſſed himſelfe to the daughter of *Iulian*, Earle or Gouernour of Ceuta, called *Caba* or *Caua*, the E which was bred vp in the Court, as other virgines of noble families, according to the cuſtome, and rauiſhed her, whileſt that her father was in embaſſage in Africke, for the affaires of the kingdome. The place where he committed this rape is called Pancoruo, betwixt Victoria and Burgos. This was the occaſion which made the Moores to inuade Spaine. Some authors write, That *Caba* or *Caua* was wife and not daughter to Count *Iulian*; yet wee find, that his wife was called *Faldrina*, and that ſhee was ſiſter to king *Vitiza*. The Earle did wickedly reuenge this priuat injurie by the ruine of the whole kingdome: for returning into Africke, whither he led *Caua*, cauſing her to embarke at Malaga, of whom the port of the ſaid towne is yet named, he went to *Muſa Abenzair*, Gouernour for the Emperour of the Arabians, whoſe name was *Vlit*, and promiſed to make him Lord of all Spaine, if hee would F giue him men and meanes to make warre there. *Muſa* hauing aduertiſed *Vlit*, he aduiſed him not to giue too much credit vnto the Earle, before he had tried him: Wherefore at that time they gaue him a hundred horſe and foure hundred foot, with promiſe of greater forces.

Anno 711.

Roderic more vitious than Vitiza.

Palardie the cauſe of the ruine of the Gothic kingdome.

A priuat iniurie furiouſly purſued with the ruine of the publicke.

This man tranſported with the diſhonour done vnto his houſe, led theſe Moores into Spaine, and hauing joyned with ſome of the countrey, whom he had corrupted, he ſpoyled

Count Iulian brings the Moores into Spaine. Anno 713.

led all the coaſt along the Ocean, which now is Andaluſia and Portugall, and then led them backe into Africke, laden with ſpoyles for a teſtimonie of his actions. This firſt deſcent of the Moores was in the yeare 713. The Arabians hauing made this triall of Count *Iulians* affection, the Gouernour *Muſa* gaue him twelue thouſand Moores, vnder the conduct of *Tarif Aben Zarca*; which *Tarif* (according vnto ſome) had beene in the firſt paſſage of the Moores into Spaine. Paſſing the ſtrait, he landed his men at the foot of the mountaine Calpe: by reaſon whereof this place changed his name, and was in the Arabian tongue called *Gebel Tarif*, that is to ſay, the mount of Tarif. And the next towne taken by that captaine, which was either the auncient Carteia, or Mellaria, was called Tariffe. This armie being ſecretly fauoured by *Siſibut* and *Eba*, the ſonnes of *Vitiza*, aided and fortified by *Ricila* Gouernor of Tanger, and other noblemen Gothes, to whom the preſent eſtate was diſpleaſing, being friends and affected, and it may be alike intereſſed with Count *Iulian*, ouerran and ſpoyled all Andaluſia, and a part of Luſitania, entring into Seuille, and many other places which had beene demanteled, by the fooliſh aduice of king *Vitiza*. In theſe combuſtions, *Roderic* his ſucceſſour both in his vices and kingdome, was ſo vnprouided, as his enemies had meanes to doe what they would, without reſiſtance. In the end hauing aſſembled ſome troupes in haſt, he ſent them againſt the Moores, vnder the commaund of a kinſman of his, called by ſome *Inigo*, by others *Sancho*. But the Gothes hauing in a manner forgotten to manage armes, by reaſon of the long peace which they had enjoyed, could not withſtand the Moores force, hauing been for many yeares in continuall warre, ſo as they were defeated, which made Count *Iulian* to grow proud and inſolent, and his enterpriſes to bee more fauoured: ſo as vpon the newes of this victorie in Africke, an infinit number of Arabians, Moores or Saraſins, and other Africanes, paſſed into Spaine, as to the aſſured ſpoyle of one of the richeſt regions in the world.

Gibaltar ſo called of Tarif, a captaine of the Moores.

Goths defeated. An Eſtate without armes is lame and defective.

Roderic ſeeing this fire to encreaſe daily, hauing called all the Nobilitie together, and rayſed an armie, he marched againſt his enemies, hauing not all his forces yet joyned (for they of Biſcaye and of the Aſturies, and in a manner all thoſe on this ſide the riuer of Ebro, were not yet arriued) finding the Arabians vpon the riuer of Guadalette, neere to Aſſidone, which either is Xeres or Medina Sidonia at this day; whereas the two armies ſtanding in view one of another, for the ſpace of eight dayes, they had many bloudie skirmiſhes, without any great aduantage: but in the end they came to a battaile betwixt Medina Sidonia and Xeres, vpon a Sunday in September, in the yeare 714, whereas king *Roderic* was a ſpectator of his ſouldiours deuoires, being mounted vpon a great horſe which they called Orelia, in a royall mantle, and a crowne vpon his head, with other rich ornaments, after the manner of the kings of the Gothes in thoſe times, which made his ſouldiors the more courageous, and was the cauſe of a great ſlaughter that day of Saraſins or Arabians: but the multitude of the enemies one ſupporting another, and the tyred being ſtill relieued with freſh ſupplies, in the end made the Gothes and Spaniards to quit the field: and it is written, That the ſonnes of *Vitiza*, called home by *Roderic*, and to whom indiſcreetly he had giuen the commaund of two points of his armie, reuolted during the fight; whereupon all his men were cut in pieces, and all Spaine was thereby loſt in few dayes, except the Aſturies, Biſcaye, and ſome part of the Pyrenees, whither the remainders of the Nobilitie and people fled, which refuſed to liue vnder the Arabians gouernment. King *Roderic* was neuer ſeene more; his horſe and ſpoyles were onely found in a bogge: yet in the towne of Viſeo in Portugall there is at this day this inſcription to be ſeene in Latine.

Anno 714.

The total defeat of the Gothes.

An Epitaph vpon K. Roderic.

Hic iacet Rodericus, vltimus Rex Gottorum: maledictus furor impius Iuliani, quia pertinax & indignatio, quia dura, Veſanus furia, animoſus furore, oblitus fidelitatis, Immemor religionis, contemptor Diuinitatis, crudelis in ſe, Homicida in Dominum, Hoſtis in Domeſticos, Vaſtator in Patriam, Reus in omnes: Memoria eius in omni ore amareſcet, & nomen eius in æternum putreſcet.

In this king ended the Gothes kingdome in Spaine, the which had continued (if wee account as the Spaniards doe, according vnto *Iſidorus*, from *Athanaric*, who reigned in the yeare 370 in Myſia and Thrace) 344 yeares: but for that hee had no entrance into Spaine,

The continuance of the Gothes reigne.

A Spaine, but onely *Ataulphe*, who reigned in the yeare 413, and was the firſt Gothiſh king which entred there about the yeare 417, the Gothes reigne in Spaine had continued but 297 yeares.

After this defeat there was no order nor gouernment among the Gothes, euery man followed what partie did beſt pleaſe him. Some retyred into the mountaines of Aſturia and Biſcaye, and into Nauarre; others went into Gaule: many paſſed into Italie, Germanie, and England, begging aid from thoſe princes (but in vaine) to reſtore the ruined eſtate of Spaine, and elſewhere as God directed them. *Sindered* Archbiſhop of Toledo (who had been depoſed by the violence of *Vitiza*) attended not the end of the warre, but leauing his flocke, fled
B into Italie. *Oppa* who had ſucceeded him, tooke part with the Moores, and negotiating for them, loſt himſelfe in Aſturia; in whoſe place the afflicted Chriſtians did chuſe one *Vrbain*, a religious man. The traitors which had drawne in the Moores to reuenge their priuat injuries, were all diſappointed of the promiſes which had beene made them, and did periſh miſerably in diuers ſeaſons, and after diuers manners: eſpecially *Iulian*, after that he had ſeene his wife ſtoned by the Moores (who allowed the treaſon, but hated the traitors) his ſonne caſt from the top of a tower in the towne of Ceuta, himſelfe miſerable, being deſpoyled of all his goods, died in a priſon in Arragon, in the territorie of Hueſca, as ſome write. The name of the Gothes from that time was in a manner rooted out from the face of the earth: for ſince there is no memorie of any Eſtate, Policie, or Gouernment of this nation vnder this
C name, the which in former times was ſo great and famous, as well in the Eaſt as Weſt, ſince the firſt remembrance of any people. The loſſe of one battaile did blemiſh all the beautie of their poſteritie, who had vanquiſhed and ſlaine that great *Cyrus* king of Perſia, and of all Aſia: who had made head againſt the armies of *Alexander* the Great, ſorraged the kingdomes conquered by him, and carried away the kings (his ſucceſſors) priſoners: troden vnder foot the maieſtie of the Romane Empire, triumphed ouer Emperours, and ouer ſo many great Captaines and armies: taking the beſt townes in Italie; yea Rome, the Queene of all other townes, ſackt by them: the which had ſeized vpon the moſt populous and richeſt Prouinces of the Weſt; where they had reigned happily for ſo many yeares, with ſo many remarkable examples of pietie, juſtice, and valour. This braue nation was in one day ouerthrowne, ſo
D weake is the ſupport of humane greatneſſe.

Traitors fruſtrate of their hopes.

The miſerable end of Count Iulian, his wife and children.

The weakneſſe and vanitie of humane greatneſſe.

THis ruine of the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine hauing cauſed ſo great a confuſion in all things, as not onely religion, the manners of the inhabitants, the language, and the lawes, but euen the face of the earth, and the ſeat and names of townes were peruerted and changed, it ſhall not be from the purpoſe, if wee make a catalogue of the auncient Biſhoprickes eſtabliſhed by the Chriſtians in that region, whereof mention is made by writers, and namely, in the treaties of Councels, the which haue beene gouerned by many holy Paſtors, as well in the time of the Romane Emperours, as of the kings of the Gothes, and were at the entrie of the Arabians ruined whereſoeuer they commaunded: wherein for the more eaſe of
E the reader, we will obſerue the order of the Alphabet.

Theſe words Tol. Merid. Brag. Seuil. Tarrag. noted in the margent, ſignifie Toledo, Merida, Braga, Seuille, and Tarracone, Archbiſhoprickes or Metropolitane ſeas, whereof were Suffragans the Biſhops or Biſhoprickes ſet in their places.

A

Abdera, whoſe Biſhop was called *Abderitain*, was whereas now the citie of Almerie ſtands, or that of Vera, according vnto ſome. *Seuil.*

Abula, now Auila, a Biſhopricke alſo in our time. *Merid.*

Acci, whoſe Biſhop was called *Accitanus*, is likely to be Guadix in Grenado. *Tol.*

F Agra, and the Biſhop *Agragenſis:* it is a queſtion whether it were a towne in Spaine or Africke. *Seuil.*

Arcobrica, and the Biſhop *Arcobricenſis*, in the prouince of Tarracona, not farre from Calatajub. *Tol.*

Aſſindon, the Biſhop *Aſſindonenſis*, wheras now Medina Sidonia, or Xeres in Andaluſia ſtands. *Seuil.*

Aſtigia, the Biſhop was called *Aſtigianus*, it is held to be Eccia in Andaluſia. *Seuil.*

Aſtu-

Brag. Aſturica, Aſtorga, and the Biſhop Aſturicenſis, it is a Biſhopricke at this day. G
Auguſta was a common name to many townes in Spaine: for Bracar, Aſturica, and others were ſo named, yet it is to be preſumed, when as they doe ſimply make mention of the Biſhop of Auguſta, they meane Bracar or Braga, as they ſay at this day.

Brag. Aurienſis *Epiſc.* poſſible it is that of Orenſe, which is a Biſhopricke at this day.

Tarrag. Auſonia, the Biſhop Auſonienſis, at this preſent Vic or Vic-d'Oſſone in Cattelogne.

Tarrag. Auca, a citie not farre from the place where ſince the citie of Burgos was built: the Biſhop *Aucitanus*, in the mountaine Idubeda, vpon that continent which now they call the mountaines of Oca or Auca.

B H

Tarrag. Barcino and Barcinonenſis *Epiſc.* Barcelone.

Tarrag. Baſſetania, a region where the towne of Oſca ſtood, as *Plinie* writes: the Biſhop was called *Baſſetanus* or *Baſitanus*.

Tol. Baſtitania, Baza at this day, in the kingdome of Murcia, and the Biſhop was called *Baſtitanus*.

Tol. Biaria, Barra.

Tol. Bigaſtrenſis or Biſtargenſis, it was a Biſhopricke in the prouince of Carthagena.

Merid. Bigerra, at this day Beijar, Bigerrenſis *Epiſcopus*.

Metropol. Bracar, it is Braga an Archbiſhopricke, contending for the primacie with Toledo.

Brag. Britolenſis *Epiſc.* it was a towne neere vnto Tuy.

C I

Merid. Cauria, at this preſent Coria, retaining the name and Epiſcopall ſeat.

Tarrag. Ceſar Auguſta, and *Cæſar Auguſtanus Epiſc.* Sarragoſſe a famous Archbiſhopricke in theſe times.

Tarrag. Calagurris, it may be Calaorre at this day, the Biſhop *Calagurritanus*.

Merid. Colimbrica or Conimbrica, Coimbra in Portugall, and *Colimbrenſis Epiſc.* or it may be Conimbrenſis, a Biſhopricke and famous Vniuerſitie at this day.

Tol. Carthago noua, *Carthaginenſis Epiſc.* Carthagena, in old time the chiefe towne of all Spaine.

Seuil. Caſtulo, at this day Caſlona, *Caſtulonenſis Epiſc.* K

Merid. Catraleuci, people in old time about the riuer of Guadiana, *Catraleucenſis Epiſcopus*.

Tol. Complutum, and *Complutenſis Epiſc.* Alcala of Henares.

Seuil. Corduba, and *Cordubenſis Epiſc.* it retaines the name and Biſhopricke at this day.

D

Tarrag. Dertoſa, and *Dertoſanus Epiſc.* Tortoſa vpon Ebro, it hath his Biſhop.

Tol. Dianium, Dianienſis, Denia, now it is no Biſhopricke.

Brag. Dumienſis, it was a Monaſterie neere to Braga, where there is a church to be ſeene at this day.

E L

Tol. Egarenſis *Epiſc.* it may be it was of thoſe people which were called Egurti, neere to Medina del Rioſecco.

Merid. Egitanus *Epiſc.* or rather Igeditanus: for Igedita was a citie in Luſitania, now a little Bourg called Edania.

Tarrag. Egibinenſis, it may be they ſhould haue written Egoſenſis: for Egoſa was a towne in Cattelogne neere to Girone.

Merid. Ebora is a renowmed towne in Portugall, the kings abode; the Biſhop was called by the Latines *Elborenſis*.

Seuil. Eliberis, in old time a great and well peopled citie, neere to Granado, ſince reduced to a caſtle, built and inhabited by the Iewes, and therefore was called the Iewes towne: the Biſhops of Eliberis were called *Eliberitani*. There was another towne of that name at the foot of the Pyrenees, but the one and the other were by ſome called Illiberis, and more properly. M

Tol. Eliocrota, and the Biſhop called *Eliocrotenſis*, betwixt Carthagena and Caſlona: Some hold, that the Vandales ruined it.

Elna

A Elna,and *Elnenſis Epiſc.* in Gaule Narbonoiſe.
Emerita, *Emeritanus Epiſc.* called *Auguſta*, it is Merida at this day: it hath nothing ſingular, but ſome ruines and markes of antiquitie. *Metropol.*
Eminium or Euminium, betwixt Coimbra and Porto, vpon a riuer of that name, *Eminienſis Epiſcopus.* *Brag.*
Ergauica a towne of Arragon,now called Alcanniz: it is no Biſhopricke at this day. *Tarrag.*

G

Gerunda, and *Gerundenſis Epiſc.* Girone. *Tarrag.*
Gerabrica or Ierabrica, betwixt Lisbone and S. Irene, *Gerabricenſis Epiſc.* *Merid.*
B

H

Hiſpalis, and *Hiſpalenſis Epiſc.* Seuille. *Metropol.*

I

Ilerda Lerida, *Ilerdenſis Epiſc.* in Arragon,now a Biſhopricke and an Vniuerſitie. *Tarrag.*
Ilice, *Iliceníis Epiſc.* from whence Sinus Ilicitanus was named,in the kingdome of Valence,vpon the ſea,looking to the iſlands of Pityeuſes. *Tol.*
Ilands of Majorque and Minorque had their Biſhop. *Seuil.*
Ilipa,a citie in the ſtrait of Betica or Andaluſia. *Tarrag.*
Illiberis or Eliberis, at the foot of the Pyrenees, neere to Colibre.
C Immotinenſis, it may be *Imomõtenſis Epiſc.* there is now no memorie of it: ſome thinke it is Montanches. *Merid.*
Imopyreneus,was called the Biſhop of Rhoda: it is Roſes at this day, of the dioceſſe of Girone. *Tarrag.*
Impuritanus,or rather Emporitanus of Empuria, of the ſame dioceſſe. *Tarrag.*
Iugaſtrenſis *Epiſc.* or rather Iuncarienſis: Iuncaria was neere to Girone, Iunquera. *Brag.*
Intercatienſis,Intercatia was neere to the Aſtures. *Brag.*
Iria flauia had a Biſhop called *Irienſis*,at this day it is Padron: the Biſhops See was transferred from thence to Compoſtella. *Seuil.*
Italica a citie neere to Seuille, whereof there are not any markes remaining, *Italicenſis Epiſc.*
D Hiſpalis the old.

L

Lambria,and Lambrionenſis, neere to the riuer Limia in Portugall. *Brag.*
Lacobrica,and *Lacobricenſis Epiſc.* there were two towns of this name,the one at Cap S.Vincent, the other neere to Palenza. *Merid.*
Lameca is a Biſhopricke yet in Portugall, *Lamecenſis Epiſc.* *Merid.*
Legio, *Legionenſis Epiſc.* at this day Leon,the chiefe towne of a realme,and a Biſhopricke,enjoying the priuiledges of a Metropolitane. *Brag.*
Lucenſis *Epiſc.* Lugo in Gallicia. *Brag.*

M

E Malaca,and *Malacitanus Epiſc.* it is at this day a citie and Epiſcopall See. *Seuil.*
Menteſa,now Montijo, or elſe Iaen in Andaluſia. *Tol.*

N

Nouienſis, Nouium in Gallicia, it may be Noya. *Brag.*

O

Oliſipo, and *Oliſiponenſis Epiſc.* Lisbone, moſt famous in our time. *Merid.*
Orcelis, whoſe Biſhop was at the Councell of Arles. *Merid.*
Oretan, and *Oretanus Epiſc.* Calatraua,where there is an order of knights. *Tol.*
Oſca, that is Hueſca in Arragon, a Biſhopricke and an Vniuerſitie. *Tarrag.*
F Oſſobonenſis *Epiſc.* Oſſobona was in Algarbe, neere to Pharo, which by the Moores was called Exuba. *Merid.*
Oxonienſis and Oxouienſis, it is Oſona, a Biſhopricke at this day: Vxania, *Plinie.* *Tol.*

P

Pacenſis *Epiſc. a Pace Auguſta:* it is now Badaios, which the Moores did call Baxangus, corrupting the word. *Merid.*

Tol. Palentia or Palantia,and the Biſhop *Palentinenſis:* it is a Biſhopricke at this time of the ſame name. G

Tarrag. Pampelonenſis *Epiſc.* or Pampilonenſis, Pampelone, the chiefe citie of Nauarre: it is a Biſhopricke at this day.

Merid. Placentia,and the Biſhop *Placentin*: it is now ſo called.

Brag. Porto or Portogallo, *Portogalenſis Epiſc.* at this day a goõd port of the ſea, and a Biſhopricke.

S

Merid. Salmantica, *Salmanticenſis Epiſc.* Salamanca a Biſhopricke, and a famous Vniuerſitie.

Tol. Segobia, and the Biſhop *Segobienſis,* it holds yet the name and dignitie; in old time Secobia *Antonin*, Segouia *Plinie.* H

Tol. Segobrica, *Segobricenſis,* Segorbia in Arragon.

Tol. Seguntia,Siguença, *Seguntinus Epiſc.* in the limits of Caſtille and Arragon: it keepes the name and the dignitie.

Tol. Setabis, Xatiua in the realme of Valence, and the Biſhop *Setabienſis:* it is now no Biſhopricke.

Merid. Sarabrienſis *Epiſc.* in whoſe place is written in the bookes of Councels, *Sibarienſis.* Sarabris it may be was Zamore or Toro.

Seuil. Sitia,*Sitianenſis Epiſc.* it was in Betica,depending vpon Corduba for the temporall.

Seuil. Sitalenſis and Sitialenſis,all one. I

T

Metropol. Tarracon, *Tarraconenſis Epiſc.* it is an Archbiſhopricke at this day.

Tarrag. Turiaſſo, *Turiaſſonenſis Epiſc.* Tarraſſone in the limits of Nauarre.

Metropol. Toletum, *Toletanus,* a well knowne Archbiſhopricke, Primat of Spaine, in old time Metropolitane.

Seuil. Tucca,*Tuccitanus Epiſc.* it was in Betica, neere to Caſtulo.

Brag. Tude or Tyde, it is Tuy in Gallicia, now vpon the riuer of Minio, *Epiſc. Tudenſis*: it holds the dignitie.

Tarrag. Tullica, and his Biſhop *Tullicenſis,* in Cantabria among the Autrigons, whereof Calagurris was the chiefe. K

V

Tol. Valence, a famous Archbiſhopricke at this day.
Valeria, at this day Concia or Cuenca, *Concienſis Epiſc.* it was ſometimes called Valerienſis.

Tarrag. Vellenſis or Velienſis, it was a Biſhopricke among the Autrigons.

Merid. Veſci, *Veſcienſis Epiſc.* it is Viſeo a citie in Portugall.

Tol. Vrci, *Vrcitanus Epiſc.* neere Murcia or Almerie.

Tarrag. Vrgelitanus, it is Vrgel in Arragon, a Biſhopricke

Tol. Vxama. L

Theſe townes vntill the deſtruction of the Gothes kingdome haue beene Biſhops ſeats,according to the order and diſcipline which was then obſerued in Chriſtian churches. Thoſe of Seuille,Toledo,Merida,Braga,and Tarragone,were Archbiſhoprickes, Metropolitanes, and Primats: Diuers names,but of one ſignification,which did not inferre any ſuperioritie one ouer another, for they were equall in power: and they did preſide in Councels, according to the antiquities of their ſeas.

M

THE

THE SIXT BOOKE OF the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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29 D. Ximen Inigo *fift king of Nauarre.*
30 D. Ordogno *eleuenth king of Ouiedo and Leon.*
31 Muza Aben-Cacin *makes himſelfe king of Toledo.*
32 Mahumet *fift Miralmumin or king of the Moores in Spaine, the firſt of that name.*
33 D. Geoffroy *ſecond Earle of Barcelone, ſucceſſor to* Bernard.
34 D. Alphonſe *third of that name and twelfth king of Leon.*
35 *Toledo reduced vnder the obedience of the Moores kings of Cordoua.*

36 D. Inigo

36 D. Inigo Ariſta *ſixt king of Sobrarbe and Nauarre.*
37 D. Garcia Inigo *third of that name, ſeuenth king of Nauarre.*
38 D. Suria *a Scottiſh man, the beginner of the Lords of Biſcaye.*
39 Almundir *ſixt Mooriſh king in Spaine.*
40 D. Garcia *firſt of that name, the thirteenth king of Ouiedo and Leon.*
41 Abdalla *ſeuenth king of the Moores in Spaine.*
42 D. Fortun *ſecond of that name, eight king of Nauarre.*
43 D. Salomon *third Earle of Barcelone.*
44 D. Geoffrey *the hairie, fourth Earle of Barcelone, and firſt Proprietarie.*
45 D. Ordogno *ſecond of that name, foureteenth king of Ouiedo and Leon.*
46 Abderamen Almanſor *eighth king of the Moores.*
47 *The death of the Earles of Caſtille, among the which was* D. Diego Porcello.
48 D. Froila *ſecond of that name, fifteenth king of Leon.*
49 *The alteration of the ſtate in Caſtille, and the gouernment of the Prouince by two Iudges.*

In this ſixt Booke there is ſpeciall mention made of the beginning of the Eſtates of Ouiedo and Leon, of Sobrarbe and Nauarre, of Cordoua, Cattelogne, Caſtille, and Arragon, and of the Prouinces thereof, which were theſe.

OVIEDO and LEON.
Kings.

1 *Pelagius.*
2 *Faſila.*
3 *Alphonſo* 1.
4 *Froila* 1.
5 *Aurelle.*
6 *Sillo.*
7 *Mauregat.*
8 *Bermund* 1.
9 *Alphonſo* 2.
10 *Ramir* 1.
11 *Ordogno* 1.
12 *Alphonſo* 3.
13 *Garcia* 1.
14 *Ordogno* 2.
15 *Froila* 2.

NAVARRE.
Kings.

1 *Garcia Ximenes* 1.
2 *Garcia Inigo* 2.
3 *Fortun* 1.
4 *Sancho Garces* 1.
5 *Ximen Inigo.*
6 *Inigo Ariſtia.*
7 *Garcia Inigo* 3.
8 *Fortun* 2.

ARRAGON.
Earles.

1 *Aznar.*
2 *Galinde.*
3 *Ximen Aznaris.*
4 *Ximen Garces.*
5 *Garci Aznaris.*
6 *Fortun Ximenes.*

CASTILLE.
Earles.

1 *Nugno Fernandes.*
2 *Diego Porcello.*
3 *Nugno Bellides.*

Iudges.

1 *Nugno Razura.*
2 *Flauin Caluo.*
Gonſal Nugnes.

CATTELOGNE.
Gouernours.

1 *Bernard.*
2 *Geoffrey Aria.*
3 *Salomon.*

A proprietarie Earle.

1 *Geoffrey the hairie.*

MOORES.

There were many Gouernours vnder the Caliphes and Miralmumins of Aſia and Africke, vnto *Abderamen*, who firſt erected a Soueraignetie at Cordoua.

Kings.

1 *Abderamen* 1.
2 *Hizen.*
3 *Hali Athan.*
4 *Abderamen* 2.
5 *Mahumet* 1.
6 *Almundir.*
7 *Abdalla.*
8 *Abderamen* 3.

The

A

THe Arabians Mahumetiſts which conquered Spaine, were alſo called Moores, for that they croſſed Mauritania, a region of Africk, which is oppoſit vnto Spaine, from the which Tingitana is diuided by a ſmall ſtrait, the which when as *Tarif* paſſed, was ſubject vnto the Gothes, and gouerned by *Recila*, a friend and partiſan to Count *Iulian*. It is therfore expedient to ſpeak ſomething of this nation, whoſe power in a ſhort time did in a manner ſurpaſſe all the Monarchies which haue been in the world. 1 *Arabians Weſterne Moores.*

Arabia is a ſpacious region, diuided into many parts: The auncients made a partition into *Arabia and the parts.*
B three; the Happie, the Stonie, and the Deſart. Arabia the Happie was ſo called, in regard of the two other which are barren, little knowne to the auncients, and nothing at all annoyed by the Romane armies. Arabia Petrea or Stonie carried that name of the capitall citie Petra, which had their kings, ſometimes friends and allied, but moſt commonly enemies vnto their neighbours, and often tributaries to the auncient kings of Perſia and Ægypt (whereunto they joyne) and afterwards to the Romanes. The Deſart Arabia hath not at any time had any certaine policie, and very few townes, whoſe princes were but leaders of troupes of theeues, enemies to all quiet, ſeeking nothing but warre, mercinarie to kings and princes that would em- *The manners of the Arabians.*
ploy them, a people without humanitie, without faith, and without any religion. All this countrey extends from Eaſt to Weſt, almoſt from the floud Euphrates vnto Nyle, hauing Sy-
C ria on the North ſide, and the Ocean to the South. Whileſt that the Romane Emperours were in continuall warre againſt the kings of Parthia and Perſia, either partie employed this nation, who went for the moſt part to the warre on horſebacke, fit to ſpoyle a countrey, to ſeize ſuddainely vpon a paſſage, to diſcouer, ſurprize, or doe any other action of warre, which required expedition, eſpecially if there were more queſtion to forrage & ſpoyle than to fight. This race is deſcended from *Iſmael*, of whom it is ſaid, *That his hand ſhould be againſt all, and all hands againſt him.* *Arabians Iſmaelites.*

2 Among theſe people *Mahumet* was borne, in the yeare of our redemption 580 (ſome *Mahumet his birth and countrey.*
ſay, it was in the yeare 591, and others 593) to trouble Chriſtendome, and to puniſh their ingratitude, which tearmed themſelues Chriſtians, *Maurice* being then Emperour of Con-
D ſtantinople. The place of his birth was called Itrarip, a little towne neere vnto Mecque; his father called *Abedela*, was a Pagan and an Idolatrer, and his mother *Emina* a Iew, a poore begging girle, the which was taken vp by *Abedela* for loue, for that ſhe ſeemed faire. At the age of two yeares he was left an orphan; whereupon he was taken by an vncle of his, called *Salutalebi*, and bred vp in his houſe by *Halima* his wife, vntill the age of ſixteene yeares, and then hee was carried away by a troupe of Arabian theeues, who met him alone, and ſold him to a rich marchant, who ſaid, That he was of the race of *Iſmael*, and was called *Abdimonepli*, who employed *Mahumet* ſome yeares in his trade of marchandiſe, whereby he had occaſion to ſee many countries, and to taſt many religions, eſpecially the Iewiſh and Pagan, to the which was added the Chriſtian religion, which was then much corrupted, and was *Ambition the mother of hereſies.*
E made much worſe to him by the conuerſation of an Arrian Monke called *Sergius*, who haunted the houſe of his maſter *Abdimonepli*. With this Monke and others he layed a plot to make himſelfe famous by a remarkable impietie, and framed a doctrine drawne from the Iewiſh and the Arrian, mingled with other their inuentions: the which he afterwards brought in, partly by perſuaſions, partly by money, and partly by force, being enriched with his maſters treaſure, after whoſe death he had married his widow called *Adegiah*; ſo as about the yeare 623 he was receiued and acknowledged by the Arabians for their captaine and great *Mahumets doctrine publiſhed in Heraclius time.*
Prophet. Then was *Heraclius* in the imperiall ſeat at Conſtantinople; and a little before there had riſen many ſeditions in Syria and Ægypt, during the which, *Mahumet* had plotted his deſigns, and had made himſelfe famous among the ſeditious. And moreouer, certain mer-
F cinarie bands of Arabian Scenits being caſt and ſent away with injuries by the Commiſſaries of *Heraclius* the Emperor, he drew them vnto him, and with theſe forces in a ſhort time ſeized vpon a great part of Arabia, namely, of the townes of Mecque and Itrarip, the place of his birth, the which was afterwards called Medinath-Al-Nabi, that is to ſay, the city of the great *The Arabians begin the account of their yeares at 617.*
Prophet; and from the day that place was taken, in the yeare 617, the Arabians and ſectaries of *Mahumet* account their yeares, as we do ours from the Natiuitie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

Others ſay, That Medina or Almedina was another rich towne inhabited by rich Iewes, G whereof *Mahumet* gaue the ſpoyle to his ſouldiors, abhorring it aboue all other ſects, for it ſeemed more oppoſit to his doctrine than any other; yet it is moſt certain, that he vſed Iewes to compound his doctrine. And vpon a defeat which the Perſians had by the Romanes in thoſe times, he tooke occaſion to inuade Syria, and ſeized vpon the countrey about Damas, and then tried to extend his limits all he could, employing in the end of his dayes his Lieutenants to make his conqueſts, whilſt that he reſted at Mecque, which was in the beginning the ſeat of his Empire. In his later daies he made foure captaines, the which he called the cutting ſwords of God, the common ſort tearmed them *Amiraux*; the which were *Ebubezer*, whom ſome call *Vbequar*, others *Bubacus* or *Eubocara*; then *Homar*, *Ozmen*, and *Aly*. This laſt was ſon H to *Salutaleby*, *Mahumets* vncle. *Ebubezer* was his father in law; for *Mahumet* had many wiues, and *Ebubezers* daughter was called *Aixa* or *Aiſſa*. This monſter hauing reigned about ten yeares, hee died at Medinath Al-Nabi, in the houſe of this *Ebubezer*, of poyſon, as ſome ſay: for hauing publiſhed among other articles, That he ſhould riſe againe within three dayes after his deceaſe, one of his diſciples impatient to attend, and curious to ſee the experience of his doctrine, poyſoned him ſecretly: and ſome ſay, That he kept him 12 daies, and in the end ſeeing that he was dead, and his bodie ſo corrupted and ſtinking, as no man could endure it, this diſciple being forced to retire by reaſon of the abominable ſmel of carrion, and returning ſoone after, he found the dogs had torne it in pieces: wherefore hee gathered the bones together, the which were put in a coffin of yron, and in time cauſed a chappell to be built, vaulted with adamant ſtone, ſo as the cofer being put into it, the vertue of the ſtone drew it vp into the ayre, where it did hang, which ſeemed miraculous vnto the ignorant: yet ſuch as haue trauelled into thoſe countries in our time, ſay there is no ſuch thing now to be ſeene. He had one ſon called *Cacin*, who died before him, and many daughters, wherof *Fatima* is famous among the Arabians, as the ſtemme of the royall race of *Aben-Alabecy*, & was wife to *Aly*, according to the moſt certaine. *Zeineb* alſo, another of *Mahumets* daughters, wife to *Ozmen*, or (as ſome ſay) to *Muhauias* (it may be to both ſucceſſiuely) is honoured by this nation, and *Muhauias* her husband (as the beginning of another royall familie) called *Aben-Humeya*. There is mention made of *Imiculcin* and of *Nephiſſa*, daughters or neere kinſwomen to this falſe Prophet: The ſepulchre of the laſt was found in Caire by Sultan *Selym*, Emperour of the Turkes in our fathers time, and K in it aboue the value of 500000 duckats in gold coyned, with much other treaſure, which was giuen and carried thither for almes.

Amiraux.

Death of Mahumet.

Cacin, Mahumets ſonne. Fatima and Zeineb his daughters.

Mahumet had decreed, That *Aly* his couſin german, and ſonne in law, one of the abouenamed *Amiraux*, ſhould ſucceed him in the realme eſtabliſhed by him: but *Ebubezer* his father in law, who was rich and mightie, and had *Ozmen* and *Homar* on his ſide, brake this ordinance: for he pretended, that *Mahumet* had gotten a great part of that which he enjoyed at his death, by his means, credit, & wealth, & ſeeing that he died in his houſe, it was reaſon he ſhould be his heire. *Ozmen* and *Homar* were nothing diſcontented: for hauing alſo a deſire to reigne, they were more willing the crowne ſhould come to *Ebubezer* (who they did confidently beleeue would ſoone die, by reaſon of his age) than vnto *Aly*, who was yong and in the prime of his age. *Ebu-* L *bezer* therfore reigned, & was created High Prieſt of the Arabians, otherwiſe called Saraſins, as in the time of the Chriſtian Emperors of the Eaſt, who did willingly entertaine this nation, they were commonly called. The name comes of the country Saracena, in Arabia *fœlix*, or the happie, in which region, according to the ſame author, was the towne of Saraca, but farre off from theſe other people. Howſoeuer it be, it ſeemeth this name comes from *Sara, Abrahams* wife, notwithſtanding they auow themſelues to be deſcended from *Iſmael* the ſon of *Agar*: but they take no pleaſure ſhe ſhould be termed a chambermaid. Hauing reigned 3 yeares, he died, not without ſuſpition of poyſon: after which time theſe princes entitled themſelues Caliphs, that is to ſay, Gouernors, Rectors, and ſoueraigne Princes, properly heires and ſucceſſors.

Ebubezer Caliph or High Prieſt of the Arabians in the 11 yeare.

Saraſins why ſo called.

Homar Caliph the 14 yeare of the Arabians.

After *Ebubezer*, *Homar* held the ſcepter ouer the Arabians, being ſometimes called *Haumar*, M ſometimes *Humar*, *Hemer* & *Homer*, by writers, to whom is attributed the taking of the towne of Bozra, the chiefe of Arabia, of Damas and of Ieruſalem, and in the end of all Phenicia, Syria, Meſopotamia, and Ægypt. And hauing vanquiſhed *Oriſmada* or *Horſmida*, King of Perſia, in battaile, he ſeized vpon that great and mightie kingdome, to whoſe ſuccour then came the Turks from the Caſpian ports and ſtraits, but in vaine: ſo as the name of the Perſians was then

ex-

A extinguiſhed, and they were all called Saraſins. He was ſuſpected to be a Chriſtian; for his father *Catah* was a friend and benefactor to the Chriſtians, whom he drew to Ieruſalem, and for that cauſe built the temple which remaines vnto this day, with other ſhewes of ſuperſtition. *Homer* being in this eſteeme with his people, he was ſlaine by a ſeruant of his, a Perſian, called *Amigira*, making his prayers vnto God. This prince was hardie and warlike, and did effect great matters: he raigned ten yeares. He died in the yeare of Chriſt 641, and the 24 of the Arabians raigne.

Ozmen, or *Hotman*, *Aſman* and *Autumar*, for this diuerſitie of names are found in authors, ſonne in law to *Mahumet* (for they hold, that he was maried to two of his daughters, wherof B it may be *Zeineb* was one) was the fourth Caliph of the Arabians. There was already growne great contention among this nation, touching matters of religion, it being vaine and without ground, by reaſon of many abſurdities, which did contradict one another: which was no marueil; for *Mahumet* being ignorant of all learning, could not ſet downe his conceptions with any good method or order; but as they came into his braine he wrot them downe, and neuer peruſed them after: ſo as oftentimes forgetting what he had before ſet downe, preached, or otherwiſe publiſhed, he ordained diuers things which were repugnant and abſurd. Whereunto the people which then followed him, being all giuen to armes, poore, needie, groſſe and ignorant, tooke no good regard, their ſpirit being attentiue to the exterior countenance; and if there were any more ſubtile, force and danger ſtopt their mouthes. But after ſome yeares, C they had more libertie and leaſure to thinke thereof, and to examine *Mahumets* doctrine which was taught, ſo as they grew into many diſputes. To remedie the which, *Ozmen* cauſed the papers of the Prophet to be ſought out, whereof they found a great cofer full in the houſe of *Aiſſa* his widow, with the helpe whereof he cauſed their Alcoran, or Alfurcan, to be compiled, ſhewing himſelfe verie liberall to them that laboured therein. Yet ſome thinke, that this worke was begun by his predeceſſour *Homar*, and that he did reduce it into a better method, and into chapters.

Ozmen the 4 Caliph the 24 yeare of the Arabians.

Mahumet ignorant of all learning.

Alcoran of the Arabians.

Hucba one of his lieutenants inuaded Africke, and ruined Carthage, ſo as Tunis came then to be well peopled, and ſoone after Cairoan, an hundred miles vp in the countrey, and ſomewhat farre from the ſea, was built, which ſince was a royall ſeat of the Arabians. *Muhauias* alD ſo who gouerned Ægypt, went with an infinit number of veſſels into Cypres, which iſland he ſpoyled. This *Muhauias* was the founder of Caire, neere vnto the ruines of the auntient Memphis, the which from a little burrough came to the greatneſſe and ſtate wee haue ſeene it in our fathers time, and by his wiſedome and conduct the eſtate of the Arabians was much augmented. He aſſailed the Romanes armie vpon the confines of Lycia, and put it to rout, ſo as the emperour *Conſtant* then raigning, was forced to flie in a diſguiſed habit. *Muhauias* being puft vp with this victorie, he beſieged and tooke Rhodes, beat downe that great Colloſſe of the Sunne, being 70 cubits high, or 80, as ſome write, and ſold the mettall to a merchant Iew, who laded 900 cammels therewith, and carried moreouer out of that iſland, infinit other goodly and rich workes, for it was repleniſhed with ſuch things, as *Plinie* writes, who E witneſſeth, that there hath beene numbred in it 73000 figures, or ſtatues, and an hundred Coloſſes.

Cairoan built.

Caire built by Muhauias.

Rhodes taken by Muhauias.

After theſe exploits he ſent his armie at ſea to the iſland of Sicile, from whence they were repulſed by *Olympius*, Exarch or Gouernour of Italie. He himſelfe returned into Syria, and there raiſed a great armie by land, to inuade Capadocia, whither he marched. By theſe high exploits *Muhauias* was in great reputation among the Arabians, which made him aſpire to the ſoueraigne dignitie, whereunto the death of the Caliph *Ozmen* ſeemed to inuite him, wherefore he brought backe his armie.

Ozmen dyed in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, the 653 of our Sauiour, and the 36 of the Arabians, being ſet vpon in his palace by the Saraſins, which were of the faction of *Ali* his F brother in law, they forced him to kill himſelfe, for that hee would not fall aliue into their hands. Some write, that *Ali* himſelfe ſlew him, by the perſuaſion of *Aiſſa Mahumets* widow.

The miſerable death of Ozmen

There was great diſſention then among the Arabians, vpon the election of a new Caliph: the competitors were *Ali*, *Muhauias*, and *Mahumet*: *Ali* obtained it by armes againſt *Mahumet*, but he was to trie it with *Muhauias*, who finding himſelfe followed by a great armie of old

old ſouldiors, Ægyptians and Syrians, and himſelfe being alſo and expert captaine, hee gaue G
him many croſſes for the ſpace of a 11 moneths, ſo as by a common conſent their quarell was
put to the arbitrement of *Alaſcates* and *Alaſci*, two old men of great reputation among them;
who notwithſtanding could neuer agree, ſo as they returned againe to armes, till that *Ali*
was ſlaine by the practiſes of *Muhauias*, neere vnto the towne of Cufa in Arabia, and there
buried: wherefore the place is called vnto this day *Maſſad Ali*, that is to ſay, the houſe of *Ali*.
The inhabitants of Cufa and Aratha, did chuſe for Caliph in his place *Alhacem*, eldeſt ſonne
to him and to *Fatima*, eldeſt daughter to *Mahumet*, who in his carriage and behauiour repre-
ſented his grandfather by his mothers ſide. Being eſtabliſhed, hee marched with an armie a-
ginſt *Muhauias*, but being one neere vnto another, when as euerie man attended a bloudie H
battell, ſuddenly *Alhacem*, either moued by feare, or pietie, and his natural mildneſſe, came and
caſt himſelfe at *Muhauias* feet, acknowledging him his ſuperiour: ſo as they entred into Cu-
fa, the which they did ranſome for a great ſumme of money; and being come from thence to
Ietrib, *Muhauias* ſet the royall diademe with his own hands vpon *Alhacems* head, and would
haue him raigne, which he aſſured himſelfe would not be long, for hee dyed within ſix mo-
neths after. Thus *Muhauias* being freed from all competitors, raigned alone: he was (accor-
Muhauias Ca- ding vnto ſome) ſonne in law to *Mahumet*, hauing maried his daughter *Zeineb*, as it is likely,
liph of the in her ſecond mariage, from which mariage the royall familie of *Aben Humeia* is deſcended.
Arabians.
Damas the ſeat It is hee which changed the Caliphes ſeat to Damas. He firſt inuaded the Romane empire
of the Caliphes. with happie ſucceſſe, *Conſtant* ſitting in the imperiall ſeat, from whom he did exact a tribute. I
He ouerrun Africke, from whence there were brought by the Saraſins aboue foureſcore
thouſand perſons, ſlaues: And in the time of *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Pogonat*, or the Bearded,
hee tooke Cizicus a ſea towne, from whence afterwards with a great fleet of ſhips he infe-
ſted the prouinces of the empire, yea and Conſtantinople it ſelfe, but vnfortunatly for
the Arabians: for after great loſſes both by ſea and land, *Muhauias* remained tributarie to
Arabians tribu- the Romanes, to whom hee promiſed to pay yearely three thouſand pounds of gold, foure-
taries to the Ro- ſcore ſlaues, and as many horſes, and withall to deliuer 50 Chriſtian priſoners at the emperors
manes. choyce. By this meanes there was a peace, or truce concluded for thirtie yeares, betwixt
the Romanes and Arabians; during the which *Muhauias* began to trouble the Potentates
of his owne ſect, reformed and ſubdued the Perſians, and gaue them *Matur* for their Go- K
uernour.

Mahumets ſect was ſpread farre into the Eaſt, but with great inconſtancie, and mingled
A Councell of with hereſies: by reaſon whereof hee called a Councell at Damas, of the Alfaquins of *Ma-*
Mahumetiſts at *humets* law; whither he commaunded to bring all the writings that could bee recouered as
Damas. well of their Prophet *Mahumet*, as of the Caliphes his ſucceſſours, and other interpretors:
but there was nothing but contention and confuſion, without any reſolution: Wherefore
there were fiue of the moſt learned men choſen, that is, *Boar*, *Buora*, *Anoeci*, *Aterminde*, and
Dauid, who were enjoyned to gather out of all the volumes (the which as they write would
haue laden two hundred cammels) what they thought came neereſt to their Prophets will,
which they held the trueth. Theſe being ſhut into a houſe, after they had turned ouer, and L
conferred theſe writings, they made ſix bookes of *Mahumets* doctrine, the which were pre-
ſented by them, vnto the king or Caliph *Muhauias*, who publiſhed them, and by his autho-
ritie cauſed them to be receiued, vpon paine of death to any one that ſhould diſpute the con-
trarie. The reſt of the papers were torne in peeces, and caſt into the riuer. From theſe ſix
Foure ſects in volumes there haue ſince growne foure ſects among them, the Melicians, Aſafians, Alambe-
Mahumets reli- lians, and Buanifians, the which maintaine themſelues at this day in the great citie of Caire.
gion.
After theſe things *Muhauias* dyed at Damas, an excellent prince, and verie warlike, of an
actiue ſpirit, nature recompenſing that which he wanted by art: for he could neither read
Muhauias vn- nor write, to the great griefe of them of his ſect, whom they held verie fit to haue aduan-
learned. ced it, if he had been learned. He died in the threeſcore and ſeuenteenth yeare of his age, 678 M
of our redemption, and ſixtie one of the raigne of the Arabians, hauing raigned 24 or 25
yeares.

Hizit his ſonne, or *Gizit*, or *Iezid*, was choſen Caliph after him, degenerating wholly from
Hizit 6 Caliph his father: For as he was actiue, reſolute, and valiant, ſo this was baſe, voluptuous, and a
coward: Whereupon *Matur* (whom his father had placed Gouernour of Perſia) made
himſelfe

himſelfe king and Caliph, faining to be a Propher; and of his race the Sophies which raigne there at this day are deſcended. The people of Cufa in Arabia, ſeeing the vnworthineſſe of *Hizit*, choſe *Hocem* the ſonne of *Ali* Caliph againſt him; but he was ſlaine by *Abdalla* the ſon of *Hizit*, leauing twelue ſonnes, which were, *Zemal Abadin, Zemal Muamed, Baguer Muamed, Taguin Muamed, Giafar Cadeneg, Giafar Muſa, Ali Mucerati, Alle Muamet, Taguin Muamet, Halmaguin Alle, Hacem Aſquerin, Hacem Muamed Mahadin*, the which are buried in diuers places. The Perſians beleeue, that *Hacem Muamed Mahadin* alone of all the brethren, is not yet dead, and that he will come one day mounted vpon a braue horſe, to conuert all the world, and to preach the law to all men, beginning with the towne of Maſſad-Ali, where his grandfather was interred, where at this day they keepe a horſe readie for him, the which they lead vnto their Moſquee, when they doe their ſeruice, with torches and and lights in great pompe.

Hocem being ſlaine, and *Hizit* dead the third yeare of his raigne, *Abdalla* there raigned: but for that he was a tyrant, they aduanced *Maruan* to the dignitie of Caliph, betwixt which two the warre continued two yeares: at the end whereof the Arabians held an aſſembly, in manner of a parliament, at Cufa, a towne in Arabia the happie, where *Abdalla* being depoſed, *Abdimelec* was choſen in his place, who was verie young, of the race of *Aly*, and therefore much honoured by the Arabians: For, *Ali* (as we haue ſaid) was appointed heire and ſucceſſour of the kingdome, by the Prophet *Mahumet*, whereas *Abdalla* deſcended from *Ebubezer*, who had beene an vſurper. There was another nobleman of Arabia, called *Dadac*, which did bandie himſelfe againſt *Abdimelec*, and was vanquiſhed by him: but *Abdalla* did ſtill hold the citie of Damas, and purſued another Caliph which was riſen in Meſopotamia, which country is now called Diarbec. Againſt him *Abdimelec* ſent a great captaine, a kinſman of his, called *Ciafas*: who hauing encountred *Abdalla* vpon the riuer Euphrates, returning victorioully from Meſopotamia to Damas, fought with him, and defeated him, but with great effuſion of bloud. *Abdalla* being vanquiſhed, thinking to ſaue himſelfe in Damas, hee was kept out by the inhabitants, for his tyrannies: wherefore he fled to Caire, which at that time was not verie great, where they alſo refuſed him the entrie. Being therefore chaſed, and abandoned by all men, thinking to croſſe ouer into Greece, he was ſlaine in a little iſland, whither a torment had caſt him. With him ended the race of the Caliphes of Damas, called by the Arabians, Maraunians, deſcending from *Muauia* and *Ebubezer*. *Ciafar* purſuing his victorie, entred into Damas, and there vſed all the cruelties he could againſt the Maraunians, taking the bones of the Caliph *Hizit* out of his graue, the which he burnt publikely, and caſt the aſhes into the riuer. Yet one of *Muauias* deſcendants, called *Abedramun*, eſcaped, flying into the furtheſt parts of Libia, towards the Weſt Ocean, into Mauritania Tingitana, whither the Arabians were newly come: For all the length of Africk, from Nile vnto the Ocean (except ſome places vpon the ſea coaſt, which were yet ſubject vnto the Romane empire) had beene ouerrun and ſubdued by this nation. There this prince being acknowledged by the Saraſins to be of the race of the Caliphes of Damas, was well entertained and honoured by them: Wherefore taking courage, he erected an Eſtate, and built the towne of Maroc, which was afterwards the head of a great kingdome. He was the firſt which called himſelfe *Miralmumin*, that is to ſay, Prince of the beleeuers. *Abdimelec* nor *Ciafas* purſued him not, being verie farre off, and for that he had limited his deſignes and ambition in thoſe remote parts, not affecting to make himſelfe greater: beſides, the plague, famine, and many ſeditions, but aboue all the attempts of the Romanes, did much trouble *Abdimelec*, ſo as he was forced to renew a peace with the emperours of Conſtantinople, and make the Arabians againe tributarie to *Iuſtinian* the 2 then raigning, promiſing to pay him ten pounds of gold, a ſlaue, and a horſe euery day: by reaſon of which peace ſo deerely bought, he conuerted his forces againſt Perſia, whereas one *Abdalla Zubir* had newly ſeized vpon that region, after that he had vanquiſhed and ſlaine *Mutar*, who had vſurped it vpon the Caliph *Hizit*. *Abdimelec* ſent all his forces againſt this *Abdalla*, and hauing chaſed him out of Perſia, he recouered that prouince. Then he ſent one of his captaines, called *Cagian*, to purſue *Abdalla*, who was retired to Mecque, where hee was beſieged, the towne taken, and *Abdalla* ſlaine by *Cagian*, who then burnt the auntient idole, and the temple there.

Ciuile warres in Arabia.

Abdalla depoſed and Abdimelec choſen the ninth Caliph.

Race of the Caliphes Maraunians chaſed from Damas.

Abderamun the ſtemme of the kings of Maroc.

A grieuous tribute paid by the Arabians to the Romanes.

After theſe things, the Caliph *Abdimelec* was againe ingaged in warre againſt the Chriſtians, by the treacherie of *Iuſtinian*, who ſmarted for it: for being defeated with moſt of the Grecians,

Grecians, he was forced to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and was afterwards chaſed out of the im- G
periall ſeat by *Leonce*, with great troubles throughout all the Eaſterne empire of the Chriſti-
Romans chaſed out of Spaine. ans: whereby the Caliph had not onely meanes to recouer all that the Romanes had taken from him in Aſia, but alſo to chaſe their Gouernours and armies out of all Africke; ſo as there was nothing remaining of the Romane name: yet his lieutenants were beaten inuading Cilicia, by the care and conduct of *Heraclius*, a Romane captaine, about which time *Abdemelec* dyed, hauing raigned ouer the Arabians one and twentie yeares. Whileſt hee was buſie in theſe warres, the fame of the ſanctitie and juſtice of *Abedramen* (who as wee haue ſaid had built Maroc) grew ſo great, as he was held by thoſe Weſterne Arabians for Caliph, and more than a Caliph: and the opinion of his vertues paſſing into Arabia, and throughout all H
the Eaſt, it happened, that dying and leauing his ſonne *Vlit* ſucceſſour of his goods and good fame, all the Arabians with one generall conſent choſe him for their Caliph in the place of *Abdimelec*, who dyed in the yeare ſeuen hundred and ſeuen. So the race of the Maraunians raigned againe, which was the poſteritie of *Zeineb*, daughter to *Mahumet*, ingendred (as ſome beleeue) on *Aiſſa* the daughter of *Ebubezer*.

Vlit Caliph of the Arabians, the 90 yeare of the Arabians, and the 707 of Chriſt. *Vlit* was the mightieſt of all the Arabian princes, his predeceſſors, raigning in a maner from the Weſtern Ocean, vnto the riuer Indus. He gaue the gouernment of Africk to *Muſa*, with the title of Admirall, and in a manner abſolute power, all which was ſubject to his empire, except a ſmall portion of the countrey which the Gothes held neere vnto the ſtrait, whereas the towne of Cepta ſtands, the which is now called Ceuta: all the reſt had bin conquered by his I
predeceſſors, Caliphs. You muſt vnderſtand, that the Arabians entring into Africke, they brought in *Mahumets* law, their language and their maners: ſo as the great number of Chriſtians was much decreaſed, but not wholly extinguiſhed, and many goodly churches came to ruine: the African tongue was in a maner loſt, and the Arabian was made common. Yet there
The Arabian tongue common in Africke. is at this day a certaine people found, which haue preſerued the Africane tongue, as the Biſcanes haue done the antient Spaniſh, as ſome hold. They dwel in the mountaines of the kingdome of Sus, about Cap d' Aguer, towards the Weſterne Ocean, and call their language Thamazel, the which differs from the Arabian as much as the Biſcane from the Caſtillan: and the Moors of qualitie in that countrey, learne the Arabic tongue in ſchools, or in courts, that they may be able to conuerſe with them. It hath alſo appeared ſince, that many families haue K
retained the Chriſtian religion, and the holy Scriptures, with ſome forme of Sacraments, but
Chriſtian religion preſerued in Africke. not altogether pure: for *Ferdinand* the third, called the Holy, raigning in Caſtille, and ſince in the raigne of *Iohn* the firſt, there were found in the citie of Maroc, certaine antient families, called Farſanes, which retained ſtill the name and profeſſion of Chriſtians, aboue 680 yeares after that the Saraſins had ſeized vpon Africk, whereof ſome came into Spaine, to Alcala de Henares. Moreouer, it was ſeene in our daies, that after that the citie of Tunis had been taken by the emperor *Charles* the 5, from *Haradin Barberouſſe*, there were many habitations of Chriſtians in that citie, hauing retained, and as it were inherited from father to ſonne, for the ſpace of aboue 800 yeres, the articles of our Faith, not without great admiration of the diuine prouidence, who liued in a ſuburbes without the towne, at the South gate, men much eſteemed L
of their kings, and valiant and hardie in the warres. They had a temple ſeperated from the
Rabatines Chriſtians in Africk. Moores, who called them Rabatines, and of them the gards of the kings perſon did conſiſt. Theſe Rabatines were afterwards tranſported to Naples by the emperor, that they might be inſtructed in the Romiſh religion.

3 Whileſt that *Vlit* raigned ouer the Arabians, and that *Muſa* gouerned Africk, the Moors
The wrath of God vpon ſtates for their vices. paſſed into Spaine, as we haue ſaid, againſt the kingdome of the Gothes, whereby there followed a lamentable deſolation: a nation without doubt fatall to Chriſtendome, which had ſhewed it ſelfe rebellious, and to contemne ſo many graces it had receiued: For in that age, ambition and tyrannie did tread all diuine and humane lawes vnder foot, and all good order was peruerted, as well in Eccleſiaſticall as ciuile gouernments. The biſhops did then con- M
Faults in the heads. tend for the Primacie, being growne inſolent, by the careleſneſſe of princes, who had referred the whole charge of affaires vnto them, abandoning themſelues in the meane time to pleaſures and diſordinat luſts, with an opinion to be abſolued of all their exceſſe, in building of churches, conuents, and retreats for Clergie men, and endowing them with great reuenewes, diuiding with them the ſpoyles they tooke from the people: who for their parts be-

ing

A ing ill inſtructed, and corrupted with the ſuperſtitions and traditions of men, could doe no other ſeruice vnto God, but ſet vp Images and altars, ſeeke out the bones of dead Saints, and ſuch other things, little ſeruing to true pietie; thinking the paine they tooke in theſe exerciſes, a good ſatisfaction for all their offences. To conclude, there was then ſo great a confuſion (the which is not yet amended) as God being juſtly offended, gaue ſcope to the furie of the Arabian nation, the which inuaded the Potentates of Chriſtendome with ſuch furie, as in leſſe than an hundred yeares they ouerthrew all the power and riches of the Romane empire, of the Perſians, and of other Eſtates. This was not a paſſage, as that of the Gothes, Hunnes, Lombards, and other nations of Sithia: the which paſſed ſoone away, as an ouer-
B flowing deluge, or if they ſtayed among vs, they ſoone conformed themſelues to humanitie, pietie, and juſtice: but this plague was durable, and did ſtill increaſe; for the Turkes empire at this day is nothing but a remainder of the Arabians, mingled with the Hunnes, from whence the Turkes are come. There remaine few certaine families of that Turkiſh nation which came from the Caſpian ſtraits, in the time of *Oriſmada* the laſt king of Perſia, who was defeated by *Haumar*, Caliph or king of the Saraſins, and the which did afterwards vanquiſh them: and yet they grew ſo familiar with them, as after that time the Turkes and Saraſins were reputed but one nation.

Faults in the people.

Admirable effects of the forces of the Arabians.

We haue thought it expedient, for the more light of our hiſtorie, to make this digreſſion and to ſeeke out the beginning of this indomptible power of the Arabians, and to relate the
C ſucceſſion of that Eſtate, vntill their entrie into Spaine vnder the conduct of *Tarif*, or *Tarir Aben Zarca*, who defeated king *Roderic*, as we haue ſhewed in the former booke, where this king dyed, and in a manner all the flower of the nobilitie of the countrey, in the yeare of our ſaluation ſeuen hundred and foureteene, in Iuly, or according vnto ſome, in September.

Returning then to our hiſtorie, we ſay, That the Arabians, or Moores (as wee will tearme them indifferently hereafter) hauing obtained this great victorie, in a realme without forts, it was then eaſie for them to rauage and ſpoile the whole country at their pleaſure, ſeeing there was no force to withſtand them. They diuided their armie into many troups, & at one inſtant aſſailed all the places which they thought to be of any ſtrength. One of their armies went a-
D gainſt Malaga, and tooke it: another marched to Cordoua, vnder the conduct of a Chriſtian Renigado, called *Mageitard*. *Tarif* with another troup tooke Iaen, then called Mentiſa, which defended it ſelfe to the laſt extremitie; the which he raſed: then he tooke Toledo and Guadalaiara. And paſſing on, hauing for his guide *Mugnuza*, or *Numatius*, a Goth, hee came vnto the Aſturies, where he ſeized vpon Gigion and Aſtorga. Returning towards Catalogne, vnder the conduct of *Mugnoc*, earle of Cerdagne, he made himſelfe maſter of that countrey, and left the earle there for Gouernour. Another armie conquered the countries of Murcia and Granado, but not without reſiſtance: for neere vnto Horiuela there was a cruell battell, the place carries the name vnto this day of the bloudy field, yet the Saraſins were victors. Valencia yeelded after that the inhabitants had beene beaten in field, yet vpon condition, to leaue a temple to
E the Chriſtians, which is now that of S. *Bartholemew*, and was then a colledge of S. *Baſil*. Among other riches, mention is made of a table of Emeraud, which they carried away, the which was in a place ſince called Medina Talmeid, it is Siguenza, or Medina Zelin. It was rather a certaine kind of Indian Iaſpe, very like vnto an Emeraud, and very common in the Eaſt, whereof they hold, that Catin to be, which is ſo famous at Genua. The greedineſſe of ſpoyle was the reaſon they wanted not any ſouldiors, for all Africk poſted thither. The taking of Toledo was vpon a Palme Sunday, in the yeare 715, by the treacherie of the Iewes, whileſt the Chriſtians were at a Sermon at S. *Leocades* church in the ſuburbes.

Arabians and Moores one nation in this hiſtorie.

Exployts of the Arabians in Spaine.

A table of Emeraud.

Muſa Gouernor of Africk, iealous of the fortunat ſucceſſe of *Tarif*, came himſelfe in perſon into Spaine, and would haue the beſt part of the ſpoile. Afterwards they made war joyntly to-
F gether, notwithſtanding that they were deadly enemies, and took Sarragoſſe & other towns. The reliques of Saints which they had ſo much reuerenced, and worſhipped in ſtead of God, could neither defend the Spaniards, nor ſaue themſelues: for it is to be preſumed, that theſe Barbarians did not bear them any great reſpect, after they had ſeized vpon the ornaments and cheſts of gold or ſiluer, where they had bin kept: yet if you wil beleeue the monks and other their fauourers, they loſt not many, the greateſt part hauing bin preſerued by the care of the Clergie

Clergie, and other deuout men, who tranſported ſome into Fraunce, others into Germanie, England, and other places, where in the time of our predeceſſors they were yet worſhipped.

The Moors were ſeuen yeares in conquering Spaine.

Some authors write, That the Moores were eight moneths about the conqueſt of Spaine, others foureteene, many two yeares; but the moſt probable, fiue yeares: for it is not credible, that ſo great a country, where there were ſo many Chriſtians, and ſo many places of ſtrength, at the leaſt by nature, ſhould fall in ſo ſhort a time into the Infidels power, without any oppoſition: for they maintaine, That in diuers incounters, aſſaults, and ſieges of townes and caſtles, there died aboue ſeuen hundred thouſand Chriſtians. Tarracone among others defended it ſelfe vertuouſly, who ſhewed by their valour, that it was a true auntient Colonie of the Romanes. In the end God hauing decreed to puniſh this people for their ſinnes, and to admoniſh the other profaners of his glorie, it was forced to yeeld.

The leaſt care of conquerors is religion.

All the regions, cities, townes, and caſtles of Spaine, except ſome places in the mountaines of Aſturia, Biſcaie, and Nauarre, were made ſubject and tributaries to the Moores; who had no great care at that time to force men in their religion, but did allow them the exerciſe thereof: and to ſome townes they granted many priuiledges, for that they would not vnpeople the countrey, burthening them with great tributes, which was all they ſought.

Seuen churches left to the Chriſtians at Toledo

The citie of Toledo among others had ſeuen churches granted them for the exerciſe of their religion, which were, S. *Iuſte*, S. *Luke*, S. *Torquat*, S. *Marke*, S. *Eulalie*, S. *Sebaſtian*, and S. *Marie*. Moreouer, it was granted, that they ſhould haue judges of their owne religion and nation, and be gouerned by the lawes of the kings of Gothes, with other priuiledges. By this meanes the Moores retained an infinit number of Chriſtian families, which liued and multiplied vnder them, elſe Spaine had beene left deſart, for the Arabians could not people it. The Chriſtians which liued among the Arabians, were called Muſarabes (as it is likely) of the name of the Gouernour *Muſa*, who would bee famous by this conqueſt. Theſe Muſarabes Chriſtians did celebrate their diuine ſeruice, as it had beene vſed in the time of the kings of Gothes, and according to the inſtitution of *Iſidorus* biſhop of Seuille, or of *Leandre*, as they had accuſtomed to ſerue God in thoſe times throughout all Spaine, and continued vntill the ſeruice, called Gregorian, or Romane, was brought in, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. This Muſarabic ſeruice, is entertained at this day for a marke of antiquitie, in the chappell of the companie of Chriſts bodie, in the great church of Toledo, and in other places of that citie. They

The Moores armies followed by many Chriſtians for ſpoyle.

hold it for certaine, that all the Moores and other Africanes which paſt into Spaine, were not of *Mahumets* ſect, but a good number of them were Chriſtians: For it is not credible, that the Africanes, who were made ſubject vnto the Arabians, a little before their paſſage into Spain, borne and bred in the Chriſtian religion, and vnder Chriſtian princes, ſhould ſo ſoone haue changed their religion: But it is probable, that being newly ſubjected to the Mahumetane kings, many followed their armies whereſoeuer they went, without any ſcruple of religion, although they were Chriſtians, hauing no other end but ſpoile, as moſt ſouldiours doe commonly.

The kings and Caliphes of the Arabians, did not care to force people newly conquered, to change their religion, but ſuffered them to liue with libertie, leaſt they ſhould vnpeople the countrey, and diminiſh the fruits of their victories. And that Africke had preſerued families of Chriſtians, it is verified by experience, as we haue formerly ſhewed. The like was in Spaine, the which notwithſtanding the gouernment of the Moores, did ſtill retaine a great number of Chriſtians, as well borne in the countrey, as others that came out of Africke to dwell there, holding the Moores partie, the which made the enterpriſes of the kings of Leon and Caſtille, and of other Chriſtian princes, more eaſie to be executed, when following the ſteps of *Pelagius* (who firſt tooke arms againſt the Moors) they began to recouer the country.

Pelagius firſt King of the Aſturians, the deliuerer of Spaine.

Ouiedo. Pelagius firſt Chriſtian king of the Aſturies.

4 PElagius (as we haue ſaid) was the ſoonne of *Fafila*, Gouernour of Biſcaie, whom *Vitiza* before he was king had ſlaine, that he might more freely enjoy his vnchaſt wife: After whoſe death *Pelagius* retired himſelfe into a place of ſafetie in the mountaines, and there was pre-

A preſerued through the fauour of his kinſmen and friends, by the prouidence of God, who had ſo decreed to giue a beginning to the deliuerie of Spaine. They ſay, that the Cantabrians were the laſt people of Spaine, which were made ſubiect to the Roman power; and the laſt alſo that were drawne away, to vndergoe the Gothes yoke: whom notwithſtanding they could neuer ſo ſubiect, as they would euer yeeld to any other lawes and manners, than thoſe that were fit for them. During the Moores conqueſt, it is alſo to be preſumed, that they maintained themſelues in ſome libertie; and in like manner all the other people of Spaine, where as the mountaines, and places of hard acceſſe, gaue them any meanes to defend themſelues. Yet we muſt confeſſe, that they could not altogether aſſure themſelues from that horrible
B inundation; but they eſcaped better then the reſt of the Spaniards which were found in the champian countrey of more eaſie acceſſe. The which is euident, by the report which the Spaniſh Authors make of this *Pelagius*; ſaying, That after the Moores had raigned fiue yeres in Spaine, he hauing reſolued in himſelfe to giue ſome ſuccours to the afflicted Chriſtians, left his ſecret retraits, and came into the Aſturies of Ouiedo, where there was one *Numatius*, otherwiſe called *Magnuza*, by corruption of the language; a Chriſtian by profeſſion, but ſeruing the Moores, and by them made Gouernour of the countrey of Gigion, into whoſe friendſhip and ſeruice he did inſinuate himſelfe. Whereby we may coniecture, that betwixt the Moores and Cantabrians there was ſome commerce, ſome league, and (it may be) ſubiection, yet vpon honeſt and tollerable conditions, by reaſon of the ſtrong ſituation
C of their countrey.

Magnuza a Chriſtian ſeruing the Moore.

As luſt had beene the cauſe of the ruine of the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine, ſo voluptuous deſire made the Moores power decreaſe there. For *Pelagius* hauing a faire and louely ſiſter in his houſe, this *Magnuza* grew in loue with her; and fearing he ſhould not obtaine her, ſhe being wiſe, and well bred, her brother being in the countrey, he reſolued to giue him a commiſsion, to goe to the great Admirall *Muſa* in embaſſade, to Cordoua, during which voyage he forced this Gentlewoman. *Pelagius* aduertiſed at his returne of what had paſt, notwithſtanding that all might be couered vnder colour of mariage, which *Magnuza* ſaid he had promiſed to his ſiſter, yet he held this rape and violence done to the contempt and diſhonour of his houſe: but he diſſembled it for the preſent, and when he found a conuenient opportu-
D nitie, he retired himſelfe with his ſiſter into the ſtrongeſt parts of the mountaines of Aſturia, watching meanes to reuenge himſelfe. *Magnuza* incenſed, for that he had taken her from him whom he loued, and who he ſaid was his wife, and finding his honour thereby intereſſed, he gaue the Gouernors and Commaunders of the Arabians in Spaine to vnderſtand, That *Pelagius* made attempts againſt their State: wherefore thinking it needfull to preuent it in time, they ſent great ſtore of ſouldiers to *Magnuza*, to ſuppreſſe him, who had almoſt ſurpriſed him: but it was the will of God that *Pelagius* ſhould haue intelligence of this ſtorme which was comming towards him: who hauing paſt the riuer of Pionia, he retired into the vallie of Cangas, where he found many wandring Chriſtians, liuing in thoſe places in great feare of the Moores. Whoſe wills he hauing ſounded, and exhorted them to be couragious, and to
E fight valiantly for the common cauſe, and to relie vpon the aſsiſtance of God, he found them readie to imploy themſelues for the libertie of their countrey; and moreouer they were ſo affected vnto him, as they choſe him their captaine and leader in this worthie enterpriſe, giuing him then the title of King. And within few dayes the brute of this enterpriſe being diſperſed through the mountaines, the Chriſtians which lay hidden, came vnto him from all parts, ſo as in a ſhort time he found himſelfe ſtrong ynough to defend himſelfe againſt any that ſhould come to aſſaile him. The Moores armie hauing failed at this time, returned to Cordoua.

Magnuza forceth Pelagius ſiſter.

Pelagius purſued flies into the mountaines of Aſturia.

Pelagius choſen king of the Chriſtians diſperſed.

We may well coniecture, that *Pelagius* was of the Gothick race, yet the Spaniards denie it, hauing no forcible argument, but that the name of *Pelagius* was not vſuall among the Goths; and they maintaine, without any other prooſes, That he was deſcended of that countrey by
F long ſucceſsion, wherof we can ſpeake nothing aſſured: But whatſoeuer he were, that honor is due vnto him, as a valiant Prince: for although it ſeemes that he was forced to take armes for the priuate iniurie done vnto his ſiſter, and himſelfe; yet he ſhewed great diſcretion, that he could wiſely ioyne the publick cauſe with his priuat intereſt, and purſue the reuenge of the one and the other, by all the iuſt meanes which opportunitie and the eſtate of their affairs did allow.

Garcia Ximines firſt King of Sobrarbre,
deliuerer of Spaine.

Sobrarbre. 5 AT that time ſuch as had retired, and preſerued themſelues in the Pyrenees, Nauarre, and the high countrey of Arragon, began to ſtirre; who choſe *Garcia Ximines* for their head, being a noble houſe among the Gothes, although the name ſeemes to ſome to contradict that opinion: who in the beginning gathered together 600 reſolute men, with the which he did great exploits, as the Spaniſh Authors ſay; who report, That after he had recouered Ainſa from the Moors, & giuen them a great defeat, he tooke for the royall Armes of Sobrarbre, a red croſſe planted vpon an Oke in a field; or, for that ſuch a ſigne had appeared vnto him during the conflict before the which he caried only a field of gold. Theſe were the beginnings of the realmes of Ouiedo and Nauarre, or Sobrarbre, as it was then called, about the yeare *Anno* 716. 716, and according to the computation of the Spaniards Æra 754, or as ſome ſay, 718, and 756, the Moores being Lords and maſters of all the good townes in Spaine.

Moores. In all places held by the Moores, there were many Chriſtians, retained by their mildneſſe, and the loue of their naturall countrey, which contented themſelues to liue tributaries: to whom the Chriſtian religion was allowed, wherein they had beene bred, and to celebrate that forme of ſeruice which had beene inſtituted by *Iſidore*, or *Leandre*, Biſhops of Seuile. Theſe Chriſtians, as we haue ſaid, were called *Muſarabes*, and their ſeruice *Muſarabic*. The forme of their Maſſes and ceremonies is deſcribed by *Vaſee* and others, to whom we referre the curious reader. Whileſt that *Vrbain*, who had beene choſen Biſhop of Toledo, liued, he was carefull of his flocke: but aboue all he had a care to tranſport the reliques of his church to Ouiedo. *Frodoaire* Biſhop of Eccia, and *Euatius* Archdeacon of Toledo, were famous for their learning and integritie, with *Iohn* Biſhop of Seuile, who tranſlated the Bible into the Arabian tongue. The Arabians hauing ſetled their affaires in Spaine, and prouided for the ſafetie of their places and forts, *Muſa* and *Tarif* prepared to repaſſe the ſea, being called home by *Vlit*, great *Miralmumin*, or *Miramamolin*, to giue him an account of their conqueſts, and gouernment. Wherefore they left the gouernment of Spaine to *Abdulazis*, the ſonne of *Muſa*, who kept his court at Seuile, and there maried the widow of king *Roderigo Egilone*: and to *Alcaman* a captaine of the Moores, there were great forces giuen both of horſe and foot, to goe againſt *Pelagius*, who gathered ſouldiers together in the mountaines of Aſturia. This *Alcaman* led *Oppa*, or *Olpa*, ſometimes Archbiſhop of Toledo, in his companie.

Abdulazis firſt gouernor of the Moores, reſiding at Seuile.

Anno 618.

Ouiedo. *Pelagius* in the meane time fortified himſelfe, and being aduertiſed of the Moores approaching, he marched towards them with his troupes, and came & lodged at mount Auſeba, and ſeiſed vpon the ſtraits and paſſages thereof; where hee attended with a thouſand choyce Chriſtians, hauing diſpoſed the reſt (which were leſſe aſſured, and worſe armed) vpon the top of the rockes and eminent places, as he thought it fit, to annoy the Moores, if they came on.

Oppa Archbiſhop of Seuile, an Apoſtat. He was firſt ſolicited by the Archbiſhop *Oppa*, to lay aſide armes, and to ſubmit himſelfe to the mercie of the *Muralmumin Vlit*; aſſuring him that he ſhould bee well intreated both in his goods and honour. That if he ſhould perſiſt in his rebellion, he ſhould conſider into what miſeries he plunged himſelfe, and what ſmall likelihood he had to make head againſt the great power of the Arabians, whom the force of all the Gothes could not reſiſt. Which perſuaſions *Pelagius* did vertuouſly reiect, ſo as comming to fight, God aſſiſted him, and gaue him victorie ouer this multitude of Barbarians, of whom there were ſlaine (as they write) aboue twentie thouſand vpon the place: not without ſome miracles in the furie of the fight; for they ſay, that the arrowes which were ſhot againſt the Chriſtians, returned againſt the enemies themſelues. *Alcaman* the Generall of this armie was ſlaine there, and no man knew what became of *Oppa*. This admirable victorie was the firſt teſtimonie which God gaue the afflicted Chriſtians of their reſtauration, the which *Pelagius* obtained in the yeare 718, *Muſa* and *Tarif* being not yet imbarked, but they parted ſoone after, leauing the reuenge of this loſſe to *Abdulazis*.

A notable victo- of the Chriſtians againſt the Moores.

A *Tarif* got the ſtart, and arriued at the Court of *Miralmumin Vlit*, before *Muſa*, whom he accuſed of many abuſes and exactions; and did ſo incenſe the Prince, as *Muſa* at his arriuall was not onely diſgraced, but condemned in a great fine, ſo as he died for griefe. His gouernment was giuen to *Alahor* by *Vlit*, or by his ſucceſſor *Zuleima*, otherwiſe called *Zulcimin*: for they ſay that *Vlit* died in the ſame yeare 718. *Alahor* hearing of the defeat giuen vnto the Moores by *Pelagius*, had a conceit, that it happened by the fraud or trecherie of Cont *Iulien*, and the children of *Vitiza*: whereupon he put them to death, and did forfeit their goods. *Abdulazis*, who held Seuile, being importuned by his wife, who was grieued, that from being a Queene ſhe was now become the wife of a Viceroy, or Gouernour of Spaine, B tooke vpon him the title and Royall Diademe, againſt the cuſtome of the Arabians: but it laſted not long; for in the third yeare of his raigne he was ſlaine in a church as he was at his prayers, by certaine Arabians, which had conſpired againſt him, being perſuaded that he was become a Chriſtian. His wife was alſo ſlaine.

Moores.

Zulcima eleuenth Caliph.

After him *Aiub* raigned, who changed the royall ſeat from Seuile to Cordoua: ſome Authors ſay it was his ſucceſſor *Alahor*. He built againe the towne of Bilbilis, which had beene ruined; and called it by his name *Calat Aiub*. The Saraſines were growne ſo proud, as not contenting themſelues with the conqueſt of Spaine, they attempted to paſſe the Pyrenee mountaines, and inuaded the Gotick Gaule, which is at this day called Languedoc, all which they conquered in a manner, euen vnto the Alpes. And, whileſt they fed themſelues with C hope to become Maiſters of all Gaule, they neglected the affaires of Aſturia, and the enterpriſes of *Pelagius*: who hauing woon great honour by the victorie which he had obtained, he found himſelfe fortified in a ſhort time with a great number of Chriſtians, which came vnto him from all parts, yea out of thoſe townes which were held by the Moores: Wherefore he neither loſt time nor opportunitie, but taking occaſion when they were buſied in their other warres, he tooke Leon from them, going on ſtill in his courſe. This was in the yeare 722. Then he left (as the Spaniards ſay) the Gothes Armes, and carried a Lion gueules in a field argent, which are at this day the Armes of Leon: Yet he called himſelfe King of Ouiedo, without any other title. Yet it is not verie certaine, that theſe Armes of a Lion gueules were firſt of all carried by *Pelagius*; but it is without all queſtion, that the Lion which is in the D Armes of Leon, hath no reference to the name of the towne, which was in old time called Legio. Among others which had followed *Pelagius* in diuers incounters which he had againſt the Moores, there was a Nobleman of Biſcaie, of the bloud royall, deſcended from *Ricarede*, named *Alphonſus*, ſonne to one *Peter* gouernour of Biſcaie, or Duke, as they were then called, who, it is likely, was ſubſtituted in the place of *Fafilla*, ſlaine by *Vitiza*. To this *Alphonſus* (for that he was wiſe and valiant, and had drawne many good offices from him) hee gaue his daughter *Ormiſinde* in mariage; from whom and this *Alphonſus* are deſcended the kings of Leon.

The Saraſines inuade Languedoc.

Leon taken by the Chriſtians.

Pelagius ſtiles himſelfe king of Ouiedo.

Alphonſus a Biſcain ſonne in law to Pelagius, the ſtem of the kings of Ouiedo and Leon.

On the other ſide there was ſome alterations in Nauarre, whileſt the Moores were buſie in Languedoc, and other parts of Gaule, ſo as *Garcia Ximines* laid the foundations of his prin- E cipalitie or kingdome, in theſe mountaines. The hiſtories of Arragon attribute the honour of the beginning of this royaltie to their countrey, calling it the kingdome of Sobrarbre, the which are mountaines at this preſent in the confines of Arragon: But we find that this *Garcia* was Lord of Ameſcua and Abarſuſa, places neere vnto them, where as the towne of Eſtella was afterwards built. There were other enterpriſes made in Cattelognia, & elſwhere.

Nauarre or Sobrarbre.

After *Aiub*, *Alor*, or *Alahor*, ſonne to *Abderramen*, was Viceroy of Spaine, about the yeare 719, and the Æra 757: who ſhewed himſelfe rigorous to the Moores and Arabians, who had firſt taken and ſackt Spaine: whom he intangled in diuers accuſations, that he might ſpoyle them of the wealth which they had gotten. So as, if the Chriſtian Spaniards were puniſhed, thoſe which puniſhed them had no great content of the aduantage which God had giuen F them ouer his people. To *Zubeima* the Caliph, there ſucceeded in the yeare 719, two of his nephewes, *Homar* the ſonne of *Abdimazir*, and *Izit*, or *Gizit*, the ſonne of *Abdimelec*: but *Izit* died ſoone after, and *Homar* raigned alone; who ſent *Adam* the ſonne of *Melic* into Spain for Gouernour, who (as they ſay) made the bridge at Cordoua. We haue ſaid (according to the opinion of many graue Authors, well informed of the diſpoſition of the Arabians) that it is a nation which hath euer beene enemie to reſt, and to all good lawes and policie, the which

Moores. Alahor third Viceroy.

Homar and Izit Caliphes. Adam fourth Viceroy of the Moores.

cannot long containe it ſelfe in any good order, nor vnder one prince, or lawfull magiſtrat. G
According to their naturall diſpotion, thoſe which inhabited Spaine, made hauocke of all things by their robberies and theſts: whereupon this Viceroy *Adam* puniſhed many of them by pecuniarie fines, and thereby made himſelfe partaker of their ſpoyles. They ſay he exacted the fift part of their ſubſtance: the which he did alſo of the inhabitants of the townes and caſtles of Spaine, which he tooke by force, and the twentieth part of them which yeelded willingly vnto him. He died at Tortoſe, returning from the ſpoyle of Tarraſſone. At that time the Sarraſines made great conqueſts in Gaule; they tooke Narbone, and beſieged Toloufe, vnder the conduct of *Zama*, who was ſlaine there. *Eude*, a Goth, a nobleman of Biſcaie, Duke of Aquitaine in the right of his wife, kindled this warre, and perſuaded *Muniza*, a Moore, making warre in Languedoc, to rebellion againſt *Abderramen*; giuing him a H
Abderramē fift gouernor of the Moores in Spaine. daughter of his to wife. By reaſon wherof he was aſſailed by *Abderramen*, beſieged, and taken in Cerdagne, and his head ſent with his wife into Africke. *Abderramen* purſuing his victorie againſt *Eude*, defeated him neere Arles, and gaue him another rout about Bourdeaux, ſpoyling and burning all the countrey betwixt the Pyrenees & the riuer of Loire: Yet in the end they concluded a peace, the Moore fearing the French whom he had incenſed by theſe ſpoyles.

Anno 725. *Euclid Caliph.* *Izit* died in the yeare 725, whom *Euclid* his ſonne ſucceeded, and was vnfortunate. During whoſe raigne, *Eude* Duke of Aquitaine, being threatened by the French, who raigned in Gaule, to whom he was ſuſpect: and fearing their power, he called in againſt them that great multitude of Arabians, and Sarafines, which were defeated in Touraine by *Charles* I
Eude drawes the Moores into Spaine, & then betrayes them. *Martel*; which ſome affirme, were aboue foure hundred thouſand men, who notwithſtanding were betrayed, and abandoned to the ſlaughter, by *Eude*, hauing ioyned with *Martel* the day of the battell, and turned his forces againſt them who were come, by his perſuaſion, to inhabit Gaule. Their Generall *Abderramen* gouernour of Spaine, was ſlaine there, with aboue three hundred thouſand Arabians. This memorable battell, which ſaued Gaule and the
An. 730. kingdome of the French from vtter ruine, was fought in the yeare 730, or according to ſome Spaniſh Authors, 734: who ſay, That during theſe practiſes, Pope *Gregorie* the third then reſident at Rome, had ſent vnto *Eude* certaine hallowed ſponges, the which being cut into ſmall peeces, and diſtributed among the ſouldiers, preſerued all ſuch as carried them from being wounded, both in that battell, and afterwards in all other incounters. K

Iahea 6 Viceroy. Moores. Adaiſa 7. Hiemen 8. Autuman 9. Albatan 10. *Euclid* ſent *Iahea* into Spaine for Viceroy, who gouerned two yeares, and was the ſixt, reſiding at Cordoua. To *Ishea Adaiſa Alcazazin* ſucceeded, a raſh inconſiderate man, and therefore ſoone depoſed: whom *Hiemen* ſucceeded, who liued but ſix monethes; and then *Autuman* was aduanced, but he died within foure monethes after. *Albatan* followed him, who was cruell and inhumane, by reaſon whereof he loſt both gouernment and life, by the commaundement of the great Emperor or Caliph, *Euclid*, hauing gouerned Spaine two moneths only. It may be it was in his time that the children of *Eude* Duke of Aquitain deceaſed, being
The ſecond entrie of the Moores into Gaule. deprined of their poſſeſsions by the tyranie of the French, called the Arabians and Saraſines againe into Gaule, who ſpoiled the whole countrey betwixt the Pyrenees and the riuer of Loire, Languedoc, and Prouence, and ſeiſed vpon many ſtrong places, wherof Auignon was L
one. The ſons of *Eude* were *Hunola*, *Vifar*, and *Aznor*. The head of the Moores in this expedition, were *Athin* and *Amorrhee*: *Athin* was defeated by *Charles Martel*, and being chaſed out of Auignon, he fled to Narbone: where being beſieged, *Amorrhee* comming out of Spaine to raiſe the ſiege, he was alſo defeated with all his armie, and purſued and ſlaine neere to Colible, at the foot of the Pyrenees. *Charles Martel* purſuing his victorie, committed greater ſpoiles then the Sarraſines and Infidels had done. *Athin* ſaued himſelfe in Spaine, and hauing afterwards paſt into Africk, he died at the ſiege of Tanger.

Ouiedo. *An.* 735. This yere of Chriſt 735 king *Pelagius* died at Cangas, leauing to ſucceed him his ſon *Fafila*, and his daughter *Orſuinde*, or *Ormiſinde*, the wife of *Alphonſo* of Biſcaie, one after another; hauing raigned 19 yeres, or 17 according to the moſt certaine. His wife was called *Gaudieuſe*. M
They were interred in the church of S. *Zulalia* of Valania.

Fafila ſecond King of Ouiedo.

Vertue is not alwaies hereditarie. 6 *Fafila* ſonne to *Pelagius*, ſecond king of Ouiedo, raigned onely two yeares. He was not ſo carefull as his father, to aduance the Chriſtians Eſtate in Spaine. The Moores in like maner

A ner did not arme againſt him, for they were much troubled with the French warres. Wherefore this king giuing himſelfe to the pleaſure of hunting, more then was fit for his eſtate (not yet ſetled) was ſlaine by a Beare, which he purſued in the mountaines, being abandoned by his followers: Which ſome hold was in the yeare 737, but *Garibay* ſayes, that there is a great errour in the computation of theſe yeares. He was maried to a Ladie called *Froleua*, and they are both interred at S. Croix neere to Cangas.

After the death of *Alhatan* gouernor of Spain, *Manes* ſucceeded, who continued not long: *Moores.* then *Mahumet*, who liued but two monethes: After him *Abderramen*, who gouerned three yeares; who being dead, *Abdemelic* ruled Spaine foure yeares, who puniſhed ſome pettie ty-
B rants, and hauing drawne a new people out of Africke, he filled the townes that were made deſolate by the aboue mentioned defeats. He was chaſed out of his gouernement by *Ocha*, who held it fiue yeares: then *Abdemelic* returned, and gouerned a yeare and a halfe, in whoſe place *Alcataran* was gouernour: who ſeeking to free Spaine of many ſtrange ſouldiers, who were entertained then by the Caliph, he was ſlaine by them: So as the gouernment was vſurped by *Aben Hax*, who was preſently ſet vpon by the children of *Alcataran*; who hauing vanquiſhed him, he died within 15 dayes after: and then there grew great diuiſions and troubles in Spaine; to ſuppreſſe the which, the Emperour of the Arabians ſent *Zubeir* with great forces, who pacified all theſe diſſentions, and contented the mutined ſouldiers with great entertainments: to ſatisfie the which, he tooke from the Chriſtians (which liued vnder the ſubiec-
C tion of the Moores) the third part of their goods. This gouernour *Zubeir* meaning to enter into Gaule, was preuented by the king of the French, who it ſeemes was *Pepin*, and defeated beyond the Pyrenees. He alſo ſent a captaine againſt *D. Alphonſo* the firſt, king of Ouiedo: but he was vanquiſhed by the Chriſtian armie; and in this battell were ſlaine all the Arabian ſouldiers which had murined. After *Zubeir*, *Abderramen* came to gouerne Spaine: then *Iber Vzit*, who liued little, and to him ſucceeded *Abubacar*, but he was ſlaine there, and in his place *Rodoan* gouerned at Cordoua. It was the ſeat for the generall Gouernor of all Spain, of whom depended all other Gouernors, Captaines, or Admiralls.

D

Alphonſo, the firſt of that name, and third *King of Ouiedo.*

7 *Alphonſo* called the Catholicke, ſonne to *Peter*, Duke or Gouernour of the Cantabrians, *Ouiedo.* or Biſcains (of the Gothes race) deſcended from king *Ricaredo*, ſucceeded *Fafila* in the kingdome of Ouiedo, in the right of his wife *Orſuinde* or *Ormiſinde*, daughter to *Pelagius*, and ſiſter to *Fafila*, in the yeare of Chriſt 737, and of their Era 775. It is likely this was the firſt *Anno 737* woman which did inherit the Crowne in Spaine, vnleſſe *Alphonſo* were choſen king by the Spaniards, the which is credible: for the right of ſucceſſion was not then in vſe among thoſe people, in regard of kingdomes. It is likely the name of Catholicke was giuen to this *Alphon-*
E *ſo*, by ſome writers, for that he was a deuout Prince, and verie curious to inrich temples: yet the title of Catholicke which is giuen to the kings of Spaine at this day, comes not from him, *The ſurname of Catholicke.* the which we know was granted by Pope *Iohn* the eighth, vnto king *D. Alphonſo* the third; and by Pope *Iulio* the ſecond, vnto the king *D. Ferdinand* the fift, in the time of our fathers, for ſome conſiderations which we will hereafter ſhew. This prince was warlike, and tooke from the Saraſines the townes of Lugo, Tuy, Aſtorga, and a great part of old Caſtille, the ſecond *The conqueſts of king Alphonſo the firſt.* yeare of his raigne: then Porto, Beia, Flauia, Ledeſma, Zamora, Cimancas, Duegnas, Saldagne, Miranda, Segobia, Oſme, Auila, Sepulueda, Birbieſca, and all the country of Bureba, Braga, Vila, Salamanca, and others, which at this day belong to Portugal, Leon, Caſtille, & Nauarre; reſtoring the Biſhops to their auncient ſeas, cheriſhing the Clergie, and making libra-
F ries in many parts of his countrey: he alſo tooke the towne of Pampelone in Nauarre. All which conqueſts he made, the Moores being not onely buſied in the warres of France, but in ciuile diſſentions among themſelues; being alſo fauored & receiued by the Chriſtians which were the inhabitants in many places, whom they called *Muſarabes*, liuing tributaries vnder the Moores. In his time *Cixila* was Biſhop of the *Muſarabes* of Toledo, a holy and learned *Biſhops of Toledo in the time of the Moores.* man, as they ſay, who ſucceeded *Vrbain*, & after him *Peter*, ſurnamed the Faire, gouerned that church.

Moores. The eſtate of the Arabians was full of troubles after the death of the *Miralmumin Euelid*, G being in contention for the gouernment: in the which *Gizit* the third was ſlaine, and *Hizes* his ſonne remained Emperour, who raigned a yeare: After whom *Maruan*, of the race of *Humeia*, raigned ſix yeares. But there grew great ciuile warres by reaſon of theſe diuiſions, the *Anno* 753 which in the end ruined their Eſtate. In the yeare 753 *Touba* was ſent to goueme in Spaine, a ſouldier, and a man of worth; but he liued onely a yeare. *Ioſeph* was ſubſtituted in his place, a great enemie to the Chriſtians: who hauing beene vnfortunate in his warres againſt king *Fruela*, who ſlue aboue 50000 of his men in two battels: he was diſdained by the Moores in Spaine, who called in *Abderramen* to rule ouer them.

Three Sunnes ſeene in Spaine. At that time there were three Sunnes ſeene in Spaine, and for the ſpace of two yeres there H fell not any raine from heauen, which cauſed a great dearth of corne, and of all other things: and ſoone after king *Alphonſo* died. Some hold that this king was the founder of the towne of *Ouiedo built.* Ouiedo, whereof he intitled himſelfe king: others ſay it was *Pelagius*; and ſome make it more auncient. He raigned 19 yeares, and liued 64, and was buried with his wife in S. *Maries* monaſterie at Cangas. They held him for a Saint, and they ſay, that at his funerall there were voices heard ſinging in the aire, this verſe in Latine; *Ecce quo modo tollitur iuſtus, & nemo conſiderat, ablatus eſt à facie iniquitatis, & erit in pace memoria eius:* Behold how the iuſt man is taken away, and no man conſiders it; he is taken from the face of iniquitie, and his memorie ſhall reſt in peace. He had three ſonnes by his wife *Ormeſinde*; *Froila*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdome of Ouiedo, *Vimaran*, and *Aurelius*; and one daughter *Odeſinde*: he had alſo one ſonne I called *Mauregat*, by a concubine.

D. Froila fourth King of Ouiedo.

Anno 756. 8 IN the yeare 756 *Frotla* was king in the place of his father *Alphonſo*. They attribute to *Prieſts forbidden to marie.* him, as a holy ordinance, that he did forbid the Clergie of Spaine to marie, the which they had vſed, and it may be abuſed ſince the raigne of *Vitiza*, and had made them ſubiect to the decree of Pope *Gregorie* the firſt, and the Councell of Rome. This act is written of him as good and holy, although in many other things he ſhewed himſelfe cruell and wicked. *Ioſeph* K gouernour for the Moores being in armes againſt him, and hauing ſpoyled the confines of *A great defeat of Moores.* Gallicia, they came to battell, which *Froila* woon: he ſlue 54000 Moores, and put the reſt with their Commaunder to a ſhamefull flight.

Nauarre or Sobrarbre. *Garcia Ximines*, who (as we haue ſaid) had begun a principalitie or royaltie in Sobrarbre, tooke to wife a Ladie of a noble houſe, called *Iniga*; by whom he had one ſonne, called *Garcia Inigo*. He intitled himſelfe king of that countrey: wherewith the Nauarrois being diſcontented, they abandoned him, and ioined to the king of Ouiedo. The firſt occaſion which the Chriſtians (inhabiting in the mountaines of Nauarre and Arragon) tooke to erect an Eſtate, and make head againſt the Moores, was of an aſſemblie at the interment of an Hermit which liued in the rockes neere vnto Iaca. This Hermit was buried in the place whereas afterwards the L monaſterie of S. *Iohn de la Pegna* was built, the which at the firſt was a Colledge of Chanoins. *Garcia Ximines* raigned 42 yeares, and left his pettie kingdome to *Garcia Inigo* his ſonne, to whom the Nauarrois ſubmitted themſelues againe: but *Froila* raigning in Ouiedo, forced them by armes to returne to his obedience.

Ouiedo. *Froila* maried the daughter of *Eude* Duke of Aquitaine, called *Menine*, or according vnto ſome, *Momerane*; by whom he had two ſonnes, *Alphonſo*, called the Chaſt, and *Bermond*, or *Veremond*, both which raigned, although that *D. Bermond* was made by the Clergie: and moreouer he had a daughter by her, called *D. Ximina*, who was mother to *Bernard* of Carpio. *Title of Dom firſt vſed.* This king did firſt vſe the title of *Dom*, which the king and all the Noblemen of Spaine haue euer ſince obſerued. What the furious deſire of raigne is, and with what iealouſie kings are M *Froila murthers his brother.* often tormented, *Froila* ſhewed by the cruell parricide of his brother *Vimaran*, whom he cauſed to be ſlaine through iealouſie, ſeeing him to be a gallant Knight, and generally beloued for his good parts; yet he repented the fact, but too late. For ſatisfaction whereof, they write, that he adopted the ſonne of *Vimaran*, called *Veremond*, to ſucceed him in the kingdome: the which hath bred ſome doubt, whether this *Veremond* (which came to the Crowne in the fourth

A fourth place after *Froila*) were the ſonne of *Vimaran*, or of *Froila* himſelfe; who ſoone after was alſo ſlaine by his other brother *Aurelius*, in reuenge of the death of *Vimaran*, hauing raigned eleuen yeares and a halfe, or thereabouts.

Moores. Abderramen vſurpes the Soueraignetie in Spaine.

9 During the raigne of this king, the Arabians of Spaine diuided themſelues wholly from the Caliphes of Damas, vnder *Abderramen*, who chaſed, and in the end ſlew the Gouernour or Viceroy *Ioſeph*, made himſelfe king and *Miralmumin* or *Miramomelin*, and held Spaine with that title 33 yeares, not acknowledging the Emperor or Caliph of Damas in any thing. This was in the yeare 757 of our redemption, and 138 yeares after the Moores deſcent in Spaine; by reaſon of the diuiſion of the ſoueraigne dignitie of the Arabians in the Eaſt: for againſt

B *Maruan*, who had ſucceeded *Hizes* Caliph of the Arabians at Damas, there had riſen many tyrants, whereof he puniſhed ſome, but *Aſmulin* vanquiſhed him. This was of the race of *Mutar*, who had raigned in Perſia, and followed his ſect, maintaining that *Ali* had beene the true Prophet, and greater then *Mahumet*: he commaunded then ouer the Coraſenes, a people in Perſia: He was aduiſed by *Cataban* his friend, to procure the ſlaues throughout all Perſia to kill their maſters, and to rob them; the which they did, and came rich with their maſters ſpoyles to *Aſmulin*. Soone after being impatient of eaſe, they diuided themſelues into two ſects, the Caiſmes and Lamonites; *Aſmulin* taking part with the Lamonites, defeated the others, and with his victorious bands aſſayled *Iolin*, Gouernour of Perſia, vnder the Caliph *Maruan*, whom he vanquiſhed, and *Maruan* alſo, who came againſt him with aboue three

Aſmulin Caliph and his victories.

C hundred thouſand fighting men, forcing him to flie into Egypt, whither he was followed, defeated, and ſlaine by *Salin*, the ſonne of *Aſmulin*, by whom through his victories the kingdome of the Perſians was ſetled in his familie. The reſt of *Maruans* familie and followers were diſperſed in Africke, where they erected the kingdome of Fez, and ſome paſſed into Spaine, which might be that race of *Abderramen*, of whom we here intreat; who notwithſtanding *Vaſee* affirmes was baſely deſcended: and *Garibay* on the other ſide ſayes, that he was iſſued from the race of *Aben Humeia*, and from *Zaineb* the daughter of *Mahumet*. His father was called *Moabia*, and his ſeat was alſo at Cordoua: he brought his armie before Valence, which reſiſted him, and tooke it. They ſay, that the bones of S. *Vincent* were worſhipped there, and that many families among theſe Chriſtians, ill inſtructed, fearing the comming

The Sophies of Perſia diſcended from Aſmulin.

D of this Sarracene king, diſlodged, and carried theſe relickes into the woods and mountaines, which lye betwixt Valence and the mouth of the riuer of Guadiana: and hauing paſſed vnto that point which in old time was called the holie Promontorie, they were encountred by a Moore of Fez, called *Alibouz*, who rauaged the countrey of Algarbe; he ſlew theſe men, tooke their children priſoners, and left S. *Vincents* bones vpon the field, where they were afterwards found, and thereof this Promontorie was called Cap S. *Vincent*.

Whence cape S. Vincent in Algarbe tooke the name.

The Almightie God (although that he had deliuered his Church into the hands of Barbarians and Infidels, by reaſon of the prophanation of his name, and that the Spaniards made little vſe of their chaſtiſements) maintained alwaies ſome light of the Goſpell among them, raiſing vp men, who entertained ſome order and ſhew of Chriſtianitie, and had the Scrip-

E tures and their ceremonies throughout all the towns of the Moores juriſdiction. They make mention of *Verus* Biſhop of Seuile, at that time a learned man, and of a good life. *Cixilas* was Archbiſhop of Toledo, to whom *PP. Adrian* (as the Spaniſh Authors ſay) did write a letter, blaming the cuſtome of the Chriſtians in Spaine to eat fleſh on Saterdayes; wherefore they made an order, not to eat any that day but the entrailes, head, and feet of beaſts, the which hath beene ſince obſerued.

D. Aurelius fifth King of Ouiedo.

Ouiedo. An. 767.

F D. *Aurelius* ſucceeded his brother *D. Froila* in the realme of Ouiedo, hauing ſlaine him in the yeare 767. notwithſtanding that, he left a ſonne called *D. Alphonſo* the chaſt, with other children: but the hatred which the noblemen of the countrey did beare vnto his father, was the cauſe of his reiection, being then alſo verie young: whereby it appeares, that the right of ſucceſſion was not in thoſe dayes practiſed in Spaine. This Prince was politicke, and of an actiue ſpirit, yet not giuen to armes: wherefore he made a peace with the

The right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne had yet no place in Spaine.

Moores,

Moores, ſo as during his raigne they did not attempt any thing one againſt another. The G bondmen in his countrey being mutined againſt their maſters, and in armes, they were ſuppreſt by the wiſdome of this king, and reduced to their firſt condition of ſeruitude. They report a ſhamefull and abhominable thing of him among Chriſtians, That in his capitulation with *Abderramen* to haue a peace, beſides that he made himſelfe his tributarie, he promiſed among other things, to giue euerie yeare to theſe Barbarians a certaine number of virgins, yet *Vaſeus* doth attribute it to *Mauregat*. He married his ſiſter *D. Odeſinde* or *Vſende*, to a renowmed knight called *D. Sillo*: and hauing raigned ſix yeares and ſix moneths, this king *D. Aurelius* died. All theſe kings were in a manner buried in the towne of Ianguas, which many write Cangas: We doe not find that he had either wife or children. H

D. Sillo, ſixt King of Ouiedo.

An.774. 11 D. *Sillo* his brother in law, and his ſiſter *Vſende* or *Odeſinde*, obtained the kingdome of Ouiedo, in the yeare 774.

Aznar firſt Earle of Arragon. 12 In Arragon there was an Earle called *Aznar*, riſen in armes: ſome hold, that he was ſonne or grandchild to Duke *Eude* of Guyenne, who comming to ſerue *D. Garcia Inigo* king of Sobrarbre, tooke *Iaca*, and obtained of him in gift the countrey which lyes betwixt the two riuers, called Arragon, with the title of Earle or Gouernour: dying, he left two ſonnes, I *Galinde* and *Ximen Garſes*.

Ouiedo. As for *D. Sillo*, the beginning of his raigne was troubleſome, many refuſing to obey him: wherefore to aſſure his eſtate, he renewed the peace with the Arabians in Spaine, and ſubdued his rebels by a victorie which he got of them vpon the mountaine of Zebrero in Gallicia. In the end, ſeeing that he had no children, he reſigned the charge of affaires to *D. Alphonſo* the chaſt, nephew to his wife, and to her, giuing himſelfe wholly to a contemplatiue life.

Moores. In his time the noblemen Arabians enjoying the townes and prouinces of Spaine, vnder the Miralmumin *Abderramen*, impatient one of another, according to the naturall diſpoſition of this mutinous nation, they fell to warre among themſelues: *Abubatar Deuiſfer*, K and others, had chaſed away *Ibnaballa* of Saragoſſe, who is alſo called *Abi Arabi*, who called in *Charlemaigne* king of France to his aid, and he entred into Spaine with a great armie, beſieged Saragoſſe, tooke it by compoſition, and ſetled *Ibnaballa* in his Seigniorie, making the noblemen Moores that were his neighbors, his tributaries. Among other conditions accorded betwixt *Charles* and the Moores, it was ſaid, that they ſhould ſuffer (others ſay heare) the preachings of the Chriſtians, the ſeruants of God.

The French drawne into Spaine by the Moores diuiſions.

D. Garcia Inigo, ſecond King of Sobrarbre *or Nauarre.* L

Nauarre or Sobrarbe. 13 IN this growing kingdome of Nauarre, *D. Garcia Inigo* had ſucceeded his father *Garcia Ximenes* in the yeare 758, who raigned 44 yeares. This king enlarged his limits by reaſon of the Moores diſſentions, and tooke Pampelone from them; the which we read was alſo taken about that time by *Charlemaigne*, king of France: ſo, as it ſeemes, that being readie to come into Spaine to ſuccour *Ibnaballa*, the pettie king of Sarragoſſe, he would ſeize vpon Pampelone, to aſſure his paſſage; and then hauing reſtored *Ibnaballa*, and defeated *Abderramen*, killing aboue 30000 of his Moores, as the Spaniſh Authors report, he demanteled it in his returne into France, ſo as it was eaſie for *D. Garcia* to ſeize thereon.

M

D. Mauregat, ſeuenth King of Ouiedo.

Ouiedo. An.783. 14 D. *Sillo* died in the yeare 783, hauing held the royall ſeat nine yeares and one moneth, and was interred at Ouiedo, in Saint *Iohns* Church, which he had built,

A built, and was afterwards tranſported to S. Saluador: After whoſe deceaſe, by a generall conſent, the realme of Ouiedo was giuen to *D. Alphonſo* the chaſt: but his vncle *D. Mauregat*, baſtard brother to his father, as he had beene vnlawfully begotten, ſo he ſhewed himſelfe in his actions and affections, both to him and the State, without law, without pietie, and without honour: for being deſirous to raigne, he layed a plot with the Moores, and by their aide chaſed *Alphonſo* his nephew out of the Aſturies and Leon, forcing him to retyre himſelfe into the countries of Alaua, and Biſcaye, where he had many allyes, who preſerued him from the treacherous practiſes of this tyrant. The accord hee made with the Barbarians, to procure ſuccours from them, was villanous, and vnworthie of

B a Chriſtian Prince: for hee bound himſelfe to pay them a tribute contrarie to all law and honeſtie, which was, fiftie virgines of noble families, and as manie of baſer condition, the which hee ſhould ſend yearely; this impure and brutiſh king expoſing thoſe poore Chriſtian creatures, by an expreſſe agreement, vnto the damnable appetite of Infidels: by reaſon whereof he was hated of all men, and (as it is likely) of God alſo. He raigned fiue yeares and fiue monethes, dying without children, and was buried at Prauia. *A deteſtable tribute payed by a Chriſtian Prince to Infidels.*

In his time *Abderramen* raigning ouer all the Moores in Spaine, he did wonderfully *Moores.*
ſpoyle the Chriſtians, being verie mightie; for he had thirtie thouſand horſe and two *The power of Abderramen.*
hundred thouſand foot in his ordinarie warres: with which forces he draue the kings of

C Ouiedo into the mountaines of Aſturia, and brought vnder his ſubjection *Gallafray* king of Toledo, who made head againſt him, with manie other noblemen of his ſect. He cauſed *His works.*
the Meſquite or Moſquee of Cordoua to be built, of a rich and ſtately ſtructure. The Cathedrall Church of that citie, admirable for the greatneſſe and number of goodly pillars: the gardens and caſtle called Arrizaphe or Alixares, are alſo his workes. This Prince died in the yeare 787, and 170 of the Arabians, leauing eleuen ſonnes and nine daughters. He was interred in the caſtle of Cordoua, and had for his ſucceſſor in Spaine his ſonne *Izen*, or *Ixeca*, or *Iſmen*, for ſo he is called by diuers Authors.

D. Veremond, firſt of that name, and eighth *King of Ouiedo.*

15 D. *Veremond*, or *Bermond*, the ſonne of *Froila*, raigned after *Mauregat* in Ouiedo *Ouiedo.*
and Leon, hauing beene of the Clergie, and made a Deacon. Wherefore fea- *An.789.*
ring to offend God, if he did forſake his Clericall profeſſion to gouerne the kingdome, he left this dignitie, and reſigned it to his brother *D. Alphonſo* the ſecond yeare, or as ſome write, the third, of his raigne. And moreouer, being married to a Ladie called *Imoline*, from *A Prince too ſuperſtitious.*
that time he did forbeare her companie, notwithſtanding that he had had two children, *Ra-*

E *mer* and *Garcia*: He liued foure yeares and ſix moneths after that with *D. Alphonſo*, and lyes interred at Ouiedo.

16 In his time, *Izen*, *Oſmen*, or *Iſmen*, the ſecond ſonne of *Abderramen*, raigned at Cor- *Moores.*
doua, who ſeized on the Crowne, to the preiudice of his elder brother *Zuleima*, who gouerned at Toledo. The inhabitants of Toledo, and all that juriſdiction, obeyed *Zuleima* ſtill, who tooke vpon him the title of King, ſeeing himſelfe aſſured of his people. *D. Hizen* being jealous thereof, came to aſſayle him, where there was a great and a bloudie battaile betwixt the two brethren, neere vnto a place called Vilches, in the which *Zuleima* was defea- *Warre betwixt two brethren Moores.*
ted, and all the paſſages being ſtopt, that he could not fortifie himſelfe in Toledo, he fled into Murria; from whence he afterwards paſſed into Africke, to ſeeke in vaine for meanes

F to recouer that which he had loſt in Spaine. *Hizen* after this victorie marched towards Toledo, and did ſo terrifie them of the towne (who were neither well furniſhed with ſouldiors, nor victuals) as they yeelded preſently, vpon honeſt conditions for the inhabitants. Thus *Hizen* remained peaceable king of Spaine, being wonderfully proud and haughtie, ſo as preſently after he ſought to continue the warre in Languedoc, which his predeceſ- *The Moores make warre in Languedoc.*
ſors had begun, where he did much annoy the Chriſtians, and carried away great ſpoyles,

with

with the which he did enrich the Moſquee which his father had begun at Cardoua, eſpecially with the pillage of Narbone and Girone. In Spaine he ſent a great armie vnto the Aſturies, againſt king *D. Alphonſo* the chaſt, who refuſed to ſend him that vnworthie and tyrannous tribute of virgines, whereunto king *Mauregat* the baſtard had ſubmitted himſelfe. He found the Chriſtians in armes neere vnto a Bourg called Ledos or Alado, where they fought with ſuch obſtinacie, as there were ſlaine aboue ſeuentie thouſand Moores vpon the place, with their Generall *Muguay*, by meanes whereof the kings of Ouiedo and Leon were from that time freed from that villanous tribute. This battaile was woon, whileſt that *D. Bermond* or *Veremond* the Deacon yet liued. The Moores were afterwards ſet vpon by the French, vpon the confines of *Roſsillon*, who did ſuccour and fauour the enterpriſes of *D. Alphonſo* the chaſt, in Caſtille and Gallicia, *Charlemaigne* then raigning. Wee read, that the French captaines forced *Zato* or *Saad*, Gouernour of Barcelone, to yeeld himſelfe tributarie to king *Charles*, and to receiue French garriſons into many places of that countrey: as they of Hueſca did alſo, who notwithſtanding freed themſelues ſoone after: for Hueſca lying farre into the enemies countrey, they could not ſo eaſily keepe it as Barcelone, being a ſea towne. There was then a battaile betwixt the French and the Moores in the valley of Curol, at this day Corbiere, in the countrey of Cerdane, which the Moores loſt. This was the firſt Prince of the Moores, which ſet any fleet to ſea in Spaine, hauing rigged forth many ſhips and galliots at Almerie, whereof he gaue the charge vnto a captaine called *Mahamet*, who ſackt the Iſlands of Maiorca, Minorca, Iuiza, and Sardaigne.

A memorable defeat of Moores.

The Moores of Barcelone tributaries to the French.

Nauarre.

Don Garcia Inigo, ſecond king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, had ſome difference at the paſſage which they ſay had been made by the French into Spaine, vnder *Charlemaigne*; for which cauſe *Charles* demanteled Pampelone, the which he had ſeized on, comming to Saragoſſe. This *D. Garcia* raigned 44 yeares, and had one ſonne called *D. Fortun Garces*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdome of Sobrarbre and Nauarre. He lyes at S. *Iohn de la Pegna*.

Arragon.

An. 795.

17 In Arragon there had ſucceeded to Cont *Aznar*, his ſonne *D. Galinde*, ſurnamed *Aznarris*, in the yeare 795. This Earles ſeat was at Iaca, acknowledging the kings of Nauarre for Soueraignes. We find nothing memorable written of him, but that he was founder of ſome Monaſteries, and built certaine forts, and among others the caſtle of Athares. He had one daughter called *Theude*, the which he married to *Don Fortun*, Infant of Nauarre: others ſay, that ſhe was firſt married to one Cont *Bernard*, a vaſſale to king *Charlemaigne*, who hauing ſeized on the mountaines of Ribagorſa, did much annoy the Moores. This Earle *Galinde* had one ſonne called *D. Ximen Aznarris*, Earle of Arragon after him, and another called *Endregot Galinde*: *D. Ximen* died in the battaile which *D. Fortun* king of Nauarre had againſt the Moores, who were entred into his countrey by the valley of Roncal, and left no children.

Cattelogne.

18 Cattelogne began alſo at that time to haue Chriſtian Earles. It is one of the moſt fruitfull countries in Spaine both for men and all commodities, and theſe Princes haue been alwaies called Earles of Barcelone, without taking any royall title. The name of Cattelogne is drawne diuerſly by writers: ſome deriue it from the auncient Caſtellans, which were vpon thoſe marches neere to the Auſetanes: others from a captaine named *Catharlot*, or *Carthalon*: others from the Gothes and Alains (people which inhabited there together) and make the word of Gottalania, ſince drawne to Cattalania: others not from the Gothes, but from the Cattes, a people of Germanie, mingled with the Alains: and others will deriue it from the Catalonicians, vpon the marches of Tolouſe. The Chriſtians inhabiting this countrey (after that vnfortunate yeare 714, when as the Moores made themſelues maſters of Spaine) ſollicited *Charles Martel*, (who then gouerned the French State, and had gotten many victories againſt the Moores) to be fauorable vnto them, and to helpe them to ſhake off theſe Infidels yoake, yea after that there was ſome forme of Eſtate erected by the Chriſtians in Aſturia and Nauarre; the which *Martel* graunted them, and when as his affaires in France gaue him leaue, he ſent a Germane knight called *Otter* or *Oger Cathorlot*, who was Gouernour of Aquitaine, of which countrey *Martel* had ſeized after the death of Count *Eude*. This captaine, accompanied with ſome bands of Germanes and French, gathered together ſuch of the countrey as were fit to beare armes, and tooke ſome frontier places from the Moores. Then died *Charles Martel* in the yeare 741, whoſe ſonne *Pepin* obtained the crowne of France,

Whence the name of Cattelogne comes.

A France, through the counſell and fauour of Pope *Zacharie*, about the yeare 750. During all the raigne of king *Pepin*, the Cattelans maintained themſelues in warre againſt the Moores, with the helpe of the French, without any great aduantage, or notable ſucceſſe, that is recorded; for the hiſtories of thoſe times are rare. After *Pepin Charlemaigne* raigned, whoſe ſonne *Lewis* came oftentimes into Spaine by Cattelogne, and there did ſome exploits of armes; as alſo *Charlemaigne* in perſon, both in Cattelogne, Nauarre, and Arragon: And for that the Cattelans were mingled ſtill with the French, during theſe warres, the Romane tongue which they ſpake (as in a manner all the reſt of the Spaniards) came to be corrupted among them, ſo as they made a diuers language to that which they vſe in Caſtille, not much
B different to that they ſpeake on this ſide the Pyrenees, in Aquitaine and Languedoc. The French made ſuch warre in Cattelogne, as a Gouernor of Barcelone, a Moore, called *Zato*, yeelded himſelfe vaſſale and tributarie to the Emperour *Charles*: after whoſe death (for hee kept his promiſe, although he were a Mahumetiſt) *Bernard* was made Earle of Barcelone, counted by the authors for the firſt, carrying this title, who intitled himſelfe alſo Earle, Duke, and Marqueſſe of Spaine, as it appeares in ſome letters which are found of him in the monaſteries of the country, in Ribagorſa, and at Saint Peters of Tauerna.

The Cattelans language.

Bernard firſt Earle of Barcelone, ſubiect to the French.

Alphonſo, ſecond of that name, ninth King of Ouiedo, *called the Chaſt.*

C

Ouiedo. An. 795.

19 IN the Aſturies of Ouiedo, the yeare 795, *D. Alphonſo* was ſole king, without companion, *D. Bermond* being dead. He was called the chaſt, for he liued holily and chaſtly, without the companie of any woman, although he were married to a Ladie called *Berthe*; a liberall Prince to the poore, and greatly fearing God, aboue all a friend to Monks, and a great builder of Couents; yet notwithſtanding all theſe things, he was wiſe and valiant. He had (as we haue ſaid) one ſiſter, called *D. Ximena*, who ſeeing them careleſſe to marrie her, ſhe contracted her ſelfe ſecretly to *Don Sandias*, Earle of Saldagne, who was of good yeares; for he was aboue 29 yeares old when as the king *D. Froila* their father died: of which marriage
D came a ſonne called *Bernard del Carpio*. King *D. Alphonſo* (who thought his ſiſter ſhould haue beene chaſt like himſelfe) was verie much diſcontented at this marriage, and hauing cauſed *Don Sandias* to come to the town of Leon, whither he had called the noblemen of his realme, he condemned him as a traitor, to end his daies in perpetuall priſon, in the caſtle of Lune, hauing put out his eyes, he cauſed his ſiſter to be put into a Monaſterie of Nunnes, and yet he gaue order that the infant *Bernard* ſhould be nouriſht in Aſturia as his owne ſonne, who afterwards proued one of the wiſeſt knights of his age, but not verie fortunate. They attribute to this king the building of the chiefe Church in Ouiedo, called S. *Saluator*, yet others affirme it was the worke of king *Sillo*. But howſoeuer it were, *D. Alphonſo* did augment it, and enricht it with diuers jewels, yea with relickes which had beene tranſported from Toledo,
E and other places, whereof this Church was the ſtore-houſe: moreouer, with a croſſe of gold, which they ſay had been made by two Angels, the which preſented themſelues vnto the king *D. Alphonſo* in the habit of pilgrims.

A ſecret marriage ſeuerely puniſhed.

20 To this is added the finding out of the Sepulchre of the Apoſtle S. *Iames*, neere vnto Iria, by the Biſhop of that place, called *Theodemir*, at the relation of two men, which the Hiſtorie of *Compoſtella* in Latine calls *perſonatos*, that is to ſay, masked, who ſaid they had ſeene Angels and torches about the place where his bodie was found, in a coffin of marble, in a wood, in the yeare 797, whereat the Spaniards themſelues do much wonder, ſeeing they find no mention in their Hiſtories of S. *Iames* Sepulcher in Spaine, in all the time which paſt ſince his death vnto the raigne of this *Alphonſo*: no not in the time of *Miron*, the firſt Chriſti-
F an king of the Sueues in Gallicia, who firſt erected the king of the Gothes that were Chriſtians, nor yet ſince. It was reuealed at that time by ſuch apparitions to *Theodemir*, who belieued it to be the verie bodie of S. *Iames*, and ſo perſuaded the king *D. Alphonſo*, who was wonderfull ioyfull thereof, and built a temple, endowing it with great reuenewes, taking this manifeſtation for a ſinguler fauour of God. The Spaniards haue ſince made him their Patron and Protector of their Countrie, calling on him in all their neceſſities eſpecially in the

Inuention of S. Iames ſepulchre.

the warre. Neighbour Princes were amazed at this relicke: for we read, that *Charlemaigne* (in whoſe time *D. Alphonſo* began to raigne) being aduertiſed of this inuention, poſted thither, and afterwards obtained from Pope *Leo* the third, ſitting at Rome, That the Epiſcopall Sea of Iria ſhould be remoued to Compoſtella, vnder the Metropolitane of Braga, from the which it was ſince exempt, as wee will ſhew hereafter. In king *Alphonſus* time, and (as ſome thinke) when *Charlemaigne* was in Spaine, there were two Councels held againſt *Elipand* Archbiſhop of Toledo, and *Felix* firſt Biſhop of Vrgel, and their followers, infected with *Neſtorius* hereſie, who imagined a double perſon in Ieſus Chriſt, as he conſiſts of two natures, diuine and humane: for this cauſe *Elipand* is not in the catalogue of the Archbiſhops of Toledo: *Felix* had tryed in vaine to draw vnto his error *Odeſinde* widow to king *Silo*.

Moores.

Halihatan fourth king of the Moores: Warre betwixt him and his vncles.

An. 799.

21 *Ahizmen Hizen* or *Ixeca*, Miralmumin, deceaſed in the yeare 794, hauing raigned ſeuen yeares and ſeuen moneths; to whom ſucceeded *Halihatan* his ſonne, who either for ſtate, or for feare and diſtruſt, had an ordinarie gard of fiue thouſand horſemen, part Chriſtian renegado's, part Eunuches. In the yeare 799 *Zuleema* and *Abdalla* his vncles hearing of the death of *Hizen*, came out of Africk into Spaine (from whence they had beene chaſed) to trie if they might enter into Toledo, whereas *Zuleima* had raigned: they came to Valence, and armed themſelues with the forces of that towne, and ſo went to field, giuing them of Toledo to vnderſtand (whom they knew to be affected vnto them) of their comming, and deſigne: who acquainting other Moores therewith, they tooke armes for *Zuleema*, chaſing all ſuch out of the towne, as they thought oppoſite vnto them, and then they did aduertiſe *Zuleima* how that all went well for him; who preparing himſelfe to goe to Toledo, was encountred by the armie of *Halihatan* his nephew, by the which he was defeated and ſlaine, this yeare of 799. *Abdalla* fled, but afterwards conſidering that he had no meanes to rayſe his decayed fortunes, he came and yeelded himſelfe to his nephewes mercie, who receiued him, and vſed him honourably. So Toledo fayled the ſecond time to be made a royall ſeat, by the defeat and death of *Zuleima:* yet the inhabitants finding themſelues guiltie, would not truſt *Halihatan*, but maintained themſelues in their rebellion, for the ſpace of nine yeares. *Halihatan* being vnable or vnwilling to trie his forces againſt ſo great and well fortified a citie, ſought in the meane time to win them by all mild and friendly meanes. Among others, he imployed about this reconciliation a Moore, who was a knight, and borne at Toledo, yet then reſident at Hueſca, and Gouernour of thoſe marches: who being come into the citie with letters from king *Halihatan*, wrought ſo wiſely, as in a ſhort time the Toledanes returned to the kings obedience, to whom there was promiſed aſſurance, and forgetfulneſſe of all they had done; but there was nothing obſerued: for this *Hambroz*, to abuſe the Toledanes, ſaid, That he would not remaine in the caſtle, for feare to be ſurpriſed by the kings men, which arriued dayly, but cauſed another lodging to be aſſigned him, in a ſtreet called Moutichel, neere vnto S. *Chriſtophers* Church, in the which he made a caue vnder the ground, to murther them that had rebelled againſt the king. In the meane time, *Halihatan* vnder colour to make warre againſt the Chriſtians, and to ſuccour the frontier, cauſed his forces to approach neere the towne, vnder the commaund of a ſonne of his called *Abderramen*, the which by the means of *Hambroz* entred quietly into Toledo, and without any ſhew to doe harme. *Abderramen* lodged with *Hambroz*, where ſhewing a good countenance to the chiefe of the Toledanes, Moores, he inuited a great number of them to a ſtately feaſt which he had prepared for them. As theſe Moores came one after another, thinking to make good cheere, they were preſently layd hold on, and beheaded, by ſome that were appointed to that purpoſe, and then caſt into the vault. There had beene many diſpatcht in this manner, when as one of the gueſts which was inuited, diſcouering ſome bloud, grew amazed, and ſuddainely ſlipt out, and gaue an alarme to the towne, crying out, that they murthered the citizens in *Hambroz* lodging. The Toledanes being terrified with theſe newes, and hauing no meanes to make reſiſtance, and without any captaine to lead them, found no better expedient then to crie out for mercie, but it was in vaine: for then they purſued them openly, ſo as there was aboue 5000 ſlaine, to puniſh their offence committed againſt *Halihatan*; againſt whom, they of Cordoua being alſo rebelled, he cauſed 300 of them to be hanged vpon the riuer ſide: there was a captaine called *Abdelcarin* appointed for this execution, who a little before had ſubdued Calaorra. *Halihatan* growne proud with this

Hambroz the Moore betrayes the Toledanes.

A cruell reuenge vpon the Toledanes for their rebellion.

A this ſucceſſe, ſent his captaines to annoy the Chriſtians frontiers, who entred into Gallicia in the yeare 812, where he was vnfortunat in many encounters, by the prouidence of king *D. Alphonſo*. The like happened to *Ores*, Gouernor of Merida, who was defeated neere vnto Benevent in the territorie of Leon. The yeare after 813, another Moore called *Alcama*, Gouernor *An.* 813. of Badaios, layed ſiege to Zamorra, but he was forced to retyre. Not content with this, two armies of Moores entred into *D. Alphonſo* his countrey, in diuers places, againſt the which he oppoſed 2 armies; the one led by himſelf, the other by *Bernard del Carpio* his nephew, who was growne of good yeares, in both which he was victor; ſo as the Moores did forbeare for a time to annoy the Chriſtians, and fell to ſpoile one another: whereupon a great nobleman among
B them, called *Mahomad*, came out of the quarters of Merida, to ſeeke refuge of king *D. Alphonſo*, for that he was violently purſued, and could find no ſafetie in all the Moores countrey. *D. Alphonſo* entertained him, and aſſigned him rents to liue on in Gallicia: but he ſhewed himſelfe ingratefull & trecherous, raiſing a great armie by the intelligence he had with other Moores, to inuade the countrey of his benefactor: but they were readie in time to reſiſt him, and gaue him battaile, where there died aboue 50000 Moores. *Mahomad* their Generall being taken, was beheaded as a traitor. At that time *Marſil* or *Maſsile*, ſucceſſor to *Ibnaballa*, raigned at Saragoſſe, who was at the battell of Ronceuaux, where the French were defeated. It is certaine, as Authors write, that this battaile was giuen in the time of *D. Alphonſo* the chaſt, but the yeare is doubtfull, yet they hold it was a little before the death of *Charlemaigne*, who died a-
C bout the yeare 815.

A Moore ſeekes refuge of D. Alphonſo: his trecherie and puniſhment.

22 If that which the Spaniards write be true, it is moſt certaine, that among theſe Princes ambition went before, and religion followed after. *D. Alphonſo* hauing liued chaſtly, being ſorrie that he had no children, and for that he had receiued great aid from the Emperour *Charles*, and it may be preſumed, that ſo mightie a Prince was moſt neceſſarie to reſtore Spaine to her beautie, and the Chriſtians to their former poſſeſſion, or elſe for ſome other conſideration, he had a determination to make him heire of his eſtates after his death: but the Nobilitie of Spaine hauing notice thereof, did not allow it, refuſing to be vaſſales to any forraine Prince: yet *D. Alphonſo* had by his letters and embaſſages giuen great hope thereof vn- *Ouiedo.*
to *Charles*, who affected it, and had appointed the realmes of Ouiedo and Leon for *Bernard*, *Charlemaigne made heire of Ouiedo, and afterwards reiected.*
D ſonne to his ſonne *Pepin*, and did prepare himſelfe to come vnto *Alphonſo*, vnder colour of ſuccouring him againſt the Moores, but he had newes from him, that he was forced by his Earles and Barons to recall it, and therefore he entreated him to forbeare his comming: the which *Charlemaigne* taking for an affront, reſolued to force him by armes, to performe his promiſe: wherefore he raiſed a mightie armie of French, Germanes, and Italians, which were vnder his Empire, and ſent it beyond the Pyrenees, led by his beſt captaines: yea, ſome (who haue not duly conſidered the age of *Charlemaigne*, who was then 72 yeares old) ſay, that he was there in perſon; whereof the Spaniards being aduertiſed, they made a league of all the Chriſtian Potentates, of Gallicia, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, and others, and of ſome Princes of the *League of Chriſtian Princes and Spaniſh Moores againſt the French.*
Moores, to whom the gouernment of the French in Spaine was ſuſpected; among the which
E was *Marſil* of Saragoſſe. All theſe forces joyned together, ſtopt the paſſages, and forced the French to returne into their countrey, but with great diſaduantage and diſorder, through the ſtraits of the mountaines, whereas the Spaniards hauing ſeized vpon the paſſages, the foreward and battaile of the French were defeated, and their baggage taken, with ſuch ſlaughter, as they write there were aboue 40000 men ſlaine that day: among the which was *Roland*, *Defeat of the French at Roncenal.*
and all thoſe whom fabulous writers call Peeres of France, with other great perſonages.

In this action, the valor and good conduct of *D. Bernard* of Carpio, nephew to *D. Alphonſo*, was admirable, as alſo in his warres againſt the Moores, as the Spaniards write, who was for a long time held for the kings ſonne, and he himſelfe beleeued it: but being aduertiſed of his parents, and of the calamitie of the Earle of Saldagne his father, he made many petitions vn-
F to the king, and vſed all the means he could to moue him to pardon the injurie which he pretended had beene done him, and to free him after ſo many yeares impriſonment; the which he could not obtaine: wherefore being diſcontented, he retyred from Court into his country of Saldagne, where he ſhewed himſelfe as much as he could an enemie to king *D. Alphonſo*.

G

D. Fortun, third King of Nauarre.

Nauarre. *An.*802. 23 DVring the raigne of this king of Ouiedo and Leon, *D. Fortun* was the third king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, who came vnto the Crowne in the yeare 802, after the deceaſe of *D. Garcia Inigo* his father. He was not onely to make head againſt the Moores, but alſo againſt the French, who ſpoyled his countries of Nauarre and Arragon, as well as thoſe of the Mahumetiſts: for ſouldiours hold nothing holie, but that which is barren, and yeelds no bootie. During the raigne of this king was that famous H defeat at Ronceuaux, where he was with his Nauarrois, and other confederates, for the Spaniſh partie, where the French hauing beene defeated and ſtripped of their baggage, they afterwards did all they could to annoy Spaine. This king was married to *Theude*, daughter to *D. Galinde*, by reaſon whereof he did inherite (as ſome ſay) the countrey of Arragon: yet this vnion of Arragon and Nauarre is not receiued by all Authors, but is referred to a later time, and there are memorials found of other Earles in that countrey, after *D. Galinde*.

Of this marriage came the infant *D. Sancho Garces*, ſucceſſor in the realme of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, to *D. Fortun* his father, whom it may be this *Theude* had had to her ſecond husband: for ſome Authors ſay, that ſhe had beene formerly married to one of *Charles* I his captaines, and of his bloud, called *Bernard*, not he which gouerned Cattelogne. *D. Fortun* had great warres againſt the Arabian Moores, to whom, with the Arragonois, and other his allyes, he gaue battaile, at a place called Olcaſſa, or Olaaſt, in the which died D. *Ximen Aznaris* Earle of Arragon, brother to D. *Theude*, the which ſome maintaine did happen vnder D. *Sancho*, ſonne and ſucceſſor to D. *Fortun*, who was vanquiſhed and ſlaine by *Muſa Aben Cacin* or *Heazin*, king of Saragoſſe. The Chriſtians woon this battaile of Olcaſſa, by the valour of them of Roncal, who had for a teſtimonie thereof, the title and priuiledges of Gentrie, which they enjoy at this day.

K

D. Sancho Garces, ſixt King of Nauarre.

*An.*815. 24 D. *Fortun* hauing raigned thirteene yeares died, and there ſucceeded him, in the yeare 815, his ſonne D. *Sancho Garces*, who continued the warres againſt the Moores with good ſucceſſe. There is mention made of a battaile he woon againſt them, in the yeare 821, neere vnto Ochauiere; in the which the inhabitants of the valley of Roncal behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, as they deſerued a new confirmation and enlargement of their priuiledges of Nobilitie. Theſe people although they were ſubjects of Nauarre, yet they leuie an annuall tribute of the French, their neighbours, by an ac- L cord made in old time. It is a place vnder the juriſdiction of Sangueſſe, ſituated in the Pyrenee mountaines of Nauarre, confining vpon them of Val Breton, which are of France, from whom they exact three Cowes euerie yeare, on the third day of Iune, with certaine ceremonies obſerued of old time. Some thinke this tribute grew by reaſon of the warres which this king had with the Gaſcoines and French, who being incenſed with the Cont of Ronceuaux, did vſually inuade the territories of Sobrarbre and Nauarre, who after they had beene vigorouſly repulſed by him and his ſucceſſors, they were forced to make the abouementioned peace, and doe the homage.

Arragon. 25 In Arragon, D. *Ximen Aznar*, the ſonne of D. *Galinde*, hauing commaunded with the title of Earle (a gallant knight, who died in the battaile of Olcaſſa, following the par- M tie of D. *Fortun Garces* of Nauarre, or elſe in the ſeruice of D. *Fortun* his ſonne, about the yeare 803) to him ſucceeded his vncle, called D. *Ximen Garces*, notwithſtanding that he had a brother, whoſe name was *Endregot*, whether it were by force, or otherwiſe, the Hiſto- *Diuers Earles of Arragon.* ries make no mention. This D. *Ximen Garces* liued little, he was wiſe and valiant, and was ſlaine

A ſlaine in an incounter againſt the Moores. After him *D. Garcia Aznaris* was fift Earle of Arragon, who alſo did not long enjoy his eſtate, and was ſlaine fighting valiantly againſt the Moores in Spaine. *D. Fortun* his ſonne did inherite the Earledome of Arragon, who imployed himſelfe valiantly in the warres againſt the Moores: he died without any ſonne, ſo as Arragon was then vnited to Nauarre, by the meanes of *D. Vrraca*, daughter to *D. Fortun*, or as ſome write, of *D. Endregot Galinde*, who was married to *D. Garcia Inigo*, ſecond of that name, king of Nauarre, ſonne to *Inigo Ariſta*, the which was the firſt woman which did inherite this Countie of Arragon, and brought in a cuſtome, that the women ſhould ſucceed. *Succeſſion of women in Arragon.*

B 26 Another *Bernard*, of whom we haue made mention, who intitled himſelfe Earle of Barcelone, Duke and Marqueſſe of Spaine, gouerned Cattelogne, about the yeare 796, for the French, after the death of *Zato* the Moore, being their vaſſale and tributarie. He had beene Gouernor of Prouence and Languedoc vnder the Emperour *Charlemaigne*. In Cattelogne he made ſharpe warres againſt the Moores, wherein he was aſſiſted by a Spaniſh knight called *D. Geoffrey*, the hairie, which ſucceeded in the gouernment of Barcelone. This *Geoffrey* was Lord of the caſtle of Arria, in the territorie of Conflent, and Countie of Barcelone; with the helpe of which *D. Bernard* he tooke from the Moores all the countrey which lyes betwixt the two riuers of Noguera and Lobregat: but after the death of *Charlemaigne*, a Gouernor of Guienne, called *Aymon*, hauing rebelled againſt the Emperor, *Lewis* his ſonne C and ſucceſſor, beſides the hurt he did in that Prouince, entred into Cattelogne, and tooke townes and caſtles, being fauoured by *Abderramen* king of the Moores at Cordoua: and in the yeare 820, theſe rebellious French and the Moores hauing joyned their forces together, they came and beſieged Barcelone. *Cattelogne.*

27 This *Abderramen*, ſecond of that name, had ſucceeded his father *Halihatan*, who died in the yeare 819, and of the Arabians 202, hauing raigned 24 yeares, who of many wiues, which *Mahumets* law doth allow, had left 19 ſonnes and 21 daughters. This warre of Cattelogne was one of *Abderramens* firſt exploits, in the which Barcelone was taken in the yeare 820, but ſoone after recouered by the Chriſtians. *Moores.*

In the yeare 824 died *Don Alphonſo* the chaſt, hauing inſtituted for his ſucceſſor *D. Ramir*, D ſonne to *D. Bermond* or *Veremond* the Deacon, rejecting *D. Bernard* of Carpio his ſiſters ſonne, who was his lawfull heire. This Prince raigned 29 yeares, and was buried at Ouiedo, in S. *Maries* Church, which he had built. He was a great benefactor of the Clergies. Wee find a donation made by him to the Church of Compoſtella, of about a league of ground about S. *Iaques* ſepulchre, but the date of theſe letters are of the yeare 835, which agrees not with that which Authors write of the death of this king. *Ouiedo. An.* 824. *Letters of donation ſuſpect.*

D. Ramir, firſt of that name, and tenth *King of Ouiedo.*

E

28 D. *Ramir* was ſonne to the king *D. Veremond*, called the Deacon, and adopted by *D. Alphonſo* his vncle, a generous and worthie Prince, and not inferior to any of his predeceſſors in vertue. In the beginning of his raigne he married a Ladie, called *D. Vrraca*, borne in old Caſtille, of which were borne two ſonnes, *D. Ordogno* who raigned, and *D. Garcia*. This king did that which all other Princes abhorre, for he receiued his ſonne to be a companion with him in the kingdome, and cauſed his brother *D. Garcia* to raigne with him, ſo as there were two courts and two kings in Ouiedo and Leon. The firſt warre which troubled this king was ciuile, by the rebellion of a nobleman of Aſturia, called *Nepotian*, againſt whom *D. Ramir* aſſembled his armie, in the towne of Lugo, and being come to battaile, he vanquiſhed him, F and put his men to flight: himſelfe being taken ſome few dayes after, had by the kings commaundement his eyes put out, and was put into a cloiſter of Monkes; an vſuall puniſhment in thoſe dayes for traitors and rebels. *Ouiedo.* *Two brothers kings in one kingdome, and agree well; a rare example.* *A rebell puniſhed.*

In this kings time, the fame of the miracles which S. *Iaques* did at Compoſtella, began to be ſpred ouer all Europe, ſo as many pilgrims came thither both by ſea and land, from all parts of Chriſtendome: but about the yeare 827, the coaſts of Gallicia were annoyed with Nor- *An.* 827.

man pyrats, a people of the North, who ſince vnder *Rollo* and other captains, inuaded France, G
and planted themſelues in the Prouince, called by their name Normandie. Theſe pyrats, mo-
ued with another zeale than to viſit S. *Iaques*, kept the ſea, and ſpoyled the coaſt with a great
Norman pyrats defeated vpon the bankes of Gallicia. number of ſhips. *D. Ramir* came and charged them at a place called Far, where he made a
great ſlaughter: thoſe which remained, recouered their ſhips, and came into the mouth of
Guadalquibir, where hauing landed, they ſpoyled Seuile, and the countrey thereabouts, and
then returned into their countrey. This king *D. Ramir* was troubled with another ſedition:
Aldered and *Piniol*, two Earles of his countrey, being riſen in armes againſt him in the yeare
An. 828. 828, againſt whom he marcht with his armie, tooke theſe two rebels, ſlew *Piniol*, with his H
ſeuen ſonnes, confederates of his rebellion, and cauſed *Aldered's* eyes to be put out, and caſt
him into priſon.

Moores. *Abderramen* Miralmumin of Spaine, had continued long in peace with *D. Alphonſo*, king
of Ouiedo and Leon: but ſome yeares after his deceaſe, he had a deſire (for that he had had
ſome good ſucceſſe againſt the Chriſtians in Spaine, and alſo at the perſuaſion of *Idriz*,
who raigned then in Fez) to demaund of king *D. Ramir* the tribute of a hundred virgines,
which king *Mauregat* had promiſed to pay to his predeceſſors, kings of Cordoua: the
which was denied, as vnjuſt and vnworthie, by a generall conſent of the Prelates and No-
bilitie of the countrey, aſſembled to this end in the towne of Leon; where by the ſame
meanes there was a warre concluded againſt the Moores, to abate their pride. King *D. Ra-*
mir hauing then called all the Nobilitie of his countries of Aſturia, Leon, Gallicia, and o- I
ther places vnder his obedience, and leuied great numbers of ſouldiors, he entred into the
Moores countrey, by Rioie to Nogera and Aluenda, and came and encamped neere to Lo-
grogne, whither the Moores armie came ſoone after, where there was a cruell battaile, to the
Chriſtians defeated. great loſſe of the Chriſtians; ſo as without the approaching night it is thought they had bin
all defeated: the king retyred to a place called Clauijo, where at this day there is a Bourg
neere to Logrogne. The night gaue the Chriſtians means to retyre, and to rallie themſelues,
who by the will of God reſumed courage in ſuch ſort, as the next day they preſented them-
ſelues againe in battaile. The Moores contemning them whom they had vanquiſhed the day
before, came to charge them without any great order; but they found ſuch reſiſtance, as they
Moores defeated. were forced to leaue the field, and to flye; where they loſt (as Hiſtories report) aboue 60000 K
men, and as it is ſet downe in a Charter which is the Treaſurie of S. *Iaques* of Compoſtella,
in the which mention is made of an apparition of the Apoſtle to king *D. Ramir*, the night af-
ter his men were defeated, who encouraged him to affront the enemie againe, promiſing him
victorie, and that he himſelfe would be in the battaile, as Patron and Protector of his king-
dome: and they affirme, that the armies being joyned the next day, S. *Iaques* appeared againe,
Apparition of S. Iaques, as the Spaniards ſay. mounted vpon a white horſe, carrying a white ſtandard, with a red Croſſe, fighting and en-
couraging the Chriſtians as he had promiſed. Such apparitions will be receiued according
to euerie mans pietie and good inſtruction. There are yet at this day found heads of
darts and of launces in the place whereas *D. Ramir* obtained this victorie: by fauor where-
of, he tooke Calaorra from the Moores, with other places along the riuer of Ebro; but L
they returned ſoone vnder the dominion of the Moores, whoſe commaund was great at that
time in Spaine.

Ouiedo. After this victorie, *D. Ramir* being at Calaorra with his brother *D. Garcia*, the Queene *D.*
Vrraca, and the infant *D. Ordogno*, being accompanied with the chiefe Prelates and Noblemen
of the countrey, it was held fit to acknowledge the fauour and aſſiſtance, which they did be-
leeue S. *Iaques* had done them. Wherefore this king being perſuaded either by his dreames,
or by his Prieſts, ordained, That all ſuch as dwelt about Compoſtella ſhould pay yearely a
certaine meaſure of corne and wine to that Church, out of their reuenues, for the vow, for ſo
this tribute was called; the which is payed at this day. Moreouer, that after any victorie
gotten againſt the Moores, when as they came to diuide the ſpoyle, S. *Iaques* Church ſhould M
hold the place of a knight, and haue a ſhare. The letters graunted by king *D. Ramir*, beare
Tribute called vow payed to S. Iaques Church. date in the yeare 834, at which time we find by the Hiſtories, that he was not liuing. It is cal-
led S. *Iaques* vow, it was confirmed by Pope *Celeſtin*, then holding his Sea at Rome. Some
haue written, That in this kings time the Order of the Knights of S. *Iaques* began, but it was
later, as we will ſhew.

In

A In Cattelogne, the Chriſtians being much oppreſſed by the Moores, vnder the Miralmumin *Abderramen* the ſecond, the Emperour *Lewis* the gentle ſent an Abbot to comfort them: for he could ſend them no ſouldiors (ſay the Spaniards.) This Abbot was called *Elizachar*, who encouraged the Chriſtians in ſuch ſort, as *Abderramen* returning to the ſiege of Barcelone, accompanied with Cont *Aymon*, they found ſuch reſiſtance, as they were forced to abandon it, about the yeare 830. *Bernard* being much eſteemed for his valour, he was called home by the Emperour *Lewis*, who made him his Chamberlaine, and graunted him then (as ſome ſay) the title of Earle of Barcelone, and for this cauſe is accounted the firſt Earle of the Cattelanes: but it appeares elſewhere, that he had this title of Earle, yea of Duke and Marqueſſe long before, the which was nothing but Gouernor of the Countrey, or Prouince. *Cattelogne.*

B

D. Ximen Inigo, fift King of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.

39 TO *D. Sancho Garces* king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre (who died, as ſome report, in an encounter of the Moores, led by *Muſa Aben Cacin*, pettie king of Sarragoſſe) ſucceeded his ſonne D. *Ximen Inigo*, in the yeare 832. Of the deeds and manners of this king the Hiſtories make no mention, yea many Authors paſſe ouer theſe firſt kings of Sobrarbre, and begin the Hiſtorie of this Kingdome with D. *Inigo Ariſta*, who came afterwards to the Crowne. They hold, that D. *Ximen* is interred in the Couent of Saint Sauior of Leyre, with D. *Nugna* his wife. *Nauarre.*

C

D. Ordogno, eleuenth King of Ouiedo.

30 D. *Ordogno*, which is as much to ſay as *Fortun*, ſonne to D. *Ramir*, came vnto the Crown of Ouiedo and Leon, in the yere 831, according to the common opinion. Being entred into the gouernment of the State, he had warre with ſome people of the mountaines of Cantabria (which are not ſpecified) whom he vanquiſhed, and brought vnder his ſubjection. *Ouiedo. An.* 831.

D He married a Ladie called D. *Monadona*, or *Munia Donna*, that is to ſay, *Donna Nugna*, by whom he had fiue ſonnes, D. *Alphonſo*, who was king after him, D. *Bermond*, D. *Nugno*, D. *Odoaire*, D. *Fruela*, and one daughter. He did enlarge and beautifie the buildings of the townes of Leon, Aſtorgo, Tuy, Amaya, and others.

They make mention of a miracle in his time, in the perſon of a Biſhop of Compoſtella, ſucceſſor to *Theodoric*, and ſecond Prelate of that Church, named *Ataulphe*; who being accuſed of Apoſtaſie, and that he had reuolted from the Chriſtian religion to that of the Moores, being called to Court to purge himſelfe, he came to Ouiedo vpon a holie Thurſday, when as they did bait a Bull with dogs, hauing an intent to expoſe the Biſhop to the furie of this beaſt as ſoone as he ſhould arriue. But the Biſhop hauing ſaid Maſſe (as the Storie reports) attyred in *A miracle.*

E his Epiſcopall robes, came boldly to the kings palace, and paſſing by the place where they did hunt this Bull, as he ſaw him comming towards him, he opened his armes to take him, relying in God and his owne innocencie: but the beaſt came quietly vnto him, and ſuffred him to take him by the hornes, who led him vnto the king: whereat the king and all the aſſiſtants were ſo amazed, as they did preſently judge that he had beene wrongfully accuſed. But this holy man leauing his Church and flocke, retyred himſelfe into the deſerts, there to liue with beaſts, and became a Hermite. Of this Buls hornes they afterwards made relickes in the Church of S. Sauior at Ouiedo. *Siſenand* ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick, and was ſo vehement to purſue the puniſhment of ſuch as had falſely accuſed *Ataulphe*, as he neuer ceaſed vntill he had gotten a

F graunt from the king, that all their kinsfolkes ſhould be deliuered for ſlaues to the Church of Compoſtella, although they were not guiltie.

31 About the beginning of this kings raigne, there were great ciuile diſſentions among the Moores. A nobleman among thē, a Goth by nation, but a Moore by profeſſion, called for this cauſe *Muſa Aben Cacin*, that is to ſay, *Muſa* of the linage of the Gothes, rebelled againſt *Abderramen* Miralmumin. He raigned at Sarragoſſe, & drew to his partie *Hueſca* and *Tafalla*, and by his example he cauſed thē of Toledo to take armes, being ill affected to *Abderramen*, by reaſon *Moores.* *Muſa Aben Cacin makes himſelfe king of Toledo.*

of the rigours which his father *Halthatan* had vſed againſt them. This Moore fortified with theſe townes, rayſed a great armie, and cauſed a ſonne of his called *Aben Lope* or *Lath*, to enter into Toledo, and then to ouerrun the countries of Nauarre and Cattelogne; and ſo paſſed the Pyrenees, into the territories of the French. At his returne he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed King and Miralmumin of Spaine, and tooke a towne belonging to the king *D. Ordogno*, called Albayda, fortified it, and put a garriſon into it: but his furie was ſtayed by *D. Ordogno*, who came & beſieged Albayda, and then with part of his forces he went to encounter him, as he aduanced to ſuccour the beſieged, fought and vanquiſhed him, killing 12000 horſe Moores, and an infinit number of foot, with *Garcia* ſonne in law to *Muſa*; he himſelfe eſcaped, being wounded in three places. The ſpoyle of this armie was great, and Albayda returned to the Chriſtians: After which rout, *Lope* who had beene left Gouernour at Toledo, made a league with *D. Ordogno*, the which he faithfully maintained both in warre, and all other things during his life. This *Lope* is numbred for the third king of Toledo, being a Moore. *D. Ordogno* did ſoone after aſſayle *Ceyt*, Gouernor of Coria, and *Muſeres* or *Micaudi* of Salamanca, Moores, whom he vanquiſhed, and tooke their Townes and Gouernments.

Moores defeated.

Aben Lope king of Toledo.

An. 839. About the yeare 839 *Abderramen* died, leauing by his wiues 87 children, that is, 45 ſonnes and 42 daughters, hauing held the realme of Spaine at Cordoua twentie yeares. It was in the 222 yeare of the Arabians. This Prince was full of ſtate, and was much pleaſed to make great buildings: he cauſed the places and ſtreets of Cordoua to be paued, and brought a great fountaine thither through pipes of lead, whereof ſome markes are yet to be ſeene about the Cathedrall Church, which was then the Moſquee. He was politicke, and was ſomewhat inclined to juſtice: he reformed the vnjuſt law of the Gothes, by the which the brother did ſucceed the brother, although he had children: he ſuffered the Chriſtians which were vnder his commaund to liue in great libertie, ſo as in the chiefe citie of Cordoua they had many Churches, as that of the *Aſcile*, *Zoilus*, *Fauſtus*, *Ianuarius*, *Martial*, *Cyprian*, *Geneſius*, and *Eulalie*. And in the ſuburbes, or neere vnto, there were eight Monaſteries; that of S. *Chriſtopher*, of the virgin *Marie*, called *Cuteclair*, S. *Sauueur*, *Zoilus*, *Felix*, *Martin*, *Iuſtus*, and *Paſteur*. He brought the making of ſilkes, with many other handie trades, into Cordoua: he cauſed money to be coyned with his name thereon.

The qualities of Abderramen 2.

His eldeſt ſonne *Mahumet* ſucceeded him, who was the firſt Miralmumin in Spaine of that name, and the fift king of Cordoua. Being ſetled, he marcht with an armie into Nauarre, from whence he was repulſed: wherefore he turned his forces againſt Toledo, which was in league with king *D. Ordogno*. Wherefore the Chriſtians who deſired to abate the power of the Moores, and to keepe them diuided all they could, came to ſuccour the Toledanes, being led by one of the ſonnes of king *D. Ordogno*: both armies met not farre from the citie, neere vnto the riuer of Guadacelette, but *Mahumet* had the victorie: there were ſlaine in this battaile 13000 Moores of Toledo, and 8000 Chriſtians; yet all this could not make him maſter of the towne. *Mahumet* being victor, he cauſed the heads of his enemies to be carried into diuers townes, to ſtrike terror into thoſe that would rebell; for it was the cuſtome of that nation at the change of Princes to ſtirre vp new troubles. This warre continued three yeares, vnto the death of the king *D. Ordogno*.

Mahumet Miralmumin at Cordoua.

Mahumets victorie.

Cattelogne.

33 Cont *Bernard* of Barcelone liued at this time, much fauored in the Court of the Emperour *Lewis* the Gentle, not without enuie, eſpecially of ſuch as had had the gouernment of Prince *Bernard* the ſonne of *Pepin* king of Italie, in his youth. He was accuſed to haue committed adulterie with the Empreſſe *Iudith*: whatſoeuer the cauſe were, *D. Geoffrey* of Arria ſucceeded him in the Countie of Barcelone, in the yeare 839.

D. Geoffrey Earle or Gouernour of Barcelone.

Ouiedo.

In the yeare 841, king *D. Ordogno* being much afflicted with the Gout, and other infirmities, was withall oppreſſed with griefe for the rout of his men which he had ſent to ſuccour the Toledanes, whereupon he fell grieuouſly ſick and died, hauing gouerned the realme of Leon and Ouiedo tenne yeares. The letters and titles of the Church of S. *Iaques* of Compoſtella, giue longer liues to theſe kings: for there is one found of king *D. Ordogno*, of the yere 854, and another of the yeare 862, yea of 874, wherefore there is no great certaintie of the time in the raignes of the kings of Ouiedo and Leon. Theſe letters and titles differ aboue 33 yeares from the common opinion.

D. Alphonſo

D. Alphonſo, third of that name, twelfth King of Ouiedo.

34 ALphonſo the Great, ſonne to *D. Ordogno*, was but foureteene yeares old, or ten, as ſome ſay, when he began to raigne: a prince endowed with all royall vertues, whoſe life and gouernment was long. His entrie was diſquieted by a knight of Gallicia, called *D. Froila Bermudes*; who contemning the kings youth, did riſe and ſeiſe vpon the Crowne. *D. Alphonſo* being retired to Alaua, to preſerue himſelfe againſt this tyrant, as he was buſie to raiſe an armie of his friends and ſubiects, he had newes, that *D. Froila* being come to Ouiedo, the chiefe towne of the whole realme, to be crowned there, he had beene ſlaine by the Senators and Councellors, which had conſpired againſt him: wherfore he came thither, was receiued, and recouered his realme in peace. Then was there gouernour in Alaua a knight called *Eylo*, or *Zeybon*, brother to one *Zenon*, which ſome Authors ſay, had beene Lord of Biſcaie. This *Eylo*, as ſoone as *Alphonſo* was ſetled in his realme of Ouiedo, rebelled againſt him, and drew from him all which the kings of Ouiedo held in that prouince. *D. Alphonſo* (who was then at Leon) being aduertiſed of this diſorder, marcht with ſuch forces as he could gather readily together, towards Alaua, where his preſence cauſed him to be generally obeyed. He tooke this gouernor and carried him to Ouiedo, where he ended his dayes in priſon. *Anno* 841 Ouiedo. *Tyrannie and vſurpation iuſtly puniſhed.*

Mahumet, firſt Moore of that name, raigned then in Spaine; againſt whom the earle of Barcelone made ſharpe warres, but with ſmall ſucceſſe. He ſent an armie againſt the Chriſtians, led by two captaines, *Imundar* and *Alcama*, the which came and lodged about Leon, as if they would beſiege it, in the yeare 842. But king *D. Alphonſo* ſuccoured it, and forced the Moores to retire. In the end of *Abderramens* raigne there had beene a great perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, which dwelt in the Moores countries; whereof their inſolencies and rebellions was the cauſe. They had, as we haue ſaid, libertie of their religion, and they were ſuffered to build Temples and Monaſteries at their pleaſures: their Prieſts and Monkes did freely vſe their ſeuerall habits: They had Iudges and Rectors among them to adminiſter iuſtice, vnder the authoritie of the Mahumetane kings: onely they were forbidden to enter into the Moſquee, and not to ſpeake ill of their Prophet *Mahumet*. They payed tributes, the which were ſometimes augmented, as neceſſitie required, or according to the paſsions of their kings. Whereupon many Chriſtians tooke occaſion to murmure, and to make bitter complaints, the which did incenſe the Moores. Some Chriſtians of more iudgement exhorted the reſt to patience, foreſeeing the miſchiefe, but it was in vaine; yea *Accafred* a Biſhop, and *Seruand* an Earle, who were of theſe moderators, were condemned by a Councell, and are blamed by the Authors of Hiſtories, who haue made no ſcruple to put in the number of Martyres thoſe rebells which periſhed in this maſſacre, the which was great, and continued ten yeares, for an aduertiſement to all others, not to riſe againſt their prince, to whom they are made ſubiect by the will of God, eſpecially for their temporall goods. *Moores.* *Anno* 842. *The libertie of Chriſtians among the Moors in Spaine.*

In the meane time the quarell betwixt this Miralmumin and them of Toledo, continued; and their obſtinacie was ſuch, as *Mahumet*, ſeeing they would not acknowledge him vpon any conditions, he ſent a mightie armie againſt them, vnder the conduct of his brother, or as ſome hold, of his ſonne, called *Almondir*, who ſpoyled, raſed, and burnt all that was within the territorie of Toldo, and yet no man durſt make head againſt him, his forces were ſo great. King *D. Alphonſo* imbracing this occaſion of the Moores diuiſions, being entred into league with the French and Nauarrois, he entred and ſpoyled their countrey. They hold that *Bernard* of Carpio was chiefe of this armie. *Mahumet* did aboue all things deſire to ſubdue them of Toledo, the which was a great and ſtrong citie, and therefore hard to be forced: Wherefore he reſolued to reduce it to extremitie of victuals, by a long ſiege, and ſo force them to yeeld. And hauing raiſed a great armie in the yeare 848, he led it himſelfe in perſon againſt the Toledanes, who iſſued out of the towne, reſoluing to fight with him, but it was to their loſſe and confuſion, for they were forced to retire with ſhame; the towne was beſieged, the bridge vpon the riuer of Tayo (the worke of king *Hiſem*) was beaten downe (the Moores call bridges *Alcantara*) and all meanes of ſuccours taken from the inhabitants. Wherfore they began *D. Alphonſo ſpoyles the Moors country.* *Anno* 848.

35

Toledo reduced vnder the obedience of the Morres at Cordoua.

began ſomewhat to yeeld, and to talke of a compoſition; wherein they were heard and ſatiſ- G
fied: ſo as *Mahumet* entred the citie with great ioy, hauing reduced ſo great a people vnder his obedience: From whence he ſent ſome troupes to ſpoile the Chriſtians countrey, as far as the riuer of Duero; who were charged, repulſt, and forced to leaue their bootie, by D. *Bernard* of Carpio, and others. *Lope*, who called himſelfe king of Toledo, ſaued himſelfe, and fled with his brethren, and *Abdalla* his ſonne, to the king D. *Alphonſo*; who receiued them courteouſly, and made ſuch eſteeme of theſe Moores, as he gaue them his ſonne D. *Ordogno* to inſtruct in armes and ciuilitie. *Abdalla* made no long aboad there, for being thruſt on with enuie againſt his vncles, he made his peace with king *Mahumet*, and retired to Cordoua, from whence he made great ſpoile vpon the Chriſtians countrey: but he was incountred and de- H
feated at a place called Cillorico, and forced to raiſe his ſiege from Pancoruo with ſhame. Afterwards he came to fight with two *Zimaels*, the one his vncle, the other his brother, in the territorie of Toledo, whom he vanquiſhed, and tooke priſoners: And as he was of a ſtirring ſpirit, and enemie of all reſt, he drew vpon him both the Chriſtians and Moores, by the ſurpriſe he made of Sarragoſſe, where he maintained himſelfe, notwithſtanding all the forces of *Mahumet*, who ſent *Almundar* his ſonne, and *Aboaly* a captaine, againſt him, with great forces. And although that *Abdalla* were on the other ſide moleſted with the forces of D. *Alphonſo*, (who during theſe warres had ſeene the monaſterie of S. *Faconde* burnt, the which he afterwards cauſed to be built vp againe) yet his poſteritie raigned at Sarragoſſe. *Mahumet* hauing diſpoſed of this new conqueſt, returned to Cordoua, vnder whoſe commaund Toledo remai- I
ned for ſome yeares.

The works of pitie of D. Alphonſo.

After theſe happie exploits the Moores were content to reſt a while, and to ſuffer the Chriſtians to liue in peace, and D. *Alphonſo* in the meane time gaue himſelfe to works of pietie, according to the inclination and inſtruction of thoſe times. He cauſed S. *Iaques* church to be new built of free ſtone, and inricht with pillers and other workes: imploying therein part of the ſpoile which he had taken from the Moores; for this church at that time was but of earth. He beſtowed great almes of the poore, and widowes. He was ſolicited by *Bernard* of Carpio, to deliuer the earle D. *Sandias*, his father, out of priſon, where he had remained ſo many yeares: but (notwithſtanding all the great ſeruices which he pretended to haue done) he could not

Bernard of Carpio neglected: his rebellion.

preuaile. Wherefore he reſolued to declare himſelfe an enemie to D. *Alphonſo*, retiring to K
Salamanca, where neere vnto it he built a fort, which he called Carpio, of his owne name, from whence he did much annoy the Aſturians, and them of Leon. It was ſituated three leagues from Salamanca, vpon the riuer of Tormes.

D. Inigo Ariſta, ſixt King of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.

Nauarre. An. 940.

36 D. *Inigo*, ſurnamed *Ariſta*, came to the Crowne of Nauarre about the yere 840. Some ſay he was ſonne to D. *Ximenes* aboue mentioned; others (among the which is *Surites* the Spaniard) affirme, that he was ſon to the earle of Bigorre, called *Simon*; and that he L
was choſen by the ſuffrages of the men of war, king of Sobrarbre, by reaſon of his vertues and valour: ſo little certaintie there is in antiquitie, eſpecially of the beginning of races and families. The name of *Ariſta* was giuen him, by reaſon of his vehemencie and heat in war. The Spaniards call a couragious and hardie man *Ariſco*. He was the firſt of the kings of Nauarre, that was annointed and crowned after the maner of our kings of France, the which was obſerued in the other following kings, although ſome beleeue, that this cuſtome came onely into Nauarre, after they had kings of the houſe of Champagne. The French, among other Chriſtian

The cuſtome to annoint kings taken from the Hebrewes.

nations, haue retained it of the ceremonies of the ancient law of the Iewes, by the aduice of their Biſhops. He tooke for his Armes a Croſſe argent in a field azure. During his raigne, and ſome yeres after, the Epiſcopall ſeat of Pampelone was in the royall abbey of S. *Saluator* of M
Leyra, yet holding the title of Biſhop of Pampelone, or of *Iruna*, by reaſon of the warre and ſpoyle which the Moores made. There is no great certaintie among writers of his deeds, the time of his death, nor of his funeralls, nor yet of his wiues familie, whom ſome call *Oneca*, which is to ſay, *Iniga*; others *Theude*: bringing the one from Pampelone, the other from Biſcaie. It may be he had two ſo named.

D. *Geof-*

A D. *Geoffrey* of Arria was earle of Barcelone after the death of *Bernard*, about the yeare 840, by the liberalitie and grant of the Emperor *Lewis* the Gentle. He was maried to a French ladie, called D. *Almira*, by whom he had a ſonne called D. *Wiffred*, or *Geoffrey* the hairie, who was the firſt proprietarie earle after his father, but not immediate. Cattelogne was then vnder the ſoueraignetie of France; and there are priuiledges found, granted by king *Charles* the bauld, ſonne to the Emperour *Lewis*, in the yeare 844, whereby the inhabitants of Barcelone are made as free as the French, hauing libertie to adminiſter iuſtice, and to liue according to the auncient lawes of the Gothes. This Cont *Geoffrey* imployed all his meanes to make war againſt the Moores, he attempted the towne of Tortoſa, but in vaine: yet hee tooke from
B them, and from the tyrant and rebell *Aymon*, that which they had vſurped of his gouernment ſome yeares before. He was purſued by a Cattelan knight, called D. *Salamon*, earle of Cerdagne, who enuied him, and ſlandered him to the king his Soueraigne: wherefore being called to Court, as he was going vpon the way, he was ſlaine in Auvergne, in the yeare 858, according vnto ſome.

Cattelogne.

Cattelogne vnder the ſoueraignetie of France.

Earle of Cattelogne murthered.

During theſe yeres king D. *Alphonſo* was much troubled with the warre which D. *Bernard* of Carpio made againſt him, who gaue him diuers routs; ſo as he was forced to leaue the Lions ſkin, and to vſe the Foxes, at the leaſt there was great ſhew of deceit: for the king ſeeing that he could not ſuppreſſe D. *Bernard*, he offered to releaſe his father, who was now verie old, if
C he would deliuer into his hands his new fort of Carpio: the which *Bernard*, by a ſingular pietie, did willingly grant, and was readie to deliuer his fort into the kings hands, the which he did preſently raſe. Thoſe which went to the caſtle of Lune, to draw D. *Sandias* out of priſon, found him dead, as they reported: wherefore *Bernard* holding himſelfe abuſed, made great complaints vnto the king; but he was commaunded to depart out of the territories of Ouiedo and Leon, and the dependances thereof. Whereupon he retired into Nauarre, and then into France: yet ſome ſay, that he returned into Spaine, and there died, and that he was buried in the monaſterie of Aguilar del Campo.

Ouiedo.

Cruelties of king D. Alphonſo.

Zeno brother to D. *Eylo*, or *Zethon*, whom we had confined into Ouiedo, in the beginning of the raigne of this *Alphonſo*; who being made earle or gouernour of Biſcaie, by the kings bountie, would rebell as his brother had done, forcing the king to ſend an armie againſt him,
D by the which he was vanquiſhed, taken, and led to Ouiedo, where he ended his dayes in priſon. This *Zeno* left two daughters, the one called *Theude*, was maried (according vnto ſome) to D. *Inigo Ariſta*, king of Nauarre; and the other D. *Iniga*, to the infant D. *Surta*, of whom we ſhall hereafter ſpeake. This was in the yeare 856.

Rebellion of the gouernor of Biſcaie.

All this time, and to the yeare 859, there had beene a ſuſpenſion of armes, betwixt king D. *Alphonſo* and the Moores; but that yeare king *Mahumet* went to armes, and came and beſieged the towne of Coimbra, belonging now to Portugal: but D. *Alphonſo* forced him to raiſe his ſiege, and not content therewith, entred into the Moores countrey, waſted it, and returned with great ſpoyles, continuing euerie yeare to annoy them in ſuch ſort, as they were conſtrained to accept of a truce for three yeares, with the preiudice of their reputations, and great diſ-
E aduantage in their iuriſdictions. Then there raigned in Sarragoſſe a Moore, called *Aben Alfaie*. The reſt of *Mahumets* raigne vnto his death, was ſpent in voluptuous luſt and idleneſſe. In his time there was a great earthquake in Spaine, and a little before his death lightening entring into the Moſquee, where he was, ſlew two Noblemen Moores, neere vnto him.

Moores.

Anno 859.

D. Garcia Inigues, third of that name, and ſeuenth King of Nauarre.

F 37 About the yeare 867, as ſome Authors write, died D. *Inigo Ariſta*, king of Nauarre, to whom ſucceeded D. *Garcia Inigues*, his ſonne, the third of that name, who vnited the countrey of Arragon to Nauarre, by marying with D. *Vrraca*, daughter to D. *Fortun*, the laſt earle, or of D. *Endregot Galinde*, of the ſame houſe and familie of Arragon. He had two ſons by this Ladie, D. *Fortun*, and D. *Sancho Abarca*; and one daughter, called D. *Sanctina*, or *Sancha*. They write this fable of D. *Sancho*, That the king going inconſiderately with his queene through

Nauarre and Arragon vnited.

through the mountaines of Nauarre, he was ſurpriſed by certaine Moores, and ſlaine, and the queene ouerthrowne, being thruſt into the bellie with a Moores launce, at ſuch time as ſhe was great with this *D. Sancho*. Some houres after, a knight whom they called *D. Sancho* of Gueuara, paſſing that way, met with this pitifull ſpectacle, and ſaw that the child had thruſt forth a hand by the mothers wound, and had laboured to come forth there: wherefore this knight lighting from his horſe, made the wound greater, ſo as he drew forth this infant aliue, without any harme: then he carried it to his houſe with good witneſſes, where he cauſed it to be nouriſhed according to his degree, vntill he grew great, and then he preſented him to the Eſtates of the realme, and made him be acknowledged for their lawfull king. But, as we ſay, it is like to be a fable, and hath no great authoritie; yet they ſay, that the ſurname of *Ladron*, which is peculiar to the houſe of Gueuara, came for that this knight did ſecretly nouriſh the infant *D. Sancho*. *D. Sanctina* the daughter, was maried to king *Ordogno* the ſecond, ſonne to *Alphonſo* the great. G H

Biſcaie. 38 They hold opinion, That the lords of Biſcaie had their beginning at this time in *D. Suria*, whoſe poſteritie was famous for many yeares: for after that *D. Zeno* had beene vanquiſhed, and led priſoner, as we haue ſaid, the Biſcaines ſeeing themſelues without a head, fell to mutinies and ſeditions. Thither was ſent *D. Ordogno*, ſonne to king *D. Alphonſo*, whom they called Earle of Aſturies, who began to ouerrun and ſpoyle the countrey. The townes and comminalties aſſembled to make head againſt him, chuſing *D. Suria* for their captaine, who was deſcended from the bloud royall of Scotland, by his mother; and had maried a daughter of Cont *Zenos*, called *D. Iniga*, but at that time deceaſed. The forces of either part came to fight, in a place called then Padura: The battell was ſharpe and cruell; and for that the whole countrey did ſwim with bloud, the place was from that time called *Arrigoriaga*, which in the countrey language ſignifies, a vermilion ſtone. The Biſcaines, with the aid, and by the valour of *D. Sancho Eſtiguis*, Lord of Durando (who ended his dayes in this battell) won it; which was in the yeare 870. After this victorie the Biſcaines choſe *D. Suria* for their Lord, as well for that he was ſonne in law to their laſt Earle and gouernour *Zeno* (by his daughter, notwithſtanding we doe not read that he had any children) as for the valour and good conduct they had ſeene in him in this warre. This *D. Suria* did preſently after marie the daughter of *D. Sancho Eſtiguis*, in whoſe right he got the Seigniorie of Durando, which was vnited vnto Biſcaie: whoſe poſteritie did enioy thoſe lands, vntill the time of *D. Henrie* the ſecond of that name, king of Caſtille and Leon. The linage of *D. Suria*, was called *de Haro*. Caſtille the old had alſo an Earle, called *D. Diego Porcello*. I K

Moores. 39 *Mahumet* Miralmumin of Cordoua, hauing liued ſome time in peace, by reaſon of
Anno 874. the laſt truce made with the Chriſtians, died in the yeare 874, leauing 54 children by his wiues, whereof 34 were males, and 20 females. He had held the kingdome 35 yeares, and
Almundir ſixt king of the Moores at Cordoua. his death was in the 257 yeare of the Arabians raigne. His ſonne *Almundir* ſucceeded him, who liued but two yeares, hauing done nothing worthie of memorie; againſt whom they of Cordoua rebelled, notwithſtanding that he offered to free them of the tenth part of their tribute, which they paid. He left ſix ſonnes, and ſeuen daughters. L

Ouiedo. Such was the eſtate of Spaine in the time of king *D. Alphonſo*, who had to wife a Ladie of the bloud royall of France, called *Ameline*, but they changed her name to *D. Ximena*; by whom he had foure ſonnes, *D. Garcia*, *D. Ordogno*, *D. Fruela*, who raigned, and *D. Gonſalo* the Archdeacon. This king in his later dayes gaue himſelfe wholly to workes of pietie, building of churches and monaſteries, indowing them with rents and great reuenewes, and adorning them with iewels, veſſels of gold and ſiluer, and precious ornaments, according to the ceremonies brought in and maintained in the Church.

In the yeare 877 the church of S. *Iaques* was conſecrated at the inſtance of this king, and by the authoritie of Pope *Iohn* the eighth, where many Biſhops were preſent. And it is to be noted, that in thoſe dayes the citie of Ouiedo was full of Biſhops without any flockes; for M
Ouiedo the towne of Biſhops they did chuſe Biſhops of townes that were in the Moores poſſeſsion, keeping an account of their ſucceſsion; all which did liue in Ouiedo, and therfore it was called the Towne of Biſhops.
Ouiedo made an Archbiſhoprick. This king being verie deſirous to aduance the Hierarchie of the Clergie, laboured to haue the Epiſcopall ſea of Ouiedo, and the Cathedrall church of S. *Sauueur*, made an Archbiſhopricke Metropolitane; and the firſt Archbiſhop thereof was *D. Hermenegilde*, who was Biſhop thereof

thereof before: in which towne of Ouiedo there was a Councell celebrated. Whileſt this prince was thus buſied in theſe workes of pietie, D. *Garcia* his eldeſt ſonne, by the bad aduice of D. *Ximena* his mother, rebelled againſt him: but the father cauſed him to be ſurpriſed in Zamora, and to be brought priſoner to the caſtle of Gordon. This towne of Zamora was called Sentica, or Sarabris, and had beene held, and in a manner ruined by the Moores, who called it Medina Zamorathi, that is to ſay, the citie of Lazul, or Turkiſh: for about it there are certaine mountaines hauing many veines of ſtones, which we call *Lapis Lazuli*, or azure ſtones.

The impriſonment of D. *Garcia* incenſed the other brethren againſt the king their father, being alwaies animated by the counſell of the queen their mother, who loued not her husband. Theſe princes, with D. *Nugno Fernandes*, father in law to D. *Garcia*, and other noblemen of this conſpiracie, made warre againſt D. *Alphonſo*, the which continued two yeares, and in the end forced him to leaue his Crowne and royaltie. Theſe troubles gaue meanes to D. *Suria*, now earle of Biſcaie, to ſettle his eſtate. King D. *Alphonſo* being thus forced, reſigned his Scepter to his ſonne D. *Garcia*, in the yeare 886, hauing raigned 46 yeares. To D. *Ordogno*, his ſecond ſon, was aſsigned Galicia, with the title of a Royaltie. And in this manner theſe wicked children, by the inſtigation of an indiſcreet, and ill affected mother, diuided the ſpoyls of their liuing father. You muſt obſerue, that the yeares of the deceaſe of theſe kings of Ouiedo, are verie vncertaine; for if we ſhall beleeue the letters of donation, and priuiledges, which are extant in the churches of Spaine, it will appeare that this king raigned in the yeare 899.

A king forced by his children to leaue his crowne.

An. 886.

Galicia a kingdome.

The prouince of Alaua was great, and carried the title of a kingdom in thoſe times among the Moores, who enioyed a part thereof, reſiding in the vallie of Burunda, againſt whom the kings of Nauarre had continuall warre; and eſpecially in the time of D. *Garcia Inigues*, mention is made by ſome writers, and alſo by the titles of the Church of Pampelone, of a battell fought in the vallie of Iunquera, betwixt *Abderramen* king of Cordoua, and the Chriſtian kings, D. *Ordogno*, and this king D. *Garcia*, the which was loſt by the Chriſtians: But the computation of times contradict it: of which famous battell there ſhall be more ample mention made in the life of D. *Ordogno*. The moſt approued Authors write, that D. *Garcia Inigues* died in the vallie of Ayuar, in a battell againſt the Moors, in the yere 885; whereof the inſcription vpon his tombe makes mention, at S. *Iohn de la Pegna*, the Æra 923.

Nauarre.

D. Garcia the firſt, and 13 King of Ouiedo.

40 D. *Garcia* was the firſt of that name which raigned in Ouiedo. There is no mention made in ſtories of his vertues and generous deeds; it may be by reaſon of his impietie, hauing diſpoſſeſt his father D. *Alphonſo* of his kingdome, who of a king became his ſons lieutenant, if it be credible, that being deſirous to aduance the Chriſtians affaires, he demanded forces of D. *Garcia* to inuade the Moores, the which the ſonne raigning, granted him, relying in the bountie of his depoſed father. And in this qualitie D. *Alphonſo* did many exploits of armes, gaue routs, and did much harme to the Infidels. We read, that about the yeare 887 this depoſed father died in the towne of Zamora, and was buried at Aſtorga, and ſome time after tranſported to Ouiedo.

Ouiedo.

A king diſpoſſeſt makes himſelfe his ſons lieutenant.

Anno 887.

After the deceaſe of D. *Alphonſo*, the king D. *Garcia* led an armie againſt the Moores, and ſpoyled much of their countrey; againſt whom came a great captaine of that nation, called *Ayola*, ſo as there was a furious battell, but D. *Garcia* had the victorie. The Moores defeated, and their captaine priſoner, as they led him away he eſcaped, for want of good gard. D. *Garcia* hauing raigned three yeares, he died at Zamora, in the yeare 889, hauing no children.

Moors defeated

41 At that time *Abdalla* was Miralmumin, or Soueraigne King in Spaine ouer the Moors, who had ſucceeded king *Almundir* his brother, in the yeare 876. In the firſt yeare of his raigne there was a ſurceaſe from armes, betwixt the Mahumetiſts and the Chriſtians, vntill the yere 886, that D. *Alphonſo*, no more king, but in qualitie of his ſonnes lieutenant, began to annoy the Moores, and after his death D. *Garcia* his ſonne, gaue the foreſaid rout to *Ayola*, whom ſome call *Ayaya*. King *Abdalla* died in the yeare 889, according to the moſt approued, leauing 11 ſonnes, and 13 daughters, hauing raigned 13 yeares.

Moores. Abdalla 7 king.

D. For-

D. Fortun, ſecond of that name, eighth *King of Nauarre.*

Nauarre. 42 THe Scepter of Nauarre, after the death of D. *Garcia Inigues* (although that ſome haue written of an Interregnum of many yeares, whileſt that D. *Sancho* was yet vnknowne, and bred vp in the houſe of *Gueuara*) came without all doubt to his eldeſt ſonne D. *Fortun* the ſecond of that name, in the yeare 885; after whoſe deceaſe there could be no Interregnum, ſeeing he had a daughter maried to D. *Ordogno* the ſecond, of Ouiedo, who without doubt H ſhould haue ſucceeded her father: for the right of ſucceſſion had euen then taken place, euen of women, aboue the election, which had been accuſtomed in all auncient time among thoſe people. There is a teſtimonie of this king D. *Fortun*, in a Charter of donation which he made to the monaſterie of Leyre, in the Æra 939, which comes to be the yeare 901. It is written in the remembrances of the houſe of S. *Sauueur* of Leyre, That when as the king D. *Garcia* his father was ſlaine, he was at Cordoua. Whereby it appeares, that the Moores which ſlew him, were not of the league with the kings of Cordoua, but ſome theeues, or factious perſons, as this nation had beene accuſtomed to liue in perpetuall diuiſion and quarels. D. *Fortun* being king of Nauarre, he was alſo earle of Arragon, by ſucceſsion from his mother. There is not any notable thing written of this kings geſts, but that he was verie deuout, and I did cheriſh Monkes, and religious perſons, to whom he gaue great gifts.

Barcelone. 43 In Cattelogne after the death of Cont *Geoffrey*, who was ſlaine in Auvergne, D. *Salamon*, earle of Cerdagne, who had beene his competitor, and enuied him, was made earle and gouernour. The Spaniards hold, that Cattelogne, and the countie of Barcelone, was then fallen to the Soueraigntie of Prouence and Bourgongne, whereof *Charles*, ſonne to the Emperour *Lothaire*, and nephew to *Lewis* the Gentle, was king; by whoſe grant this earle of Cerdagne did for his life-time inioy that title and dignitie, whileſt that the ſon of D. *Geoffrey* (who carried the fathers name, and was afterwards ſurnamed the Hairie) was bred vp in Flanders, in a knights houſe, to whom king *Charles* had recommended him. About the yeare 864 kings *Charles* died, and Prouence came to the hands of the Emperour *Lewis* the ſecond, his K brother, who alſo died in the yeare 876, and the empire fell to *Charles* the Bauld, his vncle, king of France, and by conſequence Prouence and Cattelogne, which depended thereon: during whoſe empire D. *Geoffrey* the Hairie, being now great, came to Barcelone, whereas the counteſſe *Almira*, his mother, yet liued, by whom he was knowne, and made knowne to the chiefe men of Barcelone, who had been friends to his deceaſed father: who made no delay to conſpire with D. *Geoffrey*, for the killing of the earle D. *Salamon*, t he which they did preſently effect in the place of *Bercas* in the yere 877: and by that meanes D. *Geoffrey* the Hairie was re-

44 *D. Geoffrey the Hairie, firſt earle in proprietie of Barcelone.*

ſtored to his fathers dignitie W.hileſt he was bred vp in the houſe of this Flemiſh knight, they ſay, he fell in loue with one of his daughters, with whom he contracted a ſecret mariage, the which notwithſtanding came to the knowledge of the mother, who could well conceale it L vntill a fit opportunitie. Finding himſelfe ſetled in his eſtate and dignitie, at Barcelone, he ſent for his wife, and confeſt the mariage vnto his father in law, who was nothing diſpleaſed therwith; by whoſe meanes he obtained pardon for the murther which he had committed on the perſon of Cont *Salamon*, of the king of France, and Emperour *Lewis* the Stuttering, ſucceſſor to *Charles* the Bauld, his father, by whom the Flemmiſh knight was much fauoured. And the Spaniſh hiſtories report, That the Emperour *Lewis* receiued good ſeruice from *Geoffrey* the Hairie, in the warres he had againſt the Normans, whither he led a goodly troupe of horſe out of Barcelone, and ſhewed great proofes of his valour and conduct; ſo as he was greatly eſteemed, and beloued. And as in a certaine defeat of the Normans he had beene wounded in diuers parts of his bodie, ſo as his Armes were all couered with bloud; ſhewing himſelfe in M this eſtate before the Emperour *Lewis*, he beſought him to giue him Armes, which he and his poſteritie might lawfully carrie. The Emperour being glad of his demaund, ſtretching forth his foure fingers, he dipt them in the bloud which ran from the earls wounds, and made foure markes vpon a golden ſhield which he carried, being plaine, without any deuice; and ſaid vnto him, *Earle, hereafter theſe ſhall be your Armes.* For the which he moſt humbly thanked the Emperour:

A Emperour: ſo as euer ſince they haue carried foure bloudie ſtrokes, which we call Gueules, in a field Or. This is the beginning of the Armes of the earles of Barcelone, and ſince kings of Arragon, although that their beginning was from Cattelogne. *The Armes of Barcelone and Arragon.*

He did likewiſe ſerue king *Charles* the Groſſe, who was Emperour after *Lewis* the third, in his warre againſt the Normans: but in his abſence the Moores entred the territorie of Barcelone, and committed great ſpoyles. Whereof Cont *Geoffrey* being aduertiſed, he demaunded leaue, and beſought the king to grant him men and money, to repulſe the Infidels out of his gouernement: but not able to obtaine it, by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of his affaires, he had a better condition: For in conſideration of his valour and good ſeruice,

B king *Charles* gaue the countie of Barcelone in proprietie to him and to his heires for euer, in the yeare 884, reſeruing onely the ſoueraigntie to the kings of France: the which continued vnto the time of *Lewis* the ninth. We will therefore place this earle for the firſt of them of Barcelone, for that he was a Proprietarie. *Cattelogne giuẽ in proprietie to Geoffrey the Earle, vnder the ſoueraigntie of France.*

Returning to Barcelone with this grant, he brought with him many ſtrange knights, with whoſe helpe he recouered all that which the Moores had vſurped vpon the territories of Barcelone, and Cattelogne. He is commended for his religion, for that he did build (to burie himſelfe and his ſucceſſors in) the monaſterie of our Ladie of Ripol, where his eldeſt ſonne *Rodolphus* made himſelfe a Monke; who, they ſay, was borne in Flanders, before the mariage was publiſhed; and was Abbot of Ripol, and afterwards Biſhop of Vrgell. Others ſay, That

C this monaſterie was founded by D. *Geoffrey* of Arria, his father. He had other children by this Flemmiſh ladie, which were D. *Geoffrey*, who died of poiſon, being but young; D. *Mir*, who ſucceeded him in the earledome; D. *Suner*, or *Seniofrid*, who was earle of Vrgel; and one daughter. He was founder of the monaſterie of Monſerrat, and did many ſuch like workes.

D. Ordogno, ſecond of that name, and 14 King of *Ouiedo and Leon.*

D

45 TO D. *Garcia* his brother D. *Ordogno* had ſucceeded in the realme of Ouiedo, in the yeare 889. The bountie of this prince made the Spaniards thinke that his father D. *Alphonſo* was riſen againe, he did ſo well imitate his vertues in all the courſe of his life. His religion, after the manner of thoſe times, is commended, for that hee cauſed Mondognedo to be made a Biſhopricke, and did much good to churches. He was maried firſt to D. *Munia*, whom others call D. *Eluira*, by whom hee had foure ſonnes, D. *Sancho*, D. *Alphonſo*, D. *Ramir*, D. *Garcia*, and one daughter, D. *Ximena*, whereof D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Ramir* were kings of Ouiedo. For his ſecond wife hee maried D. *Arragonde*, or it may be, *Radegonde* of Gallicia, whom he did repudiat for certaine cauſes. *Ouiedo.*

E Laſtly, he tooke to wife the Infanta of Nauarre and Arragon, D. *Sancha*, or *Sanctina*, daughter to king D. *Garcia Inigo*, and of D. *Vrraca*.

The firſt exploits of Armes he did, were in Galicia, when as he was but a pettie king or gouernour, ouerrunning the Moores countrey confining vpon him, euen vnto Andalouſia, and carried backe great ſpoyles, with the which he retired ſafely to Viſeo, which is at this time in Portugal.

At the ſame time *Abderramen*, the third of that name, came to bee king of the Moores; hee was ſurnamed *Almanſor*, and *Ananzer Ledin Alla*, which ſignifies, Defender of the Law of God. Some are of opinion, that he was the ſonne of *Mahumet* the ſonne of *Abdalla*, to whom hee ſucceeded: againſt whom D. *Ordogno* raiſed an ar- *Moores. Abderramen Almanſor, 8 king of the Moores at Cordoua.*

F mie, and entring the territories of Toledo, came and beſieged Talauera, which is now called de la Roine. Hee defeated the ſuccours of Moores which *Abderramen* ſent, tooke the Generall of this armie, and forced the place and ſacked it. Wherewith *Abderramen* being much moued, meaning to reuenge it with aſſurance, hee demaunded ſuccours from *Almotaraph*, king of Mauritania Tingitana, where the kingdomes of Fez and Marocco are at this preſent. And hauing by that meanes aſſembled a great armie of

Moores,

Moores, Affricans, and Spaniards, he ſpoyled the Chriſtians countrey, as farre as the riuer G of Duero, and the towne of S. *Stephen de Gomas*, where there was an incounter, and the
Moores defiated. Moores vanquiſhed; and the Generalls and Lieutenants of the two kings, *Abderramen* and *Almotaraph*, ſlaine; which incouraged D. *Ordogno* to proceed: ſo as in the yeare 894, hee
Anno 894. entred the countrey called Eſtrema-dura, croſsing the riuers of Tayo and Guadiana, vnto Merida and Badaios, the territories of which townes he ſpoyled. The Moores inhabiting theſe townes, not daring to ſallie forth, they purchaſed a truce of ſome monethes, for a great ſumme of money.

This loſſe tormented *Abderramen*, and inflamed him to reuenge; wherefore in the yere
Anno 895. 895 he entred Galicia with a great power, where he committed infinit ſpoyles. In the end H both armies being met, there was a bloudie battell, which continued almoſt a whole day, with vncertaintie which had the victorie. *Abderramen* being afterwards fortified with new ſuccours from Affricke, he came againe to waſt the countrey of king D. *Ordogno*, and entred by the prouince of Alaua, into the territories of the king of Nauarre, which ſhould be at that time D. *Sancho Abarca*, or rather his brother D. *Fortun* the ſecond, and not D. *Garcia Inigues*, their father, who they hold died in the yeare 885: And then there was a great
Battell of Ionquera loſt by the Chriſtians. battell giuen in the vallie of Ionquera, in the which many braue Chriſtian knights were ſlaine. The Mahumetiſts being victors, many townes and forts of Nauarre fell into the Infidells hands. King *Abderramen* returned victor vnto Cordoua, leading with him many priſoners, and a rich bootie. In this troupe of priſoners were the Biſhops of Salamanca I and of Tuy. He of Tuy, called *Hermogius*, not able to endure the hardneſſe of the priſon, being old, laboured to get out, giuing for hoſtage of his ranſome a nephew of his, called *Pelagius*, a goodly young youth, about fourteene yeares old, who had beene bred vp religiouſly, and in the feare of God. Being come into the Moores hands, king *Almanſor* being thruſt on with a deteſtable deſire, would haue abuſed him at his pleaſure, and haue perſuaded him to follow *Mahumets* ſect: the which this holy youth did vertuouſly reſiſt. Where-
Pelagius a holy youth cruelly murthered. fore the king being inraged, he cauſed him to be murthered with many torments, and to be caſt into the riuer of Guadalquibir, where his bodie being found, it was buried by the Chriſtians: Whoſe memorie, for his great vertues in ſo tender yeares, merits to liue for K euer.

Ouiedo and Leon. King D. *Ordogno* deſirous to repaire the loſſe which the Chriſtians had receiued in the val-
Anno 896. lie of Ionquera, entred in the yeare 896, into the Moores countrey with great forces, where hee tooke and ruined many townes; and meeting no incounter, hee returned to Zamora. As for the religious deeds of this king, they make particular mention of the building of S. *Maries* church, in his owne royall Palace of Leon, which he made the Cathedrall church of that towne, and indowed it with reuenewes, and many iewels; inducing the other noblemen, by his example, to doe the like. He cauſed himſelfe to be crowned in this new Temple with great ſolemnitie, being the firſt of thoſe kings which intitled himſelfe king of Ouiedo and Leon: for vnto theſe times they hold, That theſe kings tearmed themſelues onely kings of Ouiedo, without any addition of Leon. Before the Cathedrall church L of Leon, were thoſe of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, without the circuit of the walls in thoſe times, the which he did inlarge, and made the towne much bigger, enriching it with many buildings, exemptions, and priuiledges.

We haue ſaid before, That there was a great errour in the computation of the raignes of theſe kings of Ouiedo, and great confuſion in conferring them with thoſe that haue raigned in Nauarre, and the other Potentates of Spaine: for the Authors doe ill agree with the Charters and titles of priuiledges, donations, and foundations, which are found in the true ſtories of Monaſteries, and other churches of Spaine: eſpecially it is vncertaine what kings of Nauarre were in the time of king D. *Ordogno*, nor when he maried his laſt wife D. *Sanctiua*, daughter to king D. *Garcia Inigues* the ſecond, whether in his life time, or during the raigne M of D. *Fortun*, and D. *Sancho Abarca*, his children: the fact is cleere, but the time is doubtfull. Some Authors write, That this king D. *Ordogno*, made this league with D. *Sancho Abarca*, king of Nauarre; and that hauing ioyned their forces together, they inuaded the countrey of Rioje, which the Moors held, and hauing forraged it, they returned with great ſpoyles, hauing found no reſiſtance.

Caſtille.

A 47 The worthie and memorable deeds of this king are blemiſhed with the cruelties hee vſed againſt the earles of Caſtille. We haue made mention of Cont D. *Diego Porcello*, or *Lechon*, in the Spaniſh tongue, who gouerned Caſtille in the time of king D. *Alphonſo* the great: beſides there is mention of other earles and gouernors of the countrey, the which for that it was great, and compaſſed in by the Moores countrey, had need of many heads and captains to defend the frontiers of Ouiedo and Leon, vnder whoſe ſoueraigntie Caſtille was. Among others, we find D. *Nugno Fernandes*, who it is likely was father in law to D. *Garcia*, king of Ouiedo, brother to this king D. *Ordogno*, D. *Almondar le Blanc*, D. *Diego* his ſonne, D. *Fernando Anzurcs*: all theſe commaunded there, and were great noblemen in the ſaid countrey
B of Caſtille, about the yeare 889, which they hold to be the firſt of D. *Ordogno*, king of Ouiedo and Leon. It is not verified vpon what ſubiect they fell in diſgrace with this king, if it were not by reaſon of the practiſes of D. *Nugno Fernandes*, and D. *Garcia*, againſt king D. *Alphonſo* the great; kings being alwayes iealous of their eſtates, and enemies to them that attempt againſt their Soueraigne Princes, the which in ſome is accompanied with an enuie of their glorie, whom (being their ſubiects) they know to be aduenturous, fit for great enterpriſes, and to execute them happily. So it may be D. *Ordogno* fearing that theſe earles (who had fought valiantly againſt the Moores, and well defended their prouinces; for the which they were beloued, and reſpected of the people) ſhould grow too great, to the prejudice of his royall Maieſtie, he meant to murther them. He therefore called them vpon a ſafeconduct
C to a place called Regular, vpon the riuer of Carrion, making ſhew, that he would treat ſecretly with them of matters of great importance. Whither being come, he cauſed them to be apprehended, and carried with good gards to Leon, where ſome dayes after, without any formall proceeding, he cauſed them to be murthered in the priſon. D. *Diego Porcello*, as ſome thinke, was of this number. D. *Nugno Bellides* maried his daughter D. *Sulla*, of whom were borne two ſonnes, D. *Nugno Nugnez*, *Razura*, grandfather to the earle D. *Fernand Gonſales*, and the other was *Iuſtus Gonſales*, grandfather to the Lord of Lara.

Enuie and ielouſie familiar paſſions in great men.

Earles and gouernors of Caſtille murthered

D. Diego Porcello the ſtemme of the princes of Caſtille.

A yeare after this tyranous action, the king D. *Ordogno* died, according to the common opinion, in the yeare of our ſaluation 897; but according to the letters and titles of donation of the abbeyes and churches of Spaine, he liued in the yeare 919, as *Garibay* ſaith, who
D hath made a diligent ſearch: Of the authoritie and truth of which charters we may iuſtly doubt. This king raigned eight yeares, and was buried at Leon, in the new Cathedrall church of Saint *Marie* the great, the firſt of thoſe kings which had beene interred at Leon.

D. Froila, ſecond of that name, and 15 King of *Ouiedo and Leon.*

E 48 AFter the death of D. *Ordogno*, the realme was held by his brother D. *Froila*, who vſurped it from his nephewes, D. *Alphonſo*, and D. *Ramir*, ſonnes to the deceaſed. He is not put in the catalogue of the kings of Ouiedo, it may be by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of his raigne, or in deteſtation of his cruelties, which purchaſed him the ſurname of Cruell; or for ſome other conſiderations. He had maried a ladie called D. *Munina*, or D. *Nugna*, by whom he had three ſonnes, D. *Alphonſo*, D. *Ordogno*, and D. *Ramir*; and by a concubine, a baſtard called D. *Fruela*. Of this baſtard iſſued D. *Pelagius*, called the Deacon, who maried D. *Aldonſa*, grand child to D. *Bermund* the Goutie, whereof we will make mention. King D. *Fruela* was a tyrant, and therefore fearefull and ſuſpitious, ſo as he vſed great crueltie againſt the nobleſt perſonages in Spaine, he put ſome to death, baniſhed many, and afflicted euerie eſtate. Among the reſt he put to death the children of a noble knight, called D. *Olmunde*, or
F *Dimunde*, baniſhed D. *Frominio* their brother, who was Biſhop of Leon, and committed many other ſuch outrages; yet couered with the cloke of iuſtice, as tyrants doe vſually.

An. 897.

Genealogie of Ouiedo and Leon.

Tyrants alwaies feareful, ſuſpitious, and cruell

49 The people of Caſtille incenſed at the crueltie vſed againſt their earles by D. *Ordogno*, rebelled againſt the Crowne of Ouiedo and Leon, and made an Eſtate apart, chuſing two

Change of the Eſtate of Caſtille

Iudges choſen in Caſtille.

Gouernors or Iudges among them, whereof the one ſhould haue charge of the war, and the other ſhould take knowledge of ciuile cauſes. Theſe were *Nugno Razura*, and *Flauin Caluo* his ſonne in law. *Nugno Razura* was ſonne to *Nugno Bellides*, a German knight, who they ſay was the firſt founder of the citie of Burgos, ſo called by him, of a German word, ſignifying a habitation of people. This knight comming into Spaine vpon deuotion, to viſit S. *Iaques* ſepulchre, was there maried to D. *Sulla*, daughter to D. *Diego Porcello*, and had by her this D. *Nugno Razura*, a knight, who was wiſe, valiant, and much eſteemed, by reaſon of his modeſtie. He had one ſonne and one daughter by his wife, D. *Gonſalo Nugnes*, and D. *Eluira Nugnes*, or elſe D. *Thereſa Nugnes*, ſurnamed *Bella*, either for that ſhe was exceeding faire, or to ſeeme to be ſo: for the cuſtome of the auncient was to giue their children pleaſing names and ſurnames, thinking they ſhould thereby purchaſe fauour with men; and that a goodly name gaue ſome marke or impreſſion to the perſon conformable to that which it did ſignifie. This ladie D. *Bella* was maried by her father, to *Flauin Caluo*, a knight of Caſtille, lord of Biuar, by whom deſcended by fiue degrees, *Cid*, *Ruys*, *Diaz*, who was a wiſe and valiant knight. By theſe two Caſtille was gouerned without oppoſition: for that the king D. *Fruela* being hated, and ill obeyed, by reaſon of his tyranie, and tormented with continuall diſtruſt, being alſo growne a leaper, could not bring any armie againſt them. Wherefore this manner of gouernement was ſetled among the Caſtillans, and the countrey was diſmembred from the Crowne of Ouiedo, for a time; and the riuer of Piſorga diuided Caſtille the old from the kingdome of Leon. D. *Nugnes* determined of ciuile cauſes with great equitie and iuſtice. *Flauin Caluo* managed matters of ſtate, and warre.

Mention is made in certain priuiledges giuen by the firſt kings of Caſtille, to certain towns of that countrey, of a volume of the Caſtillian Lawes, according to the which iuſtice ſhould be adminiſtred, called the booke of Iudges: the which was of great authoritie, vnto the time of king D. *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, ſonne to D. *Fernand* the third, that the Lawes of the ſeuen parties were brought in, according to the which this realme was afterwards gouerned.

Ouiedo and Leon.

King D. *Fruela*, without reſt among his ſubiects, without warre againſt the Moores and Infidels, without honour in any of his actions, and without health in his perſon, infected with leproſie, raigned onely foureteene monethes, and was interred at Leon, in the chiefe church, in the yeare 898, according to the common opinion: but there are letters in the treaſurie of Saint *Iaques*, of a donation, of twelue miles of ground to this church, made by this king, dated the 28 of Iune 924, which *Garibay* ſaith he hath ſeene.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

The Contents of the ſeuenth Booke.

1 D. Sancho Abarca, *ſecond of that name, and ninth king of Nauarre.*
2 D. Alphonſo, *fourth of that name, and 16 king of Ouiedo and Leon.*
3 D. Ramir, *ſecond of that name, and 17 king of Leon, leauing the title of Oniedo.*
4 D. Gonſal Nugnes, *Iudge of Caſtille: his vertues.*
5 D Fernand Gonſales, *firſt earle proprietarie of Caſtille.*
6 D. Mir, *ſecond proprietarie earle of Barcelone.*
7 D. Ordogno, *third of that name, and 18 king of Leon.*
8 D. Garcia Sanches, *fourth of that name, and 10 king of Nauarre.*
9 D. Seniofrid, *third earle of Barcelone, ſonne to* D. Mir.
10 D. Sancho, *firſt of that name, and 19 king of Leon, called the Fat.*
11 Hali Hatan, *ninth Soueraigne king of the Arabians or Moores, in Spaine.*
12 D. Ramir, *third of that name, and 20 king of Leon.*
13 D. Garcia Fernandes, *ſecond proprietarie earle of Caſtille.*
14 Hizen, *ſecond of that name, and 10 king of the Moores at Cordoua.*
15 D. Bermund, *ſecond of that name, 21 king of Leon, from whom the citie of Leon was taken by the Moores.*
16 D. Sancho, *third of that name, and 11 king of Nauarre.*
17 D. Borel, *fourth proprietarie earle of Barcelone.*
18 D. Alphonſo, *fift of that name, and 22 king of Leon.*
19 D. Sancho Garcia, *third earle of Caſtille.*
20 D. Raymond Borel, *fift earle of Barcelone.*
21 *Decay of the Moores power in Spaine, by their ciuile diſſentions.*
22 Zuleima *and* Mahumet, *11 and 12 kings of the Moores at Cordoua.*
23 D. Garcia, *fift of that name, and 12 king of Nauarre.*
24 D. Sancho, *fourth of that name, and 13 king of Nauarre, ſurnamed the great, who inherited Caſtille by his wife.*
25 *Confuſions and ciuile warres among the Moores in Spaine, among the which there raigned,* Hali, Cacin, Hiaja, Abderramen, Mahomad, Hizen, Ioar, *and* Mahumet, *who was the 20 and laſt Soueraigne king of the Moores at Cordoua.*
26 D. Bermund, *third of that name, and 23 king of Leon.*
27 D. Garcia, *fourth earle of Caſtille: and the vnion of the earledome to the houſe of Nauarre.*
28 D. Berenger Borel, *ſixt earle of Barcelone.*
29 *Vnion of Leon and Caſtille in* D. Fernand, *ſonne to the king* D. Sancho *of Nauarre, the fourth of that name.*

The names of the Kings and Princes of Spaine, mentioned in this ſeuenth Booke.

OVIEDO and LEON.

Kings.

16 *Alphonſo* 4.
17 *Ramir* 2.
18 *Ordogno* 3.
19 *Sancho* 1.
20 *Ramir* 3.
21 *Bermund* 2.
22 *Alphonſo* 5.
23 *Bermund* 3.

NAVARRE.

Kings.

9 *Sancho Abarca* 2.
10 *Garcia* 4.
11 *Sancho* 3.
12 *Garcia the trembling* 5.
13 *Sancho* 4.

CASTILLE.

Iudge.

Gonſal Nugnes.

Earles.

1 *Ferdinand Gonſales.*
2 *Garcia Fernandes.*
3 *Sancho Garcia.*
4 *Garcia.*

D. Nugna maried to King *D. Sancho* the Great, of Nauarre, who inherited the Earledome of Caſtille, and vnited it to Nauarre.

BARCELONE, or CATTELOGNE.

Earls.

1 *Mir.*
2 *Seniofrid.*
3 *Borel.*
4 *Raymond Borel.*
5 *Berenger Borel.*

MOORES.

9 *Hali Hatan* 2.
10 *Hizen* 2.
11 *Zuleima.*
12 *Mahumet* 2.
13 *Hali.*
14 *Cacin.*
15 *Hiaja.*
16 *Abderramen* 4.
17 *Mahumet* 3.
18 *Hizen* 3.
19 *Iour.*
20 *Mahumet* 4.

We haue apparent Arguments in this ſeuenth Booke, of the religious diſpoſition in auncient Princes, in the reſolution which two Kings of this age tooke, the one of Nauarre, the other of Leon, to leaue their regall Scepters and become Monkes: A preſident which was not rare in that age, but was afterwards imitated by others. Whether this proceeded from zeale of Religion, grounded vpon any certaine knowledge, or from baſeneſſe, and want of courage, & from meere ignorance of their ranks and royall callings, they can beſt iudge, who know by good and holie inſtructions, what ordinarie occaſions Kings, and other Soueraigne Magiſtrates, haue in their lawfull calling, to ſhew themſelues, and to be, truely religious.

D. Sancho Abarca, ſecond of that name, and *ninth King of Nauarre.*

Nauarre.

1 AFter the death of King D. *Garcia Inigues*, his ſonne D. *Fortun* being come to the Crowne in Nauarre and Arragon, about the yere 885, as we haue ſaid in the former Booke, hauing raigned ſome years, being moued with deuotion, and ſeeing himſelfe without children, and old, he became a Monke in the monaſterie of S. *Sauiour* at Leyre, the which they hold was in the yeare 901; leauing the realme of Nauarre, and the earledome of Arragon, to D. *Sancho Abarca*, his brother, ſo called by reaſon of a certaine kind of breech which he ware: Who, they ſay, being come with the queene D. *Toda* his wife, to the ſaid monaſterie of Leyre, receiued the bleſſing

D. Fortun king of Nauarre, makes himſelfe a Monke.
*An.*901.

A ſing of his brother D. *Fortun*, from whom alſo they receiued a Crowne, with many other precious jewels.

The king D. *Sancho* had by this wife a ſonne called D. *Garcia Sanches*, bearing his grandfathers and fathers names together: ſome giue him three ſonnes more, D. *Ramir*, D. *Gonſal*, and D. *Ferdinand*. He had fiue daughters by her, whereof the eldeſt, called D. *Vrraca Ximenes*, was wife to D. *Alphonſo* the fourth of that name, king of Ouiedo and Leon: the ſecond, D. *Maria*, Counteſſe of Barcelone, being married to D. *Seniofrid*, the fift Earle: the third, D. *Thereſa*, who was married to D. *Ramir*, king of Ouiedo, brother to D. *Alphonſo*: the fourth, D. *Sancha*, Counteſſe of Caſtille, the ſecond wife of D. *Fernand Gonſales*: and the

B youngeſt was D. *Blanche Velaſque*, whoſe marriage is vncertaine. This was a generous and worthie king, and in continuall warres againſt the Moores raigning in Alaua, and vpon the confines of Nauarre; whoſe lands he did often ouerrun, razed many places, and built others: the particularities whereof are vncertaine, by reaſon of the negligence or defect of writers of thoſe times: but in generall they hold, that he did ſubject vnto his Crowne and made tributarie all the people which were betwixt his confines and the mountaines of Oca, of either ſide, following the courſe of Ebro vnto Tudele, and from the mountaines to Hueſca: yea, paſſing the Pyrenees, he conquered from the French that part of Gaſcoine where the Baſques are, which is at the foot of the mountaines: but whileſt he was thus buſied, the Moores came and beſieged Pampelone, thinking to take it before that the king D. *Sancho* ſhould come to

C ſuccour it; but it happened otherwiſe: for the beſieged were not onely relieued, but the Moores chaſed away, and purſued farre into their countrey, with great loſſe of their men. In theſe warres the vertue and proweſſe of them of Sobrarbre and Ribagorſa was great, eſpecially of a captaine called *Centullo*.

The auncient confines of Nauarre.

D. Alphonſo, fourth of that name, and 16 King of *Ouiedo and Leon.*

D 2 BY the death of king D. *Fruela*, the kingdome of Ouiedo and Leon came to the children of D. *Ordogno*; and *Alphonſo* the fourth, called the Monke and the blind, raigned: who hauing held the Crowne little aboue fiue yeares, and had had a ſonne by D. *Vrraca Ximenes* his wife, which he called D. *Ordogno*, afterwards ſurnamed the bad, had a deſire to become a Monke, and for want of courage to paſſe his life in idleneſſe, leauing the charge which God had giuen him, to rule and gouerne the Chriſtian people preſerued in Spaine: wherefore he gaue his brother D. *Ramir* to vnderſtand thereof, who was then reſident at Viſeo, one of the frontiers of the Moores countrey, perſuading him to come vnto him, meaning to reſigne the Scepter of Ouiedo and Leon. Theſe newes were not a little pleaſing vnto D. *Ramir*, who preſently came to Zamora, where king D. *Alphonſo* remained, and was there

E ſeated by him in the royall throne. D. *Alphonſo* retyred himſelfe into a Monaſterie called *Dominus Sanctus*, at this day Sahagun, vpon the riuer Cea, a houſe built by king D. *Alphonſo* the great, the third of that name.

Ouiedo and Leon.

D. Alphonſo leaues his Crowne to become a Monke.

D. Ramir the ſecond, and 17 King of *Ouiedo and Leon.*

3 THus D. *Ramir* became king beyond his expectation, in the yeare 904, of Ouiedo and Leon. From that time the royall title was attributed to the citie of Leon, ſuppreſſing

F Ouiedo, for that it was the greateſt towne, and beſt peopled of all this kings Eſtate. D. *Ramir* had by his wife D. *Thereſa*, daughter to king D. *Sancho Abarca* of Nauarre, three ſonnes, D. *Bermudo*, D. *Ordogno*, and D. *Sancho*, and one daughter D. *Eluira*, who was profeſſed a Nunne in the Monaſterie of S. Sauueur, in the citie of Leon, built by the king her father for her ſake. The warres betwixt the Chriſtians and the Moores, which had lyen long dead, were now reuiued at the comming of this king, for the which he prepared himſelfe. D. *Alphonſo*

(ſoone

Leon. An. 904. Ouiedo ſuppreſt in the kings titles.

D. Alphonſo repents that he became a Monke.

(ſoone wearie of his Monkiſh life, into the which he had raſhly entred) repenting himſelfe, G that he had reſigned his kingdome, meant to recouer it by armes, ſeizing vpon the towne of Leon, where he fortified himſelfe with his confederates. D. *Ramir* hauing leuied a great armie, with a deſigne to imploy it againſt the Infidels, was forced to turne head againſt his owne ſubjects, and came to the ſiege of Leon, the which continued two yeares: in the end D. *Alphonſo* being vnfurniſhed of all neceſſaries, as well as of judgement, yeelded to his brothers diſcretion, who kept him priſoner.

D. Alphonſo beſieged and taken by his brother.

The children of king *Froila*, by reaſon of the warres betwixt the two brethren, did riſe in Aſturia, and the eldeſt, whoſe name was *Alphonſo*, cauſed himſelfe to be called King: the reſt, with moſt part of the Aſturians, did honour and reuerence him as their king. The confe- H derates of this *Alphonſo*, ſonne to *Froila*, deſirous to ſurpriſe king D. *Ramir*, gaue him to vnderſtand, That if hee came with a ſmall traine, they would turne to him: but D. *Ramir* conſidering wiſely what was moſt profitable and ſafe, would not goe without great forces, with the which he vanquiſhed the Aſturians, and tooke the children of king *Froila*, the which he ſent priſoners to Leon, with his brother D. *Alphonſo*, whereas ſoone after he cauſed all their eyes to be put out, then (as if he had repented him of this rigour) he drew them out of priſon, and confined them into the Monaſterie of S. *Iulien*, not farre from the citie of Leon, the which he cauſed to be built for them, and there entreated them honourably, during their liues; where they were buried, with D. *Vrraca Ximena*, wife to king *Alphonſo*. I

D. Ramir puts out his brothers and his nephewes eyes.

Caſtille.

4 Theſe diuiſions did the more aſſure the reuolt of Caſtille, and the new Eſtate of that countrey, vnder Iudges elected, whereof the two firſt being dead in the time of D. *Alphonſo* the Monke, D. *Gonſalo Nugnes* had ſucceeded in the gouernment of Caſtille. This knight was bred vp in all vertue, ciuilitie, and good behauiour, by the care of D. *Nugno Razura* his father, who being wiſe and vertuous, was carefull to giue him good maſters, in all commendable exerciſes, worthie of a child iſſued from a noble familie: and moreouer, had made all the beſt families of the countrey partakers of this happineſſe, cauſing the gentlemens ſonnes of Caſtille to be bred vp with his ſonne in the ſame diſcipline; ſo as in a ſhort time the Court of Caſtille was furniſhed with as many gallant young gentlemen as any countrey in the world. Thereof grew a great loue and reſpect of the noblemen and knights, both fathers K and ſonnes, vnto their Gouernour, proceeding from the bond they had, to haue receiued by his meanes ſo good education and inſtruction; a benefit, which to ſpeake truth doth exceed all the gifts and fauours a Prince can doe vnto his ſubjects. Stories are defectiue in relating the particular acts of theſe Earles or Iudges of Caſtille, although it be moſt certaine, that they wanted no ſubject of warre to defend themſelues as well againſt the Moores, as againſt them of Leon and Ouiedo. Their reſidence and judiciall ſeat was at Bourgos, and in another towne of Caſtille the old, called in reſpect of them Vijueſes. D. *Gonſalo Nugnes* had to wife D. *Ximena*, daughter to Cont D. *Nugno Fernandes*, who was ſlaine in priſon, with the reſt, by king D. *Ordogno*, and of them was borne the Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales*, firſt proprietarie of Caſtille, one of the diſcreeteſt and beſt accompliſhed knights of his age, who L ſucceeded his deceaſed father, about the yeare 910, who for his interment cauſed the Monaſterie of Arlanſa to be built, as the Monkes of that place report, who ſhew many markes and teſtimonies of this Earle or Gouernour D. *Gonſalo*, and of his wife *D. Ximena*, but ill agreeing with the computation of times, and the truth of the Hiſtories. D. *Fernand Gonſales* being eſtabliſhed Earle and Iudge of Caſtille, during the time that king D. *Ramir* was at ſtrife with his brother, and the children of king D. *Fruela*, he gouerned the eſtate of that Prouince in ſuch ſort, as peace and abundance lodged there, and the people held themſelues moſt happie to haue ſuch a Commaunder. He did wonderfully affect religion, according to the time, and hauing no better inſtruction from the Paſtors in thoſe dayes, then it is to be preſumed, he gaue himſelfe ſuperfluouſly to the works of pietie of that age, which was wholly imployed to build Churches, and to giue reuenues, for the entertainment of Prieſts and Monkes, and of their ceremonies. He had a particular deuotion to S. *Peter* and S. *Emylian*, whom the Caſtillans had choſen for their Patron and Protector of their countrey, as they of the kingdome of Leon did flye to S. *Iaques*. The Monaſterie of S. *Peter* of Cardegna was his worke. He was juſt of his word, faithfull in his promiſes, and endowed with manie M

The commendable and fatherly care of a Prince.

D. Fernand Gonſales firſt Earle of Caſtille.

other

A other good gifts, which purchaſed him the fauour and loue of all men, and aduanced him to the dignitie of ſoueraigne Earle of Caſtille. He married twice: his firſt wife was D. *Vrraca*, by whom he had one daughter of that name: after whoſe deceaſe, he tooke to wife D. *Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king D. *Sancho Abarca*: he had many ſons, but it is vncertaine by which of theſe 2 wiues they were borne, there remaining in a manner no other memorie of them, but the inſcriptions of their tombes obſerued by writers, at S. *Peters* of Cardegna: the names of his ſons are, D. *Gonſalo Fernandes*, D. *Sancho Fernandes*, D. *Garcia Fernandes*, who was Earle after the father, it may be by the death of the two elder, D. *Pedro*, who had two ſons, as it appeares by the tombes at S. *Peter* of Cardegna, D. *Gonſalo Nugnes*, and D. *Fernando Gon-*
B *ſales*, and for the laſt D. *Baldwin*. Now this Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales* began to carrie himſelfe as a companion in armes, and no more ſubject to the kings of Leon: yet king D. *Ramir* hauing (after that he had ſubdued his rebellious kinſmen) led his armie into the territories of Toledo, taken the towne of Madril from the Moores, of whom (as we haue ſaid) *Abderramen* was Miralmumin and king at Cordoua, and razed the walls thereof, the Moores being deſirous to be reuenged of the Chriſtians for this affront, being entred with a great armie into the territorie of Caſtille, which was neere vnto them, and there done exceeding great harme, the Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales* was forced to entreat K. *Ramir* to joyne his forces with them of Caſtille, and to oppoſe them againſt the common enemie: the which he did, and hauing encountred the Moores neere to the towne of Oſme, theſe two Princes gaue them battaile, and woon it, with *Moores defeated.*
C great ſlaughter of the Infidels. *Aben-Aya* raigned at Saragoſſe, vnder *Abderramen Almanſor*, and was aſſayled by the victorious Chriſtian armie, and forced to come to compoſition with king D. *Ramir*, by the which he made himſelfe his vaſſale, and all his ſubjects, in the yere 912: whereof ſome refuſing to ſubmit themſelues to the Chriſtians yoake, and rebelling againſt *Aben-Aya*, were forced to obedience by the Kings and Earles armie, who were no ſooner retyred into their countries, but *Abderramen* incenſed at the reuolt of *Aben-Aya*, ran vpon him with all his power: but the Moore, who had not yeelded vnto the Chriſtians, but to auoid the preſent danger, ſubmitted himſelfe preſently to the Miralmumin, and returned to his ſeruice and obedience as before: then both together, with a mightie armie, entred the country of K. D. *Ramir*, ſpoyling it as farre as the towne of Simancas, whereas the Chriſtians armie preſen-
D ted it ſelfe in battaile, the which was one of the moſt memorable that hath beene in Spaine, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Mahumetiſts, where the Moores were defeated, and ſo great a number of them ſlaine, as many Authors affirme, they exceeded 80000. *Aben-Aya* was priſoner, and *Abderramen* forced to ſaue himſelfe by flight with twentie horſes onely. They hold, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 914, but there are letters of priuiledge and donation, *An.* 914.
which they call vow, made by Cont D. *Fernand Gonſales*, in the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian*, for this & other victories dated in the yeare 934, where it appeares, that king D. *Ramir* was alone in this firſt battell, without the Caſtillans, and that he hauing put to rout a part of the Moores armie, the reſt which retyred by Caſtille, were encountred by this Earle and his armie, who wholly defeated them; and then was the vow to S. *Emylian* accompliſhed, which ſeemes had
E beene made in the beginning of this warre, by all the Chriſtian Princes raigning in Spaine, for there is a confirmation thereof made by D. *Garcio Sanches*, king of Nauarre. Euerie familie in Caſtille payed vnto the ſaid Monaſterie, by reaſon of this vow, ſome ſheepe, ſome oxen, corne, oates, wine, oyle, fiſh, waxe, cheeſe, flax, yron, lead, and other things contained in their letters, from the riuer of Arga, which is in Nauarre, vnto that of Carrion, and from the mountaine of Araboya vnto the Biſcane ſea; whereby it appeares, that that yeare 934 the country of Guipuſcoa was vnited to the countie of Caſtille, being withdrawne from the realme of Nauarre, *Guipuſcoa a member of the realme of Nauarre.*
to the which it was afterwards annexed againe. The yeare of this battaile of Simancas, the Sunne was darkened for the ſpace of an houre, and the ſtarres were ſeene gliſtering, and as it were mouing in the firmament.

F King D. *Ramir* after this victorie retyred into his countrey, carrying with him *Aben-* *Leon.*
Aya, and a great number of other priſoners, with rich ſpoyles; but ſoone after he found himſelfe ingaged in a new warre by the practiſes of ſome knights of Leon, ill affected vnto the king, or ill rewarded by him: whatſoeuer the ſubject were, they conſpired with a captaine of the Moores, called *Accipha*, who entring into the countrey by the riuer of Tormes, ſpoyled all the territories of Salamanca and Ledeſma: *Garibay* calls theſe knights

which

Genealogie of Caſtille.

Battaile of Simancas, and the great victorie of the Chriſtians.

D. Alphonſo repents that he became a Monke.

(ſoone wearie of his Monkiſh life, into the which he had raſhly entred) repenting himſelfe, that he had reſigned his kingdome, meant to recouer it by armes, ſeizing vpon the towne of Leon, where he fortified himſelfe with his confederates. D. *Ramir* hauing leuied a great armie, with a deſigne to imploy it againſt the Infidels, was forced to turne head againſt his owne ſubjects, and came to the ſiege of Leon, the which continued two yeares: in the end D. *Alphonſo* being vnfurniſhed of all neceſſaries, as well as of judgement, yeelded to his brothers diſcretion, who kept him priſoner.

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D. Ramir puts out his brothers and his nephewes eyes.

Caſtille.

4 Theſe diuiſions did the more aſſure the reuolt of Caſtille, and the new Eſtate of that countrey, vnder Iudges elected, whereof the two firſt being dead in the time of D. *Alphonſo* the Monke, D. *Gonſalo Nugnes* had ſucceeded in the gouernment of Caſtille. This knight was bred vp in all vertue, ciuilitie, and good behauiour, by the care of D. *Nugno Razura* his father, who being wiſe and vertuous, was carefull to giue him good maſters, in all commendable exerciſes, worthie of a child iſſued from a noble familie: and moreouer, had made all the beſt families of the countrey partakers of this happineſſe, cauſing the gentlemens ſonnes of Caſtille to be bred vp with his ſonne in the ſame diſcipline; ſo as in a ſhort time the Court of Caſtille was furniſhed with as many gallant young gentlemen as any countrey in the world. Thereof grew a great loue and reſpect of the noblemen and knights, both fathers and ſonnes, vnto their Gouernour, proceeding from the bond they had, to haue receiued by his meanes ſo good education and inſtruction; a benefit, which to ſpeake truth doth exceed all the gifts and fauours a Prince can doe vnto his ſubjects. Stories are defectiue in relating the particular acts of theſe Earles or Iudges of Caſtille, although it be moſt certaine, that they wanted no ſubject of warre to defend themſelues as well againſt the Moores, as againſt them of Leon and Ouiedo. Their reſidence and judiciall ſeat was at Bourgos, and in another towne of Caſtille the old, called in reſpect of them Vijueſes. D. *Gonſalo Nugnes* had to wife D. *Ximena*, daughter to Cont D. *Nugno Fernandes*, who was ſlaine in priſon, with the reſt, by king D. *Ordogno*, and of them was borne the Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales*, firſt proprietarie of Caſtille, one of the diſcreeteſt and beſt accompliſhed knights of his age, who ſucceeded his deceaſed father, abour the yeare 910, who for his interment cauſed the Monaſterie of Arlanſa to be built, as the Monkes of that place report, who ſhew many markes and teſtimonies of this Earle or Gouernour D. *Gonſalo*, and of his wife *D. Ximena*, but ill agreeing with the computation of times, and the truth of the Hiſtories. D. *Fernand Gonſales* being eſtabliſhed Earle and Iudge of Caſtille, during the time that king D. *Ramir* was at ſtrife with his brother, and the children of king D. *Fruela*, he gouerned the eſtate of that Prouince in ſuch ſort, as peace and abundance lodged there, and the people held themſelues moſt happie to haue ſuch a Commaunder. He did wonderfully affect religion, according to the time, and hauing no better inſtruction from the Paſtors in thoſe dayes, then it is to be preſumed, he gaue himſelfe ſuperfluouſly to the works of pietie of that age, which was wholly imployed to build Churches, and to giue reuenues, for the entertainment of Prieſts and Monkes, and of their ceremonies. He had a particular deuotion to S. *Peter* and S. *Emylian*, whom the Caſtillans had choſen for their Patron and Protector of their countrey, as they of the kingdome of Leon did flye to S. *Iaques*. The Monaſterie of S. *Peter* of Cardegna was his worke. He was juſt of his word, faithfull in his promiſes, and endowed with manie other

The commendable and fatherly care of a Prince.

D. Fernand Gonſales firſt Earle of Caſtille.

A other good gifts, which purchaſed him the fauour and loue of all men, and aduanced him to the dignitie of ſoueraigne Earle of Caſtille. He married twice: his firſt wife was D. *Vrraca*, by whom he had one daughter of that name: after whoſe deceaſe, he tooke to wife D. *Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king D. *Sancho Abarca*: he had many ſons, but it is vncertaine by which of theſe 2 wiues they were borne, there remaining in a manner no other memorie of them, but the inſcriptions of their tombes obſerued by writers, at S. *Peters* of Cardegna: the names of his ſons are, D. *Gonſalo Fernandes*, D. *Sancho Fernandes*, D. *Garcia Fernandes*, who was Earle after the father, it may be by the death of the two elder, D. *Pedro*, who had two ſons, as it appeares by the tombes at S. *Peter* of Cardegna, D. *Gonſalo Nugnes*, and D. *Fernando Gon-*
B *ſales*, and for the laſt D. *Baldwin*. Now this Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales* began to carrie himſelfe as a companion in armes, and no more ſubject to the kings of Leon: yet king D. *Ramir* hauing (after that he had ſubdued his rebellious kinſmen) led his armie into the territories of Toledo, taken the towne of Madril from the Moores, of whom (as we haue ſaid) *Abderramen* was Miralmumin and king at Cordoua, and razed the walls thereof, the Moores being deſirous to be reuenged of the Chriſtians for this affront, being entred with a great armie into the territorie of Caſtille, which was neere vnto them, and there done exceeding great harme, the Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales* was forced to entreat K. *Ramir* to joyne his forces with them of Caſtille, and to oppoſe them againſt the common enemie: the which he did, and hauing encountred the Moores neere to the towne of Oſme, theſe two Princes gaue them battaile, and woon it, with
C great ſlaughter of the Infidels. *Aben-Aya* raigned at Saragoſſe, vnder *Abderramen Almanſor*, and was aſſayled by the victorious Chriſtian armie, and forced to come to compoſition with king D. *Ramir*, by the which he made himſelfe his vaſſale, and all his ſubjects, in the yere 912: whereof ſome refuſing to ſubmit themſelues to the Chriſtians yoake, and rebelling againſt *Aben-Aya*, were forced to obedience by the Kings and Earles armie, who were no ſooner retyred into their countries, but *Abderramen* incenſed at the reuolt of *Aben-Aya*, ran vpon him with all his power: but the Moore, who had not yeelded vnto the Chriſtians, but to auoid the preſent danger, ſubmitted himſelfe preſently to the Miralmumin, and returned to his ſeruice and obedience as before: then both together, with a mightie armie, entred the country of K. D. *Ramir*, ſpoyling it as farre as the towne of Simancas, whereas the Chriſtians armie preſen-
D ted it ſelfe in battaile, the which was one of the moſt memorable that hath beene in Spaine, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Mahumetiſts, where the Moores were defeated, and ſo great a number of them ſlaine, as many Authors affirme, they exceeded 80000. *Aben-Aya* was priſoner, and *Abderramen* forced to ſaue himſelfe by flight with twentie horſes onely. They hold, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 914, but there are letters of priuiledge and donation, which they call vow, made by Cont D. *Fernand Gonſales*, in the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian*, for this & other victories dated in the yeare 934, where it appeares, that king D. *Ramir* was alone in this firſt battell, without the Caſtillans, and that he hauing put to rout a part of the Moores armie, the reſt which retyred by Caſtille, were encountred by this Earle and his armie, who wholly defeated them; and then was the vow to S. *Emylian* accompliſhed, which ſeemes had
E beene made in the beginning of this warre, by all the Chriſtian Princes raigning in Spaine, for there is a confirmation thereof made by D. *Garcio Sanches*, king of Nauarre. Euerie familie in Caſtille payed vnto the ſaid Monaſterie, by reaſon of this vow, ſome ſheepe, ſome oxen, corne, oates, wine, oyle, fiſh, waxe, cheeſe, flax, yron, lead, and other things contained in their letters, from the riuer of Arga, which is in Nauarre, vnto that of Carrion, and from the mountaine of Araboya vnto the Biſcane ſea; whereby it appeares, that that yeare 934 the country of Guipuſcoa was vnited to the countie of Caſtille, being withdrawne from the realme of Nauarre, to the which it was afterwards annexed againe. The yeare of this battaile of Simancas, the Sunne was darkened for the ſpace of an houre, and the ſtarres were ſeene gliſtering, and as it were mouing in the firmament.

F King D. *Ramir* after this victorie retyred into his countrey, carrying with him *Aben-Aya*, and a great number of other priſoners, with rich ſpoyles; but ſoone after he found himſelfe ingaged in a new warre by the practiſes of ſome knights of Leon, ill affected vnto the king, or ill rewarded by him: whatſoeuer the ſubject were, they conſpired with a captaine of the Moores, called *Accipha*, who entring into the country by the riuer of Tormes, ſpoyled all the territories of Salamanca and Ledeſma: *Garibay* calls theſe knights which

Genealogie of Caſtille.

Moores defeated.

Battaile of Simancas, and the great victorie of the Chriſtians.

An. 914.

Guipuſcoa a member of the realme of Nauarre.

Leon.

which had conſpired againſt their king, D. *Fernand Gonſales*, D. *Diego Nugnes*, and D. *Rodrigo*, who did great harme with their owne forces, in the Aſturies: but king D. *Ramir* (although it may be he had giuen ſubject of theſe rebellions, by his auſteritie, or ingratitude) ſurmounted them: being often ſeene, that God doth moſt commonly fauor and ſupport the royall Majeſtie againſt rebellious ſubjects, how juſt ſoeuer their cauſe be; reſeruing to himſelfe the immediate puniſhment of tyrants. Wherefore the Moores were not onely repulſed, but alſo theſe knights were taken and brought to Leon, and to the caſtle of Gordon, from whence notwithſtanding the king freed them within few dayes after, without any other puniſhment, than their promiſes and oathes, to continue loyall and faithfull. So as hauing been too rigorous againſt his owne bloud, he was too mild and remiſſe to theſe, who had conſpired with the Mahumetiſts, enemies of the Chriſtian religion. Theſe things paſt in the yeare 915. G H

God is not pleaſed with rebellion, no though the Prince be a tyrant.

An. 915.

Moores.

King *Abderramen* grieued, that the warre againſt the Chriſtians ſucceeded not well for the good of his Eſtate, he began to perſecute the Chriſtians which liued vnder his commaund, yet ſome attribute this perſecution to his ſonne and ſucceſſor *Halihatan*.

Nauarre.

The generall Hiſtorie of Spaine makes mention of a warre betwixt D. *Sancho Abarca* of Nauarre, and D. *Fernand Gonſales*, Earle of Caſtille, grounded vpon the reparation of many domages done by the Nauarrois, paſſing and repaſſing through the countrey of Caſtille, vnder colour of making warre againſt the Moores: with whom the king D. *Sancho* made a peace, to the prejudice of the Caſtillans and others their neighbors; the which did much diſcontent them. Wherefore the Earle D. *Fernand* demaunded reſtitution of the ſpoyle and exceſſe which had beene committed in his countrey: but his meſſengers were ſent backe with injurious words and diſgrace; by reaſon whereof they came to armes, and there was a ſharpe encounter of two armies, in a place called Era de Gollanda, where there was much bloud ſpilt. The two Princes D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernandes* encountring during the fight, they ran one at another with ſuch animoſitie, as both horſe and men were ouerthrowne to the ground. The king D. *Sancho* was found dead with the charge of a launce, and D. *Fernandes* ſore wounded. This misfortune being knowne in the Nauarrois armie, daunted their courages, ſo as the Caſtillans woon the field. The ſame generall Hiſtorie reports, that an Earle of Tolouſe being come with a great armie to ſuccour the king D. *Sancho*, being deſirous to reuenge the death of his friend and allie, and hauing joyned with the remainders of the forces of Nauarre, he was againe fought withall, vanquiſhed, and ſlaine by D. *Fernand*, who deliuered the bodies of theſe Princes thus ſlaine to their ſubjects to burie them. Of the time of this defeat, or of the manner of D. *San. Abarcas* death, there is no great certaintie in that which is related in this generall Hiſtorie, yet they conjecture it was about the yeare 920. It is without all queſtion, that he was a valiant and couragious Prince, and ſo famous, that euen at this day there is not ſo poore a woman in the kingdome of Nauarre, nor any other perſon (although he be ignorant of the name of other kings) which knowes not that of D. *Sancho Abarca*; all which ſpeake and make an honourable mention of him, as of a wiſe and vertuous Prince. He did enlarge the limits of Nauarre, conquering much on euerie ſide from the Moores, euen along the riuer of Ebro, whereof a caſtle neere vnto Sarragoſſe doth beare witneſſe, which carries his name vnto this day. There are many other markes found of him in Spaine: the caſtle of Ses, and that of Arraſate (ſince called Mondragon) in Guipuſcoa, (but ruined at this day) are his workes. They hold, that he did people the towne of Logrogno in Rioje, and walled it about. There is ample mention made of him in a Charter of priuiledge and donation, of the places of S. Vincent and Ledena, to the Monaſterie of S. Saluator de Leyre, dated in the yeare 919, whereby many things which are written doubtfully of this king, are made plaine and confirmed: among others, it appeares thereby, that he was ſonne to D. *Garcia Inigues*, brother to D. *Fortun*, and husband to D. *Toda*. I K L

Warre betwixt Nauarre and Caſtille, for iniurie done to the embaſadors of Caſtille.

D. Sancho Abarca king of Nauarre ſlaine by the Caſtillans.

The worthie memorie of D. Sancho Abarca.

Leon.

About this time, king D. *Ramir* deſirous to enlarge his kingdome, and to diminiſh the power of the Moores in Spaine, led a mightie armie into the countrey of Toledo, ſo as in the yeare 923 he beſieged Talauera, called at this preſent, La Roina: and as the Moores came to ſuccour it, he gaue them battaile, where he ſlew twelue thouſand, and tooke ſeuen thouſand priſoners. This was the laſt exploit of warre which this king did. A little before he had married his ſonne D. *Ordogno* to D. *Vrraca*, daughter to the Earle of Caſtille, D. *Fernand* M

An. 923.

Moores deſeated.

A *nand Gonſales*, and by this marriage he confirmed a peace, and renewed the accords made with the Caſtillans. The reſt of his dayes, which were but ſhort, he imployed in religious works, according to thoſe times, and as he was perſuaded by the Paſtors and Biſhops. This king cauſed the Monaſterie of S. Sauueur of Leon to be built, there to lodge his daughter D. *Eluira*. Moreouer, he founded a Monaſterie to S. *Andrew*; one of S. *Chriſtopher*, vpon the riuer Cea; one of the virgin *Marie* vpon Duero; one of S. *Michel* called Deſtriana, in the valley of Orne: in which things he was diligent and prodigall, and alwaies aſſiſted by D. *Thereſa* the queene his wife. He died in the yeare 924 of his naturall death at Leon, where he was buried in S. Sauueurs Church. *The religious deeds of D. Ramir of Leon.* *An.* 924.

B 6 In this kings raigne, Cont *Geoffrey* the hairie died at Barcelone, hauing enjoyed the Principalitie of Cattelogne (ſince the renounciation made vnto him of thoſe lands in proprietie, by *Charles* the Groſſe, Emperour and King of France) thirtie yeares, and lyes at S. Pablo. After him, his ſonne D. *Mir* was Earle, in the yeare 914, of whom we read no memorable thing. He married ſomewhat late, and begatt three children, the firſt was called D. *Seniofrid*, who was Earle of Barcelone after his father, the ſecond D. *Oliban*, he was ſurnamed *Cheurette*, by reaſon of a bodily infirmitie, whereunto he was ſubject; for when he would ſpeake, he muſt of force ſcrape the earth, before he could pronounce a word, he had ſuch an impediment in his ſpeech: he had for his portion the Countie of Cerdagne and Beſalu, after the deceaſe of his father. The third called D. *Mir*, was Earle and Biſhop of Girone. All his C children were young at the deceaſe of the Earle their father, who made D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Vrgel, his brother, executor, to order his childrens portions: he ruled Cattelogne fifteene yeares, and lyes in the Monaſterie of Ripol. *Cattelogne.* *D. Mir Earle of Barcelone.*

D. Ordogno the third, and 18 King of Leon.

7 TO D. *Ramir* of Leon ſucceeded D. *Ordogno* his ſecond ſonne, in the yeare 924, but the titles and letters of Monaſteries and Churches of Spaine, as of S. *Iaques* of Compoſtella, of S. *Emylian* of Cogolla, of S. *Felix* of Oca, of priuiledges, donations, and confirmaD tions graunted vnto them by king D. *Ramir*, and other noblemen of his time, ſhew, that he was yet liuing in the yeare 934: but there is little certaintie in the computation of theſe kings raignes, nor in the charters which are produced by men of our time. This Prince *D. Ordogno* is commended by the Spaniards to haue beene mild and courteous, ſo as he was greatly beloued of his ſubjects. He had ſome croſſes in the beginning of his raigne, by the flatterers and corrupters of young Princes (an ordinarie plague in Courts) who debaucht his younger brother D. *Sancho*, and perſuaded him to rebell againſt him, who fled into Nauarre, to be aſſiſted with the forces of that kingdome to execute his deſigne. *Leon.* *Flatterers make D. Sancho rebell againſt the kings brother.*

E D. Garcia Sanches, fourth of that name, and tenth *King of Nauarre.*

8 THere are ſome errors which are remarkable in this place in ſtories; that is, who raigned at that time in Nauarre: for ſome hold, that the young Prince D. *Sancho* had recourſe vnto king D. *Sancho Abarca*, his grandfather by the mothers ſide: others ſay, it was to his ſonne *Garcia Sanches*, the which is more probable, the moſt diligent Authors affirming, that the king D. *Sancho Abarca* died during the raigne of D. *Ramir*, father to this king *D. Ordogno*, about the yeare 920, hauing raigned twentie yeares or little leſſe ouer his ſubjects, and valiantly repulſed the Infidell Moores, gouerning in Alaua, and elſewhere in his conF fines; to whom his ſonne D. *Garcia Sanches* ſucceeded in the realme of Nauarre and Countie of Arragon. Wherefore without all doubt Prince D. *Sancho*, brother to D. *Ordogno* of Leon, had recourſe vnto him, and by his meanes was alſo fauoured by Cont D. *Fernand* of Caſtille, the warres being pacified betwixt the Caſtillans and the Nauarrois: of which nations hauing raiſed a great armie, theſe three Princes entred the territories of king D. *Ordogno*, and marcht as farre as the royall citie of Leon: but king D. *Ordogno* had ſo wiſely *Nauarre.*

proui-

prouided for his affaires, as they were forced to returne, and to abandon their enterpriſe, reaping nothing for their paine, but the hatred of the king of Leon; the which did ſo incenſe him, as he put away his wife D. *Vrraca*, daughter to the Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales*, and married a Ladie called D. *Eluira*, by whom he had a ſonne, called D. *Bermond*, which came to the Crowne of Leon. By reaſon of theſe troubles, the Gallegos, or they of Gallicia rebelled againſt king D. *Ordogno*: but he ſoone reduced them to their obedience by armes: and being encouraged by this happie ſucceſſe, he entred into the Moores countrey, and paſſed the riuers of Duero and Minio, waſting the countrey with fire and ſword, euen vnto Lisbone, finding not any one to make head againſt him, ſo as he returned ſafe with his armie, laden with great ſpoyles; and without any great ſtay being incenſed with the injurie which he had receiued from *Fernand* Earle of Caſtille, who had fauored and ſuccoured D. *Sancho* his brother, who was rebelled, marcht with his forces towards Caſtille, with an intent to doe him all the harme he could.

D. Ordogno king of Leon puts away his wife D. Vrraca.

Caſtille.

The wiſdome and dexteritie of D. *Fernand* was ſuch, as of an enemie he made him a friend, ſo as he returned into his countrey well ſatisfied, and after that time they joyned their forces together to annoy the Moores: whoſe king *Abderramen* reſiding at Cordoua, deſirous to reuenge the outrages which the Chriſtians and their king D. *Ordogno* had done in the territories of Lisbone, and others of thoſe marches, hauing alſo a new ſubject by the taking of his caſtle of Carranſo, by the Earle D. *Fernand*, he rayſed a mightie armie of Moores, in the which they ſay was aboue 80000 fighting men: and hauing giuen charge thereof to a Mooriſh knight much eſteemed, whom they called *Alhagib Almanſor*, he ſent him into the territories of Caſtille, the which did much trouble D. *Fernand*, for that all his forces of Caſtille were ſmall to oppoſe againſt ſo mightie a power as that of the Moores, wherefore he demaunded ſuccours, and obtained them from king D. *Ordogno*; yet Caſtille was ouerrun by the Moores armie, from S. Steuen of Gormas vnto Burgos. In the end, D. *Fernand* did ſo purſue them, as hee forced them to fight, neere vnto a place called Dozio, where the Moores were defeated, with great ſlaughter of their men. The Spaniards report, That D. *Fernand* was foretold of this defeat of the Moores by a holie hermit, dwelling neere to Lara, called *Pelagius*, and that the armies being farre one from the other, D. *Fernand* being encamped in that place, he had a deſire to hunt, and hauing rowzed a Boare, he purſued him to the hermits cell, where he ſhut him vp. There was a Chappell and an Altar dedicated to S. *Peter*, for the reuerence whereof the Earle would doe no harme vnto this beaſt. Whileſt he ſtayed there, the hermit arriued, who entreated the Earle to lodge that night with him and his religious, being late, the which he did. In the morning the hermit *Pelagius* reuealed vnto the Earle, that he ſhould be victor ouer this great armie of Moores, exhorting him to take courage, and to truſt in God, and aboue all to remember the poore Friers, when he had gotten this victorie. So the Earle returned to his armie ſo full of hope, as no counſell could diſſuade him from the Moores armie, being great and mightie, with a handfull of men; and he had the victorie, as we haue ſaid. Returning to Burgos, he remembred the religious, whom he made partakers of the ſpoyle, and in time built a Monaſterie for them to S. *Peter*, vpon the riuer of Arlance, and gaue it good reuenues, where this Earle and his ſucceſſors were afterwards buried. The Moores hauing leuied new troupes, returned into Caſtille, and were againe vanquiſhed by the Caſtillans and Nauarrois, about the yeare 927, and neere vnto the towne of S. Steuens, vpon the riuer of Duero.

Defeat of Moores.

An hermit foretelling the Earle of Caſtilles victorie.

Monaſterie of S. Peter of Arlance, built by Fernand Gonſales

Leon.

The king D. *Ordogno* hauing rayſed a new armie a little before, to inuade the Moores, he was ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe in the towne of Zamora, where he died the fift yere of his raigne, and of our redemption 929, which opinion is not verie certaine.

An. 929.

9 In which yeare they hold, that D. *Mir* Earle of Barcelone alſo died, and to him ſucceeded his ſonne *Seniofrid*, according to his will and teſtament.

D. Sancho the firſt, and 19 King of Leon.

Leon.

10 TO D. *Ordogno* there ſucceeded in the realme of Leon D. *Sancho* his brother, who was ſurnamed the fat, for that he was exceeding corpulent; wherefore it ſeemes he

he was more carefull to pamper his bodie, then to attempt any great actions: and for that in thoſe dayes the Arabians had the fame to be verie expert in the art of Phiſicke, and that the towne of Cordoua was full of ſuch people, eſpecially the Court of king *Abderramen*, he entertained friendſhip with this king, and went to Cordoua, that he might haue aduice and helpe for his indiſpoſition; wherein *Abderramen* ſhewed himſelfe courteous and faithfull, receiuing him with all the honour fit for ſuch a king, and furniſhing him with the beſt Phiſitians of his Court, by whoſe diligence and judgement he was freed from the infirmitie which had long troubled him. *Arabian Phiſitions in great requeſt.*

Whileſt that D. *Sancho* was in the Phiſitians hands at Cordoua, the Leonois conſpired againſt him, and did aduance to the royall throne D. *Ordogno*, ſurnamed the bad, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the Monke, whereunto they were ſollicited by D. *Fernand Gonſales*, Earle of Caſtille, whoſe daughter D. *Vrraca*, who had beene rejected by D. *Ordogno* laſt deceaſed, they cauſed this other *Ordogno* to marrie: but D. *Sancho* being aduertiſed of theſe newes at Cordoua, he entreated king *Abderramen* to continue him his fauour and friendſhip, and as he had beene the meanes for the recouerie of his bodily health, ſo he would alſo aſſiſt him to maintaine his eſtate and dignitie: Whereunto the king did verie kindly conſent, and gaue him great troupes of his nation and ſect, with the which he marched towards his countrey, the which he recouered without any great difficultie, for that the conſpirators of the countrey could not of themſelues reſiſt ſo great forces. And as for the Earle D. *Fernand*, he had worke ynough in his owne countrey, whereas a nobleman, called D. *Bela de Nagera*, had put all in trouble and ſedition during his abſence, in laying the plot againſt the king D. *Sancho*, with them of Leon; who being vnprouided of force and counſell, retyred with D. *Ordogno* into the Aſturies, to liue there in the mountaines and places of ſtrength: but D. *Ordogno* not finding himſelfe ſafe ynough in thoſe parts, he fled into Caſtille, to his father in law; who obſerued in that, and other actions of his, a notable cowardiſe: whereat he was ſo incenſed, as he tooke his daughter *Vrraca* from him, and chaſed him out of his countrey. So D. *Ordogno* not knowing whither to flye, went vnto the Moores, but he was ſlaine neere vnto Cordoua. *Rebellion in the kingdome of Leon.* *D. Bela of Nagera troubles the eſtate of Caſtille.*

This partie of the Moores had beene embraced with better ſucceſſe, a little before, by D. *Bela de Nagera*, who had rebelled againſt the Earle D. *Fernand*, and was expelled by him; who it may be perſuaded the expedition which was made into Caſtille, in the yeare 931, by king *Abderramen*, vnder the commaund of *Alhagib Almanſor*, who had alreadie (to his loſſe) tryed the force of the Chriſtians, as we haue ſaid: againſt whom, D. *Fernand* hauing fortified himſelfe with the ſuccours of the Biſcaines, and of their Lord D. *Lope Diaz*, who was grandchild to D. *Suria*, and ſonne to D. *Inigo*, ſurnamed *Eſguerra*, which ſignifieth deafe in the countrey language, and with other friends his neighbors, he preſented himſelfe in battaile neere to Hazignas, where they fought three ſeuerall daies, with great obſtinacie on either ſide: but in the end the Moores were vanquiſhed, and loſt more men than they had done in the former battailes. The Spaniſh writers make mention here of another apparition of S. *Iaques*, fighting for the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels, to whom they attribute the honor of this victorie. *Caſtille.* *An. 931.* *Moores defeated.*

The king D. *Sancho* being reſtored, he married D. *Thereſa*, and hauing puniſhed ſome confederats of this rebellion, he made a generall aſſemblie of noblemen, both of his ſubjects and allies, at Leon. D. *Fernand Gonſales* could not well excuſe himſelfe, wherefore he went well accompanied, and was notwithſtanding verie honourably entertained by the king. They report, That among other exquiſit things which D. *Fernand* brought out of Caſtille, to make ſhew of in that Court, he had a goodly horſe, and one of the beſt Gothawkes that could be ſeene, whereof the king was wonderfully deſirous, cauſing ſome to entreat the Earle to ſell them to him, and that he ſhould aske what price he pleaſed. The Earle anſwered, That he would willingly giue them vnto the king, but he would not ſell them: but the king would not receiue them of gift, but made ſuch meanes by his friends to buy them, as in the end there was a price ſet, which was to be payed at a certaine time, vpon condition, That if the king failed at the day of payment, the ſumme agreed vpon ſhould be doubled, to the benefit of the creditor: of which accord there were letters drawne and ſigned. The reſt of the time which D. *Fernand* remained in the king D. *Sancho* his Court, was ſpent in pleaſure. *Leon.* *A roſh bargaine made betwixt Princes in ſport, and entertained by force.*

In the end of the Aſſembly, there was a particular treatie of the marriage of D. *Fernand*, a widower, with D. *Sancha* the Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to D. *Sancho Abarca*, and ſiſter to D. *Garcia*, then raigning in Nauarre, and Arragon. This marriage was propounded by the Queene D. *Thereſa*, mother to the king D. *Sancho Gordo*, and ſiſter to D. *Sancha*; not for any loue ſhe bare to the Earle of Caſtille, but to intrap him in the ſnares which ſhe had prepared for him, in hatred and reuenge of the death of king *Sancho Abarca* her father, whom he had ſlaine in warre, as we haue ſaid before. The Earle conſented to this marriage, and tooke his leaue of the King and Queene, and of the Noblemen of the Court, and went into Caſtille, to prepare himſelfe for his future marriage: but he found, that during his abſence the Nauarrois had ſpoyled his countrey, and done manie acts of hoſtilitie againſt his ſubjects; whereof he complained firſt by embaſſages and meſſages, and demaunded reſtitution of that which had beene taken, but it was in vaine: Wherefore being a Prince full of courage, he went preſently to armes, and entred into the territories of Nauarre, where he encountred an armie of Nauarrois, and defeated it, and ſo righted himſelfe.

Warre betwixt Caſtille and Nauarre.

Nauarre.

The treatie of marriage was ſtill continued, by the meanes of the Queene mother of Leon, ſiſter to D. *Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, who had plotted with the king D. *Garcia Sanches*, her brother, to entrap the Earle vnder this colour of marriage, and to be reuenged of him at their pleaſures. There was ſuch ſending on either part, as in the end the Earle was perſuaded to goe into Nauarre to conclude this marriage, and hauing agreed with D. *Garcia*, king of Nauarre, That their enterview ſhould be at a place called Cireugna, either of them accompanied with fiue knights onely. The Earle being arriued, the king came with fiue and thirtie horſemen: wherefore the Earle ſeeing himſelfe thus ſurpriſed, thought to ſaue himſelfe in an hermitage neere adjoyning, but the holineſſe of the place could not defend him, but he was beſieged, and forced to yeeld, vpon condition they ſhould not put him to death. Being taken, he was ſhut vp in a fort called Chaſteau Vieil, or the old caſtle, and but hardly entreated. A while after, an Italian knight of Lumbardie, going in pilgrimage to Saint *Iaques* of Compoſtella, that way, and hearing that the Earle D. *Fernand* was detained priſoner there, he was verie deſirous to ſee him, for that he had heard ſo much fame of his vertues and valour, and at length found meanes to ſpeake with him. At his departure from thence, this knight went to the Infanta D. *Sancha*, who was both faire and louelie, whoſe heart he did ſo mollifie with good words, as ſhe began to loue, and to deſire D. *Fernands* libertie and companie. This Ladie moued with this affection, wrought in ſuch ſort, as one night ſhe deliuered him out of priſon, hauing plighted their faithes, and promiſed marriage one vnto the other, without the priuitie of the king D. *Garcia Sanches*, and together tooke their way to Caſtille, where they had ſcarce entred the limits, but they met with great troupes of ſouldiours. Theſe were the Earles ſubjects, who vpon the newes of his impriſonment had aſſembled themſelues together in armes, and hauing made an Image like vnto their Lord, they had all taken a ſolemne oath before it, That not any one of them ſhould returne vnto his houſe, vntill the Earle were deliuered, and that whoſoeuer ſhould doe otherwiſe, ſhould bee held for a traitor. Being thus reſolued, they came into Nauarre, when as they had this happie encounter of the Earle D. *Fernand*, and the Counteſſe D. *Sancha* his ſpouſe, whom they receiued with all the honour and ſignes of joy, that the place and their furniture would permit.

D. Fernand Earle of Caſtille ſurpriſed in Nauarre, and detained priſoner.

D. Fernand of Caſtille deliuered out of priſon.

Loue of ſubiects to their Prince.

Caſtille.

The king D. *Garcia Sanches* being aduertiſed of his ſiſters flight, and the Earles deliuerie, was wonderfully incenſed; he leuied an armie, and entred into the territories of Caſtille, whereas the Earle came to encounter him with a great power, and gaue him battaile, in the which the Nauarrois were defeated, and the king D. *Garcia* taken priſoner, being ouerthrowne with the blow of a launce, by the Earle himſelfe, who had ſought for him, and encountred him in the fight. So he was led to Burgos, and there remained thirteene moneths in ſafe keeping. Then at the entreatie of the Counteſſe D. *Sancha* he was ſet at libertie, and ſent into his countrey honourably attended. Yet for all this, the quarrels betwixt Caſtille and Nauarre were not ended: for a while after, the Earle D. *Fernand* being gone to Leon, the

Nauarrois defeated, and the king D. Garcia Sanches taken priſoner.

A the king of Nauarre came againe with an armie, by the mountaines of Oca and Bureua, and ran as farre as Burgos, doing what he could to perſuade the Counteſſe D. *Sancha* to goe away with him, but ſhe would giue no eare to him; wherefore he returned with a great bootie, hauing much ſpoyled the countrey. The Earle at his returne being informed of all which the king of Nauarre had attempted, complained firſt by embaſſages, and demaunded reparation of dommages which his ſubjects had endured, and hauing no reaſon done him, nor any good anſwer made, he tooke the courſe of armes, and led an armie into Nauarre, where he gaue battaile vnto his enemies on the plaines of Valpierre, neere to Nagera and Brion, where the Nauarrois were manie in number, and well ap-

B pointed. Thoſe of Caſtille were in great danger, yet the equitie of their quarrell gaue them force and courage, ſo as they remained victors, and the Earle had full ſatisfaction of the wrongs and injuries which the king of Nauarre had done him. Such were the occaſions, progreſſe, and end of the quarrels, betwixt Nauarre and Caſtille, according to the Spaniſh Chronicles, to the yeare of our Lord 934. After this, the countrey of Caſtille was in peace for a time, and the Earle D. *Fernand* had no other care, but to gouerne his ſubjects well, vnder good lawes, when as in Leon there was great trecherie practiſed againſt him, by the king D. *Sancho*, who was ſorrie that the deſignes of Nauarre had not ſucceeded as he deſired.

Another defeat of Nauarrois.

An.934.

This king made an Aſſembly of all the Earles and Noblemen, and appointed his Court

C in the citie of Leon, whither the Earle of Caſtille was alſo called: who although hee were ſufficiently informed, whence all the wrongs came that were done him, and of the little good they wiſht him in that Court, yet could he find no meanes to excuſe himſelfe, and (which was worſe) there were verie few of his friends. Being come to the gates of the citie, he might eaſily perceiue that he was not welcome, for that no man came to meet him, as they had done at other times; wherefore he entred into the citie like a priuate man, and of meane eſtate. Comming to kiſſe the kings hands, he was receiued with a frowning countenance, and ſowre ſpeeches, telling him, that he detained the Earledome of Caſtille from him: Whereupon the Earle ſeeking to ſatisfie the king with good reaſons, hee was not heard, but put in ſure gard, and kept in the citie of Leon, in the

The Earle of Caſtille kept priſoner in Leon.

D yeare 936.

An.936.

The newes of his reſtraint did much trouble all Caſtille, but eſpecially the Counteſſe, whom the good and well affected knights of Caſtille ſought by all meanes they could to comfort, promiſing all their meanes for the Earles deliuerie. This Ladie being of a noble courage, and confirmed by the loyaltie ſhe found in his ſubjects, put her ſelfe preſently vpon the way, being accompanied by the chiefe of the nobilitie of the countrey, and going by ſecret and vnknowne paſſages, ſhee came neere vnto the citie of Leon; where ſhee left her troupes in ambuſh, and taking the habit of a pilgrime, pretending to goe and viſit the ſepulchre of S. *Iaques*, ſhee entred into the citie, being accompanied onely with two men. The king being preſently aduertiſed of the Counteſſes arriuall, he came vnto her,

E and deſirous to doe her honour, being his aunt, he ſuffered her to ſee her husband who was priſoner, and to remaine that night with him, and commaunded for her ſake, that they ſhould take off his yrons, wherewith he was bound. Theſe two louers paſſed that little time which was allowed them to be together, in comforting one another, and in praying vnto God; and hauing concluded betwixt themſelues what was to be done, this vertuous Princeſſe D. *Sancha* gaue an example to all her ſex, of what power conjugall loue is in a generous heart: for ſhe attyred her husband ſo handſomely in her pilgrimes weed, as the keepers of the priſon being deceiued therewith, let him goe, thinking it had beene ſhee. The Counteſſe in the meane time remained priſoner: ſo as before they could diſcouer the fraud, D. *Fernand* had meanes to get out of the towne, and to come vnto his knights,

A rare example of conjugall loue.

F which lay in ambuſh, by whom hee was conducted into his countrey. This fact of the Counteſſe being reported vnto the king, he was ſo farre from blaming her, as admiring the force of ſo holie a loue, he deliuered her, honoured her, and ſent her home to her husband, with a traine fit for her calling, although he were verie ſorrie that the Earle had ſo eſcaped.

Vertue is reuerenced euen of enemies.

The king D. *Sancho* was ſtill a debtor to the Earle of Caſtille, not onely for the price of his horſe and hawke, but alſo for the multiplication thereof, the day of payment being long before expired: wherefore the Earle ſent to demaund his money of the king: and hauing neither payment, nor good wordes, he began to ſpoyle the territories of Leon: whereupon the king commaunded his Treaſurers to verifie this debt, and to ſeeke for meanes to diſcharge it. The ſumme was ſo often doubled and multiplied, from day to day, after the terme prefixed, as they reported vnto the king, That all the wealth of the kingdome of Leon would not be ſufficient to pay that which was due vnto the Earle of Caſtille: wherefore after manie conſultations and meſſages ſent on either part, the king D. *Sancho* and the Earle D. *Fernand* fell to an agreement, That the king to be freed of this exceſſiue ſumme of money, did remit vnto the Earle D. *Fernand* the lands and ſeigniories of Caſtille, to enjoy them abſolutely, without any reſeruation of fealtie, homage, nor vaſſallage to the Crowne of Leon, but freely and as Soueraignes, he, and his in perpetuitie, whereof letters were paſſed in the yeare 939. This was the meanes, as the Hiſtories of Spaine report, of the Soueraigntie of Caſtille, and ſeparation thereof from the realme of Leon and Ouiedo, the which countrey from an Earledome became a royaltie, and in the end the mightieſt of all that Continent, as we ſee it in our time. The Earle D. *Fernand* did at that time hold in the Prouince of Rioje, the lands of *Cerezo* and *Granon*, and by many letters of donation graunted by him to the Churches and Couents of his countrey, he is intitled Lord of Alaua: whereby we muſt note, that the countrey of Alaua was in his time of a larger circuit then it is now: for the kings of Nauarre held much of it, and did alſo tearme themſelues Lords: ſo did the Moores, diſperſed ouer all Spaine, and holding great Seigniories, townes, and forts there, vnder their king *Abderramen*, being reſident at Cordoua.

Caſtille exempt from all ſubiection by a fooliſh bargaine.

An. 939.

Moores.

This Arabian king, for his laſt exploit of warre, had ſent an armie of Moores into the territories of Leon, which layed ſiege before the citie, from whence notwithſtanding they were forced to retyre, by the vertue and good gouernment of thoſe that were within it, as well ſouldiors as citizens. Soone after this king died, the which, according vnto ſome, was about the yeare nine hundred thirtie nine, and of the Arabians raigne three hundred twentie two, hauing raigned fiftie yeares in Spaine. Hee was a louer of learning, ſo as in his time, Philoſophie, Phiſicke, and all other Arts, did flouriſh at Cordoua.

Hali Hatan 9 Soueraigne King of the Moores in Spaine.

11 *Hali Hatan* his ſonne ſucceeded him, to whom king D. *Sancho* ſent a great embaſſage, to treat a peace betwixt the two kingdomes, whereof D. *Velaſco*, Biſhop of Leon, was the chiefe, who had charge to demaund the bodie of the infant *Pelagius*, ſlaine by king *Abderramen*, to make a relicke thereof.

Leon.

Sedition in Galicia.

During this time, there aroſe a great tumult and ſedition in Gallicia, vpon certaine priuate mens quarrells, who ſlew one another cruelly, without any reſpect vnto the king nor juſtice: Wherefore the king D. *Sancho* was forced to lead an armie thither, with the which he did puniſh ſome of the mutines, and did force ſome of the reſt to leaue the countrey. They paſſed the riuer of Duero, and yet retyred into a countrey which did belong vnto the juriſdiction of Leon, in that quarter, the which was gouerned by an Earle, or Gouernor, called D. *Gonſales*, vnder the king D. *Sancho*. This bad vaſſale, in ſtead of ſupporting the kings juſtice againſt theſe mutines, tooke armes in their fauour, and was ſo raſh as to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the kings forces, which purſued them into his gouernment: but remembring his owne follie in time, he had recourſe to the the kings clemencie, who pardoned him, making him onely to confeſſe his fault, and to take a new oath of fealtie: yet this trecherous and ingrateſull wretch, ſmothering in his breaſt the venome of treaſon, within few dayes after poyſoned his king and naturall Prince with an apple which he gaue him. The king, who diſtruſted nothing, did preſently bite of it, but his heart being ſuddainely infected with the poyſon, he began to ſhake, and to ſhew other ſignes that he was ſtrucken with death; wherefore he made haſt to returne to Leon, but he died vpon the way, in the twelfth yeare of his raigne, and of our redemption 941, and lyes at S. Sauiours in Leon. He had by his wife D. *Thereſa* one ſonne, called D. *Ramir*,

Notable diſloyaltie.

A D. *Ramir*, who ſucceeded him in the realme of Leon. They find it written, That a little before his death there were great flames of fire ſeene riſe out of the Ocean, the which being carried vp into Spaine, burnt a great countrey, and manie villages, as farre as Zamora. *Prodigie.*

In the meane time the Earle of Vrgel gouerned in Barcelone and Cattelogne, as tutor to his nephewes, ſonnes vnto the Earle D. *Mir*, the laſt deceaſed, being vnder age, whereof the eldeſt, to whom the Earledome belonged, was called D. *Sciwofred*, as his tutor was. Of this Earle of Vrgel iſſued two ſonnes, D. *Borel*, who was the ſixt Earle of Barcelone, and D. *Armingaud* Biſhop of Vrgel, who was reputed a Saint. The State of *Barcelone.*

B Barcelone and Cattelogne was gouerned by him in qualitie of tutor, for the ſpace of twentie yeares.

The religion of Spaine in thoſe times was wholly reduced to the ſeeking out of Martyrs bones, and other relickes. The building of Monaſteries, gifts, and foundations, were held moſt meritorious, as well for the liuing as for the dead. The inuocation of Saints deceaſed, whoſe victories, peace, and other proſperities, well knowne to the world, were then in credit. Moſt of the Biſhops and Paſtors were either verie prophane, or exceeding ſuperſtitious and ignorant. *Religion in Spaine in thoſe times.*

In the raigne of D. *Ramir*, *Ordogno* the third, and *Sancho* the fat, there had beene Biſhops of Compoſtella, after *Siſenand* the fourth, *Gundeſin*, who was much vnlike vnto his *The Biſhops of Spaine in thoſe dayes.*

C predeceſſor in holineſſe of life, whoſe health was obtained by the prayers which his mother (a verie deuout woman) made continually (as the Spaniards ſay) before S. *Iaques* Sepulchre, which the Angelicall voices (heard at the Biſhops deceaſe) did witneſſe; after whom, *Hermigild* was choſen, a very prophane man: then came *Siſenand*, as bad as the other. You may conjecture, that the other Biſhoprickes were no better furniſhed then that of Compoſtella. Theſe kings made foundations, and gaue infinite priuiledges to Abbots and other Clergie men, for the redemption of their ſoules, and of their predeceſſors, as their letters aboue mentioned containe.

D. *Garcia Sanches*, king of Nauarre, did alſo confirme the vow of S. *Emylian* in his *Nauarre.*

D countrey, by letters dated in the yeare nine hundred thirtie foure. The Biſhops did the like for their parts. *Galinde* Biſhop of Pampelone, for the great deuotion which he had vnto the Couent of S. Sauiour of Leyra (where ſometimes had beene the Epiſcopall ſeat of Pampelone) gaue vnto the Abbot and religious of that place all the titles of the Archpreſbiterie of the valley of Onſella, by an Inſtrument dated nine hundred thirtie eight. The king D. *Garcia*, and D. *Thereſa* his wife, gaue Villar de la Tour, neere vnto Nagera, with all the territorie and iuriſdiction, to the ſame Monaſterie, in the yeare nine hundred fortie three. Moreouer, by other letters, dated in the yeare nine hundred fortie foure, D. *Garcia*, and the Queene his wife, and D. *Galinde* the Biſhop, (who is there called by the King, his lord and maſter) confirme the donation of part of the titles belonging to the Biſhop, of the places aboue mentioned: And beſides, there is another donation made of all that the king

E of Nauarre ſhould conquer from the Moores, Infidels, and Barbarians.

D. Ramir, the third of that name, and twentieth *King of Leon.*

12 IN the yeare nine hundred fortie one, D. *Ramir* was ſetled king at Leon: at whoſe comming the Norman pyrats did much annoy the coaſt of Gallicia. This king being verie young, he was gouerned by the Queene D. *Thereſa* his mother, and by D. *Elutra*, *Leon.*

F ſiſter to the deceaſed king his father, being a religious woman. The peace which had beene treated with *Hali Hatan*, was confirmed by the mediation of the Biſhop D. *Velaſco*, who was at Cordoua, at the death of D. *Sancho*, and had brought with him the bodie of the infant *Pelagius*, the which was layed in a Monaſterie built to that end by the deceaſed king. *Monaſterie of S. Pelagius.*

The Normanes which came into Gallicia, being led by a captaine called *Gundired*, ſpoyled all along the ſea ſhore; and entring into the maine land, they burnt townes, villages, and caſtles, ſpoyling and putting all to the ſword they encountred, holding as it were the poſſeſſion of Gallicia for the ſpace of two whole yeares, the which the king D. *Ramir* had no meanes to reſiſt, by reaſon of his nonage: yet in the end he was perſuaded to ſend ſome troupes of ſouldiors, vnder the commaund of an Earle called D. *Gonſalo Sanches*, who watched his opportunitie ſo well, as he defeated the Normanes, ſlew their captaine *Gundired*, and burnt their ſhippes. D. *Siſenand* ſecond Biſhop of Compoſtella, had beene ſlaine by theſe pyrates: he was a turbulent man, and an vnworthie Prelate, of whom Hiſtories report, that for his vices, prodigalitie, and lewd life, the king D. *Sancho* the fat had cauſed him to be put in priſon; in whoſe place *Rodoſinde* was choſen, a holie man and of good fame, a Monke of the Order of S. *Benet*: but after the death of D. *Sancho*, *Siſenana* being gotten out of priſon, he came with force to enter his Biſhopricke, being reſolued to kill *Rodoſinde*: the which he had effected, if this holie man had not willingly quit the place, returning to his Monaſterie, where he ended the reſt of his dayes. Afterwards, *Siſenand* purſuing the Normanes, being more fit to commaund ſouldiors then to gouerne the Church of Chriſt, hee was ſlaine with an arrow neere vnto Fornellos. Such were the Biſhops for the moſt part in thoſe times. The Eſtate of Leon was by this meanes peaceable, both within it ſelfe, and in regard of enemies abroad, hauing peace with the Moores.

G

Siſenand biſhop of Compoſtella, a turbulent man.

H

Caſtille.

King *Hali Hatan* being loth that the beginning of his raigne ſhould paſſe without ſome famous exploit, being alſo ſollicited by D. *Bela* of Nagera, a knight of Alaua, who (as we haue ſaid) had beene expelled by D. *Fernand*, Earle of Caſtille, and was retyred to the Moores Court at Cordoua, hee rayſed a mightie armie, the which hee ſent to ruine the Earle of Caſtille (againſt whom he had a ſpleene, for the former warres) and tocke from him Sepuluedas, S. Eſtienne of Gormas, and other places, about the yeare 942, the which the Earle of Caſtille could not ſuddainely preuent, whereat he was ſo much diſcontented, as within few dayes after he died in Burgos, to the great griefe of all the people of Caſtille, and was interred in the Monaſterie of Arlanſa, which he founded. There is ſome reaſon to doubt of the yeare of his death, for that there is found in the Inſtruments and Titles of donation made by him, to the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian*, of the towne of Saint Marie de Pezuegos, dated in the yeare 944; to the Church of S. *Martin* of Granon, the yeare 945; of certaine houſes in the towne of Salines; of the Church of S. *Stephen* of Sabredo, dated 947, to the ſame Monaſterie: of the Church of S. *Iohn Baptiſt* of Ciguri, vpon the riuer of Tiron, the which runnes into the riuer Ebro, neere vnto the towne of Haro: where it is expreſſely ſaid, that the Earle D. *Fernand* and D. *Sancha* his wife make this donation to the Abbot and religious of the ſaid Monaſterie, and to their ſucceſſors, for the loue of the glorious Confeſſor S. *Emylian*, that at the dreadfull day of judgement they might deſerue to heare that comfortable voice of the Lord, *Come ye bleſſed of my father, &c.* In theſe letters D. *Ferdinand* did intitle himſelfe Earle of Caſtille, of Alaua, and of Nagera.

An. 942.

I

K

L

There are regiſters and memorials found alſo in the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian*, making mention of the Earle D. *Fernand* and of D. *Vrraca* his firſt wife, of the yeare 964, the which without doubt is falſe and counterfeit, as in truth there is no great certaintie in any thing which the Monkes produce of their priuiledges, donations, exemptions, and other graunts of auncient kings. It is to be ſeene vpon the tombe of D. *Sancha*, Counteſſe of Caſtille, in the great Chappell of S. *Peter* of Arlanſa, that ſhe died that yeare 964: and in the Æra 1002, to Cont *Fernand Gonſales* ſucceeded his third ſonne D. *Garcia Fernandes*, the firſt of that name in the Earledome of Caſtille, and other places aboue mentioned, in the yeare, according to the common opinion, 942.

Donations, priuiledges, and other titles of Monaſteries vncertaine.

Moores.

13 The Moores being maſters of the field in Caſtille, there being no forces together to withſtand them, being puſt vp with ſucceſſe, they entred the territories of Leon, breaking the peace which they had with the king D. *Ramir*, without any ſubiect, and came and beſieged the towne of Zamora, the which they tooke, and ruined. Vntill that time, which was about the yeare 950, the Chriſtians dwelling vnder the gouernment of the Arabian Moores, whom

M

Zamora taken and ruined.

An. 950.

whom they called for that reſpect *Muſarabes*, had remained in great tranquilitie and peace, without forcing them in their religion in any ſort whatſoeuer: Moreouer, they had juſtice duely adminiſtred, paying the penſions and tributes which were impoſed vpon them, whereby they were aſſured from all violence. But *Hali Hatan* being come to the Crowne, he was ſo zealous in his religion, and conceiued ſo great a hatred againſt that of the Chriſtians, as he publiſhed an edict, by the which all Chriſtians dwelling vnder his iuriſdiction, were commanded to abiure the religion of Ieſus Chriſt, and cauſing themſelues to be circumciſed, to imbrace that of *Mahumet*, vpon paine of death. Then did the ſpirit of God quicken in the hearts of many, the fire which had beene ſmothered by the humane traditions; and inſtructing them inwardly (ſeeing that ordinarie meanes failed, or were corrupted) made it appeare vnto the world, that the true religion hath no better meanes of propagation, than perſecution: for loue and charitie ſurmount nature, making the dull quicke witted, cauſing them which were in a manner dumbe to ſpeake, and giuing force and courage to the ſimple and weake. Many Chriſtians of all ſexes and ages, did vertuouſly confeſſe the ſaluation we haue in Ieſus Chriſt, by his onely merit and ſatisfaction, before the Inquiſitors and Iudges, which were ſent by this barbarous king. The names of which holie martyrs are worthie of memorie, to be a preſident to all the faithfull; but we haue too few of them. In the citie of Cordoua there were put to death, for the teſtimonie of Chriſts truth, *Aurelius*, *Gregorius*, and *Felix*, with their wiues, *Natalia*, *Creſcencia*, and *Lilioſa*. In the territorie of Rioje, *Victor*, borne at Cerezo (who had long defended his fellow citizens from the violence of the Moores) was beheaded. At Boſca, neere to Nagera, *Nunilla* and *Allodia*, two holy ſiſters, ſuffered death: Yet by the letters and priuiledges of the kings of Nauarre, giuen to S. *Sauiour* in Leyre (where they ſay they were buried) it ſeemes their death was long before this perſecution. In Arragon, in the towne of Iaca, the holie virgine *Euroſia* ſuffered: and many others in diuers parts of Spaine, where the Moores commaunded. Thus were the Chriſtians afflicted both in peace and warre, by armes, and by vniuſt proceedings.

A cruell edict made by Hali Hatan againſt the Chriſtians his ſubiects.

Martyres vnder the Moores.

The Authors of the Spaniſh Hiſtorie make no mention, that the king D. *Ramir* had any great care to ſuppreſſe the inſolencie of theſe Arabian Infidels, nor to be reuenged for their breach of peace, and the ruine and euerſion of ſuch a towne as Zamora was: but they onely ſay, That about the yeare 955, being of full age, he maried with a ladie called D. *Vrraca*, by whom it is not found that he had any children: and abandoning himſelfe to a voluptuous life, he contemned all good counſell: ſo as the earles and noblemen of Gallicia, ſeeing his follie, and diſcontented with his vices, they skorned him, and would no more acknowledge him for their king. Whereupon they did chuſe D. *Bermund*, ſonne to the laſt king D. *Ordogno*, and intitled him King of Gallicia: which title and countrey he enioyed ten yeares, notwithſtanding all the attempts of D. *Ramir*, who made warre there two whole yeares, with great loſſe of his beſt men.

Leon.

The vices of princes cauſes of ſedition.

Gallicia made a kingdome.

D. *Garcia Fernandes* new Earle of Caſtille, reſiſted the Moores valiantly, and being alſo inuited by the baſeneſſe of king D. *Ramir*, and it may be by the remembrance of the injuries done by the king D. *Sancho* to the Earle D. *Ramir*, and the wrongs done by him alſo vnto the Earle D. *Fernand* his father, he entred the territories of Leon, and withdrew ſome places from him, ſo as falling to an accord, the riuer of Carrion was made the bounds betwixt the Eſtates of Leon and Caſtille. They hold, That this earle D. *Garcia Fernandes*, did build in Curuas Rubias, the monaſterie of S. Coſme and Damian, and indowed it with great priuiledges, lands and poſſeſſions: retaining ſuch a right of patronage, That if any gentlewomen of his familie ſhould want meanes to marie them according to their eſtates, or would liue vnmaried, they ſhould be prouided for, and entertained: leauing to the religious which ſerue in the monaſterie, a competent penſion to nouriſh them. This earle did augment the number of horſemen in Caſtille to ſix hundred, which at his fathers death were but two hundred. He maried twice to French ladies, but vnfortunatly: his firſt wife was called D. *Argentina*, daughter to a French earle, with whom hee fell in loue, when as in the companie of her father and mother, ſhe paſt through Caſtille, in pilgrimage to S. *Iaques* of Compoſtella, and demanded her of her father: but ſhe proued vnchaſt, abandoning her ſelfe to a French knight, who came from S. *Iaques*, and carried her away into France, the earle being ſicke in bed, ſix yeares after their mariage. The Spaniards report, That being cured, and much incenſed at the

Caſtille.

Baſeneſſe of king Ramir occaſion of new tumults.

A mariage for loue vnfortunat

the wrong this knight had done him, he went out of Caſtille, and left the gouernement of G
his countries to *Gilpores* of Bauardillo, and *Fernand Peres*, two of his vaſſalls; and went into
France in a diſguiſed habit, where as this knight dwelt, and enjoyed D. *Argentina*: where
he wrought in ſuch ſort, as he woon the fauour of his daughter, called D. *Sancha*, or according
vnto ſome, D. *Ogna*, with whom he laid a plot (vpon promiſe that he ſhould take her to wife)
That one night ſhe ſhould giue him entrance into her fathers houſe to reuenge his wrongs:
Where as the earle ſlue thoſe two adulterers in their bed, and ſo returned into Caſtille, car-
rying with him D. *Sancha*, or *Ogna*, his new ſpouſe, whom he maried in the citie of Bour-
gos. The name of this ſecond wife is diuerſly ſet downe by Spaniſh writers; ſome call her
Sancha, others *Ogna*: the inſcriptions of S. *Peter* of Arlance, name her *Abba*. D. *Garcia Fer-* H
nandes the earle, had one ſonne by her, called D. *Garcia Roldanis*, who died young, as it ap-
peares by the inſcriptions of the ſaid monaſterie. Moreouer, he had another ſonne, called D.
Sancho Garcia, who was earle. In the inſcriptions of Saint *Peter* of Cardegna (where ſhe was
buried with her husband) it is ſaid, that ſhe was neece to the Emperour *Henrie*: and is in
all places called *Abba*, or *Ogna*. Beſides theſe two ſonnes, ſhee had one daughter called
D. *Vrraca*, who was profeſt in the monaſterie of S. Coſme and Damian, about Arlanſa. Du-
ring the time the earle was in France to ſeeke meanes to be reuenged, and to get his new
wife, the Moores entred into Caſtille, and ſpoyled all the countrey euen vnto Bourgos:
and they write, That in the way they forced the monaſterie of Saint *Peter* of Cardegna, and
A great ſlaugh- ſlue the Abbot and three hundred Monkes; ſome Authors write but two hundred, and that I
ter of Monkes the deſtruction of this monaſterie was ſome yeare before. But this place was reedified by
made by the the earle D. *Garcia Fernandes*, and inriched with rents and jewels more then before. This
Moores. happened during the time that D. *Ramir* king of Leon made warre againſt his rebellious ſub-
iects in Gallicia.

Moores. 14 About the yeare 956 died that cruell enemie of the Chriſtian Religion, *Hali Hatan*,
Anno 956. king of the Arabians at Cordoua, the ſixteenth yeare of his raigne, and 339 of the Arabi-
ans: to whom ſucceeded *Hizen* his ſonne, the ſecond of that name, called by others *Izica*.
Moores drawn The forces of this king of the Moores, were drawne into Gallicia, by the factions of a Biſhop
into Gallicia by of Compoſtella, who had beene depoſed for his vices. The zeale of their ambition was ſuch,
the faction of a as they made no conſcience to expoſe Chriſtians to the crueltie of Arabian Mahumetiſts. It K
Biſhop. is written in the Spaniſh Hiſtories, that D. *Bermond* raigning in Gallicia, by an accord made
with D. *Ramir* king of Leon, and making his ordinarie reſidence in the towne of S. Iaques,
there came to the Epiſcopall dignitie of that place, D. *Pelagius*, Biſhop of Lugo, ſonne to
Cont *Roderigo Velaſques*: who ſhewing himſelfe a prophane man, and diſpoſing of Eccleſia-
ſticall dignities to vnworthie men, deſerued to be expelled, by the king D. *Bermond*, who ad-
uanced in his place a Monke of Saint Benoiſt, called D. *Pedro* of Monſorio, of a reaſona-
ble good life. Cont *Roderigo* and his followers being incenſed at this diſgrace done vnto
his ſonne, called the Moores into Gallicia, to be reuenged of the king D. *Bermond*. King
Hizen was verie young at the deceaſe of his father *Hali Hatan*; wherefore a nobleman a-
mong the Moores, valiant, and verie famous, called *Mahomad ibne, Aben Hamur*, and by L
ſurname *Alhabib Almanſor*, tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of Cordoua,
and of all Spaine vnder the Moores juriſdiction, the which he held fiue and twentie yeares:
and they report, that during his life, they entred two and fiftie times into the Chriſtians coun-
trey; and that he was of ſuch credit among the Moores, as all was done by his aduice and
counſell, *Hizen* hauing nothing but the bare name. Conſidering the name and ſurname of
this great captaine, it is to be preſumed he had beene ſent out of Affricke, by *Manſor*, Mi-
ralmumin of Maroc, then raigning, to gouerne Spaine during the minoritie of the king of
Cordoua: for *Alhabib Manſor*, is interpreted, Captaine, or protector and defendor of his
king *Manſor*: *Almanſor* ſignifies victorious. The proper name of the Miralmumin was *Bal-*
haraho. The Moores in Spaine drew great ſuccours from Affricke, in manner of a Croiſa- M
doe, and vnder the title of religion. The firſt paſſage of the Moores into the Chriſtians coun-
trey, in the raigne of this king, was in the yeare 963, at the inſtance of *Roderigo Velaſques*, in-
to Gallicia, where he committed infinit ſpoyles, and ruined part of S. *Iaques* church. But the
plague being in his campe, he was forced to retire, and could not wholly ruine the countrey,
as he had intended.

The

A The king D. *Bermond*, and the noblemen of Gallicia, after the Moores retrait, repaired the ſpoyles which they had made, as well as they could. In the meane time the king D. *Ramir* died without children, in the yeare 965: ſo as the kingdome of Leon came to the king D. *Bermond*. D. *Ramir* was interred at Deſtriana, a monaſterie of a royall foundation, and a long time after tranſported to Aſtorga. S. *Iaques* church being repaired, and newly conſecrated, D. *Pedro* of Manſorio, the Biſhop, died; and in his place D. *Pelagius Diaz* was choſen, a lewd man, and a contemner of all religion: wherefore he was iuſtly expelled, and *Vimare* his brother aduanced in his ſtead, who for his vices deſerued by a juſt judgement of God, to be drowned in the riuer of Minio. There was another ſubſtituted to him of as bad a life, the which B was put in priſon by the king D. *Bermond*. Thus was the church of S. *Iaques* ſtill furniſhed with bad Paſtors.

Leon.

Prophane Biſhops at Compoſtella.

D. Bermond, ſecond of that name, 21 King of *Leon, called the Goutie.*

15 DOn *Bermond*, or *Veremond*, or *Bermund*, ſonne to king D. *Ordogno* the third, vnited the two realms of Leon and Gallicia, being receiued after the death of D. *Ramir*, without any difficultie.

Leon. Anno 965.

C In the beginning of his raigne, or thereabouts, *Alcorrexi* was famous: hee was the firſt Moore (of whom any mention is made) that was called King of Seuile, ſince the Monarchie of the Arabians in Spaine: who ſpoyled all that part of Gallicia which now belongs to Portugal, and lyes betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio; and paſsing on he waſted all the countrey vnto S. Iaques, the which he ſacked, and ruined. His armie was infected with the plague, as that of *Almanſor*, or *Mahomad Ibne Aben Hamur*, had beene; who returned into the territories of Leon, and that knight of Alaua, aboue mentioned, marching with him, accompanied with a band of Chriſtians his friends and partiſans, he defeated the king D. *Bermond* in battell, at the riuer of Eſtolle, beyond Duero, and beſieged the citie of Leon, from whence he was forced to raiſe his ſiege, by reaſon of the waters and Winter. In the Spring he returD ned to this ſiege, into the which the king had put an earle, called *Don Guillen Gonſales*, gouernour of Gallicia, who did his beſt indeuor to defend it: for being ſicke in his bed, he cauſed himſelfe to be carried in a litter, to the place where as the Moores made their greateſt attempt, and defended it three dayes: but in the end, not able to reſiſt ſo great a power, the towne was taken, D. *Guillen*, and many other braue men, were ſlaine, and the ſacke giuen to the ſouldiers. D. *Bermond* had beene carefull to retire the bodies of kings his predeceſſors, and eſpecially the reliques and other jewels of the temple, the which he cauſed to bee tranſported to Ouiedo. This calamitie happened in the yeare 968, the which fell alſo vpon Aſtorga, Valence de Campo, Sahagun, Gordon, Albe, Lune, and other townes which were ruined. Then the Moores entring Caſtille, they tooke and ſackt the townes of Oſma, Berlanga, AtiE enſa, and other places, whereof ſome were ruined and ſome made tributarie. And with this ſucceſſe they returned with their victorious armie to Cordoua, with great ſpoyls, and (which was moſt lamentable) a great number of poore Chriſtian ſlaues of all ſexes and ages: and to increaſe their miſeries, and to aggrauate their guilt, they were for the moſt part ſo careleſſe of God and all religion, as they betrayed their brethren and companions vnto the Moores, without reſpect of bloud, countrey, profeſsion, or honour.

Moores.

Seuille a royall ſeat of the Moores.

Leon the capitall citie of the Chriſtians, taken by the Arabians

Diuiſion of Chriſtians giues an entrie to the Infidels.

In Caſtille there was a knight called D. *Ruy Velaſques*, lord of Villaren, whoſe ſiſter D. *Sancha* was maried to D. *Gonſal Iuſte*, ſonne to that *Iuſte Gonſales* who was iſſued from a daughter of D. *Diego Porcello*; and who enjoyed the Seigniories of Salas and of Lara. D. *Gonſal Iuſte*, and D. *Sancha* his wife, had ſeuen ſonnes, whom they commonly called the children of F Lara, or of Salas, bred vp in all vertue, by a diſcreet knight, called *Nugno Salido*, who was valiant and hardie; all which were made knights in one day, by the earle D. *Garcia Fernandes*, vnto whom they were allied. It happened, that D. *Ruy de Velaſques*, their vncle by the mothers ſide, maried a ladie borne in Bureua, the chiefe towne of which country is Birbieſca: her name was D. *Lambra*, allied alſo to the earle D. *Garcia Fernandes*: ſhe was young indiſcreet, proud, and high minded. Whoſe mariage was celebrated with great pompe in the citie of Burgos, whi-

Caſtille.

whither came many knights from Caſtille, Leon, Nauarre, and other places, and among others, D. *Gonſal Iuſte*, and his wife D. *Sancha*, with their ſeuen ſonnes aſsiſted. During the ſolemnitie of this mariage, which continued fiue weekes, the younger brother of the ſeuen had ſome vnkind ſpeeches with D. *Aluaro Sanches*, couſen to D. *Lambra* the Bride, who were for that time reconciled by the meanes of the earle D. *Garcia*, and of D. *Gonſal Iuſte*, father to one of the contendants. But the new maried wife was ſo incenſed for this breach with her couſen, as ſhe conceiued a deadly hatred againſt all the houſe of *Lara*. The mariage being ended, D. *Sancha* went with her ſeuen ſonnes, to accompanie the maried couple to their houſe at Barbadillo, whereas D. *Lambra* eſpying one day the younger brother (which had the quarell with her couſen) in an orchard, bathing a Goſhawke, ſhe commaunded a groome to caſt a filthie Cocumber at him, to doe him a deſpight: wherewith the knight, and his brethren, who were preſent, being moued, they purſued this groome in ſuch a rage, as thinking to ſaue himſelfe by the fauour of his ladie, he was ſlaine neere vnto her, who could not ſaue him.

Diſpoſition of a woman inclined to reuenge.

At the ſame time neither D. *Ruy Velaſques*, nor D. *Gonſales Iuſte*, were with their wiues, for they did accompanie the earle D. *Garcia*, who preſently after this mariage, went to viſit his countrey, and the forts of Caſtille: but when as they were returned to Barbadillo, they vnderſtood (to their great griefe) of this outrage. Euerie one retires to his own houſe; D. *Lambra* mad with rage & impatiencie, wept, & exclaimed continually, ſaying vnto her husband, That if he did not revenge this affront done vnto her ſelfe, ſhe ſhould neuer liue contented. And ſuch was the importunitie of this woman to her indiſcreet & ill aduiſed husband, as, to ſatisfie her, he reſolued to commit an act, vnworthie not onely of a Chriſtian knight, but of any one that carried but the ſhape of a man: For he had ſecret intelligence with *Almanſor*, Conſtable of Cordoua, vtterly to ruine this familie of Lara. Making ſhew therefore to haue ſome buſineſſe of importance with this Moore, and his king *Hizen*, he intreated his brother in law D. *Gonſales Iuſte*, to goe to Cordoua, with letters which he gaue him; whereunto he offered himſelfe willingly. In the meane time the traitor *Velaſques* had written to *Hizen* and *Almanſor*, That they ſhould put him to death; & moreouer, that if he ſent any one with a good troup into Caſtille, he would deliuer the ſeuen ſonnes vnto him, which were the moſt redoubted knights, and the greateſt enemies to the Arabians, that the earle of Caſtille had in his Court. D. *Gonſales Iuſte* being arriued at Cordoua, and hauing preſented his letters vnto the king, he was preſently put in priſon: for the king being wiſe, although an Infidell, would not altogether countenance ſo great a treaſon. Wherefore he kept this embaſſadour aliue; yet he ſent preſently towards the countrey of *Almenar* (where theſe brethren ſhould be deliuered vnto him) a captaine with a great troupe of ſouldiers, where (as they write) D. *Ruy de Valaſques* gaue ſuch order, as the ſeuen brethren fell into an ambuſh of Moores, being accompanied onely with two hundred horſe, which made reſiſtance: but the enemies were ſo many, as one of the brethren called *Fernand Gonſales*, and all the two hundred, with *Nugno Sallido*, were ſlaine vpon the place: the other ſix eſcaped, and hauing drawne together three hundred horſe more, and returned to the combat, they were againe defeated, and taken by the Moors, who cut off their heads, and ſent them all to Cordoua, as well thoſe of the ſeuen brethren, as that of their Gouernour *Nugno Sallido*.

A notable treaſon and impietie of a Chriſtian knight, againſt his owne bloud and religion.

A Mahumetiſt more courteous to a ſtranger, then D. Ruy de Velaſques a Chriſtian, to his own bloud.

The lamentable death of the ſeuen brethren of Lara.

The king was verie glad to ſee himſelfe freed from ſuch redoubted enemies; and to afflict the father, who was priſoner, he cauſed theſe heads to be ſhewed vnto him: who knew them, and was ſo oppreſt with griefe, as he fell downe dead vpon the place. Being taken vp, and reuiued, he made ſuch pitifull lamentations, as euen the barbarous king himſelfe was much moued, and thought euen then to ſet him at libertie, deteſting the wickedneſſe of that traiterous Chriſtian D. *Ruy de Velaſques*.

Humanitie of king Hizen to his priſoner.

They ſay, That whileſt D. *Gonſales Iuſte* was detained in priſon, but not verie ſtraitly, being often viſited by noblemen and ladies, that were Moores, there grew ſo great familiaritie betwixt him & one of the chief ladies of the kings houſe, which, ſome ſay, was his ſiſter, as he got her with child: which perceiuing, about the time of his deliuerie, they tooke good order for the infant, when it ſhould be borne. It was a ſonne, whom they called *Mudarra Gonſales*, who reuenged the treaſon of D. *Ruy Velaſques*, committed againſt his father and brethren. D. *Gonſales Iuſte* returned to Salas, with gifts from the Mooriſh king. As for the bodies of the dead, they were interred, but no man knowes where; for there is ſome queſtion about it, betwixt the

the Monkes of S. *Peter* of Arlanſa, and thoſe of S. *Emilian* of Cogolla; the which we cannot deſide, either of them maintaining to haue in their churches and conuents, the tombes of theſe ſeuen brethren, their father, and Gouernour, without any great prooſe of their aſſertions, as in other things. Such was the diſpoſition and affection of men of that age, who called themſelues Chriſtians. They hold, that theſe things happened in the yeare 969; ſome ſay it was ſome yeares before. But euerie one to reuenge his priuate quarels, did hazard the publick: and not able to oppreſſe their enemies by open force, they vſed vnlawfull and damnable meanes, to wrong one another, making way for the Moors, or rather inuiting them, to inuade the Chriſtians countrey. *Anno 969.*

In the yeare 975 a great armie of Moores, both Spaniards and Affricanes, led by that famous captaine *Alhabib Almanſor*, inuaded the countrey betwixt Duero and Minio, and from thence into Gallicia: ſo as the towne and church of S. *Iaques* was taken by them, ſackt and ruined. Yet the Spaniards ſay, That the Apoſtles ſepulchre could not be violated, being terrified with a great light which came out of it: but they onely tooke the little bells in the ſteeple, and carried them away with the reſt of the prey to Cordoua, where they made them ſerue for lampes to their great Moſquee. In the meane time (as Authors write) the Moores armie was ſo afflicted with the plague, and bloudie flix, as being forced to diſperſe themſelues, they were cut in peeces by D. *Bermonds* troups, which he had ſent to follow them in their retrait: So God by his power did ſupplie the defects of indiſcreet and cowardly Chriſtian Princes. *Leon.* *An. 975.* *S. Iaques taken by the Moores.*

The king D. *Bermond*, as the Spaniſh Hiſtories write, was wiſe, but withall had great defects. He was light of beleefe, and ſoone incenſed; and withall, ſo much giuen to his delights and pleaſures, as he had both bodie and mind corrupted. He did inceſtuouſly entertaine two ſiſters for his concubines, before he maried; by the one of which he had a ſonne called D. *Ordogno*; by the other a daughter named D. *Eluira*. After which he maried D. *Velaſquita*, whom he put away, after that he had had a daughter by her, called D. *Chriſtina*. To his ſecond wife he maried a ladie called D. *Eluira*, by whom he had D. *Alphonſo*, who was king after him, and one daughter called D. *Thereſa*, who was profeſt a Nunne, and was borne before her brother D. *Alphonſo*. He became full of the gout, by reaſon of his exceſſe, ſo as he was lame of his limmes, and therefore was called the Goutie. *Pleaſures corrupt both mind and bodie.*

D. Sancho Garces, third of that name, and *eleuenth King of Nauarre.*

Nauarre.

16 THere is no great certainetie of the exploits of the kings of Nauarre in theſe times, either through the negligence of Hiſtorians, or the loſſe of their writings. They conieture, that the king D. *Sancho Garces* liued vnto the yeare 969; and that he was interred in the monaſterie of S. *Sauiour* of Leyre: to whom ſucceeded his ſonne D. *Sancho Garces*, whom he had by D. *Thereſa*, by whom he had alſo D. *Ramir* his ſecond ſonne, who gouerned the prouince called Vicaria. He had daughters, D. *Vrraca*, *Ermeſilda*, and *Eximena*. The king had to wife a ladie called D. *Vrraca Fernandes*, by whom he had three ſonnes, D. *Garcia*, D. *Gonſales*, and D. *Ramir*.

Leon.

This king D. *Sancho Garces*, the third of that name, raigning; the king D. *Bermond* ſeeing the great miſeries which fell daily vpon the Chriſtians, by reaſon of their diuiſions, whereof the Infidell Moores made their profit, he ſought by all meanes poſsible to make a good vnion betwixt Leon, Nauarre, and Caſtille: the which tooke good effect, for all the Princes and Lords of theſe Eſtates, ſhewing themſelues readie, and deſirous to be reuenged of the wrong which the Moores had done in Gallicia, Caſtille, and elſewhere, they vnited their forces, and came to incounter the Moores with a goodly armie (theirs being not leſſe) at a place called Calacanaſor, an Arabian word, which ſignifies yoake: where there was a memorable battell, and great effuſion of bloud, eſpecially of the Moores: and yet the fight hauing continued a whole day, the victorie ſeemed doubtfull. But *Alhabib* the Arabian hauing gathered his forces together, and viewed his great loſſe, he diſlodged in the night, with ſo great griefe, as he died within few dayes after, at a place called Begalcoraxo, or Borgecorex. The Chriſtians at the breake *Battell memorable at Calacanaſor.*

breake of day, ſeeing their enemies diſlodged, ſacked their campe; and by the conduct of G
of D. *Garcia Fernandes*, earle of Caſtille, who was the chiefe Commaunder in this warre(for the king D. *Bermond*, although he cauſed himſelfe to be carried in the armie, was vnable, by reaſon of his gout) purſued the Moores, whereof they made a great ſlaughter, putting all the reſt to flight in great confuſion. This *Alhabib* the Arabian, was without doubt a great ſouldier; and, they ſay, that for griefe of this loſſe he would neither eat nor drinke, and ſo aduanced his owne death. The Moores carried him to Medina-Celi, then called Zelim, where they buried him. He left one ſonne, called *Abdemelic Abundaſin*, who had accompanied him in all his warres, and was in like manner a braue and valiant knight; who had the ſame charge of Captaine generall, as his father: and being deſirous to reuenge this loſſe, led an armie the ſame H
yeare towards Leon, the which he ruined, euen to the verie foundations. D. *Garcia Fernandes*, earle of Caſtille, gathered together all the forces he could in Leon and Caſtille, fought with him, and put him to rout: ſo as after that time the Moores came into the dominions of Chriſtian Princes with more reſpect. After which things, the two Princes reſtored the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, to their poſſeſsions and rights which belonged vnto them, and ſought to giue euerie man contentment, in regard of priuat quarels, that by theſe occaſions the Mahumetiſts might not attempt againſt their Eſtates. Theſe ſpoyles which the Moores had made in the countries of Leon and Caſtille, were the cauſe of a great dearth, the land being vnpeopled both of men and cattell, ſo as it lay waſt: And withall there was a great drought, the wrath of God hauing ſhut vp heauen for many dayes, without ſending any raigne in that I
region. And for that in thoſe dayes they held no crime ſo capitall, as to lay hands vpon Clergie men, the Spaniards did beleeue, that theſe calamities had fallen vpon them, beſides the warres, for that the king D. *Bermond* had cauſed D. *Gudeſteo*, Archbiſhop of Ouiedo, to be put in priſon, or giuen him in gard to D. *Ximeno*, Biſhop of Aſtorga, vpon ſome ſlaunderous accuſations, wherewith this Prelate was charged, and too lightly beleeued by the king, who was much ſubiect to that vice of credulitie. And thereupon they ſay, That God had reuealed to certaine religious men, that he was reſolued to ſend the plague for a third ſcourge, by reaſon of the vnjuſt impriſonment of this Biſhop. Whereof the king D. *Bermond* being aduertiſed, he was verie ſorrowfull for his offeuce, and repenting, demaunded pardon. Where- K
fore vpon the Biſhops deliuerie the wrath of God was appeaſed, and it began to raine. From that time the king gaue himſelfe to all workes of pietie, and did, as well as he could, repaire the ruines which had beene made by the Moores throughout his kingdome, eſpecially of the church of Saint *Iaques*. He gaue many gifts, and did almes deeds, yet with the aduice of the Prelates of thoſe times. As for juſtice, he had alwayes a care thereof; and, as they ſay, reſtored the auncient lawes of the kings of Gothes, and the decrees of the Church, commanding that juſtice ſhould be done to euerie one throughout his realme accordingly. His death,

Death of Alhabib Almanſor.

Anno 982. according to the common opinion, was in the yeare 982, at a place called Berizo, otherwiſe the good towne of Bereſto; where he was interred, and three and twentie yeares after taken vp, to be laid in the church of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* at Leon. Among his children we haue made mention of one daughter, D. *Chriſtina*; ſhe was maried to a nobleman, or Prince of the bloud L
royall, called D. *Ordogno*, who was blind; by whom ſhe had three ſonnes, D. *Alphonſo*, D. *Ordogno*, D. *Pelagius*; and one daughter, D. *Aldonſa*. This *Aldonſa* maried D. *Pelagius* the Deacon, ſonne to the Infanta D. *Fruela*, baſtard to *Fruela* the ſecond, king of Leon: of which mariage iſſued D. *Pedro Ordognes*, D. *Pelagius*, D. *Nugno*, and D. *Thereſa*, who was ladie of Carrion, where ſhe cauſed the church of Saint *Pelaio*, or *Pelagius*, to be built.

Genealogie of Leon.

Barcelone.

In Cattelogne the State was quiet, during the minoritie of the earle D. *Seniofrid*, vnder the gouernement of the earle of Vrgel, of the ſame name: from which earle iſſued D. *Borel* and D. *Armingol*, or *Ermengaud*, Biſhop of Vrgel, reputed a Saint. His regencie continued two and twentie yeares, which ended in the yeare 950, When as hee reſigned the gouernement of the Eſtate to his nephew, the earle D. *Seniofrid*, who was maried to D. *Maria*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to D. *Sancho Abarca*, by whom hee had not any children; M
and dying about the yeare 967, he left for his ſucceſſor his couſin D. *Borel*, ſonne to the earle of Vrgel; for that his brother D. *Oliban* was vnfit to gouerne ſuch an Eſtate, by reaſon of many imperfections, beſides that of his ſpeech, as the Spaniards write: Yet this D. *Oliban* did riſe in Armes againſt his couſen, and was the cauſe of great diuiſions and factions in the countrey:

A trey: by reaſon whereof the Arabians watching ſtill their opportunitie to annoy the Chriſtians, entred the territories of Barcelone, where they committed infinit ſpoyles. This D. *Borel* remained earle in the end, and is numbred the fourth proprietarie of Cattelogne. He had one ſonne, called D. *Raymond Borel*, who was borne in the yeare 970, of the counteſſe *Leodegarde*, his firſt wife, and was earle after him. To his ſecond wife he maried *Aymerude*, and by her had D. *Ermingaud*, or *Armingol*, who was earle of Vrgel; and one daughter, named *Borella*, or, as ſome ſay, *Engelrade*, who was profeſt a Nunne. He defended his countrey valiantly againſt the incurſions and furie of the Arabians, but with no great ſucceſſe. He cauſed forts to be made where need required, to ſtop their incurſions, and aſſure his countrey.

D. Borel fourth earle of Barcelone.

Genealogie of Cattelogne.

B D. *Oliban*, his couſen, reſigned his intereſt, for that he would not fauour the Infidels by a ciuile warre, and giue them meanes to inuade Cattelogne, contenting himſelfe with a priuate life. He was father to D. *Bernard*, ſurnamed *Briſefer*, or Breake-yron, who was earle of Beſalu, of D. *Geoffrey* earle of Cerdagne, and of a third ſonne, called D. *Oliban*, who was Biſhop of Vic d'Oſana, and had beene Abbot of Ripol, a monaſterie reedified in the yeare 976, by the earle D. *Borel*: In the which yeare the Nunnes of Monſerrat were tranſported to the Monaſterie of Mon-Iuhy, neere vnto the caſtle of the Port, built by the ſame earle, and in Monſerrat were placed the Monkes of Saint *Benoiſt*: to which place the earle D. *Borel* gaue great lands and poſſeſſions, which he bought from priuate men. D. *Oliban* his couſen, was alſo founder of the monaſterie of Saint *Benoiſt de Bages*, in the Baronie

Foundations of monaſteries by the Princes of Spaine, in thoſe times.

C of Pinos. About the yeare 979, D. *Garcia Fernandes* gaue the towne and church of Ezquerra to Saint *Michael de Pedroſo*; and a little before, D. *Sancho*, king of Nauarre, had giuen to the houſe of Saint *Emilian*, for the health (as he ſaid) of his ſoule, the place of Villar de Monte; and to the Monaſterie of Saint *Sauiour de Leyre*, the towne of Arpados, and other ſpoyles of his ſonne D. *Ramir*, who died before him. Theſe Princes ſought to win Paradice by their workes.

D. Alphonſo, fift of that name, and 22 *King of Leon.*

D

Leon.

Anno 982.

18 AFter king D. *Bermond*, D. *Alphonſo* his ſonne did inherite, being the fift of that name, and two and twentieth in order of the kings of Leon, in the yeare 982, being onely foureteene yeares old. His father had giuen him, to breed vp, to the earle of Gallicia, called D. *Melendo Gonſales*, and to his wife D. *Maior*, whoſe daughter, D. *Eluira*, he maried, when he came to age: of whom deſcended D. *Bermond*, who ſucceded his father in the realme of Leon, and D. *Sancha* promiſed after the deceaſe of the king D. *Alphonſo*, vnto D. *Garcia*, earle of Caſtille; but he dying, ſhe was wife to D. *Fernand* the Great, the firſt which carried that title of king of Caſtille, ſonne to D. *Sancho* the elder, king of Nauarre. In

E the time of this king D. *Alphonſo*, *Zephirus* Biſhop of Aſtorga liued, who writ ſome Hiſtories of Spaine.

Caſtille.

We haue heretofore made mention of the loues of *Gonſal Iuſte*, being priſoner at Cordoua, with a Princeſſe, a Moore; the which proceeded ſo farre, as when he was ſet at libertie by king *Hizen*, ſhe was with child, and was brought in bed of a ſonne, named *Mudarra Gonſales*. Thoſe that haue written the Hiſtories of Spaine, ſay, That he was nouriſhed and inſtructed in the citie of Cordoua, by the diligence of his mother (whom they make ſiſter to king *Hizen*) in all things befitting a Prince; ſo as hee was much beloued by the king his vncle, by whom he was armed a knight, at the age of tenne yeares, and became valiant and redoubted, as much as any of his time.

F When he came to yeares to judge of honour, his mother told him who was his father, and by what meanes ſhee had beene familiar with him, and eſpecially the death of his ſeuen brethren of Lara, by the treaſon of D. *Ruys Velaſques*, and the damnable appetite of reuenge of D. *Lambra* his wife. Wherefore this young nobleman had a wonderfull deſire to ſee and know D. *Gonſal Iuſte*, his father. Hauing therefore not onely obtained leaue, but alſo an ho-

nourable traine of noblemen and knights from the king, he came to Salas, where the father and the ſonne had meanes to know and aduow one another, to their great joy and content: and ſoone after *Mudarra*, hauing left the law of *Mahumet*, was baptized, and made a Chriſtian. Then he came in companie with his father to Burgos, to kiſſe the hands of the earle D. *Garcia*, and to watch an opportunitie to kill his vncle D. *Ruis Velaſques*, and to reuenge the death of his ſeuen brethren; the which he did execute in time, as D. *Ruis* went from Burgos to his houſe of Barbadillo: and finally, hee found meanes to get D. *Lambra* into his power, whom he cauſed to be hung vp, and then burnt her bodie: but it was after the death of D. *Garcia*, earle of Caſtille, to whom ſhee was allied. And for that he was verie like to the youngeſt of the ſeuen ſonnes of D. *Sancha* his mother in law, ſhe did loue him as deerely as if ſhe had beene his owne mother.

O'd offences puniſhed.

The Monkes of Saint *Peter* of Arlanſa ſhew a tombe in their church, without any inſcription, the which, they ſay, is the tombe of that knight D. *Mudarra*: of whom they make this Genealogie, or deſcent; which is, That he had one ſonne, named D. *Ordogno de Lara*, from whom iſſued D. *Diego Ordogno de Lara*, who did fight a combat at Zamora, againſt D. *Arias Gonſales*: from D. *Diego Ordogno* deſcended D. *Pedro de Lara*, and from him the earle D. *Almaric* of Lara, whom others call *Malrique*, or *Manrique*, who was lord of Molina des Comtes: and from him, they ſay, are deſcended, the *Manriques* of Lara in Caſtille. This earle D. *Almaric*, or *Manrique de Lara*, had one daughter, called D. *Malfada Manrique*, who was the firſt queene of Portugal, wife to D. *Alphonſo Henrie*, king of Portugal, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter.

Poſteritie of Mudarra Gonſales, from whence are deſcended the Manriques of Lara.

About the yeare 982, when as king D. *Alphonſo* came to the Crowne of Leon, there were great alterations in Caſtille; for that D. *Sancho Garcia*, ſonne and heire to the earle D. *Garcia Fernandes*, rebelled againſt his father, and put Caſtille into factions. Whereupon the Moores failed not to enter the countrey of Caſtille, deſtroyed the citie of Auila, tooke Saint Eſtienne de Gormas, and Crugna in the biſhopricke of Oſma, ſlue, ſpoyled, and burnt all where they paſt.

Rebellio of the ſon againſt the father.

D. *Garcia Fernandes* being gone to field with thoſe ſouldiers of Caſtille whom hee thought to be beſt affected vnto him, being but few, in compariſon of the Moores, hee did hazard a battell; in which fighting valiantly, hee was enuironed by a multitude of his enemies, where his men were cut in peeces, and hee himſelfe taken aliue by the Moores, but ſo ſore wounded, as he died within few houres after. His bodie was afterwards redeemed for a great ſumme of money, and buried in the monaſterie of Saint *Peter* of Cardegna, reedified by him ſeuenteene yeares before. This happened about the yeare nine hundred foureſcore and ten, or according to the inſcription of his tombe, nine hundred foureſcore and fiue. Then D. *Sancho* his ſonne, ſurnamed *Garcia*, was earle, without any contradiction; and, except this diſobedience againſt his father, he was a good Prince, and loued his ſubiects.

Defeat of the Caſtillans, and death of their earle.

*An.*990.

19 Whoſoeuer was mother to D. *Sancho*, either *Abba*, *Ogna*, or *Sancha* daughter to the knight which was ſlaine by D. *Garcia*, or elſe allied to the Emperour *Henrie*, there is a tragicall act reported of her in the Hiſtories of Spaine: That, being widow to her husband D. *Garcia Fernandes*, ſhee fell in loue with a Prince of the Moores, whom ſhee had heard was verie ſufficient in *Venus* ſports: ſo as ſhee had a ſecret treatie with him, to marie him; promiſing (to the end they might with more eaſe effect their deſigne) to make away her ſonne, by poyſon, vpon the firſt opportunitie: But God would haue this wickedneſſe diſcouered to the earle D. *Sancho*, the day before it ſhould bee put in execution. Wherefore being verie carefull of all things, as the mother and the ſonne dined together on the day appointed, the earle calling for drinke, they brought him a cup full of wine, mingled with poyſon: Then diſſembling what hee knew, he intreated his mother to drinke firſt, as if hee would doe her honour; but ſhee refuſing it, hee ſtill perſiſted, and in the end forced her to drinke this poyſon, whereof ſhee died. The generall Chronicle ſayes, That thereof grew a cuſtome in Caſtille, to make the women drinke firſt, the which is obſerued at this day in Biſcaie, and other parts in Spaine, by way of ciuilitie.

A diſhoneſt deſire of a counteſſe of Caſtille, and her impietie againſt her ſon.

Cuſtom to make the women drinke firſt in Spaine.

This

A This accident was the cauſe which made the earle D. *Sancho* to build the conuent of Saint *Sautour* of Ogna, where he placed Nunnes, and made a daughter of his, called D. *Tygrida*, Abbeſſe; thinking thereby to expiate his offence, for that he had haſtened his mothers death. Since there were Monks put in this monaſterie, and the women were tranſported elſewhere, by the king D. *Sancho* the elder, ſonne in law to this eale D. *Sancho Garcia*, and husband to D. *Nugna*: for the earle had by his wife D. *Vrraca*, one ſonne, who was called D. *Garcia*, who was earle of Caſtille after him; and three daughters, D. *Nugna*, who was queene of Nauarre, D. *Thereſa*, queene of Leon, wife to D. *Bermond* the third, and laſt of that name, theſe two ſiſters were elder than the Infant D. *Garcia*; and the third was the aboue named D. *Tygrida*, Abbeſſe of this monaſterie of S. *Sauiour*. *Genealogie of Caſtille.*

B 20 Whileſt theſe things paſt in Caſtille, the Moores entred Cattelogne with a great power, about the yeare 986, and gaue a great rout to the earle D. *Borel*, who thought to repulſe them neere to Moncada and Matabous: After which they beſieged Barcelone, and tooke it by force, with all the pitifull ſpectacles of crueltie, couetouſneſſe, and infamie, that are vſed in the like caſe; doing the like in many other places. Then laden with ſpoyles, and drawing after them an infinit number of poore Chriſtian ſlaues, they returned into their countrey. The earle, who was retired into the mountaines, hauing gathered together all the horſe and foot he could, returned to Barcelone, tooke it againe, and recouered all the places which the Moores had taken. Cattelogne was againe inuaded by the Moores *Cattelogne.* *Barcelone taken and ruined by the Moores.*

C which held Tortoſa, Lerida, Fraga, and other places, being joyned with them of the Iſle of Majorca, who once againe defeated the earle D. *Borel*: and thinking to ſaue himſelfe with about threeſcore horſe, he was purſued; and being forced to ſhut himſelfe vp in the caſtle of Gautha, neere to Caldes, he was forced, and ſlaine there, with all thoſe that were in his companie, in the yeare 993, hauing beene earle of Barcelone ſix and twentie yeares, where his ſonne D. *Raymond Borel* ſucceeded him. We find, that *Lothaire* king of France (vnder the ſoueraignetie of which kingdome the earledome of Barcelone was at that time) granted a great priuiledge to the monaſterie of S. *Cucufat*, in the vallies neere to Barcelone, giuen at Compiegne, in the yeare 987. *Earle of Barcelone ſlaine by the Moores.*

But returning to D. *Sancho Garcia*, earle of Caſtille, he being loath to leaue his fathers *Caſtille.*

D death vnreuenged, confirmed the league which his predeceſſor had made with Leon and Nauarre, and in the yeare 992 entred into the Moores countrey, by the realme of Toledo, with a great armie, ruining and ſpoyling all where he paſt, as the enemies had done in Leon and Caſtille: paſſing on into diuers other juriſdictions, where he had good opportunitie to ruine, burne, kill, and carrie away what he pleaſed, for that the Arabians were then full of factions for the ſoueraignetie. There was no head, order, nor councell, to oppoſe againſt the violence of this incenſed earle, ſo as he ranſomed many townes, and drew great ſummes of money from them, as well to ſpare their countrey, as to redeeme priſoners. He tooke the towne of Sepulueda, which was then a frontier for the Moores towards the ſtrait of Sumoſierra. Hee granted many priuiledges to the inhabitants thereof, reſtoring them to *The exploits & conqueſts of D. Sancho, earle of Caſtille, vpõ the Moores.*

E their auncient juriſdictions. He recouered the townes of Pennafiel, Maderuelo, Monteio, Gormas, Oſma, and Saint Eſteua; which places had beene loſt after the battell where his father D. *Garcia* was ſlaine. The earle did all theſe braue exploits againſt the Moores: but ſome hold, and not without reaſon, that they were before the death of the counteſſe his mother; who at the returne of this voyage (which was in the yeare 992) had newes what this aboue mentioned Prince of the Moores could doe with women: of whom ſhe grew ſo far in loue, as ſhe forgot all pietie, and honour, and in the end loſt her life. His name is not written by any Author. If the earle did much annoy the Moores by open warre, he did no leſſe by ſecret practiſes, entertaining factions among them, to trouble their eſtate, and make them more eaſie to be ſpoyled.

F 21 There were great ſeditions among the Arabians after the death of *Abdemelic Abundaſin*, Captaine generall, or Conſtable to king *Hizen*: for hauing beene ſubſtituted in the place of his brother, called *Abderramen*, and ſhewing himſelfe too ſeuere and proud in his commaunds, his place ſeeming alſo to be of too great authoritie, he was ſlaine by the ſouldiers: which bred great quarels and factions. D. *Sancho*, earle of Caſtille, and D. *Alphonſo*, *Moores.*

The declining of the Moores Monarchie in Spaine, by their diuiſions.

king of Leon, ſought by all meanes poſsible to entertaine theſe diuiſions, ſometimes fauou- G
ring one partie, ſomtimes another: ſo as from that time the Arabians power began great-
ly to decline in Spaine, as it had beene alreadie diſmembred in the Eaſt, by their diſcord
and furious deſire of raigne, the which we will hereafter relate in a more conuenient place.
The Eſtate of Miralmumin *Hizen* was wonderfully troubled in thoſe times, by many
which deſired either to raigne, or to haue the greateſt charges in the kingdome of Cor-
doua, namely, the dignitie of Alhabib: among the which there was a Moore, called *Zu-
leima*, ſtronger than the reſt, by the ſupport and fauour hee had from D. *Sancho*, earle of
Caſtille: He tooke and ſhut vp *Hizen*, after that he had raigned three and thirtie yeares,
Zulcima 11 king of the Moores at Cordoua. foure monethes, in the 379 yeare of the Arabians, and made himſelfe king of Cordoua, H
in the yeare of our redemption 989. He was an African, or Barbarian, and was much fa-
uoured from beyond the ſeas. In his raigne was the laſt rout giuen to the Cattelans, and
their earle forced, and ſlaine, as we haue ſaid. But he did not long enjoy this Eſtate of Cor-
Mahumad the third, the 12 king at Cordoua. doua; for another nobleman of great power, called *Mahumad Mehedi*, or *Almohadi*, of the
linage of *Aben Humeya*, roſe vp againſt him, and depriued him of his kingdome in Spaine,
in the yeare of our Lord 993, which he had maintained foure yeares, with great toyle and
difficultie.

Abdalla king of Toledo. In his time there raigned a Moore at Toledo, called *Abdalla*, who was ſolicited in ſuch
ſort by D. *Alphonſo* king of Leon, as they contracted together, and did ſweare a perpetuall
offenſiue and defenſiue league betwixt them: the which was ſo ſtrongly confirmed, as D. I
Alphonſo gaue his ſiſter D. *Thereſa*, a Chriſtian, in mariage to *Abdalla*, an Infidell king, and
ſent her to him to Toledo, notwithſtanding that ſhe did contradict it all ſhe could. They
ſay, That this Moore being readie to conſummate the mariage, he was admoniſhed by the
Ladie, that it was not lawfull to doe it, ſeeing they were of two diuers religions; and that
for ſo prophane a contempt, he might aſſure himſelfe God would puniſh him grieuouſly, if
he reſolued to proceed. But notwithſtanding all her allegations, the Moore would not for-
Mariage betwixt a Chriſtian and an Infidell, reproued of God. beare to accompliſh his deſire; but he was preſently ſurpriſed with ſuch a terrour and amaze-
ment, as if death had approached. Wherefore repenting himſelfe, he ſent backe D. *There-
ſa* to Leon, to the king her brother, with great ſtore of treaſure, and rich jewels, for that he
would not touch her. This princeſſe liued long in Leon, in the habit of a religious woman, K
and in the end put her ſelfe into the monaſterie of Saint *Pelagius*, where ſhe died, and was in-
terred.

In the meane time *Mahumad* the third, or *Mahumet*, of the race of *Aben Humeia*, ſurnamed
Almohadi, ſetled himſelfe in the realme of Cordoua, and was Miralmumin of the Arabians in
Spaine; who ſhewed himſelfe ſo cruell in the beginning, againſt the inhabitants of Cordoua,
partiſans to *Zuleima* his predeceſſor, of the linage of *Aben Alaueci*, that many of them fled out
of the citie, aud liued in baniſhment. By reaſon of this diuiſion, many other noblemen,
Moores, ſeiſed vpon places and prouinces in Spaine, of the juriſdiction of the Miralmumins
of Cordoua: as *Abdalla* did, who (as we haue ſaid) had ſeiſed vpon the citie of Toledo, & reſto-
red the royall ſeat there, where he was the fourth king: ſince which time it continued a royal- L
tie, and returned no more vnder the ſoueraigntie of the kings of Cordoua. In ſome Authors
Fable of Galiena. we find a tale of a Gentlewoman called *Galiena*, daughter to *Galafrey*, king of Toledo, who
by her beautie drew *Charlemaine* out of France to Toledo, where he did fight with a knight
called *Bramante*, that would haue maried her: and, they ſay, that *Charles* being victor,
he led faire *Galiena* into France. But there is no great probabilitie, that this happened to
Charlemaine. It may be that ſince there was a *Galiena*, daughter to ſome Gouernour of
Toledo, called *Galafrey*, famous for ſome like act: For we find in the citie of Toledo, a
place called Galienas Palace, where as now the Monaſterie of S. *Foy* is: and in like manner at
Bourdeaux in Guienne. Which ſhewes, that ſome ladie of fame came out of Spaine into
France, but conducted by ſome other *Charles* than he that was king and Emperor, ſurnamed M
the Great. *Zuleima* being expelled by *Mahumet*, fled from towne to town, being accompanied
by many Moors and Barbarians, who conſpired againſt him, in fauour of a couſen of his called
Maroan, whom they would chuſe for their captaine: but being ready to kill him, *Zuleima* being
aduertiſed, and prepared, ſlue them which pretended to murther him: As for his couſen *Ma-*

roan,

A *roan*, he ſaued his life, but he kept him in a ſtrait priſon. Being enuironed with ſo many miſeries, chaſed from Cordoua, a vagabond, and not ſafe among his owne followers, he had recourſe vnto D. *Sancho*, earle of Caſtille, craning ſuccours from him, to recouer his Eſtates. Wherewith the earle was verie well pleaſed, and led a great power of Chriſtians into the Moores countrey; and with him D. *Raymond*, earle of Barcelone, as ſome write. *Mahumet* did alſo make great leuies of ſouldiers, whereof the Alhabib, or Generall, was *Albaharin Almaharin*, who did reſide at Medina Zelim, or Celi; and had commaundement to come and joyne with the armie, with all the forces he could make. Their forces being joyned of either ſide, there was a fierce and bloudie battell, betwixt *Zuleima* and *Mahumet*; whereas *Zuleima* *Cruell warres betwixt the Moores.*
B (who had the forces of Caſtille with him) was victor, haning ſlaine fiue and thirtie thouſand of his enemies vpon the place: and purſuing his victorie, he chaſed *Mahumet*, and thoſe which remained, as farre as Cordoua. And whileſt that *Zuleimaes* men and the Chriſtians were buſie at the ſpoyle of the ſuburbs, the Alhabib *Albaharin* abandoned his king, and tooke his way to Medina Celi, with thoſe that would follow him. It was then a great fort and rampar of the Moores Eſtate, againſt Caſtille, Arragon, and Nauarre. *Mahumet* ſeeing himſelfe defeated, and abandoned, was ſo faint-hearted, as he ſhut himſelfe vp into the fort of Cordoua, reſoluing to deliuer king *Hizen*, who was a priſoner there: chuſing rather to ſee *Hizen* raigne than *Zuleima*. The people of Cordoua hearing ſpeake of their true king *Hizen*, made ſo great an exclamation of joy, as *Mahumet* thinking himſelfe loſt, and fearing to
C die, fled and hid himſelfe in a Moors houſe, who was borne at Toledo, and verie confident vnto him, with whom that night he fled to Toledo. Wherefore *Zuleima* entred into Cordoua, and raigned againe, *Mahumet* hauing beene king but one yeare, which was in the yeare of Chriſt 994, and of the Moores 377. A memorable date, for that this yeare the ſeuen Princes Electors in Germanie were inſtituted at the inſtance of the Emperour *Othon*, and Pope *Gregorie* the fift. *Anno 994. Inſtitution of the Princes Electors in Germanie.*

King *Zuleima* being reeſtabliſhed in Cordoua, he ſent backe D. *Sancho*, earle of Caſtille, and his men, well ſatisfied, rewarding euerie one according to his degree. Yet he was not receiued, nor obeyed, throughout all the townes of his juriſdiction, but ſome maintained *Hizens* partie, who was priſoner at Cordoua. *Mahumet Almohadi* being come to Toledo, *Ab-*
D *dalla* raigned there, but not verie quietly in the beginning; but the hatred the Toledanes did beare to the kings of Cordoua, made his way the more eaſie. Neither of theſe two tyrants raigned long; for *Albaharin* the Alhabib, who liued at Medina Celi, hearing that *Zuleima* was much troubled to ſubdue the people of the juriſdiction of Cordoua, which were rebelled againſt him, he made a leuie of ſouldiers, both Moores and Chriſtians, and came to *Mahumet Almohadi*, at Toledo, who had beene newly made king of that citie; but the manner how is not ſpecified in Hiſtories. There hauing raiſed a great armie, they tooke their way to Cordoua, to deliuer king *Hizen*, who was priſoner. Whereof *Zuleima* being aduertiſed, he reſolued to defend himſelfe, calling all his friends and vaſſals together, wherof moſt of them excuſed themſelues, ſhewing that they were naturally bound vnto
E king *Hizen*, for whoſe deliuerie they knew *Mahumet* had taken arms, with *Albaharin*, and ſome Chriſtian captaines which were in their armie, whereof two are called *Bermondo*, and *Argomento*. Notwithſtanding this refuſall, *Zuleima* relying vpon the forces of Barbarie, who aſſured him that they would neuer forſake him, ſallied out of Cordoua, and came and affronted the enemie, nine leagues from the citie, at a place called Hacantalbaſar; where his *Battell betwixt the Moores.*
first charge was ſo furious, as he put the formoſt of the enemies ſquadrons to rout, and ſlue ſo many, as hee thought all had beene defeated, and *Mahumet* dead: but the Chriſtians which were in *Mahumets* armie, rallied their diſordered battell, and charged *Zuleimaes* men with ſuch violence, as they made them quit the field, with great ſlaughter of the Barbarian Africanes. *Zuleima* ſaued himſelfe with a ſmall troupe in the fort of
F Caſra. They write, that in this battell there died thirtie thouſand Moors, and nine thouſand Chriſtians; among which were D. *Arnoul*, Biſhop of Auſa, *Ætius* Biſhop of Barcelone, and *Otho* of Girone, who carried armes for the Moores quarels: by the loſſe whereof *Zuleima* left the realme of Cordoua the ſecond time, where hee had raigned a yeare. *Hizen a priſoner reſtored to realme of Cordoua.*
This was in the yeare 995. *Hizen* was reſtored to his royall Eſtate by the victors, the people

of Cordoua being affected to him, and did mutine to haue him: and *Mahumet* was the more inclined to him, for that he was ſetled at Toledo. The victor prepared to beſiege Cafra, to expell *Zuleima*, and to ſpoyle the treaſure that was within it: but foreſeeing the danger, he diſlodged, and carried away with him what he could. G

The caſtle being abandoned, was taken by them of Cordoua, and that which remained ſpoyled, and the ſouldiers which were found in it, ſlaine. The bootie which was taken in this caſtle, was carried to the great Moſquee at Cordoua, and there conſecrated. This done, *Albaharin* the Alhabib, led the armie againſt ſome places in Andalouſia, which continued in their rebellion ſince the former diuiſions; he beſieged Almerie, which was defended by *Afila*, a Moore of a great houſe, and battered it twentie dayes: the which in the end was forced, and *Afila*, with ſome of his children, drowned. The like happened to the townes of Iaen, Baeſa, and Ariona, the which were kept for king *Hizen*. In this manner did the Moores make warre, being diuided into two factions, whereof the one held the partie of *Hizen*, and of the Moores in Spaine, and the other of the Barbarians, and Moores of Affrick, of whom *Zuleima* was the chiefe in Spaine. H

Obeidalla ſixt king of Toledo.

Mahumet Almohadi raigned at Toledo after *Abdalla* verie little; for the Hiſtorians make preſent mention of his ſonne *Obeydalla*, ſixt king of Toledo: againſt whom, king *Hizen* ſeeing himſelfe now ſetled in his kingdome, ſent his lieutenant with a great armie, to reduce them of Toledo vnder his obedience: who made a ſallie vpon them of Cordoua, where there was a cruell combate: but the end was ſhamefull for the Toledanes, who loſt their king *Obeidalla* there, and many of their men. Yet were they not daunted, neither did they abate any thing of their rebellious contumacie againſt *Hizen*, and the Eſtate of Cordoua, whom they did hate extreamely: For preſently after their defeat, and the death of their king *Obeidalla*, they choſe another of the ſame linage of *Aben Humeia*, called *Hairam*, the ſeuenth king in number, who left the Scepter of Toledo to his deſcendants, vntill it was conquered by the Chriſtians. This paſt about the yeare 1000, when as king *Hizen*, thinking himſelfe to be in more quiet and ſecuritie then euer, he found himſelfe plunged in greater troubles then before: for the Moores were ſo greedie of commaund, as thoſe which had any authoritie or power, would make head againſt whom ſoeuer that would commaund them. The which was no wonder, for that in the citie of Cordoua, and the juriſdiction thereof, there were infinit families deſcending from kings of the Moores, iſſuing from the race of *Aben Humeia*: which grew by reaſon of their pluralitie of wiues, which their ſect allowed; which was the cauſe of ſeditions and reuolts, for the deſire of rule. I K

Hairam ſeuenth king of Toledo.

Cattelogne.

During theſe ciuile warres, the Cattelans and Barcelonians had beene in peace, and free from the Moores inuaſions, and had rather ſought to annoy them, or inuade them, either alone, or joyntly with the Caſtillans. D. *Raymond Borel*, the earle, who had ſucceeded his father, did burie, in a manner at the entrie of his principalitie, his couſin D. *Oliban Cabrica*, earle of Cerdagne and Beſalu, at our Ladie of Ripon, in the yeare 994: whoſe Eſtates were diuided among his children D. *Bernard Briſefer*, and D. *Geoffrey*. This new earle had fortified Barcelone, and repaired all the ſpoyles which the Moores had made during the warre againſt D. *Borel* his father; joyning the Monaſterie of Montjuhy to the walls of Barcelone, and called it S. *Peter* of the virgines, to gratifie D. *Borella* his ſiſter, whom ſome call *Engelrade*, Abbeſſe of that place. There is no mention made of him in Hiſtories, but that he had one ſonne called D. *Berenger Borel*, in the yeare 995, who ſucceeded him after his death. L

D. Garcia, called the Trembling, fift of that name, *and* 12 *King of Nauarre.*

Nauarre.

23 IN the ſame yere of the deceaſe of the earle D. *Borel*, which was 993, died (according to the common opinion of writers) D. *Sancho* the 3, ſonne to D. *Garcia Sanches*, king of Nauarre; but it is moſt vncertaine: for the computation of the liues and raignes of theſe firſt kings of Nauarre, Leon, and other Princes and Potentates of Spaine, is ſo diuers and confuſed in their writings, as no man can judge rightly of them. D. *Sancho* gaue for the M

ſoules

A ſoules health of his ſonne D. *Ramir*, to the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian*, the towne of Cardegnas, with all the appurtenances. Afterwards D. *Garcia* his ſonne, ſurnamed the trembling, ſucceeded him in the kingdome of Nauarre, and the Countie of Arragon. This ſurname was giuen him, for that when he entred the combate, he did tremble, not for feare, but by a naturall cuſtome: the which did afterwards turne into force and valour, being a little heat. In a certaine priuiledge and donation made in the yeare 996, of the towne of Herrero, granted by this king D. *Garcia* to the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian* of Cogolla, mention is made of D. *Sancho* and D. *Garcia*, his nephewes, who were ſonnes to D. *Ramir*, his brother, whom they called king of Arragon; it may be it was onely in title: he died in the life time of D. *Sancho*
B their father, and by his death *Gonſalo* their other brother is ſaid alſo to haue raigned in Arragon with D. *Vrraca*, Queene mother to theſe three Princes, and not the children of D. *Ramir*, the which is a ſtronger argument that they were but titles. To which place of S. *Emylian*, this king D. *Garcia* and D. *Ximena* his wife make another donation of the water which comes from the valley of Alanſon, to water their fields and orchards one day and a night in the weeke; to which titles D. *Vrraca* is alwaies ſet: for it was alwaies a cuſtome of the Princes in Spaine, for honours ſake, to name their mothers and wiues, in all letters of donation and priuiledges which they graunt; for they ſoule (ſay they) and that of their father, and they make this donation to S. *Emylian*, whom they call their Patron, as they had beene taught. Without doubt their deuotion in thoſe times to S. *Emylian* had beene verie great,
C who was called on as an Aduocate and Patron by the Chriſtians in Spaine, from Burgos vnto the Ocean: of the which there are two Monaſteries, the one called the higher, the other the lower.

D. *Garcia* the trembling married D. *Ximena*, and yet there is great diuerſitie among Authors touching the name of this Ladie, by whom he had D. *Sancho*, who was king after him. He recommended his education and bringing vp to D. *Sancho*, Abbot of Saint Saluator of Leyre, who was afterwards Biſhop of Pampelone. The qualities of this king are little knowne, for want of auncient records, whereof they commend one, the which is queſtionable, whether it be a vertue or a vice, That he could neuer refuſe any thing that was demaunded of him: but they chiefely merit to be held liberall, when as they giue, with judgement,
D meaſurably to men of merit, otherwiſe they are tearmed prodigall, ignorant, careleſſe, and contemners of the chiefeſt point of their charge, which is, to diſtribute rewards and puniſhments equally. There is no mention made of his warres and enterpriſes. He raigned, as they eſteeme, ſeuen yeares, and ſo he died in the thouſand yeare of our Sauiour. His bodie, as ſome hold, was buried at S. *Iohn de la Pegna*; others ſay, at S. Saluator at Leyre, which place was more famous, and of greater authoritie.

Rewards and puniſhments maintaine all Eſtates.

D. Sancho, the fourth of that name, and thirteenth *King of Nauarre.*

E

24 D. *Sancho* ſucceeded his father D. *Garcia* the trembling in his Eſtates, accounted the thirteenth king of Nauarre; a vertuous and valiant Prince, and famous for his great exploits; during whoſe raigne, the Hiſtorie, and eſpecially the computation of times, begins to be more plaine and certaine, than in the time of his predeceſſors.

25 In the yeare 1001 of our redemption, and the 384 of the Arabians Empire, and 287 of their entrie into Spaine, *Zuleima* being abandoned by the Caſtillans, he had recourſe to the king of Sarragoſſe and Carrace, with whoſe aid he recouered Cordoua, and made himſelfe king againe, *Hizen* being fled into Africke; one of whoſe captaines, called *Hali Hatan*,
F holding Orichela, called *Hali* Gouernor of Ceuta, and cauſed him to paſſe with ſome forces into Spaine, in hope to raigne there. Theſe two did beſiege and take Cordoua, and *Zuleima* in it, whom *Hali* ſlue with his owne hands: but it was not long before *Hali Hatan* did riſe againſt *Hali*, whom he troubled much for the ſpace of two yeares, and after ſome battailes woon and loſt on either ſide, he cauſed him to be ſecretly ſlaine in a bath, in the towne of Iahen, by ſome of his Eunuches, whom he had corrupted, in whoſe place, the noblemen and knights

Moores.

Hali 13 king of Cordoua.

Conſuſion and ciuile warres among the Moores.

knights of the Moores which were at Iahen, choſe his brother *Cacin*, who kept at Seuile, G
in the yeare 1003, and 386 of the Arabians raigne. Manie African Moores of Barbarie,
(ſome ſent for, ſome voluntaries, to ſeeke their aduentures) paſſed dayly into Spaine, by
reaſon of theſe conſpiracies and ciuile diſſentions; of which, *Cacin* the new king had ma-
nie which followed his partie, as his deceaſed brother had. Being come to Iahen, he cau-
ſed a diligent ſearch to be made for thoſe trecherous Eunuches which had ſlaine the king,
but they could find no more but two, whom he put to death, and then it behooued him
to defend himſelfe: for *Hali Hatan* ſeeing that he could not raigne, procured him great
enemies, that is, *Abderramen Almorrada*, of the bloud royall of *Aben Humeya*, who go-
uerned in Murcia, ſending meſſagers with all kinds of perſuaſions, and other meanes, to H
induce the pettie Arabian kings, which held Sarragoſſe, Valence, Tortoſa, and other
townes and forts in Spaine, to joyne with him, to reſiſt (ſaid he) the Barbarian Moores
which came to inuade Spaine: wherefore *Abderramen* was created King and Miralmu-
min by them, but hee neuer held the chiefe towne of Cordoua. Hauing rayſed an armie
of all thoſe of his faction, he beſieged and tooke the towne of Iahen, cutting the Moores
in peeces, which held it againſt him, and from thence went to other places, which hee
ſeized on, and in a ſhort time became Lord of a great countrey; the which *Hali Hatan*
and another captaine of his traine, called *Almundar, Aben-Alſaie*, did verie much enuie,
and as they had helped to rayſe him to that height, ſo they ſought all meanes poſſible to
pull him downe, and not onely to depriue him of his eſtates, but alſo of his life, ſaying, I
That it was not reaſonable any other than themſelues ſhould reape the fruits of their
labours, and the conqueſts gotten with the price of their blouds. For the effecting where-
of, they filled the kings Court and campe with quarrels and diſcontents, among the com-
maunders and captaines, watching ſome fit opportunitie to execute their malicious de-
ſigne. King *Abderramen* purſuing his good fortune, came to beſiege Grenado, the which
at that time was reaſonably great, and well peopled, and commanded by a pettie king, a
Enuie and trecherie among the Arabians. Moore, called *Bedeci, Aben Abus*. There theſe two conſpirators, *Hali Hatan* and *Almun-
dar* (making ſhew to imploy themſelues faithfully in any thing that might annoy the be-
ſieged) had ſecret conference with ſome Moores of the towne, and layed a plot, That
they ſhould make a ſallie vpon *Abderramens* armie, the which they would faueur in ſuch K
ſort, as moſt of his beſt men and hee himſelfe ſhould either bee taken or ſlaine; and ha-
uing inſtructed them where they ſhould charge, and of the ſituation of the kings lod-
ging (which was vpon the ſide of a hill, called Seneſta, two leagues from Grenado) they
held themſelues readie, attending the alarme; the which being giuen verie hot, and at a
fit time to ſtrike terrour, they joyned with the Grenadines, where they made a great
ſlaughter of *Abderramens* men, he himſelfe being in like manner ſlaine, and the reſt of the
armie diſperſed and put to flight, abandoning their Engines of batterie, and all their bag-
gage, the which was ſpoyled, and carried into Grenado, with great joy. This treaſon
was practiſed by theſe two captaines through enuie, together with a diſtruſt of king *Ab-
derramens* good ſucceſſe; wherefore after this goodly exploit, they reſolued to ſend part
of the bootie, with manie heads of the chiefe of the Moores, ſlaine in this ſurpriſe, to L
king *Cacin*, in ſigne of triumph; the which was verie pleaſing to this king, who was then
at Cordoua, and making vſe of this good fortune, he went to field, to reduce vnder his
obedience manie townes and forts which had reuolted to king *Abderramen*, when as hee
was aduaunced to that dignitie; the which he did to manie; but he wanted force and
time to finiſh it: for hauing raigned ſcarce three yeares, he died in the yeare 1007. The
Moores of Barbarie, which had for a time followed the partie of the kings of Cordoua,
were then in great authoritie in the citie, and therefore had the meanes and credit to
chuſe *Hiaya*, the ſonne of *Mahumet*, for king: the which did much diſcontent the aun-
cient Moores borne in the countrey, who ſought ſome good opportunitie to be rid of M
theſe Berberuzes (as the Spaniards called them) by killing or chaſing them out of the
towne, to the end that the gouernment thereof might returne into their hands, as be-
fore. A fit occaſion was offered: for the new king *Hiaya*, who before his election to be
king was reſident at Malaga, hauing a deſire to haue that towne at his deuotion, for
that it had not obeyed the precedent kings of Cordoua, ſince their troubles and ſedi-

tions,

A tions, went forth of Cordoua, leading with him great troupes of ſouldiours, eſpecially of that race of Moores which came out of Barbarie. Comming to Malaga, he was receiued without any contradiction: but whileſt hee was buſie there, the inhabitants of Cordoua, who had intelligence with *Buz* of Grenado, drew certaine troupes, which hee had ſent, into their towne, being led by two of his captaines, *Hayran* and *Mogid*, by whoſe helpe they cut the throats of aboue a thouſand African Moores, who were left for the gard of the citie. At this bruite, king *Hiayas* lieutenant was ſo amazed, as he got out of the towne, with all the miniſters of juſtice, and fled to Malaga, to carrie theſe troubleſome newes to the king his maſter; who within few dayes was ſlaine by a Moore,

Hiaya 14 king of the Moores at Cordoua.

B called *Iſmael*, hauing raigned onely three moneths and ſome dayes. *Abderramen* the fourth of that name was aduaunced in his place: he was king but a moneth and ſeuenteene dayes, and we doe not read, whither he died, or were expelled his kingdome. After him followed *Mahumet*, great Miralmumin of Cordoua, who raigned not long, for that being rich in treaſure, by his good husbandrie, before he came to be king, it was a cauſe to ſhorten his life, by the trecherie of his houſehold ſeruants, who conſpired to murther him for his treaſure, wherefore they poyſoned him, hauing held the kingdome a yeare and foure moneths: He died in the yeare one thouſand and nine, and of the Arabians raigne three hundred ninetie two. He left this place to *Hizen* the third of that name, who liued long at Seuile, being deſirous to raigne, the which he now obtained. In the meane

Abderramen 16 king at Cordoua.

Mahumet 17 king at Cordoua.

Hizen 18 king at Cordoua.

C time a Moore, who called himſelfe king of Ceuta, paſſing the ſtrait, came to Malaga, where he tooke the fort of the towne. He was called *Eſdriz*, and brought with him a great number of the Moores of Africke: with whom *Buz*, who tearmed himſelfe king of Grenado, joyned at Malaga, and called himſelfe his vaſſall, doing him homage. Being thus fortified with the Moores of Spaine, he came to Carmona, the which he tooke: then paſſing on by Alcaladel Rio, he burnt the ſuburbes of Triana, and ſeized vpon Seuile. Many other tyrants did riſe in diuers places, ſo as all Spaine, vnder the Moores juriſdiction, was full of ſeditions, and ciuill warres, and the eſtate of Cordoua was ſpoyled by him that could get it: but the kings of Toledo made their profit more than any other, who medling not with other mens quarrells, kept themſelues quiet, and aſ-

D ſured with their owne limits. After the death of *Obeidalla* (as we haue ſaid) *Hyran* raigned, of the linage of *Aben Humeia*, who dying left the ſcepter to his ſonne, called *Hizen*, who raigned in the time of this other *Hizen*, king of Cordoua, and was the eight king of Toledo.

King *Hizen* of Cordoua was of as ſmall continuance as his late predeceſſors; for the Moores his ſubjects expelled him, in hatred of the robberies and extortions committed by his Alhabib, or Conſtable, who from a baſe place was aduaunced to that dignitie: ſo hauing held the kingdome twentie moneths and ſome dayes, he gaue place to *Almondirs* follie, in the yeare one thouſand and eleuen. *Almondir*, who was of the linage of *Aben Humeya*, put himſelfe forward (being deſirous to raigne) in this ſedition and popular tu-

E mult, and hauing gathered ſome of his friends and kinſfolkes together, he came vnto the caſtle of the citie, entreating them to receiue him, ſeeing they would not haue king *Hizen*: Whereupon being aduertiſed by ſome one well affected, that he offered himſelfe in an vnſeaſonable time, the people being in armes, and incenſed againſt a king, wherefore hee ſhould doe wiſely to retyre, and to keepe himſelfe from murthering in this tumult: but being mad with ambition, he perſiſted in his demaund, adding thereunto, that he did not care, ſo as they created him king that day, if they ſlue him the next. Which words were ſo odious vnto all that heard them, as without any further delay, or giuing him that fading contentment to ſee himſelfe king that day, they ſlew him vpon the place, preſuming by the words which he had vttered, that he would be an vnprofitable and bad king: ſuch

The furious and vnreſtrained ambition of Almondir.

F was the reward of his furious deſire to raigne. This being done, they did forbeare to kill *Hizen*, and being reſolued not to haue him for their king, they let him vnderſtand, That if he would ſaue his life, he ſhould quit the fort, and retyre where he pleaſed: whereunto he obeyed, and retyred himſelfe, with ſome of his friends, into another ſtrong houſe of his, joyning vnto the citie, of a contrarie humor to *Almondir*: but the Moores of Cordoua not thinking themſelues ſecure, he being ſo neere them, and being reſolued not to endure any more

kings

kings of the linage of *Aben Humeya*, they beſieged him in this houſe, tooke him, and impriſoned him in Cordoua, from whence he eſcaped, and fled to Sarragoſſe, where he liued in a priuate eſtate. Then a Moore of great power, called *Ioar* of Algazur, ſeeing the citie without a king, embracing this occaſion, with the helpe of his friends which did affect him, tooke vpon him the title and royall authoritie at Cordoua: but on the other ſide, one *Hali Cacin*, or *Aben Cacin*, reſiding at Seuile, a man of a great houſe, and mightie, ſeized vpon the towne of Seuile, where he did remaine with the Moores of his faction, and enjoyed the ſoueraigntie fifteene yeares; yet taking no other title vpon him, but as Iudge and Gouernour; but he prepared the way for his ſucceſſours to make it a royall ſeat. *Ioar* raigned but two yeares, and *Mahumet* his ſonne ſucceeded him, being the twentieth and laſt king of the Moores at Cordoua, and in whom the majeſtie of the Miralmumins of Spaine (which had beene great) was extinct: from the which grew ſo many pettie kings, as there was ſcarce any good towne in Spaine but had a particular king, which made ſtrict alliances among themſelues for the preſeruation of their eſtates, and maintained themſelues vntill the comming of the Almorauides, Moores, which came out of Afiicke, as we will ſhew. This king *Mahumet*, deſiring rather to hold that little of the eſtate of Cordoua, which remained, than to ſeeke after that which was drawne away, enjoyed it in peace thirteene yeares; the which fell out, according to the common opinion, about the yeare 1027, and of the Arabians 415: So as the royall ſeat of the Miralmumins of Spaine (accounting from *Abderramen* the firſt, who did begin it) had continued in the citie of Cordoua 269 yeares. The Moores affaires in Spaine being in this confuſion, the Chriſtians neglected this fit opportunitie, to recouer all Spaine, and to root out the ſect of *Mahumet*: but they had their infirmities in like manner. D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre made ſome attempts, but as it ſeemes ill purſued, being not mentioned in the Hiſtories.

Ioar 19 king at Cordoua.

Hali Cacin ruling at Seuile.

Mahumet the 20. and laſt king at Cordoua.

Leon.

D. *Alphonſo* king of Leon, made an enterpriſe againſt them that gouerned in Luſitania, and beſeeged the towne of Viſeo, but as he went inconſiderately about it, to view the place, being vnarmed, hee was ſhot with an arrow from the towne, whereof hee died ſoone after: this was in the yeare 1006, as the Spaniſh Hiſtories report: But the letters and titles of Chapters and Couents ſay, he liued vnto the yeare 1028. A little before his death, he had receiued into his countrey the children of D. *Bela* of Nagera, a knight who as we haue ſaid, had beene chaſed out of Caſtille, by the Earle D. *Fernand Gonſales*: which were D. *Roderigo*, D. *Diego*, and D. *Inigo Bela*, who would neuer be reconciled vnto D. *Sancho* Earle of Caſtille, their Lord: wherefore hauing liued a wandring and vagabond life for a time among the Moores, and elſewhere, in the end they came into Leon, whereas the king D. *Alphonſo* receiued them, honoured them, and gaue them lands and reuenues, in the quarter of Somocas.

An. 1006.

D. *Alphonſo* 5 king of Leon, a louer of iuſtice.

This Prince was carefull to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects; and therefore did reuiew and reſtore the ancient lawes of the Gothes, and did correct and moderat them with new decrees fit for the time, and all by the aduiſe of the generall eſtates, aſſembled at Ouiedo, in the yeare 1003. He repaired the ruines of the Citie of Leon, and there built a Church to Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, whither he cauſed the body of D. *Bermond* his father, and many others, to be brought, and there interred. In his time liued *Athilan*, Biſhop of Leon, and *Florian*, a great Preacher in Gallicia, both held for Saints in Spaine. They write, that *Florian* meaning to trie if his Sermons were pleaſing to God, put burning coales into his mouth, and had no harme.

Nauarre.

D. *Sancho* Emperor of Spaine.

As for D. *Sancho* fourth king of Nauarre, he was ſurnamed the Great, chiefly for his great dominions, and for his great exploits, both in peace and warre; by reaſon whereof he intitled himſelfe king of Spaine, the which the Gothes with all their greatneſſe and power durſt not doe. He married D. *Nugna*, eldeſt daughter to D. *Sancho Garcia*, Earle of Caſtille; yet the Hiſtories of Arragon call her otherwiſe, & ſay the king had a former wife, which was, D. *Caya*, Ladie of Ayuar, the which was rather a concubine, than a lawfull wife, of whom D. *Ramir*, firſt king of Arragon was borne. By this Ladie D. *Nugna*, he did inherit the Earledome of Caſtille, and by her had D. *Garcia* king of Nauarre, after him D. *Fernand*, firſt king of Caſtille, and D. *Gonſalo* king of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorſa. He was either in perſon, or ſent to all the warres betwixt the Chriſtians, and the Moores, whoſe eſtate was much ſhaken in his time, by reaſon of the diuiſions of that mutinous nation; and this king was more fortunate abroad, than in his owne houſe.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

The

A The Hiſtories which treat of his deedes, ſay, That being abſent in ſome warre againſt the Moores, his ſonne D. *Garcia* demanded a goodly horſe of his mother, out of the kings ſtable, the which he loued aboue all the reſt, and had ſtraitly commanded his wife not to ſuffer any one to ride him: yet ſhee deſiring to pleaſe her eldeſt ſonne, graunted him; but being afterwards diſſuaded by a knight, called, *Pedro de Seſe*, or as ſome write *Fernand* of Ordognana, maſter of the kings horſe, ſhee would haue auoided it, conſidering the charge the king had giuen her: whereat D. *Garcia* being too much incenſed for a matter of no moment, began to imagine that there was ſome diſhoneſt familiaritie betwixt this Maſter of the Horſe and his mother; whither that he belieued it, or did malicioufly inuent it, forgetting God, and all fili-

B all reſpect, he reſolued to accuſe them of adulterie: and hauing conferred this deſigne with his brother D. *Fernand* (who was of a better diſpoſition) he would haue forced him to ſerue as a witneſſe, or aſſiſtant in this wickedneſſe, the which he refuſed, and did often diſſuade D. *Garcia* from ſo vile an enterpriſe, but it was in vaine. In the end D. *Fernands* youth was vanquiſhed by the importunitie, or rather feare of his elder brother promiſing not to reueale the fraud and lye, which he had diſcouered vnto him. The king being returned to his caſtle of Nagera, this peruerſe ſonne D. *Garcia* failed not to accuſe his mother: whereat the king was wonderfully amazed, for that he had neuer ſeene any cauſe to ſuſpect his wife of any diſhoneſtie, neither would he lightly belieue that which his ſonne had ſaid, but examining this buſineſſe careſully, he ſought by all means to diſcouer the truth: yet he cauſed the Queene to

C be put in priſon in the caſtle of Nagera; then taking D. *Fernand* his ſecond ſonne apart, he examined him vpon this fact, who anſwered the king doubtfully, the which increaſed his ſuſpition more than before: wherefore the king called an aſſemblie of noblemen, and of his Councell, to whom he propounded this pitifull caſe, demanding their aduice. They anſwered that the Queene muſt purge her ſelfe by contrary prooſes, according vnto the Lawes, or according to the cuſtome which was then in vſe, ſhee ſhould finde a knight to defend her cauſe by armes, elſe ſhe muſt ſuffer the puniſhment due to ſuch an offence, which was to be burnt. The poore Ladie attending this ſentence, made her continuall prayers vnto God, to make her innocencie knowne, who heard her prayers: for after ſome daies, no man daring to preſent himſelfe to defend this princeſſe honor, D. *Ramir* the kings baſtard ſon offred himſelfe to

D enter combate for the Queene, againſt any that would maintaine the accuſation which was layed againſt her. As they prepared themſelues to the combat, there was a religious man of good fame, and much reſpected in Nauarre, who doubting of this fraude, or otherwiſe aduertiſed by the prouidence of God, came vnto D. *Garcia* and D. *Fernand* the kings ſons, whom he perſuaded with ſuch liuelie reaſons, as they were toucht in conſcience, and began to apprehend the fouleneſſe of their offence, to haue ſought her death who was the cauſe of their being, againſt all truth, and for a matter of ſo ſmall moment; wherefore caſting themſelues at this holy mans feet, they confeſt their fault, demanding pardon of God, and intreating him to finde ſome meanes that this purſute might ceaſe, the Queenes innocencie knowne, and that they might be reſtored to the kings fauour. The religious man hauing comforted

E them, went vnto the king, to whom he declared what he had done, and what he vnderſtood from his ſonnes, intreating him to pardon their offence, whom youth and choler had thus tranſported. The king being joyfull of the innocencie of his wife, deliuered her out of priſon, and meaning that the fauour which they pretended to recouer, ſhould depend wholly of their mother, he ſent them vnto her: but ſhe ſhewing her ſelfe a true mother, did forget the cauſe ſhe had to diſlike her ill aduiſed ſonnes, and pardoning them with a motherlie affection, ſhee reſtored them to the kings fauour: In this action, D. *Ramir* ſhewed himſelfe both vertuous and valiant, wherein hee purchaſed the more honour, by this circumſtance, That hee being ſonne of an other woman, would defend the reputation of his mother in law againſt her owne children: in recompence whereof, the king D. *Sancho*, aſſigning portions for his

F children in his life time, gaue after his death the Earledome of Arragon to D. *Ramir* with the title of king. By this diuiſion of portions made by the king D. *Sancho*, and D. *Nugna*, D. *Fernand* was alſo graced with a royall title, in the ſucceſſion of Caſtille, which fell vnto her by the violent death of her brother D. *Garcia*, as we will ſhew: Nauarre remayning to D. *Garcia* the elder brother, and the ancient realme of Sobrarbre to D. *Gonſalo*; meaning to

Notable treaſon of a ſonne againſt his mother.

Queene of Nauarre accuſed of Adulterie.

The vertue of D. Ramir the baſtard condemning the lawfull children of Nauarre.

Queene of Nauares innocencie iuſtified.

Affection of a mother.

to honour all his children with the names and titles of Kings, which was the cauſe of great diuiſions among theſe brethren, which haply had ceaſed, if one of them had beene made ſoueraigne King ouer the reſt, the which had maintained the Chriſtians eſtate in Spaine better vnited, and of more force to repulſe the Moores. The time of this action of adulterie is vncertaine. G

Religious deeds of D. Sancho the great.

The king D. *Sancho* was a very deuout and religious Prince, after the manner of thoſe times: for beſides the confirmation of gifts which he and his wife gaue to S. *Emylian*, of the towne of Ventoſe (annexed to this place by D. *Garcia* his father and others) he made a vow, to giue vnto the Couent of S. Saluator of Leyre, the tenth of bread and wine, and the herbage of ſuch places as he ſhould take from the Moores: and with this hope, in the yeare 1015, he raiſed an armie to inuade the Infidels by the frontier of Funes: at which place of Funes he gaue to the ſame Monaſterie a field of Vines which he had of the inhabitants, for that he had ſlaine tenne Moores in the time of peace, for the which they ought a thouſand ſolz, for a fine, which were ſo many crownes, or thereabouts. More, in Falſes he gaue a poſſeſſion, houſe, vine, and other appurtenances: and in Nagera, the houſes, vines, and fields of king *Antrayo*, but what he was, we haue no certaine knowledge. Theſe things he gaue to the Church of S. Saluator of Leyre. It is not knowne what was the ſucceſſe of D. *Sanchoes* warre againſt the Moores, but that by conjecture it was good, for that in that time there is a confirmation made by him, of nobilitie, and exemptions graunted by his predeceſſors to the inhabitants of Roncal. H

Councels in Nauarre.

The zeale of this religious Prince was ſuch, as he called a Councell at S. Saluator de Leyre, in the yeare 1022, but the chiefe decree was, a confirmation of priuiledges graunted to this Monaſterie by his grandfather D. *Sancho*, and D. *Vrraca* his grandmother, and D. *Garcia* and D. *Ximena* his father and mother; which confirmation was ſigned by the king and all his children. The yeare after 1023, there was another Councell held in Pampelone, where the Biſhoprick was transferred to S. Saluator of Leyre, where it continued ſome time. There enquirie was made of the auncient limits of the juriſdiction of the Biſhopricke of Pampelone. This was the ſubject of Councels in thoſe dayes. Then was D. *Sancho* the elder (who had beene ſchoolemaſter to the king) Biſhop of Pampelone, and Abbot of S. Saluator, but he could not ſee this alteration, for that he died this yeare: but his ſucceſſor carrying the ſame name, ſurnamed the younger, ſaw it in the yeare 1026, being the ſeuenth Biſhop of that Church, being vncertaine to what Archbiſhop it was then ſubject. In our time it is to that of Sarragoſſe. I

An. 1023.

Caſtille.

This yeare 1026 was borne that great captaine, a Caſtillan, called *Roderigo Dias* of Biuar, who was afterwards called *Cid Ruy Dias*, the Camper, of whom mention ſhall be made. In the yeare 1028 they hold (and it is verified by titles and auncient records) That D. *Sancho Garcia* Earle of Caſtille died, hauing ruled nine and thirtie yeares, and was buried in the Monaſterie of S. Saluator of Ogna, founded by him. He was an vnfortunate Prince in his houſe, by reaſon of the miſerable death of his mother; otherwiſe he was wiſe and valiant, and a great louer of his nobilitie, to whom he gaue great priuiledges and exemptions, yea, he diſpenſed with them from going to the warre without pay and entertainment, and that they ſhould not be taxed for any impoſition which ſhould be leuied vpon the publike. And as he was verie deuout, after the manner of thoſe times, he made manie reparations and orders, to make the wayes more eaſie for them that went in pilgrimage to S. *Iaques* of Compoſtella: for in the beginning, the ordinarie and moſt vſuall way was by the Prouinces of Guipuſcoa and Biſcaye to the mountaine countrey, then to the Aſturies of Sentillana, then to Ouiedo, from whence they entred into Gallicia; and ſince the way being mountainous, although it were ſhort, being left, by reaſon of the difficult and hard paſſages, they came from France by Nauarre into Alaua, and then through the Aſturies; a longer, but a farre more eaſie voyage than the other: but the Earle D. *Sancho* cauſed a way to be made euen, from Nauarre by Rioje and Bureua, to the citie of Burgos, the which is frequented at this day, to the great eaſe of ſuch as make this voyage to S. *Iaques*. They call this the French way. This Earle gaue Quintanilla to the Monaſterie of S. *Emylian*, and did many other works for the redemption of his ſoule, as appeares by the letters and titles of that age. K L M

The auncient way from France to S. Iaques.

D. Ber-

D. Bermond, third of that name, 23. King of Leon.

Leon.

26 DON *Bermond*, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* ſucceeded his father in the Realme of Leon, in the yeare 1028. beeing but a young Prince at his firſt entry to the Crown, he began to follow the religious ſteps of his father, cauſing churches, monaſteries, & other buildings which had bene ruined by the Arabians in the former wars, to be repaired. And moreouer, was very carefull to maintaine good orders among his ſubiects, and to do them iuſtice, puniſhing the diſordered with great ſeuerity. An argument that he had good and vertuous men in his Court, and of his Councell, who honored both themſelues and their Prince, in the due execution of their charges, and diſcharging of their conſciences: ſo as it followed, that all the ſubiects gouerned thẽſelues by their kings example: yea the Noblemen and Knights of his Court. The beginning of which raigne could not but be held moſt happie. Hee married with D. *Thereſa*, ſecond daughter to D. *Sancho*, laſt earle of Caſtile, by whom he had one ſon, called D. *Alphonſo* by his grandfathers name, who died before his father.

A religious king and louer of iuſtice.

27 By the ſame treatie of marriage with the yongeſt daughter of Caſtile, after the deceaſe of D. *Sancho* Earle of Caſtile, by the aduice of the country, there was a marriage propounded, betwixt D. *Garcia* ſucceſſor to the ſayd earle, and D. *Sancha* ſiſter to the K. D. *Bermond*. Both parties being agreed, D. *Garcia* went to Leon, to conſumate this mariage, being accompanied by D. *Sancho* k. of Nauarre his brother-in-law, who had married D. *Nugna* the eldeſt daughter of Caſtile. The Court being full of Noblemen and Ladies to honor this marriage, which ſhould be performed with ſtate, and the Earle D. *Garcia* hauing no other thoughts but to court his miſtris; there came vnto him the 3 brethren of *Bela* aboue-mentioned, who were baniſhed out of Caſtile, & fled into Leõ: D. *Roderigo*, D. *Diego*, and D. *Inigo*, who making a ſhew to deſire the Earles fauor, came to kiſſe his hand, offering him all ſeruice & homage, as his naturall vaſſals, craũing pardon for that was paſt: to whom D. *Garcia* being courteous, gaue good reception; and preſuming they had nothing hidden in their hearts, but what their countenances ſhewed, and their tongs vttered, he aſſured himſelfe of them, going without any guard, like a priuate man that had no quarrell: ſo as theſe traitours found oportunitie to murther him, in reuenge that the Earle his father had baniſhed them out of Caſtile, and confiſcated their goods: ſo the innocent ſuffered for the offendor, if we may call it an offence to do iuſtice vpon rebels. He that gaue him the firſt blow with his ſword, was D. *Ruys* or *Roderigo* his god-father. Such exceſſes did the Chriſtians then commit. The murtherers did then eſcape, but afterwards they fell into the hands of D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre, who tooke a worthy reuenge. There was great heauineſſe in Court for this wretched murther: but D. *Sancha* lamented more than all the reſt, to ſee her ſelfe a widow before ſhe was a wife: who ſeeing her ſpouſe interred at S. *Iohn* Baptiſt in Leon, intreated them that they would burne her aliue with him. By the death of D. *Garcia*, the Earledome of Caſtile fell to the k. of Nauarre D. *Sancho*, who had maried D. *Nugna* the eldeſt ſiſter of D. *Garcia*, and tooke peaceable poſſeſſion thereof in the ſame yeare 1028.

D. Garcia 4. *Earle of Caſtil*

D. Garcia *Earle of Caſtille murthered by the three brethren of* Bela.

Caſtile vnited to Nauarre.

28 After the death of D. *Raymond Borel* Earle of Barcelone, which was in the yeare, 1017. D. *Berenger* his ſon gouerned this principality, as proprietarie, vnder the Soueraigntie of France, being the ſixt in number, and was ſurnamed *Borel*, as his father, but of a contrary diſpoſition to his father: for by his idlenes, he gaue entry to all vices into his Court: war and all exerciſes of chiualrie were contemned by him, which bred him great troubles. We find that this Earle had three ſonnes, the firſt called D. *Raymond Berenger* ſucceeded him: the ſecond, D. *Guillen* or *Guillaume Berenger*, was Earle of Manreſe, and the third ſonne, Don *Sancho Berenger* Prior of the Monaſterie of

Cattelogne.

Genealogie of Barcelone.

Saint *Benoiſt* of Bages: Who after the deceaſe of D. *Guillen* the 2. brother, which died A
without children, left his habit, and ſucceeded him in the Conty of Manreſe, & died alſo
without children. In the yeare 1020. D. *Bernard Briſefer*, couſin to the Earle *Beren-*
ger, riding through Prouence, was drowned in the riuer of Roſne: And for that hee
was a braue Knight, the Moores hauing notice of his death, grew ſo hardie and coura-
gious, as they did ouer-runne the countrey of Cattelogne, entring by Cerdagne: but
they were repulſed and chaſed, by D. *Geoffrey* Earle of that place, brother to D. *Ber-*
nard. This D. *Geoffrey* was founder of the Monaſterie of Saint *Martin* of Canigo, and
mention is made of fiue ſonnes iſſued from him. D. *Raymond Geoffrey*, who was Earle
of Cerdagne and Beſalu, after the father: D. *Geoffrey Guinar*, Archbiſhop of Narbon:
D. *Berenger Geoffrey*, Biſhop of Girone: D. *Guillen Geoffrey*, Biſhop of Vrgel: and the B
laſt D. *Geoffrey*, Earle of Bergada: Hauing ſogoodly an iſſue, he dyed in the yere 1025.
and was interred at Saint *Martin* of Canigo, which hee had built. His eldeſt ſonne and
heire in the Countie of Cerdagne, did little enioy it, for hee dyed two yeares after,
leauing two ſonnes, D. *Guillen Raymond* Earle, and D. *Henry*.

The Moores by another Inuaſion into the territories of Cattelogne, ruined the Mo-
naſterie of Ripol; but by the care of D. *Oliban*, ſonne to D. *Oliban Cabriſa*, they were
repulſed, and the Monaſterie repayred and fortified by him, in the yeare 1035. in
which yeare the Earle D. *Berenger Borel* dyed, hauing gouerned fiue and thirty yeares
Nauarre and Caſtile. without any fame, beeing ſcarce forty yeares old, and was buried at Ripol.

After the death of D. *Garcia* Earle of Caſtille, and the perception of the ſucceſſion C
by D. *Sancho* the Great, king of Nauarre, in the name of D. *Nugna* his wife, beeing
eldeſt ſiſter to the deceaſed, the firſt woman which ſucceeded in Caſtille, there grew a
warre betwixt him and D. *Bermond* king of Leon, who had married the Earles other
ſiſter, called D. *Thereſa*: in the which the King of Leon loſt the countrey which lyes
from the riuer of Cea, vnto the auncient limits of Caſtile: but by the mediation of
ſome Noblemen, and good Councellers, theſe two Princes were reconciled and con-
cluded a peace; by the which there was a marriage contracted betwixt D. *Fernand*, ſe-
cond ſonne to the king of Nauarre, and D. *Sancha* ſiſter to the king D. *Bermond*, who
had beene promiſed to D. *Garcia*, Earle of Caſtile. By this Treatie the lands which the
King of Nauarre had taken from the King of Leon, ſhould bee giuen to *Fernand*: and
it was ſayd, that the Earledome of Caſtile aſſigned to him, ſhould haue the title of a D
Kingdome, when hee ſhould beginne to enioy it. Thus they were good friends, and
An. 1033. maintained peace betwixt theſe two Eſtates of Leon and Caſtile, till after the death of
Palence reſto- the King D. *Sancho* the Great: Who about the yeare 1033. reſtored the towne of Pa-
red by the king lence, vppon an opinion which he had to haue beene miraculouſly cured, (hauing put
of Nauarre. his arme out of ioynt, ſtriking at a wild Boare) in the ruines of this towne, which was
ſometimes deſtroyed by the Moores, and at a place where as Saint *Antolins* church
had beene. To this place he reſtored the auncient Epiſcopall ſeate, and gaue great gifts
vnto it. The Biſhops of Palence, call themſelues Earles of Pernia ſince that time. Hee
gaue much to other Monaſteries, as it was the cuſtome of thoſe times: and that for the
deuotion he had to the Reliques of *Ouiedo*, he went thither as a pilgrim, but he was ſlain E
Death of D. by the way, as we haue ſayd, and was buried at Ouiedo, & afterwards tranſported to O-
Sancho king gna, in the yeare 1034. After his deceaſe, his children tooke poſſeſſion of the Realmes
of Nauarre. *An.* 1034. aſſigned vnto them by their father and mother: D. *Garcia* of Nauarre, D. *Fernand* of
Caſtile, D. *Gonçalo* of Sobrarbre and Ribagorça, and D. *Ramir* of Arragon.

Thus a great Eſtate (by reaſon whereof D. *Sancho* had called himſelfe Emperour of
Spaine, and was ſurnamed the Great) was diſmembred, to the great preiudice of
Chriſtendome. Beeing dead, his brother in lawe D. *Bermond*, would not obſerue the
conditions concluded by the Treatie of marriage betwixt his ſiſter and D. *Fernand*
the new King of Caſtile, ſeeking to take from him the Land which did confine vppon
the Riuer of Cea, conquered and ouercome by. D. *Sancho* the Great, the which he af-
terwards left vnto D. *Fernand*, and to his wife, his ſiſter, in making of the marriage. F
D. *Fernand* hearing that hee prepared and addreſſed himſelfe to Armes, with an intent
and reſolution to annoy and trouble him, hee alſo, on the contrarie, put himſelfe in

defence

A defence, beeing ſuccoured by his brother D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre, with great troupes of ſouldiers, the which he ledde himſelfe in perſon, to a place called Llantada. The two armies encountred neere to the Riuer of Carrion, where there was a furious battaile, with great ſlaughter of either ſide: But D. *Bernond* loſt his life, beeing runne thorough with a Lance; by whoſe death (for that hee had no lawfull children) the ſucceſſion of Leon and Ouiedo, fell to D. *Fernand*, husband to D. *Sancha*, ſiſter to the deceaſed. This was in the yeare 1037. that the two Eſtates of Leon and Caſtile were vnted. D. *Bernond* was interred at Leon with his wife D. *Thereſa*, who was dead before.

D. Bernond king of Leon, breakes the peace, is defeated and ſlaine

Vnion of Leon and Caſtile.

B

The end of the ſeuenth Booke.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

The Contents.

1 D. Ferdinand, *firſt king of Caſtile.*
2 D. Raymond Berenger, 7. *Earle of Barcelone.*
3 D. Ramir, *firſt king of Arragon.*
4 D. Garcia, 14. *king of Nauarre, the ſixth of that name.*
5 D. Sancho, *fift of that name, and fifteenth king of Nauarre.*
6 *Diuiſion of the Eſtates of* D. Fernand *the firſt king of Caſtile, among his children, giuing Caſtile to* D. Sancho, *to* D. Alphonſo *that of Leon, and to* D. Garcia, *Galicia, with the like title.*
7 D. Sancho Ramires, *king of Arragon,* 2. *and the inuaſion of Nauarre by him, wherfore he was numbred for the* 16. *king of Nauarre, and the ſixth of that name.*
8 *Eſtate of the Arabians in the Eaſt, their diuiſions and quarrels, from whence ſprung 4 mightie Monarchies.*
9 D. Alphonſo *the ſixth, called the Braue, king of Caſtile, Leon, and Galicia, uniting theſe three Eſtates.*
10 *Exploits of* Cid Ruis Diaz, *a valiant Captaine of Caſtile.*
11 D. Raymond, *eighth Earle of Barcelone.*
12 *Vſurpations of the King of Caſtile, vpon Nauarre.*
13 *Conqueſt of the cittie and kingdome of Toledo, from the Moores. Re-eſtabliſhment of the Archbiſhops ſeat and primacie of Spaine, and other things belonging to the dignitie of that Cittie.*
14 D. Raymond Arnoul, *ninth Earle of Barcelone.*
15 *The royall Seate reſtored to* Cordoua, *by* Ali-Aben Axa *a Moore, who united all the Princes and Potentates of that Sect in* Spaine, *vnder the Empire of the Almoranides: his rebellion and death.*
16 *Paſſage of* Ioſeph Aben-Tefin, Miralmumin, *or king of Maroc in Spaine: reduction of all the Moores of Spaine vnder one Empire.*
17 Henry *of Lorraine, or of Beſançon, Earle of Linbourg, the ſtemme of the royall family of Portugall.*
18 *Spaine furniſhed with French Prelates.*
19 D. Pedro *firſt of that name,* 17. *king of Nauarre, and third of Arragon.*
20 Ali-Aben-Tefin-Miralmumin, *or king of the Arabiens Almorauides.*

This eighth Booke containes the beginning of the *Realmes of Caſtile and Arragon, erected by* D. SANCHO 4. king of Nauarre, and the continuance of their Princes, and *other Potentates of Spaine, as followeth:*

LEON. Kings.

24 *D. Fernand* 1.
D. Alphonſo 6.

NAVARRE. Kings.

14 *D. Garcia* 6.
15 *D. Sancho* 5.
16 *D. Sancho Ramir* 6.
17 *D. Pedro the firſt* 1.

CATTELOGNE. Kings.

7 *D. Raymond Berenger.*
8 *D. Raymond.*
9 *D. Raymond Arnoul.*

CASTILE. Kings.

1 *The ſame* 2.
2 *D. Sancho* 2.
3 *The ſame* 1.

ARRAGON. Kings.

1 *D. Ramir the firſt* 1.

The ſame 4.
The ſame 1.

PORTVGAL. Earles.

1 *D. Henry of Lorraine, or of Beſançon, firſt Earle vnder the Soueraigntie of Leon.*

D. Fer-

A

D. Fernand, 2. of that name, firſt king of Caſtile, and 24. of Leon.

1 D. *Fernand* had raigned 2. yeares in Caſtile, when as the quarrell grew betwixt him, and D. *Bermond* king of Leon, whereof followed the defeate of Llantada, and the death of the king D. *Bermond*: after which the two breethren, D. *Garcia* king of B Nauarre, and D. *Fernand* of Caſtille, led their victorious armie before the city of Leon, where the remainders were that had eſcaped from the battaile. The Leonois would haue made ſome reſiſtance againſt D. *Fernand* heire to the Crowne: but fearing they ſhould not be able to hold out long, they receiued him: and beeing crowned in Saint *Mary de la Regle*, the Cathedral church of Leon, in the yeare 1037. he raigned in peace. 1037. Thus theſe two Eſtates of Leon and Caſtile were vnited, about an hundred yeares after they had beene diuided, in the time of D. *Fernand Gonçales*: and they came into the maſculine line of the houſe of Nauarre, in D. *Fernand*, the ſecond ſonne, by the hereditarie right of women: that is, Caſtile by his mother D. *Nugna*, and Leon, in the right of his wife D. *Sancha*, for want of heires males of the direct line in theſe two houſes. Be- C fore he came to theſe great ſucceſſions, during the life of the king D. *Sancho* his father, he had had by his wife D. *Sancha*, preſumptiue heire of Leon, one daughter called D. *Vrraca*, then a ſonne D. *Sancho*, and after him another daughter named D. *Elustra*, beeing King of Caſtile, ſhe bare him D. *Alphonſo*, in the yeare, 1035. and for the laſt of all their children D. *Garcia*: All which were well inſtructed and bred vp like kings children according to their ſexe.

Caſtile.

Succeſſion of the Eſtates of Caſtile and Leon by women.

The firſt royall act which D. *Fernand* did, was to diſpoſe of Iuſtice, fortifying by his authoritie the ancient lawes of the Goths, with ſome neceſſarie additions or reformations: he was much renowned, not onely for that reſpect, but alſo for his Religion, and valour in warre, whereof he ſhewed good proofe againſt the Moores, who inuaded D his dominions in the yeare 1038, by the frontiers of Gallicia, and the countrey which is properly called Extremadura, the which lyes vpon the bankes of Durio, whence it takes the name, not that which they thinke at this day lyes betwixt Tayo and Guadiana where the good woad growes. D. *Fernand* did not onely repulſe them, but alſo purſued them vnto Merida and Badajos, then entring into the countrey, which is now called Portugall, hee tooke from them the townes of Cea, Gana, Viſeo, Lamego, the caſtle of Saint Martin, Tarança, and in the end after a long and difficult ſeege, the city of Coimbra, where his armie was in great diſtreſſe for victuals; whereof they were releeued (as the Spaniſh Hiſtories ſay) by certaine religious men of that countrie, who had ſecretly gathered together (if it be credible) great ſtore of victuals, wherewith they E did furniſh the campe. The Spaniſh Authors write, that the king D. *Fernand* had (at the taking of Viſeo) gotten the Moore, which had ſlaine the king D. *Alphonſo* his father in law, whoſe eyes he cauſed to be put out, and both his hands, and one of his feet to be cut off, wherein he rather ſhewed a baſe, then a generous diſpoſition. In that war he layed the bounds of his country beyond the riuer of Mondego, which is in the middeſt of Portugall: and leauing for Gouernour of Coimbra, (beeing the greateſt towne in all the countrey) a Knight called D. *Siſenand*: hee returned into his countrey, and went to viſit S. *Iaques* Sepulcher, offering part of the ſpoiles which hee had taken in the warre, as to the Patron and Protector of Spaine, according to the manner of the Religion in his time. After which he continued eight yeares without any warres againſt F the Moores, who hauing diſmembred their monarchie of Cordoua, which had ſo long maintained the name and glorie of the Arabians in Spaine, to the great ruine of the Chriſtians, did now buſie themſelues to make pettie Royalties: whereof the moſt famous in thoſe times were Seuile and Toledo; that of Seuile extended his Iuriſdictions vnto the countrey called Algarbe, beyond Guadiana.

Which is the countrey of Extremadura.

Reuenge worthy of a royal mind.

Cattelogne. 2 Other Moores neighbours to *Cattelogne*, hauing entred the Contie of Barce- A
lone, in the time of D. *Berenger Borel*, were ſtayed by his ſon and ſucceſſor D. *Raimond Berenger*, whom they called the Elder, for that he had a ſonne of the ſame name, who ſucceeded him. This Earle was of a ſmall ſtature; but in this little bodie there lodged a great courage, vnlike therein vnto his father, hauing no delight but in action and arms. By his iudgement and valour, the Moores were diſpoſſeſſed of the Caſtell of Manreſa, of the Townes of Ceruera, Segarra, Tagarra, Verdun, Tous, Lacuença of Odena, and of many other places: and ſubiected ſome of the Moores vnto him, and made them Tributaries. With this Warlike vertue, he was wiſe for the well gouerning of a quiet eſtate, louing Iuſtice, beeing religious, honourable, and liberall to his Nobility, the dignitie of which Eſtate he did much augment. Hee was twice married: his firſt B
Genealogie of Cattelogne. wife, called *Radalmurs*, brought him two ſonnes, the one called D. *Pedro Raymond*, who was much hated of his father, for ſome reaſons which we will hereafter ſhew: The ſeconds name was D. *Berenger Raymond*, who ſlue his brother; and for that hee was exceeding proud, he loſt his Eſtate. To his ſecond wife he had D. *Almodia*, or *Almadis*, a wiſe Ladie and vertuous, by whome he had D. *Raymond Berenger*, who was Earle after him, ſurnamed (for that his haire was white and thicke) flaxen haire.

D. Ramir, firſt King of Arragon.

Arragon. 3. THe Arragonois their neighbours, began at that time to haue Kings, the coun- C
trie hauing that title giuen it, in fauour of D. *Ramir*, a Baſtard of Nauarre, in the yeare, 1304, the Countrey hauing continued with the title of an Earledome about 250. yeares, by which meanes it was diuided from Nauarre. This title of a King was confirmed to D. *Ramir*, by Pope *Benedict* the ninth, and the Armes of theſe firſt Kings of Arragon, weare a Croſſe argent in a field azure. D. *Ramir* did ſoone after ſeaze (I know not by what right) of the Realme of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorça, by the death of
Sobrarbre and Ribagorſa vnited to the Crowne of Arragon. D. *Gonçalo* his brother, who had beene made King by the will of D. *Sancho* their father, he beeing ſlaine paſſing the bridge of Montclus, by a houſhold ſeruant of his, called *Raymonet*, and left no children. This ſucceſſion did more rightly belong to D. *Garcia*, the lawfull ſonne of D. *Sancho*, and brother by father and mother to D. *Gonçalo*. What- D
ſoeuer they ſay, that D. *Ramir* was a Prince indowed with great vertues, yet would hee haue diſpoſſeſſed his brother D. *Garcia*, who was at Rome, of the kingdome of Nauarre, where their father died. For the effecting whereof, hee demaunded ſuccours from the Moores, which held Tudella, Saragoſſe, and Hueſca, and beſeeged the towne of Tafalla, but D. *Garcia* arriuing at that inſtant, had meanes to make D. *Ramir* to raiſe his ſiege with diſhonour and loſſe. He had to wife D. *Ermiſende*, daughter to the Earle of
Genealogie of Arragon. Bigorre, by whom he had D. *Sancho Ramires*, who was King of Arragon after him, D. *Garcia*, Biſhop of Iacca, D. *Sancha* Counteſſe of Tholouſa, D. *Thereſa* Counteſſe of Prouence, wife to the Earle *Guillen Bertrand*, and one Baſtard ſonne, called D. *Sancho*, Lord of Ayuar and Xauierre. The time of this Kings Raigne, or the maner of his death, E
whether it were in warre, or by ſickneſſe, is doubtfull amongſt Authors, the common opinion is, that he died about the yeare 1063. being at the ſeege of the Caſtell of Grados, or Iraos, of a wound which he receiued, beeing in armes againſt the Moores of the Country: for that leauing the protection of Arragon, they had put themſelues vnder that of Caſtille, and that he is interred at S. *Iohn de la Pegna*.

D. Garcia

A

D. Garcia Sanches 6. of that name, and 14. King of Nauarre.

4. AS for D. *Gracia* heire of the Realme of Nauarre, he came to the crowne as his other brethren in the yeere 1034. the Queene D. *Nugna* his mother, yet lyuing: he was ſurnamed *Sanches* of Nagera, for that he was bred vp there, & made his ordinary reſidence there vntil hee died, and was buried there. The portions giuen by D. *Sancho* the Great, their father, were very preiudicial vnto him, for that as the elder, the ſoueraignty of all thoſe Eſtates did belong vnto him, of all which D. *Garcia* had nothing but the crowne of Nauarre, the country which is from Bureua and Ogna, running from the country of Frias, conteyning ſeuen iuriſdictions, in ancient time called Caſtillia the old, and moreouer Alaua, Nagera and a part of Biſcay. In the beginning D. *Garcia* was in reaſonable good termes with his brother D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille, and did aſſiſt him as we haue ſayd, in the warres he had againſt D. *Bermond*, to ſettle him in the Realme of Leon: but afterward there grew diuiſions betwixt them, as alſo betwixt him and D. *Ramir*, ſo as during his life they were neuer reconciled. Hee was married whileſt hee was Infant of Nauarre, to a French Lady called *Eſtiennette*, of the houſe of Foix, as the Spaniards ſay, yet is it doubtfull, for there is no mention in thoſe times of any Earles of Foix, it may bee ſhee was of the houſe of Carcaſſone, or Beziers, from whence the Earles of Foix did afterwards deſcend. By this wife hee had foure ſonnes: D. *Sancho Garcia*, who was King after his father: D. *Ramier* Lord of Calaorra, Torreſilla, de los Cameros, Riuafreſca, Lea, Villoria, Trebejan and others: D. *Fernand* the third Lord of Iubera, Lagienilla and other places, and D. *Raymond* the fourth Lord of Murillo, Agon and Agoncillo, and foure daughters, D. *Ermeſilda* or *Ermiſenda*, who was Lady of Villa Mediana and Matres: D. *Ximena* Lady of Corcerous and Hornos. The third D. *Mayor* of Ianguas, & D. *Vrraca*, or according vnto ſome *Oguenda*, Lady of Aluerite, Lardero & Mucrones, ſuch was the iſſue of D. *Garcia Sanches* of Nagera: During whoſe raigne the Spaniards ſet vp the inuention of the image of the Virgin *Mary* of the royal Monaſtery, in the towne of Nagera; in honour of whom, D. *Garcia*, and his wife D. *Eſtaphana*, or *Eſtiennette* cauſed the Conuent of the order of Saint *Benet* to be built: and moreouer the King did inſtitute the order of the knights of the Lilly, for that in the ſame picture there was a pot of white Lillies, and would haue the Knights carry vpon their cloakes, Lillies imbroidred with the needle. This was the deuiſe of the Knights of the order of Nauarre, wherewith the Kings children, and many Knights of Nauarre and ſtrangers were honoured, the which continued in this houſe of Nauarre.

Nauarre.

The bounds of the realme of Nauarre vnder D. Garcia Sanches.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

Knights of the Lilly in Nauarre.

The King D. *Garcia* did greatly honour his nobility, and did confirme in the yeere 1043. the preuiledges of the gentlemen in the Valley of Roncal, in teſtimony of their perpetuall fidelity to the Kings of Nauarre their Princes, who had done him great ſeruices againſt the Moores his neighbors. He tooke Calaorra from them, in the yeere 1044. a more fortunate warre, out of doubt, then that which hee had againſt D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille his brother, a fatall man to all his kinſfolkes and allies. Enuy which torments man, by reaſon of an others proſperity, bread a hatred in D. *Garcia*, againſt his brother D. *Fernand*, the which was augmented by ſome diſpute that was betwixt them for the town of Nagera in Rioje, whereas D. *Garcia* kept his Court, and the Lands of Bureua, which D. *Fernand* maintayned did belong vnto the crowne of Caſtille. The firſt and moſt vnworthy effect, whereby this hatred was diſcouered, was a treaſon plotted againſt D. *Fernand* in the towne of Nagera; for being come in brotherly loue to viſit D. *Garcia*, who was ſicke in bed, hee was aduertiſed that by his commandement they ment to ſtay him, and in truth hee had beene put in priſon if hee had not eſcaped: this did ſo incenſe them one againſt an other, as falling to armes, it was one of their deaths.

An. 1044.

Quarrels betwixt the Kings of Caſtille and Nauarre.

D. Garcias practiſe againſt his brother.

This treacherous part was long diſſembled by D. *Fernand*, attending ſome oportunity

nity of reuenge, notwithſtanding any excuſe D. *Garcia* could make, ſeeing his deſigne had failed. Thus the King of Nauarre liued in continuall hatred with his brethren. D. *Ramir*, and D. *Fernand*, as hee had purchaſed by his bad diſpoſition, the diſlike of his father and mother: a Prince in truth vnworthie to make warre againſt the Moores, for the aduancement of the Chriſtian religion: againſt whom (notwithſtanding that hee was in bad termes with his brethren) hee ſent an army, and tooke from them the towne of Funes, in the yeere of our Lord 1045. For the recouery of his health, hee had ſent meſſengers to all the famous Biſhops and Abbots of Spaine, that by their praiers to God hee might bee cured: with this deuotion hee cauſed himſelfe to bee carried to the Monaſtery of Saint *Sauueur* of Leyre, where hee did beleeue that by the praiers of thoſe religious men, his health was reſtored; in recompence where- B of, he gaue to that houſe the Conuent of Centurifontes, and many other things: all this did nothing abate the ſpleene hee had againſt his brother D. *Fernand*, who would not be ſurprized.

Caſtille. Being returned into his country, diſſembling the wrong which had beene done him, he made warre againſt the Moores, vpon the fronters of Caſtille, where he tooke the townes of Goruas, Vado del Rey, Aquilera, Berlanga, and other places, paſſing vnto Tarraſſone and then hee returned by Medina Celi, ruining the forts, and watch-towers which the Moores had built in thoſe countries; the which he did with leſſe difficulty, for that the Moores eſtate was in great confuſion, by reaſon of the ſeditions and tiranies *An.* 1047. which were practiſed amongſt them. They write that this Prince did alſo that yeere (which was 1047) chaſe the Moores out of the mountaines, of Ora and Ouan. Some- C time after, continuing the warre againſt the Mahumetiſts, hee paſt the mountaines with his army into the realme of Toledo, he ſpoiled the country about Talamanca and Vzeda, whereas the riuer of Henares paſſeth to Alcala, and Guadalajara: he entred the territory of Madrid, and made ſuch a general ſpoile of townes and people, as the King of Toledo, a Moore called *Aly Maymon*, was aduiſed to pacifie him by preſents, yea to promiſe him tribute: the which hee did, ſending home D. *Fernand* rich with gold and ſiluer, and of all other ſpoiles, into his countries of Leon and Caſtille.

Moores. This King *Aly Maymon* was the ninth of thoſe which had rained at Toledo of the royall race of *Aben Humeya*, ſonne to King *Hizen*, and grand-child to *Hayran*. Hee had one ſonne amongſt others, carrying his grand-fathers name *Hizen*, and one daughter D called *Caſilda*, who was a Chriſtian, as you ſhall heare. At that time there dwelt many Muſarabes in Toledo, whō God left not vnfurniſhed of Paſtors, among the which *Ar-* *Arts floriſhed among the Arabians in Spaine.* *chiques* the Arch-deacon is famous, who incouraged the Chriſtians of that city, and inſtructed them in the grounds of their faith: arts and liberal ſciences were in like manner maintained and honored among the Arabians, and in thoſe daies their liued many learned men of that nation, whereof the moſt renouned were *Haly Albuacem*, and *Aly Aben Ragel*, very learned in Aſtrology. The occaſion which drew the Princeſſe *Caſſide* to the Chriſtian religion, is thus related by the authors of the Spaniſh Hiſtory. She fel (ſay they) very ſicke of a bloudy flix, for whoſe recouery her father had in vaine im- ployed the skill of all the Arabian Phiſitians, and others that were expert in that facul- E ty: but in the end ſhee had a reuelation, that if ſhee did waſh her ſelfe in the waters of Saint *Vincents* Lake, which is in the territory of Bureua, nere vnto Biruieſca, ſhe ſhould *Caſſide a Princeſſe of the Moores baptized.* be cured: the which ſhee preſently declared to the King her father, who was very well pleaſed: and hauing written to the King D. *Fernand*, hee ſent this Virgin well attended vnto him, and preſently ſet many Chriſtian ſlaues, at liberty, vpon this occaſion D. *Fernand* entertained her with great honor, & cauſed her to bee furniſhed with al things neceſſary. Being bathed in thoſe waters ſhe recouered her health, wherevpon the Spaniards ſay, ſhe would returne no more to Toledo, but cauſed her ſelfe to be baptized and built an Oratory with a little chamber vpon the Lake, where ſhee made her aboad, and there ſpent the remainder of her daies, in praiers and other religious exercies, and was there buried after her deceaſe. F

But the ſame author ſaid, that being at Toleda, before ſhe came into Caſtille ſhe was full of charity and compaſſion to Chriſtian captiues, to whom ſhe gaue great almes,

which

A which was a ſigne that there were in her ſome good ſeeds of better inſtruction, the which by the recouery of her health was confirmed. There was alſo an other Prince of the Moores called *Alay Maymon* (not he which was King of Toledo) againſt whom D.*Garcia* King of Nauarre had a ſharpe incounter, at Ricorbaſeſca, where the Moore was vanquiſhed and ſlaine.

Nauarre.

Theſe Chriſtian Kings, ambitious and treacherous one againſt an other, not ſparing their owne bloud, thought to expiate all their offences, in building of Churches, and indowing them with great reuenues, in enuy one of an other, with this opinion, D.*Garcia* gaue many guifts, and granted many preuiledges to the Church of Saint *Mary* the Royal of Nagera, which hee had cauſed to be built, for his funerall: declaring that theſe

Donations to Churches.

B guifts were for the health of his ſoule, of his fathers, of the Queene his wiues, and of his children, with the approbation of the chiefe noblemen of his Realme: which donations and preuiledges, hee ment ſhould continue vnto the end of the world, vpon a penaltie, to him that ſhould breake them, of a thouſand tallents, to bee applied to the Monaſterie. In theſe termes they are expreſt in the letters which are found in the ſayd Monaſterie, dated in the yeere of our Lord 1052. and ſeene by *Garibay*.

Caſtille.

By the like perſwaſion, D.*Fernand* King of Caſtille built the Church of Saint *Iſidore* in the city of Leon. And to make that place of more authority, hee reſolued to get his body, which hee thought was yet in the city of Seuile, where he had beene Biſhop,

Exploits of D. Fernand and againſt the Moores.

C for this cauſe hee proclaimed warre, againſt *Almuncamus*, called by others *Benabet*, *Aben Amet*, who at that time was King there, waſting and ſpoyling his country, on this ſide the riuer of Guadiana, towards Portugal, where hee tooke the towne of Montmaior, and purſuing his enemy, he forſt him to the like conditions, as hee had done *Aly Maymon*, King of Toledo, and beſides hee made him to deliuer Saint *Iſidores* bodie, or ſome-thing in ſteed thereof, the which was receiued by D. *Auito* Biſhop of Leon, and D.*Ordogno* Biſhop of Aſtorga, which relicke hee cauſed to bee carried to Leon. This King D.*Fernand* at the ſute of his ſubiects of the Kingdome of Leon, cauſed the towne of Zamora to bee new built, which had remayned a heape of ſtones, ſince the raigne of D.*Ramir* the third. D.*Garcia* King of Nauarre did in like manner build the towne of

1054.

Detention of D Garcia King of Nauarre in Caſtille.

D Peralta, and other workes. And to returne to the hatred which continued betwixt theſe two brethren, it burſt forth in the yeere 1054. ſo as the King D. *Fernand* beeing falne ſicke at Burgos, he requited D. *Garcia* in the like manner: for D.*Garcia* being come vnto him, to viſit him, and to take from him all ſuſpition that hee had attempted againſt him, he was ſeazed on and caried priſoner vnto Cea.

Nauarre.

D.*Garcia*, wrought in ſuch ſort with good words and money, as his gard ſuffred him to eſcape, and ſo being full of wrath and indignation, he returned into Nauarre, where hee leuied a mighty army of his ſubiects, of Gaſcons and of Moores, allies or mercenaries, the which he led by the mountaines of Oca, vnto Atapuerca within foure leagues of Burgos: whereof the King D.*Fernand* being aduertiſed, he had rayſed great troupes

Warres betwixt Nauarre and Caſtille.

E in Caſtille, Leon and Aſturia to reſiſt him. Yet before they came to ioyne in battaile, hee did ſollicit the King D.*Garcia*, by many meſſengers to retire, intreating him to forget all things paſt, and that from thenceforth hee would remaine his good brother and friend: but D.*Garcia* was ſo incenſed, as he would not giue eare to any good counſell, wherefore both armies aduancing, there was a furious battaile, in the which there was much Chriſtian bloud ſpilt: but D. *Garcia* was ſo vnfortunate as he was incountred in the charge, by two Knights of Nauarre, who being diſcontented with him, had retired to D. *Fernands* army; theſe two ranne vpon him and ſlue him; whereupon the Nauarrois army was ſoone put to reute, and defeated. The King D. *Fernand* did greeue at D.*Garcias* death, and deliuered his bodie to his people to bury it, leauing to purſue a-

Death of D. Garcia Sanches King of Nauarre.

F ny but the Moores, who were come to this warre. Such was the end of D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre, in the yeere 1054. hauing raigned twenty yeeres. His bodie was interred at Saint *Mary* the royal in Nagera. Hee intitled himſelfe King of Pampelone, Nagera, Alaua, Oca, Bureua, of Caſtille the Old, and of Biſcay, where intruth he held moſt part of the country.

In

In witneſſe whereof there are letters found, conteyning, that in the yeere 1053. D. *Nugno Sanches* Earle of Durango, and D. *Legunтia* his wife, indowed a church of Saint *Auguſtine*, the which is now called Saint *Auguſtine* of Echauarri, nere vnto the place whereas long after the towne of Helorrio was built, which letters were confirmed by the King D. *Garcia*, as raigning in that country. A

Caſtille.

After this victory the King D. *Fernand* ſeized vpon all Caſtille the Old, of the territory of Bureua, of Mont Oca, and of part of Rioje, vnto the waters of the floud Oja, which fall from the mountaine of Eucimi, where now ſtands Saint *Dominique* de la Calçada, and fals into Ebro at the towne Haro. In confirmation of the Monkes good husbandry, mention is made, of a controuerſie betwixt the deceaſed King D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre and Saint *Dominique*, called of *Silos*, who was a religious man, borne at Cagnas, in Rioje, and of a ſheapherd became a Monke; hee was bred vp in the Monaſtery of Saint *Emylian* of Cogolla, where hee tooke the habit of the order of Saint *Benet*, and liued there ſo religiouſly as he was made Abbot: but for that he was a ſtout protector of the rights of the Abbay, and of their exemptions, he fell in diſgrace with the King, who expelled him out of all his dominions: the which hee aftewardes repented. B

Vſurpations of the King of Caſtille vpon Nauarre.

This good father went into Caſtille, where D. *Fernand* receiued him courteouſly, and gaue him commiſſion for the reſtoring of the Monaſtery of Saint *Sebaſtian* of Silos, in the valley of Toblatello, the which had beene deſtroied by the Moores. In thoſe times there beganne to bee great fame of the valour of D. *Roderigo Diaz*, called by the Arabians, *Cid Ruis Diaz*, againſt whom he made long and ſharpe warres, beeing a new knight deſirous of honour, and ready for all vertuous exerciſes. After that D. *Fernand* had ſubiected vnder his obedience, the territories of Rioje and Mont Oca, which had beene held by the Kings of Nauarre, the Moores made many roades thether, being their neighbours, and did daylie carry away great ſpoiles, whereof they were often ſtript by *Cid Ruis Diaz*; and amongſt others mention is made of a route which he gaue them vpon Mont Oca, where he tooke fiue of their commanders or petty Kings, the which hee afterwards deliuered vpon ranſome, and promiſe of a yeerely tribute. This *Cid Ruis* had a quarrel with D. *Gomes* Lord of Gormes, the which had beene conquered by D. *Fernand* from the Moores, few yeeres before, ſo as entring into Combate, D. *Gomes* was ſlaine; hee left one daughter called D. *Ximena Gomes*, who made great and continual complaints for the death of her father: but ſoone after ſhee her ſelfe intreated the King, to make a marriage betwixt her and *Cid*, the which he did, and ſo this Lady was comforted. Hee purchaſed this name of *Cid*, which in the Arabian tongue ſignifies Lord, in the towne of Zamore, when as the meſſengers of theſe fiue petty Kings, aboue mentioned, bringing the tribute contracted with them, preſented it in the preſence of the King D. *Ferdnand*, they called him *Cid Ruis Diaz*: wherefore the King would haue this braue Knight carry this title ſtill, who by his right name was called *Roderigo Diaz de Biuar*. C D

D. Roderigo Diaz of Biuar a valiant knight.

Cid a title giuen to Roderigo Diaz.

The towne of Calaorra beeing taken by the Moores, and recouered againe by the King D. *Fernand*, there grew ſome controuerſie betwixt him and D. *Ramir* King of Arragon, for that place; for the deciding whereof either ſhould bring a knight to the combate, vpon condition that the victor ſhould purchaſe the right to his party. For D. *Ferdnand Cid Ruis Diaz* was armed, and for the King of Arragon came a knight called *Martin Gomez*, the author (as they ſay) of the houſe and family of *Luna* in Arragon; Who beeing vanquiſhed and ſlaine vpon the place, Calaorre remained in the iuriſdiction of Caſtille. The race of this knight D. *Roderigo Diaz*, deſcended of *Flauin*, whom others call *Layn Caluo*, Iudge of Caſtille, ſonne in law to *Nugno Nugnes Raſura*, who had by his daughter D *Eluira Nugnes Bella*, or *Thereſa Bella*, as ſome ſay, foure ſonnes, *Fernand*, *Bermond*, *Layn* and *Diego*, ſurnamed *Laynes*. Of *Fernand* the eldeſt was borne, *Layn Fernandes*, of him *Nugno Laynes*, who begat *Diego Laynes*, father to *Cid Ruis Diaz*: whoſe mother was called D. *Thereſa Nugnes*, daughter to D. *Roderigo*, *Aluares* Earle and Gouernor of the *Aſturies*, by others called D. *Nugna Aluares*, d' *Amaya*. Of *Cid Ruis*, and of D. *Ximena Gomes* aboue named was borne D. *Diego* E F

Race of Cid Ruis Diaz.

Rodri-

A *Rodrigues*, who died in his fathers life time, in the warres againſt the Moores. And moreouer they had two daughters D.*Eluira*, and D.*Sol*, whereof mention ſhalbe made in the relation of the affaires of Caſtille and Nauarre.

D. Sancho Garcia the fifth of that name, and the fifteenth King of Nauarre.

B 5. D. *Sancho Garcia*, ſucceeded D. *Garcia Sanches* his father in the realme of Nauarre, who could not ſtoppe the courſe of D. *Fernands* conqueſts, hauing after the battaile of Atapuerca, taken from him a good part of the country which his father enioyed: wherefore he made a league with his vncle D. *Ramir* King of Arragon, againſt D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille. By this alliance the Spaniſh authors ſay, that theſe Kings gaue diuers townes and forts in pawne one to an other, and that the King of Nauarre did quit to him of Arragon, and to his for euer, the townes of Sangueſſa, Lerda and Ondues. This King had to wife a Ladie called D. *Plaiſance*, by whom hee had children, but there is no certaine mention made of them. Hee was of little valour, and therefore D. *Fernand* of Caſtille his vncle, had meanes to reſtraine him in his Realme of Nauarre, at his pleaſure, were it either right or *Nauarre.*

C wrong.

In the meane time the King D. *Fernand*, to purge and expiat theſe outrages, gaue bountifully to the Cathedral churches, colledges, pariſhes and monaſteries of his realme, and to others without it; for they ſay hee gaue euery yeere to the Abbay of Clugny, a thouſand peeces of gold, out his treaſury and infinite almes deeds to the poore in particular. The tribute which hee demaunded of the King of Toledo, was denied him a little before his death: but hee went in perſon againſt him, forced him to acknowledge him for his Lord, and to doe him homage, and in like manner the other Moores, who after his example had rebelled: and they hold that hee alſo led his army along the riuer of Ebro, by the confines of Cattelogne to Valence, where D hauing taken great ſpoiles from the Moores, which raigned in thoſe Marches, hee returned victorious into his country. His reſidence was for the moſt part at Leon, for certaine reaſons. *Caſtille.* *The almes deeds of the King of Caſtille.*

And although that homebred examples did warne him to keepe his Eſtates vnited in one bodie, to haue the more power and authority, to withſtand the attempts of all enemies, yet hee was reſolued to aſſigne his children their portions in his life time: To D. *Sancho* hee appointed the realme of Caſtille, vnto the riuer of Piſuerga, towards Leon; and towards Nauarre limited by the riuer of Ebro, as hee had augmented it on that ſide, with the preiudice of his Nephew D. *Sancho Garcia*: To D. *Alphonſo* his ſecond ſonne, he aſſigned the Kingdome of Leon in the Aſturies, and E Tramſiera, vnto the riuer Deua, which paſſeth by Ouiedo: and moreouer hee gaue him part of Campos, and the towne of Aſtorga, and other lands in *Galicia* with the towne of Zebrero: To D. *Garcia* the youngeſt the realme of *Galicia*, withall that hee had conquered in Portugall. Hee did alſo indowe his two daughters, aſſigning to D. *Vrraca* the eldeſt the city of Zamora, and to D. *Eluira* the yongeſt, the city of Toro: but this diuiſion was not allowed, nor kept by his ſonne D. *Sancho*, after his death, the which many ſay, was in the yeere of our Lord 1059. *D. Fernand King of Caſtille aſſigneth portions to his children.*

A remarkable yeere by the credit which was giuen to the Cardinals of Rome, by the dilligence of Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, a Sauoyard borne, who hauing called a councell at Saint *Iean* de Latran in Rome, prouided that from thence forth the Pope ſhould not be choſen but by the ſuffrages of the Cardinalls, grounding this decree vp- F on the corruptions, troubles and ſeditions, which grew ordinarily vpon the election of Popes; holding it leſſe dangerous to haue theſe indirect courſes practiſed by few, then by the whole Clergy, or the people of Rome. This Decree is inſerted in the three and twenty diſtinction, and begins. *In nomine domini &c.* *An.* 1059. *Election of the Pope by the Cardinalls at Rome.*

The

The writers of the Spaniſh Hiſtory are not very certaine of the time of D. *Fernands* death; for thoſe which ſeeme moſt exact, prolong his life vnto the yeere of our Lord 1067. The place where he died is alſo very doubtfull: but all agree that he was interred at Saint *Iſidore* of Leon, dying ſo full of contrition and repentance for his ſinnes, as they hold his body for a holy relike, in the Kings chappel in that church. By this computation he ſhould haue raigned two and thirty yeeres in Caſtille, and thirty or thereabours in Leon. Wee finde no other thing touching the affaires of this King with foraine Princes, but only a contention betwixt his Ambaſſadors, and thoſe of the Emperor *Henry*, at the councell of Florence, vnder *Victor* the ſecond, the Emperor pretending that the Kings of Spaine ſhould acknowledge his Maieſty and doe him homage as to their ſouergaine: but this queſtion was decided by the councell, where it was ſayd, that ſeeing the Kings of Spaine had defended and conquered their Realmes by armes, without any aide from the Emperors, they were free and exempt from al acknowledgment or ſubiection to the Empire: whereof wee may read the gloſſe, vpon the Chap. *Adrianus Papa*, Diſtinc. 63. the like preuiledge haue the Kings of France, the State of Venice, the Kings of England, and ſome others.

The Kings of Spaine doe not acknowledge the Empire.

Cattelogne.

D. *Raymond Berenger* the elder, Earle of Barcelone, a wiſe and valiant Knight, of whom we haue made mention, defended his country by his armes and wiſdome, and inlarged his limits to the preiudice of the Moores, by the fauour of the other Chriſtian Potentates of Spaine, which maée warre againſt them, and the diuiſions which were among theſe Arabian *Mahumetiſts*. At that time was Seneſhall in Cattelogne (which was a dignity equal to that of the Conſtable or Mareſhals in France) one called *Raymond Myron*. In his time D. *Guillen* the fat was Earle of Beſalu, ſonne to *Bernard Briſefer*, who dying in the yeere 1052. D. *Bernard Guillen* his ſecond ſonne ſucceeded him: at the ſame time was Earle of Cerdagne, D *Guillen Raymond*, ſon to Cont *Raymond Geoffry*, who held it long, and had two ſonnes, D. *Guillen Iordain*, who was Earle after him, and D. *Bernard Guillen*, who was alſo Earle of Cerdagne: and to make cleere the alliances of this houſe of *Cattelogne*, we finde that D. *Almodis*, wife to Count *Raymond Berenger*, was iſſued from the houſe of the Earles of Carcaſſone, beeing ſtrongly allied, eſpecially with the Lords of Bearne and Narbone, and the Earles of Tolouſe, Bigorre and other great houſes of France. From the ſame houſe of Carcaſſone, was iſſued *Emengarde*, married to the Vicont of Beſiers, both which in the yeere of our Lord 1068. yeelded vnto *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelone, all the intereſt and right which they might pretend vnto the Earldomes of Carcaſſone, Tolouſe, Cominges, Rodes and Minerue: by meanes whereof, this houſe of *Barcelone*, had great Siegneuries, and pretenſions in France, and from that time did enioy the towne of Carcaſſone: about which time the towne of Perpignan was built.

D. Sancho Fernandes the ſecond of that name, and the ſecond King of Caſtille.

Caſtille. An. 1067.

6. IN the yeere of our redemption 1067. the realmes of Caſtille, Leon and Galicia, were diuided betwixt the children of D. *Ferdnand* deceaſed, and Caſtille fell to D. *Sancho Fernandes*, ſurnamed the valiant. Leon to *Alphonſo Fernandes* the ſecond, whom they called the Braue: and *Galicia* to D. *Garcia*, with that which hee had conquered in Portugal. Adding vnto theſe D. *Sancho Garcia*, who held the Kingdome of Nauarre, and D. *Sancho Ramires*, raigning in Arragon, wee finde that at one inſtant there were raigning in Spaine, fiue grand-children to D. *Sancho* the Great, King of Nauarre. The Kings of Nauarre and Arragon laſt named, made a league againſt D. *Sancho* King of Caſtille, but their quarrels and exploits are obſcure and vncertaine, at the leaſt they did him no great harme. Whileſt that D. *Sancha*, the mother of D. *Fernands* three children liued, they continued in reaſonable good termes, for ſhee remained at Leon her owne inheritance, ſo as *Sancho* durſt not attempt any thing againſt D. *Alphonſo*;

A *Alphonso*, to whom it was assigned, shee beeing dead, which was the second yeere of D. *Sancho Fernandez* King of Castille, they sought all occasions to spoile one an other. D *Garcia* King of Galicia began first, taking from his sister D. *Vrraca*, Lady of Zamora, a part of her territorie, the which hee vsurped. D. *Sancho* King of Castille, who demanded no better subiect, imbraced his sisters quarrel, and for her cause resolued to make warre in Galicia; but the Noblemen and Knights of his councel, were not of opinion, that hee should goe to armes, for a matter which might bee reconciled by some milder course. Amongst those which did contradict the Kings ambitious desire, were D. *Garcia de Cabra*, and *Cid Ruis Diaz*, saying, that if, contrary to their aduice, hee were resolued to inuade Galicia, hee should first prouide to bee in good termes

VVarre betwixt the three brethren sonnes to D. Fernand, King of Castille.

B with D. *Alphonso* King of Leon, that hee might haue free passage for his army through his country, and to conduct his victuals and munition from Castille into Galicia. To this end the two Kings had two enteruewes at Sahagun, where in the beginning D. *Alphonso* seemed vntractable: yet in the end hee yeelded to giue his brother. D. *Sancho* passage, and whatsoeuer hee demaunded: wherefore in the yeere 1071. warre was begunne against the King D. *Garcia* who had recourse vnto his brother. D. *Alphonso* of Leon, to bee aided by him; but hee excused himselfe, saying that hee would remaine indifferent, and not deale, for the one nor the other: so as D. *Sancho* entring Galicia with great forces, after many incounters hee became master thereof, dispossest his brother of all his country, and tooke him prisoner. So the raigne of this King ended the

D. Garcia King of Galicia dispossest.

C fourth yeere after his comming to it: yet some authors say, that this was done, after D. *Sancho* had dispossest his brother D. *Alphonso* of the Kingdome of Leon, and forced him to become a Monke, and to take vpon him the habit of Saint *Benet*: the which they report after this manner: D. *Sancho* beeing discontented with the diuision of portions which D. *Fernand* had made betwixt him and his brethren, thinking that they had done him wrong to take from him the soueraignty of these Kingdomes, being the eldest. As soone as D. *Sancha*, their mother was dead, hee set vpon his brother D. *Alphonso* King of Leon, and at his first entry wonne a battaile at a place called Plantaca: but the Leonois rallied againe together, they gaue an other battaile to D. *Sancho*, and defeated him vpon the riuer of Carrion neere to Gulpejora, whereas the King D. *Al-*

D *phonso* commanded that they should not pursue the Castillans.

Then was *Cid Ruis Diaz*, in D *Sanchos* army, as his vassall, who excusing this losse with good reasons, and comforting his King, hee reuiued his courage: so as hauing gathered his troupes together, he came and charged the Leonois the morning following, beeing heauy with sleepe, hauing made good cheere for their victory gotten the day before, and not doubting any enemy, putting them all in disorder, and to a shamefull flight, hauing slaine and taken many; then hee pursued this aduantage in such manner, as hee besieged the King D. *Alphonso* in Saint *Maries* Church of Carrion, where he thought to saue himselfe, and carried him away prisoner to Burgos.

D. Alphonso King of Leon, dispossest by his brother.

A while after at the sute and instance of D. *Vrraca*, sister to these Kings, and of

E D. *Pedro Ansures*, hee was set at liberty vpon condition: that hee should goe into the Monasterie of Sahagun, and take vpon him the habit of Saint *Benet*: but hee staied not long there, beeing forced to enter into it: for by the aduice of the same D. *Pedro Ansures*, hee left Sahagun, and went to Toledo, to King *Almenon* or *Almeon*, a Moore, who receiued him verie courteously, and intreated him honourably, whilest hee remained with him, hauing taking an oth of fidelitie of him.

Hospitality of King Almenon a Moore.

Hee lodged him in a faire great house, neere vnto his Palace, which they imagine was in that place where as now the Monasterie of religious women of the conception doth stand, to the end that hee might there enioy the company of the Chri-

F stian Musarabes, which dwelt in that city.

Thether came three Knights, sent from his sister *Vrraca*, to keepe him company. D. *Pedro*, D. *Gonçal* and D. *Fernand Ansures*, brethren, of the country of Leon, who brought with them many other Christians, the which were entertained by the King *Almenon*: During this exile D. *Alphonso* gaue himselfe to hunting and

country ſports: and taking great delight in a certaine place of the territory of Toledo, A where there were the ruines of old buildings, the King D.*Almenon* to gratefie him, gaue him leaue to build them vp againe, and to plant it with Chriſtians, the which is at this day called *Brihuega*, yet D. *Alphonſo* grew to bee ſuſpected of the Moores, who feared that hee ſought meanes to ſeize vpon the citie of Toledo, wherevpon *Almenon* was perſwaded to kill him, notwithſtanding hee would not violate the lawes of Hoſpitality, although hee were a *Mahumetiſte*, but was content onely to take a new oth of him.

Whileſt that the King D.*Alphonſo* paſt his time thus in exile, D. *Sancho* his brother, made himſelfe maiſter of the citie, and of all the Kingdome of Leon, where hee cauſ- B ed himſelfe to bee crowned King. Hee beeing thus diſpoſſeſt, they ſay hee went againſt D. *Garcia* King of Galicia, to intreat him after the ſame manner. The diuiſion which was then in Galicia, betwixt the King and a great part of his Nobility, made the enterpriſe more eaſie; for D.*Garcia* beeing growne a tyrant, ſpoyling and intreating his ſubiects vnworthely, hee gouerned himſelfe after the appetit of a ſlaue more then was fit. This woman (who ſome ſay, was a ſlaue infranchiſed) put the Nobilitie and gentrie, in fauour or diſgrace with the King (moſt commonly by falſe reportes) as ſhee pleaſed, which was the cauſe of many inconueniences: So as in the end growing inſupportable, certaine knights ſlue her in the Kings preſence.

Vpon this occaſion the Nobilitie was diuided, and the Realme full of troubles and C factions, ſome following the Kings party who would reuenge this murther, and others ſupporting the murtherers. The affaires beeing in this Eſtate, the King D. *Sancho* entered Galicia with a mighty army, againſt whom D. *Garcia* finding himſelfe too weake, hee abandoned his country, and had recourſe vnto the Moores, demaunding aide of them for the recouery thereof, promiſing to make them ſharers of that which hee ſhould get from D.*Sancho* his brother: but the Moores anſwered him wiſely, that hee who had not the heart to defend his owne, ſhould not bee able to inuade an other: yet the Moore beeing liberall and courteous, gaue him rich preſents, and ſent him backe, refuzing to ingage himſelfe in that action. D. *Garcia* hauing gathered ſome men together, but not ſufficient to effect any matter of importance, doubtfull what D courſe to take, hee fell to ſpoile his owne country, and making his retreat into Portugal, where hee had recouered ſome places, hee did mightily anoy D.*Sanchos* garriſons, but it continued not long: for D.*Sancho* hauing raiſed an army, came againſt D. *Garcia*, fought with him, defeated him, and tooke him priſoner, neere vnto Saint *Iren*, and ſent him to the caſtle of Lune, with a good gard, from whence hee departed not vntill his death, the which happened in the time of D. *Alphonſo* his Nephew about the yeere of our Lord 1081. who commanded hee ſhould bee buried with irons on his feete, at Leon, in the Church of Saint *Iſidore*: by this meanes the King D. *Sancho* remained Lord and Maiſter of all Galicia, and other lands of that partage. By this it appeeres there is difference in the time, and in the meanes of their diſpoſſeſſing. All E this did not ſatisfie D. *Sanchos* ambition, for hee would in like manner ſtrippe his ſiſters, D.*Vrraca* and D. *Eluira*, of the lands and places which they held, by their fathers will, and laied ſiege to the towne of Zamore.

D. Garcia King of Galicia made a prey to his enemy, by reaſon of his tyranies.

The inhabitants much affected to their Princeſſe, doing their indeauors for the defending of her rights, had with her conſent choſen for their captaine a knight, called D. *Arias Gonçales* who had nouriſhed her, vnder whoſe conduct they made many gallant ſallies vpon the beſiegers, with loſſe of either ſide. Whileſt that D. *Sancho* was buſie at this vaine attempt, a deſperat knight of Caſtille, called *Vellides Ataulphe*, or *Delphos*, went out of the city with a reſolution to kill the King, and found ſuch an oportunity, as hee ſtrooke him dead with a boarſpeare, without any let, and F then retired himſelfe to the place from whence hee came, notwithſtanding that hee was purſued by *Cid Ruis Diaz* and others. Thus the valour and conqueſts of D.*Sancho Fernandes* King of Caſtille (which could not bee reſtrained by two great Kings) were made vaine, when as hee would attempt againſt a woman: an argument of the vanity

D. Sanchos ambition ſtayed by the iudgment of God.

A vanity of humaine enterpriſes, and that there is a greater power which controules them. This death happened in the yeere of our Lord 1073. hauing raigned in Caſtille about ſixe yeeres and nine monthes: by reaſon whereof the army disbanded, euery one returning to his home, except the Caſtillans, who would needes continue the ſiege before Zamora for a time. The Kings body was carried to the Monaſtery of Saint Saluador of Ogna. The inſcription which is in that Monaſtery ſhewes that hee died fiue yeeres later, but there is an error, for that *Garibay* affirmes, that hee had ſeene ancient writings, witneſſing that D. *Alphonſo* his brother raigned then in Caſtille. *An.* 1073.

If the Caſtillan brethren were at diſcord, they of Nauarre had as little charity amongſt them: for betwixt D. *Sancho Garcia*, and D. *Raymond*, there was enuy and ſe- *Nauarre. The Brothers of Nauarre at diſcord.*
B creat hatred, the which burſt out in time: for D. *Raymond* holding ſome ſtrong places, and ſome in his brothers gouernment, and hauing by his bounty drawne many vnto him, who were diſcontented with the preſent Eſtate of the realme, he rebelled, meaning to defend theſe places hee held: but the King D. *Sancho*, and the Nobility of Nauarre did eaſily expell him. But there fell out a new trouble for the Nauarrois, to demaund reaſon of the Kings of Caſtille, who detained from him the territory of Bureua, Caſtille the old, and other places.

D. *Raymond* beeing thus expelled, had no recourſe to any Chriſtian Princes his neighbours, who (as hee doubted) would deteſt his attempts, but hee fled vnto the Moores, the enemies of our faith, and making warre with them againſt his brother, *D. Sancho King of Nauar ſlaine.*
C there was a battaile giuen neere to Rueda, or Penalen, in the which D. *Sancho* was ſlaine: this was about the yeere of our Lord 1076. hauing raigned two and twenty yeeres: he had by his wife D. *Plaiſance*, amongſt other children, D. *Ramir Sanches*, and two D. *Garcias*: D. *Ramir* being very young, vpon the newes of his fathers death, put himſelfe vnder the protection of D. *Sancho Ramires*, King of Arragon, whom alſo the Noblemen and Knights of Nauarre called to raigne ouer them, by reaſon of the minority of their King to oppoſe him againſt the enterpriſes of the bad. D. *Raymond*, who purſued his deſeigne to make himſelfe King of Nauarre, and had already ſeized vpon *Pampelone*, and vſurped the title of King there, but hee was vertuouſly repulſt, ſo as beeing deceiued of his ambitious hopes, not knowing what to reſolue, hee retired to the King *An.* 1076.
D of Sarrogoſſe, a Moore, where hee paſt his baniſhed life, and by the bounty of this Pagan, enioyed certaine Lands and places, which deſcended afterwards to a Neece of his *D. Raymond of Nauarre retiers to the Moores.*
called *Marquiſe*, wife to *Aznar Lopes*, a Knight, who made a donation of Saint *Maria Maior*, to the Collegiall Church of Sarragoſſe, in the time of D. *Alphonſo* King of Nauarre, called the Warrior: the two *Garcias* bretheren, ſonnes to the deceaſed King of Nauarre, fled into Caſtille, to the King D. *Alphonſo*, the mightieſt Prince at that time in Spaine.

E D. Sancho Ramires the ſecond King of Arragon, and choſen ſixteenth King of Nauarre.

7. D. *Sancho Ramires* had raigned ſome yeeres in Arragon, when as hee was called to the crowne of Nauarre. Hee had married a Lady, daughter to the Earle *Arragon and Nauarre vnited.*
of Vrgel, called D. *Felicia*, by whom he had three ſonnes. D. *Pedro* who ſucceeded in his Kingdomes. D. *Alphonſo* who raigned after his brother, and D. *Ramir*, a religious man in the Monaſtery of Saint Ponce of Tomeres, neere to Beſiers, and afterwards King by the deceaſe of his brother D. *Alphonſo*, who left no children. He had alſo one baſtard, *Genealogie of Arragon and Nauarre.*
called D. *Garcia* who was biſhop of Iacca. In this Prince the two realms of Nauarre and
F Arragon were vnited, 42. yeeres after the ſeparation thereof: he was war-like and politique, and withall very zelous in the Romaine religion: for hee changed the ceremonies of the Gothes, which the Chriſtians vſed, and brought in thoſe of the Romiſh church, it may be by the councel held at Iacca, vnder this King, when as the Biſhoprike

of Arragon was firſt eſtabliſhed there: to inrich which ſeat, beſides the tithes, there A
were certaine portions appointed out of the conqueſts which they ſhould get from the Moores of Sarragoſſe and Tudele: and in ſteed of the ciuill Lawes of the Gothes, hee brought in the common law of the Empire into his iuriſdiction. There is a volume extant of particular lawes, giuen by this King to them of Iacca, which is inſerted amongſt the cuſtomes of Nauarre at this daie: but the chiefe acts of religion done by him, and other Princes in his time, were to indow churches; for the Monaſteries, Colledges and Biſhoprickes of Spaine, haue thouſands of preuiledges, donations and exemptions granted vnto them.

Cattelogne. There is mention made of a councell aſſembled in the towne of Parcelone at the purſute of D. *Raymond Berenger*, the elder, and at the requeſt of D. *Almodia* his wife, B
whereas Cardinal *Hugues*, Legatto Pope *Alexander* the ſecond, or *Gregory* the ſeuenth did præcede, for the certaine time is not ſet down, but it is only ſaid, that it was celebrated about the yeere 1071. there it was decreed that Clergy men ſhould liue chaſtly, for that (as the Hiſtory ſaies) many of them were married, according to the introduction of King *Vitiza* the Goth: and after the example of the Arragonois, the ſeruice of the Muſarabes was left, and the Romaine of Saint *Gregory* receiued in Cattalogne. In the ſame councel they treated of ſecular affaires, as of the gouernment of the country of Cattelogne, of the Earles houſe, of the Eſtate of the Nobles, of their names and titles, diſtinguiſhed by this Earle, into Viconts, Barons and Vauaſſeurs: and ſuch like.

A councel at Barcelone.

The Counteſſe Almodis of Barcelone poyſoned by her ſonne in law. During the aſſembly of this councel D. *Pedro Raymond*, eldeſt ſonne vnto the Earle D. C
Raymond Berenger, poiſoned D. *Almodia* his mother in law, fearing that ſhee ſhould labour to depriue him of his fathers ſucceſſion to aduance her owne children: whereupon hee was iuſtly diſinherited: thus the wicked reaped what hee feared. In the ſame country died D. *Armingol* Earle of Vrgel, in the yeere of our Lord 1075. to whom his ſonne ſucceeded, carrying the ſame name: and the yeere following 1076. died the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, the elder, hauing gouerned in the county of Barcellone longer then any of his Predeceſſors, that is one and fortie yeeres. Hee diuided his Earledome betwixt his two ſonnes, D. *Raymond Berenger*, and D. *Berenger Raymond*, to the great hindrance of the commonweale, giuing moreouer vnto D. *Raymond Berenger* the Earldome of Carcaſſone. By this Earle D. *Raymond* the cuſtomary lawes were ordained, taken out of the volume of the old *Gothique* lawes, amended and reformed. D

Arabians. 8. The diuiſions of the Moores in Spaine, aboue mentioned, doe admoniſh vs to ſpeake ſome-thing of the turbulent Eſtate of the Arabians in the Eaſt, and in like manner of them of Maroc, which was the cauſe of a great alteration in Spaine. Returning then to the *Caliphe Maruan*, who was in armes againſt *Salin*, the ſonne of *Aſmulin*, who had ſeized vpon the Regions of Perſia and Syria: wee ſay that by the deſeat of *Maruan*, and his death, Egipt was alſo conquered by *Salin*: ſo as all that which the Arabians held in the Eaſt, did obey *Aſmulin* and *Cataban* his companion and councellor.

Seditions, reuolts and vſurpations among the Arabian Princes.

They beeing dead, *Abubalan* ſurnamed *Muamat*, was *Caliphe* of Perſia and Syria, E
and *Salin* the ſonne of *Aſmulin* kept Egypt to himſelfe, and gaue the beginning to a ſoueraigne ſeat in that country, the which hee eſtabliſhed at Caire, cauſing himſelfe to bee called *Caliphe*. Againſt *Abubalan*, did riſe many enemies in Syria and Arabia, of the faction of *Maruan*, whom they did beleeue was yet liuing, ſo as there died great numbers of that nation, in diuers incounters.

After the death of *Abubalan*, his brother *Abdala* ſucceeded in the Eaſterne Empire of Sarrazins or Arabians, but an other of the ſame name aſpiring to that dignity, ſlue him, and held the throne about the yeere 756. at which time there were great troups of Turkes beganne to diſperſe themſelues ouer all Armenia, the which did ouerrunne and ſpoile the Sarrazins country, who incountred them in diuers ſharpe and bloudie battailes. After this *Abdala*, who raigned about ſome twentie yeeres, his F
ſonne *Madi Amadi* was *Caliphe*, who held the Royall ſeate nine yeeres, and *Moyſe* his ſonne ſucceeded him, who liued but two yeeres, and left the place and dignitie

to

A to *Aaron Caliphe*, who they write was very iuſt and charitable to Chriſtians, and had ſought the friendſhip of *Charles* the Great, King of France, of *Alphonſo* the *Chaſt* raigning in Spaine, and of other Chriſtian Princes of his time, to whom hee ſent Ambaſſadors and preſents, and they to him.

Hauing raigned three and twenty yeers, he left, after his death, the dignity of *Caliphe* in queſtion betwixt his two children, *Muamat* and *Abdala*, who after great effuſion of bloud, agreed to raigne with equall title and authority. *Muamat* tranſported the ſeat of his Empire to *Bagadat*, a towne built by him, neere vnto old Babylon, and would reſide no more at Damas. At that time the Empire of the Arrabians and Sarrazins was diuided into foure great Potentats, wherof that of the Eaſt and of *Baga-* *Foure great Potentats of Mahumets ſect in Aſia and Affrike.*

B *dat*, retained the title of *Caliphe*, which ſignifies King or ruler. That of Egipt called himſelfe *Sultan*, which is as much to ſay, as Emperour. At Cairon, a great and mighty towne, built within the country of Affricke, in the time of *Ozmen*, ſome fiue and twenty leagues diſtant from Tunis, raigned an other *Caliphe*, and at Maroc (which Eſtate was come to them of the family of *Aben Alabeci*) raigned a Miralmumin, from which great Potentats did afterwards grow, the Kingdomes of Fez, Alger, Tunes and others. After *Mahumad* raigned *Imprael*, who lett the Empire of the Eaſt to his ſonne *Mamum*, who held it with great reputation: but after him the Sarrazins power began to decline in the Eaſt, by their continuall ſeditions and ciuill diſſentions, whereby the Turkes had meanes to ſettle a Monarchie, the which beganne about the yeere

C of Chriſt one thouſand, being called by *Mahumet* Prince or Gouernor of Perſia, who made warre againſt the *Caliphe* of Bagadat, in which they ſerued him: but falling afterwards to quarrel with him, they defeated him, and ſeized vpon Perſia, where they did chooſe for their firſt King, their General *Tangrolipix*, and ſence partly by force, and and partly by an accord, they delt ſo with the Sarrazins, as their power declyning, the name and Empire of the Turkes hath continued to firme and mighry, vnto our daies. The Miralmumins of Maroc, being farre from theſe tempeſts of the Eaſt, maintained their dignity in their race and nation, but not without the like furies and inraged appetites of rule; ſo as hauing beene held many yeeres by them of the linage of *Aben Alabeci*, they were ſet vpon and ſubdued by an other race of Princes Moores, called

D *Almorauides*, whereof *Ioſeph Aben-Teſin* was the chiefe, who made himſelfe Monarke in Affrike, ouer all the Kings and Potentats which did raigne there, about the yeere 1068. and extended his power into Spaine, as we will ſhew.

D. Alphonſo the ſixth of that name, the third King of Caſtille, and fiue and twentith of Leon.

E

9. D. *Sancho Fernandes*, King of Caſtille, being ſlaine as we haue ſayd, by the treaſon of *Vellides Dolphos*, or *Ataulphe*: D. *Vrraca* did preſently aduertiſe her brother D. *Alphonſo*, who remained at Toledo vnder the protection of King *Almenon*. This Moore hauing many ſpies amongſt the Chriſtians, had already intelligence of the murther, and obſeruing the actions of D. *Alphonſo*, hee was reſolued to ſtay him, if hee ſhould offer to depart without his priuity and leaue. D. *Alphonſo* was wonderfully perſwaded by D. *Pedro d' Anſures* (who walking about the towne had by chance met the meſſenger which brought him the newes of the death of the King his brother) to depart as ſecretly as he could, fearing ſome trechery in the Mooriſh King, but D. *Al-* *Caſtille and Leon.*

F *phonſo* did otherwiſe, wherein he wrought wiſely for himſelfe, for he doubted that the King *Almenon* hauing aduice of what had paſt, did watch him at the paſſage: wherefore comming freely vnto him, hee read D. *Vrracas* letters in his preſence, demanding his aduice, leaue and aide, to goe and take poſſeſſion of the Realme of Caſtille. King *Almenon* was much pleaſed, in that hee did not diſtruſt him, imbraſed him verie

Generoſity and bounty of King Alphonſo to D. Alphonſo 6. King of Caſtille and Leon.

louingly, reioyced with him at the change of his eſtate, ſuffered him to depart at his pleaſure, and furniſhed him with money and other things neceſſary to honour his voiage, and to aſſure his affaires, telling him freely what his intent was, to ſtay him priſoner if hee had ſhewed himſelfe ſo ingrate, as to diſtruſt him who had honored him, and entertained him ſo louingly during his exile: and before his departure hee cauſed him to renue the oth, neuer to bee contrary to him, nor to his ſonne *Hizen*. Whileſt that D. *Alphonſo* prepared himſelfe to come into Caſtille, to enioy his new Kingdome, the ſiege of Zamora continued: for the Knights of Caſtille and the Prelats, hauing performed the funerals of the deceaſed King, in the Monaſtery of Ogna, were returned before the city, vnder the conduct of D. *Diego Ordognes*, Earle of Lara, beeing much incenſt, that the murtherer of the King had ſaued himſelf within their walles: wherefore they were reſolued to batter it all they could.

The Law of defying a towne.

They write that D. *Diego Ordognes* defied the citie, according to the Lawes of duels or combats, amongſt the which it was decreed, that any knight that would defie a chiefe towne, was bound to fight againſt fiue knights, one after an other, changing euery time his armes and horſe, and taking (if hee pleaſed) bread dipped thrice in wine or water: wherefore D. *Diego* ſubmitting himſelfe to the rigour of this Lawe, offered to fight againſt fiue knights, whereof hee ſlue three, the which were ſonnes to D. *Arias Gonçales*: D. *Pedro*, D. *Diego* and D. *Roderigo Arias*; and that then the Iudges appointed, made the combate to ceaſe, not declaring who was victor, notwithſtanding that the Earle D. *Ordognes*, offered to end it, and to fight againſt thoſe two which remained: ſome ſay, that D. *Roderigo* beeing wounded to the death, ſtrooke at his aduerſarie with all his force, thinking to part him in two, but the ſword falling vpon the horſe-necke cut the reines, and hurt him verie ſoore, wherewith the horſe beeing mooued, carried the knight out of the liſts, the which was not lawfull for him that would haue the honour of the combate. Heerevpon the King D. *Alphonſo* came to the campe before Zamora, where hee was receiued without any contradiction for King of Caſtille, Leon, the Aſturies and Galicia, and of thoſe Lands which the King D. *Fernand* his father had taken from the crowne of Nauarre. They ſay that the Caſtillans, before they would acknowledge him for their King, would haue him purge himſelfe by oth, that hee was not acquainted, nor conſenting vnto the death of D. *Sancho* his brother: which oth was required of him by *Cid Ruis Diaz*, onely, amongſt all the Caſtillans, in the churches of Saint *Gadee* of Burgos, a place appointed for that buſineſſe.

Combat of one Knight againſt fiue.

Ancient and religious caſtomes to purge themſelues by oth.

This manner of purging themſelues by oth, of grieuous crimes impoſed, but not prooued, was vſuall in Spaine in thoſe times, with great ceremonies, and religious terror in many churches and places conſecrated, where there were great aſſemblies of people of all ſorts, whereof did follow many horrible Iudgements of God, of thoſe that were periured, the contempt of Religion, how impure ſoeuer, being deteſtable and abominable before God. The King D. *Alphonſo* was about thirtie yeeres old, when he beganne to raigne, and was ſurnamed the Braue, for that he was valiant, and did effect great enterpriſes.

Genealogie of Caſtille and Leon.

Wee finde that hee married ſixe wiues, and had the companie of two friends, nobly deſcended, by whom hee had many children. The firſt of his wiues was called Ines a Spaniard: The ſecond was D. *Conſtance*: The third D. *Maria*, daughter to the King of Seuille, called *Almuncamuz* or *Benabet*, *Aben Amet*, a Moore: whom hee married after that hee had taken the citie of Toledo, and was before called *Caida* or *Zaida*, of whom was borne the Infant D. *Sancho*, whom the Moores ſlue in the war. Of D. *Conſtance* was borne D. *Vrraca*, heire to the King her father: the which was twice married, once to Count *Raymond* of the houſe of Bourgongne, and of the bloud royall of France: brother to *Guy* Archbiſhop of Vienne, and afterwards Pope, called *Calixtus*, from whom iſſued D. *Sancho*, and D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, who was King of Caſtille. And for her ſecond husband ſhee married D. *Alphonſo*, King of Nauarre and Arragon: The fourth wife of D. *Alphonſo* the Braue, was D. *Bertha* of Tuſcane: The fifth D. *Iſabella*, a Spaniard, of whom was borne D. *Sancha*, wife to D. *Roderigo*, and

A and D.*Eluira* maried to *Roger* firſt King of Naples and Sicilie. And the ſixth and laſt wife was D. *Beatrix*, a French woman: Beſides all theſe lawfull wiues hee had the companie of D.*Ximena Nugnes de Guſman*, by whom he had two daughters: the firſt whereof D. *Eluira* was married to an Earle of Tholouſa and S. *Giles*, called *Raymond*, who had by her three ſonnes, D. *Bertrand*, D. *Willyam*, and D. *Alphonſo Iordain*, who were all Earles of Tholouſa. The ſecond called D. *Thereſa*, who had to husband D. *Henry*, of the Bloud of the Princes of Lorraine, borne at Beſançon, the ſtemme of the Kings of Portugall. For of this marriage iſſued D. *Alphonſo Henriquez*, firſt king of Portugal. Theſe three Knights, *Raymond* of Tholouſa, *Raymond* of Bourgongne, and *Henry* of Lorraine, did ſerue the King D. *Alphonſo* the Braue, happily and valiantly in his warres

Henry of Lorraine the ſtem of the houſe of Portugal.

B againſt the Moores: in requitall whereof, hee gaue them Eſtates, honours, and his daughters in marriage. Wee find that he had another friend alſo of a Noble Houſe, whoſe name is buried in forgetfulneſſe. Of all this generation and allyance there ſhalbe often mention made in the diſcourſe of this Hiſtorie. This king D. *Alphonſo* was a worthie Prince, vertuous, a louer of iuſtice, and of his people, religious and zealous to the Sea of Rome, after the manner of his anceſtors, ſo as he was moſt eſteemed of all the Chriſtian Princes of his time.

Diſpoſition of D. Alphonſo King of Caſtile and Leon.

He ſhewed himſelfe a friend and thankefull to king *Almenon* of Toledo the Moore, whoſe countrey was inuaded by them that held the towne of Cordoua: for hee ledde a great armie to his ayde: yet this Moore ſeeing what great forces D. *Alphonſo* had with

Moores.

C him, and ſeeing him lodged at Olias, two leagues from the Towne, grew iealous that he would breake the league, but he ſhewed by the effects that he was of a noble and generous diſpoſition: for with him he purſued them of Cordoua, and plagued them in ſuch ſort, as for a long time they would not aduenture to make warre againſt Toledo.

9 The Moores of Seuille and Cordoua, Tributaries to the king of Caſtile, by a Treatie made with the king D. *Fernand*, did protract the time to ſend the tribute. Whereupon the king D. *Alphonſo* ſent D. *Roderigo Diaz*, called *Cid*, who being come into Andalouſia, found all in armes and combuſtion: the Mores of Grenado, and their turbulent king *Almundafar*, hauing begun warre againſt *Almuncamuz*, King of Seuille, with the helpe and fauour of ſome Chriſtians, whereof *Fortun Sanches*, whome they

Chriſtian knights in pay with the Moores.

D held to be ſonne-in-law to D. *Garcia* king of Nauarre, and D. *Lopes Sanches* his brother, with D *Garcia Ordognez*, and a knight of Caſtile, whoſe name was D. *Diego Perez*, were the chiefe: to whom *Cid* ſent to let them vnderſtand, that *Almuncamuz* king of Seuile was vaſſall to his king, and therfore intreated them to forbeare, and not to preſſe him by armes, but they did not regard it: wherefore *Cid* imbraced the quarrell in ſuch ſort, as with the troupes he had brought out of Caſtile, and the Moores which hee had found fit to carrie armes, he gaue a great and bloudie defeate to the Granadins, and their allyes, and tooke D. *Garcia Ordogno*, D *Lopes Sanches*, and D. *Diego Perez*, aboue-mentioned priſoners, whom notwithſtanding he deliuered within three dayes after vpon this conſideration: the king of Seuile hauing much honored and thanked *Cid Ruis*

Exp'oits of Cid Ruis Diaz in Andalouſia

E *Diaz*: he payed him what he ought vnto the king of Caſtile, quit him the whole prey, and moreouer preſented him with great gifts. Here did *Cid* purchaſe the name of *Campeador*. But for that all the Moores, which ought tribute in *Andalouſia*, had not payed, the king D. *Alphonſo* went in perſon to force them, leauing *Cid* in Caſtile ſicke: In the meane time the Moores of Medina Zelin, or Celi, began to ouer-run the lands of Saint *Stephen* of Gormas, where they did much harme; againſt whom *Cid*, who was ſomwhat recouered, aſſembled the forces of Caſtile, and chaſed them out of the confines: and as he was of a great courage, and an irreconciliable enemie to the Moores, not reſpecting which of them he annoyed, hee paſt on, and entred the countrie neere vnto Toledo, where he put all to fire and ſword, and led away aboue 7000. priſoners of all ſexes and

Exyleſſe of Cid Ruis Diaz, & how he came out of Caſtile.

F ages. This action did ſo diſcontent the king D. *Alphonſo*, by reaſon of the league he had with king *Almenon*, as without reſpect of this knights valour, nor the great ſeruices which he had done vnto the crowne of Caſtile, thruſt on moreouer by the counſell of ſome which enuied the others vertue, and did aggrauate his offence, gaue him commandement to depart his countrie within few dayes: Wherupon *Cid* departed, hauing left

left his wife and children at Saint *Peter* of Cardegna: but he was followed by aboue A
300. horſe, and a great number of foot, who loued him in particular: and with this troupe began to make violent warres againſt the Moores. He entred their countrie by Atiença, and wonne Caſtreion by an ambuſh which hee layd for the Moores, whileſt that *Aluaro Ianes Minaya* his couſin, did ouer-runne the countrie vnto Alcala of Henares, from whence he returned to Caſtrejon with great ſpoiles. And for that Caſtrejon was vpon the frontiers of king D. *Alphonſo*, and for ſome other reſpects, *Cid* abandoned it, and went vnto Hariza, Cetiua, and Alcocer, and ſtriking great terror in all the countrey of Calatajub, Teruil and Tierar, hee ſurpriſed Alcocer in Arragon.

At that time the towne of Valencia did belong to the king of Toledo, and was go- B
uerned for king *Almenon* by a More, called *Abubacar*, to whom the Inhabitants of Calatajub, and the countrey thereabouts, made their daily complaints of the wrongs and loſſes they receiued by *Cid*, demanding ayde from him: whereupon *Abubacar* ſent them two Captaines, called *Faris* and *Galue* with good troupes; but that could not defend them: for *Cid* ioyning with them, defeated them, and put them to a ſhamefull flight, carrying great ſpoyles to Alcocer, which was his retreate; from whence he ſent to king D. *Alphonſo*, by his couſin D. *Aluaro Ianes Minaya*, thirty horſes, with as many ſwordes tyed to the ſaddles. This did ſomewhat pacifie the King, who did willingly ſee *Aluaro Ianes*, but for all this he did not call *Cid* from baniſhment: yet he ſuffered all men freely to go to the warres with *Cid* againſt the Moores, except Toledo. *Cid* deſirous to C
make warre, and wanting meanes, hee tooke money vpon the caſtle of Alcocer, and croſſing to Xalon and Monreal, he ſtayed there ſome dayes.

Barcelone. 11 About this time D. *Raymond Berenger* the elder, Earle of Barcelone, being de-
An. 1076. ceaſed, his ſonne D. *Raymond* called Flaxen-head, ſucceeded him, in the yeare 1076. When as neere to Cattelogne, D. *Armengol*, Earle of Vrgel, wonne from the Mores, Sanahuya, Guizona, Balager, and other places of that countrie.

Moores. The ſame yeare dyed *Almuncamuz* king of Seuile, leauing his Realme to his ſonne of the ſame name, who raigned alſo at Cordoua, and in a manner ouer all Andaluſia: ſo the diſcord betwixt theſe Arabians made Cordoua (which had beene lately Princeſſe ouer other citties) to be ſubiect and ſlaue to Seuile. *Cid* hauing taken ſome good order D
for his affaires, and aſſembled good troupes of ſouldiers, hee began to torment the Mores of the ſtreight of Sarragoſſe, & preſſed them in ſuch ſort, as *Almundafar* king of Sarragoſſe, made a treatie with him greatly to his honor, and receiued him into his cittie, by whoſe meanes he drew many Chriſtian Knights, which did willingly receiue pay of theſe Moores, when they were in armes one againſt another, that they might helpe to defeate them. Thither D. *Aluaro Ianes* came vnto him with a good number of ſouldiers, beeing deſirous to march vnder the command of ſo valiant a Captaine as *Cid* was; who vnderſtanding of the good reception which the king had made vnto D. *Aluaro*, and how he had receiued his preſents, was wonderfull glad. This yeare died *Almenon* king of Toledo; for whoſe quarrell *Cid* had beene baniſhed out of Caſtile: A
Prince who had gouerned the kingdome long, and with whom the king D. *Alphonſo* E
entertayned true and firme friendſhip whileſt he liued, and with his ſonne and ſucceſ-
An. 1078. ſor *Hizen*, who raigned onely one yeare, and died in the yeare, 1078. after whom a brother of his called *Hiaya Alcadurbile*, obtained the Crowne of Toledo: a Prince of a bad diſpoſition and cruell, numbred the 11. king of that cittie, and the laſt of the Arabians or Moores.

Caſtile. 12 During theſe things, the king D. *Alphonſo* (diſcontented, that the Nauarrois had called D. *Sancho Ramires*, king of Arragon to raigne ouer them, rather then him, who had a better title, beeing couſin germaine to the king D. *Sancho Garcia* deceaſed, by the lawfull line, whereas the king of Arragon deſcended from a baſtard:) ſeized vpon the towne of Nagera, and of all that iuriſdiction, which was in the Prouince of Rioje, of F
which he made Gouernor D. *Garcia de Cabra*, called *Creſpo de Granon*, and intitled himſelfe king of Nagera. The people of Guipuſcoa, Biſcay, and Alaua, who were neighbors vnto it, hearing of this exploit, and conſidering the greatneſſe of D. *Alphonſo*, they thought good to leane vnto him, and to leaue the kings of Nauarre, who were of leſſe

Chriſtian knights ſeruing the Moores in their warres.

Vſurpations of D. Alphonſo King of Caſtile vpon the realm of Nauarre.

power:

A power: thus his Iuriſdiction increaſed, ſo as hee commanded from the towne of Saint *Iaques*, vnto Calaorra. In this felicity he began to reſtore and re-people many townes of his countrie, deſtroyed in former warres, as Salamanca, Auila, Legouia, Medina del campo, Olmedo, Coca and Cuellar.

Nauarre and Arragon.

D. *Sancho Ramires* king of Arragon, hauing no good title to the Realme of Nauarre, for that D. *Ramir Sanches*, ſonne to the deceaſed king was yet liuing: and by the ſame reaſon the king D. *Alphonſo* hauing no good reaſon to pretend it, they agreed together, to the preiudice of the pupill: by which accord Pampelone, with all the appurtenances (except Nagera and the other countrie whereof D. *Alphonſo* was ſeazed) remained to the king of Arragon, but vpon condition, that he ſhould acknowledge himſelf

The Kings of Caſtile and Arragen ſpoile the heire of Nauarre of his Kingdome.

B vaſſall in that reſpect to the king of Caſtile. This king had made warre againſt the Moores, whileſt he was king of Arragon onely, and before he had obtained the kingdome of Nauarre, he had chaſed them out of the mountaines of Arragon, Sobrarbre and Ribagorça, and moreouer had made warre againſt *Abderramen* King of Hueſca, and taken the towne of Barbaſtro, at which ſeege *Armingo* Earle of Vrgel his father in law dyed. Hauing made his profit of the Realme of Nauarre, and in good termes with D. *Alphonſo*, he continued his enterpriſes and conqueſts againſt that ſect, and tooke from them the caſtell of Mugnones about Secaſtilla in Ribagorça: then hee ſeazed of Cobin and Pitilla, and had a great and cruell battaile neere vnto Sarragoſſa, and tooke from them Bolea, a place of great ſtrength: to ſupply the charges of which warre, this

Conqueſts of the king of Aragen vpon the Moores.

C king was ſometimes forced to vſe the reuenues of the Clergie, his treaſure beeing not able to furniſh ſo great a charge: but the biſhops of his countrie, who affected nothing more then to inrich their order and eſtate, oppoſed themſelues againſt him, and afflicted him in ſuch ſort, as putting him in a vaine feare, that he was damned for this cauſe, they made him do pennance, and to confeſſe publikely in the church of Roda, before S. *Vincents* altar, in the preſence, and at the pourſute of D. *Raymond Dalmace*, Biſhop of that place, and D. *Garcia* the kings owne brother, Biſhop of Iacca, that he had grieuouſly offended. Thus theſe good fathers inſulted ouer their Soueraigne. This fell out about the yeare, 1083: at which time D. *Ramir* ſonne to D. *Sancho Garcia*, moued with

King made to do pennance by the Biſhops of his country.

An. 1083.

D great deuotion, gaue a new, and confirmed that which he had giuen to the monaſterie of Saint *Mary* of Nagera, which were the places of Torreſilla, Cameros, Treuexan, Ribafreſca, Lea, Villoria, and S. *Pelagius* of Cerezo, S. *Peter* of Torreſilla, Saint *Mary* of Veraça, and other places and churches, making the Monkes and Abbot of that place where he is interred, his heires generall. The King D. *Sancho Ramires* did in the yeare 1083. winne the caſtell of Graos, the which he preſented to the Monaſterie of Saint *Victorian*, to free himſelfe of a certaine vow made by D. *Ramir* his father, and alſo for a ſatisfaction to the Clergie: but ſome write that ſoone after hee receiued a great ouerthrow about Roda, where they ſay, that the king D. *Alphonſo* carrying a ſecret ſpleene, for that the King of Arragon did enioy the Realme of Nauarre, gaue ſecret ayde and fauour to the Moores, and was the cauſe of this defeate of Chriſtians.

Princes of Spaine betray their fellow Chriſtians.

E *Almundafar* King of Sarragoſſa beeing dead, he had left two ſonnes, *Zuleima* who was king of Sarragoſſa, and *Aben Alfay* in Denia, who being at diſſention, ſel to armes: either of them drawing Chriſtian Noblemen and Knights to his partie. *Cid Ruis Diaz* was for *Zuleima*. D. *Pedro* of Arragon eldeſt ſonne to the king D. *Sancho Ramires*, and Count *Raymond* of Barcelone fauoured *Aben Alphaye*. Being in armes, and ouer-running the countrie, *Cid* comming from Hueſca and Montaban, incountred the troupes of the Earle of Barcelone, with the king of Denia, whome he defeated, taking Count *Raymond* priſoner, who was ſoone after freely ſet at libertie by *Cid*, yet the Earle of Barcelone ioyned againe with the king of Denia, who came to beſeege the caſtell of Almenar, whileſt that *Cid* was at the ſeege of Eſcarpe: but he comming vpon them which were before Almenar, he put them againe to route, and returned victor to Sarragoſſa:

Moores.

Valour and bountie of Cid.

F after which he ſpoiled the countries of Mançon, Onda, and Burriana, notwithſtanding that the Arragonois ſought to hinder him, beeing their allies. On the other ſide, a Moore of Andaluſia, called *Almofalas*, tooke from *Adofir*, another Moore, the caſtell of Grados, for the recouerie whereof, the king D. *Alphonſo* went to armes, and beſeeged Grados:

Grados: but beeing preſt vpon other affaires, he returned into his countrie, and called *Cid* from baniſhment, granting at his requeſt, vnto the Knights and Gentlemen of Caſtile, which ſhould be baniſhed for any miſdemeanors, in ſtead of nine dayes reſpite appointed them to depart the countrie, that they ſhould haue thirty. *Cid* continuing the ſeege of Grados, tooke it by famine, and ſent *Almophalas* priſoner to the king of Caſtile, whom he puniſhed, for that by treaſon, and againſt the lawes of the peace, hee had ſubtilly ſurprized his neighbours houſe. From thence *Cid* returned to Sarragoſſa, and not able to liue without making warre, he led an armie into Arragon, in the company of king *Zuleima*, where they waſted the countrie, and carried away great ſpoiles, and bending towards the territorie of Denia, they did as much as they had done in Arragon, and moreouer *Cid* began to build a fort in the territorie of Morella, called Alcala; to hinder which fortification *Aben-Alfaye* demanded ſuccors from the king of Arragon, who came with a great army: but the king of Arragon loſt a battell, and according to the opinion of ſome, was himſelfe taken there: but the Hiſtories of Arragon do not confeſſe it. After which exploites *Cid Ruis Diaz* returned into Caſtile, where as D. *Alphonſo* the king receiued him gratiouſly, and gaue him Birbieſca, Berlanga, Arzejon, and other places, and employed him in the conqueſt of Toledo, which hee went to beſeege ſoone after, for ſome reaſons which follow.

Cid Ruis Diaz returnes into Caſtile.

Caſtile and Moores.

13 King *Hizien* beeing dead, within the yeare that hee began to raigne, (a good Prince, who had ſincerely intertained the allyance and league contracted by his father *Almenon*, with the king D. *Alphonſo*) *Hiaja Alcadurbile* came to raigne at Toledo, a trecherous, cruell and vicious man, ſo as he was equally hated of the Moores and Muſarabes, who cryed out for aide to the king of Caſtile, and other kings, againſt this barbarous tyrant: beeing forced thereunto by his baſneſſe, and for that they did ſee themſelues abandoned of the Captaines and Noblemen, which had ſerued his father and brother: for beeing exceedingly giuen to luſt, he ſhut himſelfe vp in his pallace with his concubines, where he had no other thoughts, but to glut his filthie and diſhoneſt pleaſures. Wherefore *Abubacar* Gouernor of Valencia rebelled, and kept the gouernement for himſelfe. The Moores ſollicited the king of Badajos, to take vpon him to diſpoſſeſſe *Hiaja*, and the Chriſtian Muſarabes made the like offer to D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile. The king of Badajos meaning to preuent him, entred firſt into Toledo, in deſpight of king *Hiaja*, whileſt that the armie of Caſtile was preparing: which D. *Alphonſo* vnderſtanding, he was incenſed, and entring in hoſtill manner into the territorie of Toledo, he ſpoyled the countrie: which made the king of Badajos (for that hee would not remaine betwixt two enemies) to leaue *Hiaja* in his kingdome, and to returne home. D. *Alphonſo* left not for all this to purſue this good occaſion, but went to beſeege Toledo, not ſtreightly, but ſpoyling the country, and cutting off their victuals, thereby to force the Inhabitants to yeeld through famin; the which it ſeemes he had reſolued with himſelfe long before, to execute when time ſhould ſerue. D. *Alphonſo's* armie holding the fields in this manner about Toledo, *Aben-Alfaye* king of Denia, came ſuddenly vpon him, yet ioyning his forces together as ſpeedily as he could, there was a battell fought about Conſuegra, where the Moore was defeated, and forced to retire into the caſtell of Conſuegra. In this battaile D. *Roderigues de Biuar*, ſonne to *Cid*, was ſlaine: whoſe bodie was buried at S. *Peter* of Cardegna.

Rebellions of Toledo draw the king of Caſtile to beſeege the citty.

Moores twiſe defeated.

Aben-Alfaye deſirous to reuenge this loſſe, leuied all the Moores he could, and inuaded the Chriſtians countrie, paſſing the mountaines towards Medina del campo, where they were againe incountred and defeated by *Aluaro Banes de Mimaya*, couſin to *Cid*, whileſt that the King D. *Alphonſo* did ouer-runne the territories of Toledo, whereas *Hiaja Alcadurbile* the King kept himſelfe ſtrong, continuing notwithſtanding in his filthie and diſhoneſt life, and in his cruelties, whereby he made himſelfe odious to all his ſubiects, as well of his ſect, as Chriſtians Muſarabes; ſo as they told him plainly, that if he tooke no order for the neceſſities which preſt them, they would prouide for themſelues. This mad-man made no account of all theſe things: wherefore the Muſarabes did ſolicit D. *Alphonſo*, more then before, to approch neere the Towne, and to beſeege it cloſe.

This

A This ſeege ſeemed exceeding difficult, as well for the greatneſſe of the cittie, which was better peopled then any one in Spaine, as alſo for the naturall ſtrength of the ſituation, and the rampars and fortifications, made about it by art. So as to attempt a thing of ſo great labour and ſuch conſequence, D. *Alphonſo* drew out of his countries all that were fit to beare armes, and not content therewith, he had the forces of all his other neighbour-friends, and allies of Spaine, namely, of D. *Sancho Ramires*, king of Nauarre and Arragon, who was there as his vaſſall, for the Realme of Nauarre, and beſides there came vnto him many Noblemen of France, Germany, and Italy, mooued with religion, and hoping to winne Paradiſe, in helping to ſubdue ſo great a fort, held by the Mahumetiſts in Spaine.

D. Sancho king of Arragon at the ſeege of Toledo as vaſſall to him of Caſtile.

B Thus this great citty was beſeeged and battered with all violence, according to the manner of thoſe times, on the ſide of Vega: there were ſeene many valiant exploites of armes on either ſide; the Moores making diuers furious ſallyes vpon the Chriſtians, ſeconded oftentimes by troupes of ſtrange Moores which arriued on the ſudden, and greatly employed themſelues for the preſeruation of that cittie, knowing that the loſſe thereof would be the ruine of the Moores eſtate in Spain. On the other ſide the Chriſtians of diuers nations there aſſembled, mooued with diuers paſſions; ſome with religion, ſome with deſire to winne honor, ſome with an inueterate hatred againſt the Moores, but moſt part fighting reſolutely for ſpoyle, forgetting nothing which art, iudgement, and valour do giue to reſolute men. Opinions are diuers touching the

C length of this ſeege, it is moſt certaine that the ſpoyling of all that countrie continued ſome yeares, which the Chriſtian armies did continually ouer-runne, hindring the tillage, and cutting off the victuals which came from other places: but being once ſtreightly beſeeged, the warre continued not many weekes: for the beſeeged wanting victualles, and preſſed with hunger, without hope of any ſuccors, by reaſon of the great forces which did beſeege them, they yeelded vnto the King D. *Alphonſo*, vpon theſe conditions:

Toledo yeelded to king D. Alphonſo the 6.

The conditions

1 That he ſhould repaire the ruines of the caſtell, ports and bridges of the cittie, with the Kings gardens which are vpon the riuer of Tayo, and neare vnto the cittie.

2 That king *Hiaya Alcadurbite* might retire freely into the citty of Valencia, or

D where he pleaſed, and that king D. *Alphonſo* ſhould aide him to recouer it: and that hee might conduct with him what number of Moores he pleaſed.

3 The Moores which would remaine in Toledo, ſhould be maintained in the ſame priuiledges, exemptions and liberties, that they were vnder their Kings Moores, and not be charged with taxes and impoſitions, more then of cuſtome.

4 That the great Meſquite of the cittie of Toledo, which at this preſent is the principall church, ſhould remaine for the ſayd Moores.

Theſe conditions granted and ſworne by the king D. *Alphonſo*, hee entred the cittie in great triumph, the 25. of May, 1083. the tenth yeare of his raigne, which they accounted 1121. of the Æra of *Cæſar*, and of the foundation of the ſayd cittie, as ſome

An. 1083.

E will haue it, 1673.

The taking of this great and mightie cittie, did generally amaze all the petty Kings of the Moores in Spaine, and did ſo animate the Chriſtians, as they had euer after great aduantages. Their ambitious diſcord was the cauſe of their declining, hauing eſtranged them from the Miralmumins of Africke, and then banded them among themſelues. So that as many townes and forts as were held by the Moores, ſo many pettie Kings were there of them in Spaine. At this time their eſtate had the greateſt checke, that euer it had ſince they entred: and it did not onely augment the lands and Seigneuries of the king D. *Alphonſo*, but it alſo wonne him great honor and reputation, as well in Spaine, as with all other nations, Chriſtians, and Mahumetiſts. Here the Spaniſh

Antiquity of Toledo.

F authors faile not to relate an apparition of Saint *Iſidore*, vnto D. *Cebrian* Biſhop of Leon, ſaying, That the king beeing tyred with the tedioufneſſe and difficultie of this ſeege, and almoſt out of hope to take the cittie: this biſhop was aduertiſed, that within fifteene dayes, the king D. *Alphonſo* ſhould enter a conqueror, as it fell out: notwithſtanding the ſame authors find it ſtrange, how the king (beeing aſſured by this reuela-

Apparition of S. Iſidore.

tion)

tion) would grant thoſe articles aboue-mentioned to the Moores, eſpecially to leaue A
the great Moſquee for the exerciſe of their ſuperſtition. By the conqueſt of this great
Townes yelded to D. Alphonſo. cittie, there came into the King of Caſtiles power, without any reſiſtance, the townes of Magueda, Eſcalona, Illeſcas, Canales, Olmos, Talauera, Coria Conſuegra, Mora, Buytrago, Hita Medina Celi, Atiença, Berlanga, Guadalajara; and by this meanes were alſo aſſured the townes of Salamanca, Auila, Segobia, Oſma, Sepulueda, Coca, Cuellar, Roa and Olmedo, the cittie of Toledo ſeruing as a rampar and fort, to all that lies betwixt it, Atiença, and Medina Celi, and by conſequence to Palença, Coria, and citty Roderigues: ſo as all that was within that circuit began to bee repaired and re-edified, the inhabitants beeing freed from their great feare of the Moores.

Gouernor put into Toledo. The firſt worke which the king D. *Alphonſo* did after the taking of Toledo, was to re- B
payre the caſtell, forts, and bridges, giuing the gouernement thereof to *Cid Ruis Diaz*, with a garriſon of a thouſand Gentlemen Caſtillans. The houſe and family of them of Toledo, which is famous in Spaine, is deriued from a Grecian knight, called *Peter Paleologue*, who came to ſerue D. *Alphonſo*, at the ſeege of this city: but there are apparent arguments, that the name of the family of Toledo is more ancient: for there is a tombe to be ſeene in the royall Monaſterie of Ogna, of a knight called D. *Gutiere Roderigues* of Toledo, who had beene Chamberlaine to D. *Sancho* Earle of Caſtile, who died in the yeare 990. of this D. *Peter*, they ſay, iſſued a ſonne called D. *Illian Peres*, of him D. *Peter Illian*; of D. *Peter*, D. *Eſteuan Illian*, whoſe image is to be ſeene on horſbacke in the church of that cittie. Don *Eſteuan* begat Don *Iean Eſteuanez*, from whom C
iſſued Don *Gonçalo Iaime* of Toledo, who lyes buried in Saint *Romaines* church, built in the higheſt part of the cittie, by D. *Eſteuan Illian*. D. *Vrraca*, the King D. *Alphonſos* ſiſter beeing deceaſed this yeare 1083. Zamora whereof ſhe was Ladie, was re-united to the crowne of Caſtile.

Family of Toledo in Caſtill. *Primacie reſtored to Toledo.*

Riches of the church of Toledo. As king D. *Alphonſo* deſired nothing more, then to order things belonging to religion, and the ſeruice of God: in a great aſſembly of Noblemen and Prelates, made to that end, reſtored the Primacie and Archiepiſcopall ſeate of Spaine, to the church of Toledo, as it had beene in the time of the Kings of the Gothes: and there was choſen for Archbiſhop, a reuerent religious man, of the Order of S. *Bennet* called Friar *Bernard*, a French-man borne, who had beene ſent ſome yeares before into Spaine, by *Hugo* Abbot of Clugny, at the requeſt of D. *Alphonſo*, for the reformation of the Monaſterie of Sahagun, which at that time was the chiefe of all the Monaſteries of Spaine: this Friar *Bernard* was found ſo ſufficient for his learning and integritie of life, as he was held worthy to be preferred before all the Biſhops and Abbots of the countrie, to the primacie of Spaine; which ſea beginning by this King D. *Alphonſo*, was ſo inriched by all the kings and chiefe Noble-men of Spaine, as beſides the primacie and head Chancerie of Caſtile which it hath gotten, we may now ſay, that next vnto the Pope, hee is the richeſt Prelate in Chriſtendome. Since that time the church of Toledo hath beene
Debate for the primacie of Spaine. in great credit and authoritie among all thoſe of Europe, and is ſerued with an incredible number of Clerkes: for beſides the Archbiſhop, 14. dignities, 40. Chanoins with E
Prebends, and 50. Portioniſts, and other extraordinarie Chanoins, there are ſo many Prieſts, Chaplaines, Clerkes, Chantres, and other Officers that haue fee, as they exceed 600. beeing very rich moreouer in Iewels and plate. The firſt Arch-biſhop of Toledo is called *Eugenius* the Martyr; from whom to Friar *Bartholomew Carrança* of Miranda, who was in our time, they number 76. The Archbiſhops of Tarragone and Braga, contend with him of Toledo for the primacie, neither will the Archbiſhops of S. *Iaques* & Sarragoſſa, acknowledge him for primate; which quarrell I leaue vnto thẽſelues.

Moores. To returne to our Hiſtorie, after that king *Hiaja Alcadurbile* had loſt Toledo, he went into the territorie of Valencia, the which was held by *Abubacar*, terming himſelfe king of that place, being but Gouernor ſome yeares before, vnder the kings of Toledo. This F
Abubacar was diſcreet and wiſe, and had gouerned that towne vprightly many yeares: who to aſſure his vſurped eſtate, had giuen his daughter in mariage to *Amet Aben-Hut* king of Sarragoſſa, ſucceſſor to *Zuleima*. About the taking of Toledo or ſoone after, he died, leauing two of his ſons for ſucceſſors; who fell to ſo great diſcord, and by reaſon of

them

A them, the people, as *Aboça Aben-Lope* Captaine of the fort, fore-ſeeing the ruine of theſe two young Princes, & fearing that theſe diuiſions would make them fall into the hands of the kings of Caſtile, was readie to abandon the place, and to retire to Moruiedro, and other lands in that quarter, which were his: but beeing better aduiſed by a Secretarie a Moore, called *Mahomad Aben-Hay*, hee ſtayed ſtill to ſee what would bee the end of theſe factions of Valencia: ſome were of opinion rather then to yeeld vnto their aduerſaries, to giue themſelues vnto the king of Sarragoſſa; others to him that had beene king of Toledo, to whoſe father *Almenon* they had beene ſubiect. Theſe troubles made work for *Hiaja Alcadurbile*, who loſt neither time nor oportunitie, but came before Valencia with ſuch Mores as he could keep together, with whom ſoone after thoſe

Seditions and trecheries among the Moores of Spaine.

B ioyned which king D. *Alphonſo* ſent him, according to the treatie, vnder the conduct of *Aluaro Ianes Minaya*. Being thus camped, and rather ſolliciting the towne by good words and promiſes, then attempting it by armes, in the end they were receiued, and King *Hiaja* acknowledged for their lawfull Prince, to whom *Aboeça Aben-Lope*, the captaine of the Fort, yeelded vp the keyes, and purchaſing by that preſent the Kings fauour, and aſſured his eſtate and life: for king *Hiaja* hated him, for that he had beene alwaies of the faction of *Abubacar* his rebell: notwithſtanding knowing him to bee wiſe, and a man of good ſeruice, hauing alſo performed ſo good an office, as to yeeld him vp the fort, he receiued him into grace, and honored him, leauing him in the ſame charge. At the ſame time *Hamet Aben Hut*, king of Sarragoſſa died, to whom ſucceeded *Ioſeph*

C *Aben-Hut*. King *Hiaja* liued in ſuch continuall diſtruſt, as he would neuer giue leaue to *Aluaro Ianes Minaya* and his ſouldiers to returne home into Caſtile: for the intertaining wherof, this king was forced to ouer-charge his ſubiects with inſupportable taxations. There was a Captaine of the Moores in the towne of Xatiua, called *Aben Maçor*, who would not preſent himſelfe before King *Hiaja*, being notwithſtanding in all other things obedient vnto him, but the king not ſatisfied therewith, would haue him: wherfore he led an army of Moores and Caſtillans before Xatiua, and battered it in vaine: for beſides that the beſeeged defended themſelues valiantly, they called vnto their ſuccours the king of Denia their neighbor, who ſeazed vpon the place, and kept it in deſpite of king *Hiaja*, who was forced to retire, hauing loſt, by ouer-preſſing it, that which

D he might haue enioyed with a litle patience.

Whilſt that D. *Alphonſo* diſpoſed of the affairs of his new conqueſt, & that the Mores more diuided then euer, not able to diſcerne the miſeries which purſued them, continued their ſpoiles; and to ſtir vp new trobles among themſelues, D. *Sancho Ramires* king of Nauarre and Arragon, being loth to liue idle, and to let ſlip ſuch good occaſions to inlarge his dominions, and to aduance the Chriſtians power in Spaine. Hee won a battell of the Moores, nere vnto a place called Pietra Piſada, took from them the towne of Arguedas, and defeated them in another battell neere to Tudele: and fought with them the third time about Morella; which incounters fell out happily for the Chriſtians, in

Nauarre and Arragon.

An. 1084.

E the yeare 1084. And the yere after, ſeing that he had made great conqueſts in the champion countrie, he gaue to his eldeſt ſon the realm of Sobrarbre and Ribagorça, with the title of King, and a while after the Queene D. *Felicia* died, who was intetred at S. Iean de la Pegna.

The eſtate of Barcelone, after the death of Cont *Raymond Berenger* the elder, was in great combuſtion by the emulation of his two ſons D. *Berenger Raymond*, and D. *Raymond Berenger*, called Flaxen head, wherof the eldeſt held a part of the country of Cattelogne: but D. *Raymond Berenger* the yonger commanded the greateſt part. So as the Moores were not moleſted in their eſtates by them; but D. *Raymond Berenger* followed the partie of the Moriſh king of Denia, againſt him of Sarragoſſa, who enuied the others eſtate, as we haue ſayd. Yet ſome hold opinion, that it was D. *Raymond Berenger* the elder, their father, who carried armes againſt the K. of Sarragoſſa: and that on the

Barcelone.

F other ſide, D. *Raymond* Flaxen head, was his friend and ally. Only *Armingol* Earle of Vrgel, did vertuouſly make war againſt the Mores, vppon the frontiers of Cattelogne. D. *Raymond* Flaxen head had married a moſt vertuous Lady, called D. *Almodia*, daughter to *Robert Guichard* duke of Pouillia, by whom hee had D. *Raymond Arnould* which ſucceeded him.

The Spaniſh Authors ſhew a great argument of this Ladies holineſſe and religion, A
for that in her husbands life time, ſhe built the Monaſterie of *Valde Mary*, of the Order of Saint *Benet*, in the Vicountie of Cabrera, and another of Saint *Daniel*, of the ſame Order neare vnto Girone, where ſhe profeſſed her ſelfe, and liued a Nunne, after the deceaſe of the king, her husband: in whoſe life time, ſome people of the County of Cerdagne, reuiued the Arrian hereſie; for the preuention whereof D. *Guillen Iordain*, Earle of that place, was much troubled. The ambition of raigne was ſuch betwixt the two Earles of Barcelone, as the eldeſt ſlue the youngeſt by treaſon, watching him as he went from Oſtarlit to Girone: this D. *Raymond* Flaxen-head, hauing raigned onely ſix yeares; a religious, mild, courteous, and bountifull Prince, and of a goodly preſence, and therefore lamented of all men. This fratricide ſeeking to diſſemble his treaſon, did B
weep much before the world, but he could not ſo well diſguiſe his offence, but the truth was knowne.

Parricide betwixt the Princes of Cattelogne.

Wherefore the Cattelans reiected him, and in the yeare 1082. choſe Don *Raymond Arnoould*, the ſon of the deceaſed, for their Earle, chaſing away D. *Berenger Raymond*, who thinking by trecherie to take away another mans, loſt his own patrimonie: and beeing poore and diſhonored, and moreouer, by a iuſt iudgement of God, hauing loſt his ſpeech, he died in Ieruſalem, whither he went in pilgrimage. During the infancie of this young Count *Raymond Alnoould*, ſome tyrants of Prouence & Languedoc did inuade the territories of Carcaſſone, giuing the Earle of Barcelone to vnderſtand, that they wold hold it in fee of him, and do him homage, and reſtore it vnto him, when hee ſhould come of age. This Earle *Raymond Arnould* was a great perſonage, C
as wee ſhall heare hereafter.

Caſtile.

Returning to Toledo, after that the king D. *Alphonſo* had giuen order for all things that were neceſſarie for the gard of that cittie, he returned to Leon, leauing *Cid Ruiz Diaz* for Gouernor: and for the eccleſiaſticall and ciuill gouernement, *Queene Conſtance* his wife, falſely called by ſome *Beatrix*, with the Archbiſhop D. *Bernard* and others: during the kings abſence, this Prelate beeing very zealous in his religion, and diſcontented that the Moores remaining in Toledo, did enioy the Moſqueé maior, a rare and ſtately building, among all them of Spaine, layed a plot with the Queene to depriue them of it, and without any reſpect to the promiſe and oath made by the king, he ſeazed theron, and forbad the Moores the vſe and entrie into this temple, the which D
he did conſecrate the Cathedrall church the fifth of October, 1086. All this was done

An. 1086.

ſuddenly, and without the kings priuitie: the Queene and Archbiſhop knowing well, that it would much diſpleaſe him, but their hope was, that what had beene done would not be eaſily vndone, by reaſon of the reſpect the king carried to Prelates, and to the Chriſtian religion; for the honouring whereof they had vndertaken it, the which ſucceeded according to their conceits: for the king beeing returned, and ſeing that of force they would make him periured, being ſomewhat diſcontented with the Queene and D. *Bernard*, in the end he was pacified with ſuch perſwaſions, that it was an vnworthie thing, that in an Archiepiſcopall cittie, and the firſt in dignitie in Spaine, that infidels ſhould enioy the greateſt and moſt ſtately Temple, there to exerciſe their impieties E
and blaſphemies, to the great diſhonour of the king, and the name of Chriſtians: and the griefe of paſtors and holy Miniſters of the Church. Wherefore it was expedient he ſhould aduow the fact; the which was not done raſhly, but with great zeale, and by diuine inſpiration. Herunto, they ſay, were added the ſupplications of the Moores, That it would pleaſe the king to ſuffer things as they were, and not to diſcontent the people: and that for their parts they would willingly exerciſe their religion in a place of leſſe ſhew. For the Moores ſpake an Alfagui of their lawe, whoſe image is to bee ſeene cut in ſtone, in the great chappell of that church.

Gothique ſeruice changed in Spaine.

The ſeruice called Gothique or Iſidorian, for that *Iſidorus* had brought it in, and afterwards called Muſarabic, for the Chriſtians liuing among the Moores had maintained it, was in vſe, vntill that time as well at Toledo, as in Caſtile and Leon: but the F
King Don *Alphonſo* deſiring to ſhew himſelfe in all things an affectionate ſonne to the Romiſh ſea, would haue it changed, and in ſtead thereof the *Gregorian* Seruice receiued,

A receiued, ſo called of the author *Gregory*; for which effect hee cauſed a Bull to be ſent from the Pope then raigning, commanding that the ſeruice of Rome ſhould be from thenceforth celebrated in all the Churches of Spaine, as they did in France, by reaſon whereof, it is called by ſome Spaniards, *Gallican*. This done, the Archbiſhop new choſen, went to Rome, where he entred, when as *Vrban* the 2. entred his Popedome, and there tooke his oath, receiued the Archbiſhops cloake, and was confirmed Primate of Spaine; and not onely of Spaine, but of Gotique France, as the limits of the Primacie of Toledo had beene in the time of the king of the Gothes: in witneſſe whereof the Spaniards write, that (to ſhew his rights and prerogatiues) at his returne from Rome, he called a Councell at Tholouſa, where the Archbiſhop of Narbone did aſſiſt, with B other biſhops of thoſe countries, ſuffragans, and ſubiect to the Iuriſdiction of the Prelates of Toledo.

The Metropolitane of Languedoc vnder the Primate of Toledo.

Councell at Tholouſa.

During his abſence, *Richard* Abbot of Saint *Victor* of Marſeilles, was Legate in Spaine (being ſent ſome yeares before by *Gregory* the 7. Predeceſſour to *Vrban* the 2.) who tooke great paines to bring in the new Gregorian or Romiſh ſeruice, and to aboliſh the Muſarabic: for which conſideration, and to put in execution that which had beene decreed, the Arch-biſhop *Bernard*, at his returne called a nationall Councell at Toledo, whereas the Clergie, Knights, and people of Toledo, Caſtile, Leon, Aſturia, Galicia, and Portugall were aſſembled, or their Deputies in great numbers. D. *Bernard* preſiding the King beeing preſent, there grew great controuerſies among them, C the Spaniards refuſing to leaue their ancient manner, to receiue a new ſeruice, ſo as not able to be ſatisfied by any allegations and reaſons, they came to a furious and brutiſh manner of triall, by combate, which was much vſed in thoſe times: there were two knights brought to field, the one for the king, and others who deſired alteration of the ſeruice, the other for the knights and commons, which would keepe the Muſarabic: for theſe came *Ioan Ruiz*, of the family of *Matanza*, who vanquiſhed him which fought for the Romane ſeruice, whoſe name is vnknown. Yet the importunitie of the King, queen, Archbiſhop, and others of that partie was ſuch, as the buſineſſe was referred to another kind of triall, which was by fire: wherefore hauing brought two bookes, the one containing the ſeruice after the Romane vſe; the other, the ancient and Muſarabic, they D were both caſt into a great fire; whereof the Romane booke leapt preſently out (as they ſay) and the other lay ſtill, and was nothing burnt.

Controuerſies for Eccleſiaſticall matters decided by armes.

Triall by fire in Clergie matters.

Wherfore they did coniecture, that either of them was pleaſing vnto God: and for this cauſe it was ordained, That they ſhould retaine the ancient manner of ſeruice in ſixe pariſhes of Toledo, and that in the great Cathedral church and others the new Gregorian ſeruice was brought in, and likewiſe in all the reſt of Don *Alphonſo's* Kingdome, the which was granted more by force, to pleaſe the king, and to obey the Pope, (who confirmed and allowed it,) then for any good will. Yet the Muſarabic Office continued long after, in many Monaſteries of Spaine: and in the ſame great church of Toledo, euen at this day they ſing Maſſe all after the Muſarabic, euery E day in a Chappell called *Corpus Domini*.

The ſixe Pariſhes of that Cittie, where as this ſeruice was maintained, had beene held by the Chriſtians Muſarabes, whileſt that the Moores did raigne there, which are Saint *Iuſt*, Saint *Luke*, Saint *Antolin*, Saint *Marke*, Saint *Eulalia*, and Saint *Sebaſtian*. That the Muſarabic ſeruice aunciently vſed were that which they hold at this day, and that it was not reformed and corrected, I will not doubt: for in matters of Religion, it is moſt certaine, that all things haue beene fitted to the time, and to the diſpoſitions of thoſe which liued from age to age, eſpecially in that which concerned the eccleſiaſticall diſcipline. The day of the reception of this Romiſh ſeruice, is quoted by the Spaniards the one and twentith of May, in the yeare 1091, at the third hower.

F Matters concerning Religion beeing ordered at Toledo, Don *Alphonſo* gaue many honourable titles, dignities, and priuiledges to the Cittie, to their great aduantage. For firſt of all by reaſon of this conqueſt intitling himſelfe Emperour of Spaine, hee would haue Toledo called and denominated the Imperiall and Monarchicke city, a name which hath remained and continued vnto this day. And to giue the Chriſtians

Toledo called the Imperiall city.

occaſion to come and dwell there,(for the greateſt part of the inhabitants were Mores) A
he granted rights and priuiledges to the cittizens, as follow, beeing drawne out of the
letters which are in their Regiſters.

Priuiledges granted to the citty of Toledo.

1 Firſt he ordained for a priuiledge to that cittie, that all controuerſies amongſt
the cittizens ſhould be iudged there,according to the lawes and ordonances written in
the booke called *Of Iudges*, appointing a Councell of ſixe of the moſt ſufficient men
amongſt them, to aſſiſt the Iudge: all which together ſhould take knowledge of the
peoples cauſes, exempting the Caſtilians, who might decline from that ſeate, and de-
ſire to be ſent before their ordinarie Iudges. According to which booke of Iudges, all
the inhabitants of Toledo, and that iuriſdiction ſhould be iudged in matters of crime:
expreſly exempting the wiues and children of offenders,(not culpable) from the pains, B
and fines due for all offences,namely,for high treaſon,or practiſes againſt the citty.

2 That the inhabitants of Toledo might appeale from all other Iudges, & demand
to be ſent to the Iuſtice of Toledo,declaring all decrees againſt it to be voide.

3 That the Inhabitants of Toledo ſhould not be apprehended, nor put in priſon for
murther,vnleſſe it werewilful,if they put in caution,or that the truth were apparent: and
whereas they could not giue caution,they ſhould not be put in any other priſon, then
the Dalfada.

4 All controuerſies betwixt Chriſtians and Iewes,or Moores,ſhould be decided by
the Chriſtian lawes, and before a Chriſtian Iudge.

5 Exemptions,granted vnto Church-men ſeruing God, of the tenth peny in all C
their inheritances.

6 Exemption of all taxes granted to ſouldiers, and to all ſuch as had beene priſo-
ners amongſt the Moores.

7 All inhabitants of Toledo,as well Chriſtians as Muſarabes, ſhould equally en-
ioy all royall grants.

8 The widowes of ſoldiers deceaſed, ſhold enioy the honors,and priuiledges of their
husbands,and the children of their fathers,yea the ſons ſhold haue their arms & horſes.

9 The laborers and trimmers of vines ſhould pay vnto the king for all tribute and
ſeruice,the tenth peny,or portion of their corne and wine, and not bound to any other
charges either in peace or war,except it were to ſuccor the city of Toledo,beeing aſſai- D
led by foes,in which caſe they ſhould be bound to aſſiſt it with all their meanes.

10 The like exemptions were granted to the inhabitants of Toledo, for all lands,
which they ſhould hold in any other iuriſdiction of the kings of Caſtile.

11 Liberty granted to the inhabitants of the ſaid citty,to build milles vpon the ri-
uer of Tajo,againſt their lands and poſſeſſions, and to ſell them, exchange them, and
otherwiſe diſpoſe of them at their pleaſures.

12 No Iew nor Moore ſhould haue commandement ouer Chriſtians in the citty
of Toledo.

13 That the citty of Toledo might neuer be alienated from the Crowne,nor giuen
vpon any title whatſoeuer, to man,woman,or child. E

14 No man,that had not his ordinarie reſidence in the ſayd citty, might enioy any
inheritance within the wals thereof;which inhabitants might enter into their lands and
poſſeſſions, from whence they had beene chaſed by the Moores, in ſuch townes and
places as ſhould be recouered from them.

15 The common treaſure of the city ſhold be employed,eſpecially,in the building
and reparations of the wals,and the fortifications thereof.

Theſe were the priuiledges granted by the king D. *Alphonſo* the 6.to the city of To-
ledo,the which were afterwards confirmed by D. *Alphonſo* the 9. an 101 yeares after:ſo
as by meanes therof,it was in a ſhort time peopled with Chriſtians,which came thither
from all parts of Spaine,and other countries: and the kings of Spaine haue bin alwaies F
very carefull to honor this city.D. *Alphonſo* leauing the city of Toledo in this eſtate, in
the gard of *Cid Ruis Diaz*,he went to Leon,with the Archbiſh.D. *Bernard*,where there
was a councell called,in the preſence of *Reguier* the Popes Nuntio; where among o-
ther things it was decreed, that the Scribes and Notaries ſhould no more vſe the

Gotique characters aboliſhed in Spaine.

ancient

A anciẽt Gothique characters, inuented (as they ſay) by *Vlfilas* their Biſhop, otherwiſe called *Toledains*: but thoſe letters which are now vſed in Caſtile, were at that time not put in practiſe. About that time died D. *Thereſa*, the kings ſiſter, wife to the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra*, and ſoone after Queene *Beatrix* the 2. wife of D. *Alphonſo* beeing deceaſed, he took to wife a Princeſſe Moore, daughter to *Almuntamuz Aben-Amet*, king of Seuile, called *Caida*, or *Zaida*, the which was chriſtened and called *Mary*. He receiued for her dourie the townes of Cuença, Huete, Ocagna, Vcles, Mora, Volera, Conſuegra, Alarcos, Caracuel, and other places. By her the king had one ſon, named D. *Sancho*, who died before the father, and the mother liued not long after him.

Marriage of D. Alphonſo the 6. King of Caſtile with a Moore.

This alliance cauſed great familiarity betwixt the king D. *Alphonſo*, & the Mores, both *Arabians.*

B in Spaine and Affrick, the which notwithſtanding turned to the Moores ruine, and eſpecially of his father-in-law *Almuntamuz Aben-Amet*, K. of Seuile: for to do him a pleaſure, and to ſatisfie his ambition, and deſire to be ſoueraign Lord ouer all the Moores in Spaine, King D. *Alphonſo*, who was in great credit with all the Princes and Potentates that were neighbours to *Aben Teſin*, who was of the houſe and family of the *Almorauides*; to ayde and aſſiſt his father-in-law in this enterpriſe, and to ſend him ſuccours of Moores and Africans, the which he obtained to the preiudice of them both, as we ſhall heare. But it is fit to vnderſtand, firſt what theſe *Almorauides* were: Wherefore leauing a little the affaires of Spaine, we will returne to that which we haue handled of the ſucceſſion of *Mahumet*. The which (as we haue ſayd) beeing fallen to two of his daughters *Mahumets ſucceſſion.*

C Fatima and *Zeineb*; of Fatima deſcended the houſe and family of *Aben Alaben*; and of *Zeineb*, that of *Aben Humeja*. Theſe two races were in perpetuall diſſention for the Soueraigntie of the Arabians, both in Aſia, Affricke, and Europe, whereupon grew many alterations: ſo as in the end the Arabians of Affricke being diuided from them of Aſia, the Crowne of Affrick continued in the race of *Aben Albecy*, for the ſpace of 310. yeres: but as this nation was neuer faithfull within it ſelfe, and could not ſubſiſt without tumult and treaſons: about the year 1068. there roſe vp a noble family among them, called the *Almorauides*, or *Lumptunas*, which deſcended not from *Mahumet*; the which took the ſcepter from the race of *Aben Alabecy*, and ſeazed vpon the ſoueraigntie, and regall power ouer the Moores in Affricke: 450. yeares after that *Mahumet* had made himſelfe

D Lord and Emperour ouer that nation. The firſt of this race which was choſen and declared king, and great *Miralmumin*, was *Abu Texifien*, to whom *Ioſeph Aben Teſin* aboue-named his ſonne ſucceeded, who forced the others to quit the Scepter, and transferred it into his family, where it continued 79. yeares: the ſecond yeare of his raigne, Ambaſſadors came vnto him from king D. *Alphonſo*, for the cauſe aboue-mentioned: ſo as within three yeares after, all the Moores of Spaine were vnited to them of Affricke, *Moores of Affricke drawne into Spaine by D. Alphonſo the 6. King of Caſtile and Leon.*

as they had beene long before. *Ioſeph Aben Texifien* the Miralmumin, conſidering, that if he ſent forces into Spaine, it muſt needes increaſe the Moores eſtate and reputation: he ſent a Captaine of great eſteeme, called *Ali Aben-Axa*, his Alguazil maior, or Lieutenant in the countrie of Maroc, who with a great power of men of this race of the

E *Almorauides*, and other Africans, came and landed in Andalouſia, and ioyned with the king of Seuile: but they ſtayed not long together; for being growne into ſome controuerſie, it drew them into ſedition and armes: ſo as their forces being diuided, and ioyning in battaile in the open field, *Almuntamuz Aben-Amet* king of Seuille, loſt his life; and this new-come Moore not onely ſeazed vpon his lands and Segneuries without any difficulty, but alſo made all the other Moores of Spain ſubiect vnto him, ſaying, that they had rather keep the Arabians Camels, then the Swine of the Chriſtian Spaniards. *Ali Aben-Axa* was ſo fortunate in his proceedings, as he grew exceeding proud, not reſpecting his king any more: but rebelling openly againſt him, hee ſetled the royall ſeate at Cordoua, and cauſed himſelf to be called *Miralmumin* of Spaine: by means whereof *Moores in Spaine vnited vnder* Ali Aben-Axa.

all the treaties of peace which had bin contracted betwixt the Moores and Chriſtians

F of Spaine, were then broken: and moreouer, this new king of the Moores, thought to recouer the countries which had bin held by the Moores, namely thoſe, which D. *Alphonſo* had had in dowry with Q. *Caida* his laſt wife: ſo as the king D. *Alphonſo* thinking to enioy an aſſured peace, hee found himſelfe ſodenly ingaged in great and dangerous

warres: for *Ali* entring into the Realme of Toledo, he ſpoyled the countrie at his plea- A
ſure, hauing gotten two great victories, and put two mightie armies of D. *Alphonſos* to bloudie routes: ſo as the lands of D. *Caidas* dowrie, with others, came into his powers; the which was the more eaſie to effect, for that they were in a maner all inhabited by Moores. Yet in a third expedition, whereas D. *Alphonſo* went in perſon with all the flower of his kingdomes, the conquerors furie was ſtayed, ſo as he was forced for feare (ſeeing this great preparation made againſt him) to keepe himſelfe within Cordoua, and to abandon his countrie to the ſpoile, not daring to defend it, and in the end came to a compoſition and treaty of peace with D. *Alphonſo*, by the which he made himſelfe his vaſſall and tributarie, giuing him rich preſents, and great ſums of mony, wherewith the King and his armie beeing inriched, they returned victoriouſly into Caſtile. From B
thence king D. *Alphonſo* hauing gotten new courage, led his armie to ſubdue Sarragoſſa, and did ſo preſſe it, as the Inhabitants did offer to hold it in fee of him, and to do him homage, the which he refuſed, demanding the city: but whileſt he was buſie at this enterpriſe, behold there arriues in Spaine a great cloude of African Moores, which ſtrucke a greater terror in Spaine then had beene in many ages. It was *Ioſeph Aben Tefin* the Miralmumin, who incenſed at the trecherie of *Ali*, was come out of Africke with a greater armie of Moores, then had bin ſeene in long time, to take reuenge of his trecherie.

Ioſeph Aben Tefin king of Maroc, ſubdues all the Moores in Spaine vnder his Empire

16 The preſence of this king ſtayed the ſeege of Sarragoſſa, brake the accord made betwixt *Alphonſo* and *Ali*, and was the cauſe of many great alterations. Hee beſeeged and forced *Ali* in the city of Seuile, and as a traytour, cut off his head: he ſeazed vppon C
Cordoua, in the which was a ſonne of *Abencamus*, and in a ſhort time hee brought all Andalouſia vnder his obedience, and in a manner all the Noblemen and townes which the Moores held in Spaine: he drew vnto his ſeruice ſome Earles and Noblemen Chri-
An. 1089. ſtians, with many ſouldiers; whome gaine, or their diſordered paſſions, commanded more then religion. One of theſe Earles was called D. *Ordognes de Lara*: So the Mores of Spaine ioyned with them of Africke, vnder one *Miralnumin* in the yeare, 1089. hauing beene diuided 334. yeares, they of Affricke beeing ſubiect to the race of *Aben Alabecy*, vnto this king, and theſe of Spaine obeying the family of *Aben Humaia* from *Abderramen* the firſt. This king ſtayed ſome time in Spaine, to diſpoſe of his new conqueſts, not reſpecting any more the friendſhip of king D. *Alphonſo*, who firſt had inui- D
ted him to come into Spaine, and then he returned into Affricke, where hee had ſetled his imperiall ſeate at Maroc or Marrox. Then began there a difficult war betwixt theſe two Potentates in Spaine: by reaſon whereof King D. *Alphonſo* ſought the friendſhip and ſuccors of other Chriſtian Princes: vpon which occaſion there came many valiant Knights into Spaine, to winne honor by armes, and mooued alſo with zeale of religion; among the which were three Princes, whereof mention hath beene made in the beginning of this raigne: that is, *Raymond* ſon to *William*, brother to the Earle of Bourgongne: *Henry* of Lorraine or of Beſançon, and his vnkle or couſin *Raymond* of Thouſa, and of S. *Giles*: with theſe and other braue ſouldiers, as well Spaniards, as of other nations, D. *Alphonſo* made head againſt this Arabian king: ſo as he ſtopt his courſe, and E
ouer-run his country newly conquered, taking great ſpoiles, and carrying away many priſoners, without any oppoſition.

Portugall.

17 At that time D. *Alphonſo* (for the good ſeruices hee had receiued from theſe three perſonages, and to bind them the more to defend the Chriſtians eſtate in Spaine) gaue them his daughters in marriage: to *Henry* of Lorraine, whom ſome call Earle of Limbourg, D. *Thereſa* his baſtard, to whom bearing a priuate affection, hee gaue the

Henry of Lorraine firſt erle of Portugal.

countrie of Portugall, which he had conquered from the Moores, with the hereditarie title of an Earle, for him and his heires lawfully begotten, and withall making him a promiſe to adde vnto his Seigneuries whatſoeuer he ſhold conquer from the Moores in thoſe parts, with the ſame right of hereditarie ſucceſſion. Theſe goodly gifts did the

Portugal held in fee of the Crown of Leon

king D. *Alphonſo* beſtow vpon D. *Henry*, vppon condition, that they ſhould acknow- F
ledge the kings of Leon for their Soueraigne Lords, and hold them in fee of them, do them homage, and preſent themſelues at the kings court at Leon, whenſoeuer they

ſhould

A ſhould call there vaſſals, and ſerue them againſt their enemies: Moreouer they ſhould furniſh three hundred horſe, with ſome other duties. This was the beginning of the Siegneury of Portugal, and of the royall poſterity of the poſſeſſors of that country. To *Raymond* Earle of Tolouſe and Saint *Gyles*, King D. *Alphonſo* gaue D. *Eluira* an other of his baſtards, and to Cont *Raymond* of Bourgongne D. *Vrraca* his lawfull daughter, with the Gouernment of Galicia, & the title of an Earl, which was the ordinary title of great dignities in Spaine, in thoſe times.

Nauarre and Arragon.

D. *Sancho Ramires*, King of Nauarre and Arragon, did all hee could to anoy the Moores, vpon his borders: from whom hee tooke about the yeere of our Lord 1089. the towne of Montçon, yet with great difficulty, by reaſon of the fort, and the obſti-
B nate defence of the garriſon. The ſame yeere the preuiledges of Nobility, with all exemptions, were confirmed to them of the valley of Roncal, as a teſtimony that they had beene alwaies valiant and faithfull to their Kings.

An. 1091.

In the yeere 1091. hee forced *Abderramen* the Moore, King of Hueſca, to pay him tribut: he ſent ſuccors to his couſin D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, in the warre which hee made vpon the marches of Toledo; and hauing a deſeigne to beſiege Sarragoſſa in time, hee beganne a fort neere to the riuer of Ebro, fiue leagues from Sarragoſſe, the which he called Caſtellar: he wonne afterwards from the Moores, Olalla, Almena-

Fort of Caſtellar built.

ra and Naual, and he peopled Luna, from whence is deſcended the family of Luna: and to coope vp the King of Hueſca, hee fortefied the caſtles of Marcuello, Loarre and
C Algueçar, vpon the Marches of Sobrarbre, and ſubiected all that is betwixt it and Montarragon, within a league of Hueſca: wherefore King *Abderramen* ſeeing himſelfe reſtrained daily more and more, hee had recourſe vnto D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, offring to pay him a greater tribute, then he did to him of Nauarre, if hee would take him into his protection: whereunto D. *Alphonſo* gaue eare, beeing glad to make himſelfe great by what meanes ſoeuer, of ſuch power is ambition in the hearts of men, who ſparing not the King D. *Sancho* his couſin, he had wreſted from him the Siegneury of Guipuſcoa, which had euer beene vnited to the crowne of Nauarre, and had made Earle and Gouernor, in his name, D. *Lopes Dias* of Haro, Lord of Biſcay. This manner of proceeding did much diſpleaſe D. *Sancho Ramires*, who for this cauſe hauing
D ſent ſome troupes of ſoldiers, to the fronters of Alaua, to entertaine the Caſtillans, he went to the ſiege of Hueſca, being reſolued to take it at what price ſoeuer: hee was accompanied by his ſonnes D. *Pedro*, King of Sobrarbre, and D. *Alphonſo*, with the forces of Nauarre and Arragon: but as he proceeded in this ſeege, with to great vehemency, it happened that going to vew the weakeſt places, with his captaines, he was ſhot with a Mooriſh arrow vnder the arme hole, as he lifted vp his arme, to ſhew ſome one that

D. Sancho Ramires King of Arragon ſlaine at the ſiege of Hueſca.

was neere him, a place where he thought fit to make his battery. The blow was mortall, the which D. *Sancho* feeling he retired to his tent, diſſembling his paine as much as hee could: being there, hee cauſed D. *Pedro* and D. *Alphonſo* his children to ſweare, not to depart from the ſiege, vntill they had taken the towne, and ſoone after hee died, as
E they drew the arrowe out of the wound. Hee was a valiant Prince, and had happely inlarged his dominions by conqueſts againſt the Moores, but his neighbors Chriſtians were not very faithfull, euen D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille. Hee loued iuſtice and Gouernment: the towne of Eſtella was begunne by him, the which at this day is one of the three cities of Nauarre, and the ſecond in dignity. He affected religion much, according to the practiſe of that age; for beſides many donations made by him to churches and monaſteries, and the re-edyfying of them that were ruined, hee made D. *Ramir* his youngeſt ſonne a religious man of the order of Saint *Benet*, in the monaſtery of Saint *Ponce* of Tomerres. D. *Pedro* his eldeſt ſonne ſucceeded him, in the realme of Nauarre and Arragon, in the yeere of our Lord 1094. about this time many monaſteries of France, obtained exemption from the iuriſdiction of Biſhops, the Monkes beeing deſirous to enioy greater liberty, & their Abbots to adorne themſelues with croſ-
F ſes and miters like Biſhops.

An. 1094. *Portugal.*

About that time D. *Thereſa*, counteſſe of Portugal, had a ſonne by *Henry* of Lorraine, or of Beſançon at a place called Guymaranes: his name was D. *Alphonſo*, as the

King

King his grand-father by the mothers ſide, and by ſurname *Henriques*, who was firſt A
King of Portugal, and that ſtemme of all the Kings which haue held that Kingdome vn-
to this day, whoſe birth is ſtrangly written by the Spaniſh authors, ſaying that hee had
his feete ioyned together behinde, the which were ſet at liberty the fift yeere of his
age, by the praiers and vowes of his parents: in remembrance whereof, Cont
Henry and his wife finiſhed a church, begunne long before at Carquere, neere vnto
the riuer of Duero, dedicated vnto the Virgin *Mary*, the which at this day is a recepta-
cle for Ieſuites, within two leagues of Lamego. The firſt lands which lie betwixt Due-
ro and Minio, Porto, Braga and Guymaranes, and then Coimbra, Viſco and Lamego,
with the iuriſdiction of Vera. It is to be preſumed that he was a wiſe and valiant Knight,
and of a great houſe, ſeeing that D. *Alphonſo* gaue him his daughter in marriage, with B
ſo great a dowry, and that hee did ſo confidently commit vnto him the fronter of his
realmes on that ſide. There is nothing written certaine of his father and mother, but
that being of the houſe of the Dukes of Lorraine, and Nephew to the Earls of Tolouſe,
we may hold him to be deſcended from the houſe of France, and moreouer nobly allied
to the families of Germany. Beſides the Prince D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, hee had two
daughters by D. *Thereſa* his wife: D. *Thereſa Henriques*, who was married to D. *Fernand
Paez*, of Tranſtamara, and D. *Sancha Henriques*, who maried D. *Fernand Mendes*.

Moores.

To returne to the King D. *Alphonſo*, and to this new warre which he had againſt the
forces of Affrike, beeing ioyned vnto the Moores of Spaine, the which hee himſelfe had
drawne vpon him, D. *Roderigo Diaz de Biuar*, called *Cid*, hauing the gard of Toledo, and
of al that fronter, finding himſelfe, ſomewhat eaſed, by the departure of King *Ioſeph A-* C
ben-Teſin, who was returned into Affrike, he propounded to attempt Sarragoſſe, from
the ſeege whereof D. *Alphonſo* had beene diuerted, by the comming of the Moores *Al-
moranides*. He choſe a fit occaſion, for the Sarragoſſans & their King *Ioſeph Aben-Hut*,

Cid Ruis Diaz receiued into Sarragoſſe as Protector.

being terrified with the forts which the King of Nauarre had built about them, by the
which they did ſee themſelues daily reſtrained & anoied, they did willingly receiue *Cid*,
as their protector. King *Aben-Hut* was an enemy to the King of Valencia, and ſo was
the King of Denia, either of them ſeeking to ſeize vpon his Eſtate: but *Cid* carried him-
ſelfe ſo wiſely, as hee preſerued the realm for King *Hiaja*, who was a friend to the King
of Caſtille his Lord, hee repulſt the King of Denia, and forced the Earle of Parcelone
(who at the perſwaſion of the King of Sarragoſſe, had beſeeged Valence) to retire; not- D
withſtanding the Earl hauing receiued great ſomes of money from the King of Denia,
to ſupport him againſt *Cid*, continuing to forrage and ſpoile the country of Valence,
he was vanquiſhed by *Cid* in an incoũter, to whom afterwards he became a great friend,
as we wil ſhew: and the happineſſe of this captaine was ſuch, as the King of Denia bee-
ing dead at the ſame time, his ſon & ſucceſſor, did ſo honour his vertue and wiſdome, as
he made himſelfe his vaſſal, and was ſo beloued of him, as hauing reconciled him with
King *Hiaja*, he wrought ſo; as he conuerſed familiarly with him, and in ſo great fauor, as
he gouerned both the King and the Eſtate of Valence, as if himſelf had bin Lord. *Aben-
Hut* King of Sarragoſſe died alſo about that time, leauing one ſon called *Almizaren*,
heire of his Kingdome, at whoſe aduancement, the Eſtate beeing ſomewhat troubled, E
Cid was intreated to come to Sarragoſſe, the which he did. In the meane time there fell
out great garboiles in the Court of Valence, by the enuy & emulation of two Moores
whereof the one was a captaine vnder *Cid*, called *Aben-Alfaras*, and the other a certaine
prouoſt called *Aben-Iaf*. This Prouoſt was ſo tranſported with hatred, as hee called the
Almorauides, & by their means made himſelf Maſter of the town, forcing King *Hiaja* to
flie, whom he purſued, hauing intelligence that hee had carried away many rich Iewels,
tooke him, and ſlue him miſerably, giuing him a vilde & vnworthy ſepulcher. Such was
the end of *Hiaja* King of Valence, who had raigned the laſt of the Moores at Toledo. *A-
ben Iaf* hauing by this means gotten ſo goodly an eſtate, kept a great gard about him,
as ſuch doe commonly as will rule by tirany, beeing in the meane time vnder the ſoue-
raignty of the Almorauides: but he did not long enioy the fruits of his wickedneſſe, for F
Cid being aduertiſed of this baſe treaſon, parted from Sarragoſſe, with ſuch forces as he
had, and came before Valence, to ſee if the hatred of the tyrant would moue the inha-
bitants to reuolt.

There

A There came many Noblemen Moores of the country thether to him, among which were *Aboeca*, *Aben-Lopes*, and *Aben Ratin*, who ioyned with him, mooued thereunto by his vertue and valour: then was the city fiercely aſſaulted, ſo as the inhabitants, and their commander *Aben Iaf*, receiuing no ſuccors from the Almorauides, as they attended, beeing vnwilling to giue eare to the ſecret practiſes of the King of Sarragoſſe, who perſwaded them vnder hand to giue themſelues vnto him, the which was well knowne to *Cid*, whoſe vigilancy was great, they were forced to yeeld, vpon condition, that the garriſon of Almorauides ſhould bee thruſt out, and that *Aben Iaf* ſhould hold the towne of Valencia of *Cid*, and ſhould pay him tribute: yet could not the Valentians agree well with *Aben Iaf*, the murtherer of their King, but rayſing daylie new troubles
B and ſeditions againſt him, hee fortefied himſelfe in a great quarter of the towne, and callad *Cid*, giuing him entrance on that ſide. Whereat the Valentians beeing much mooued they fell to open rebellion, and intrenching on their ſide, they put themſelues vertuouſly in defence, and called backe the *Almorauides* to their ſuccors; but the city beeing beſeeged of all ſides by *Cids* army, and all the paſſages ſtopped, they could not enter into the towne, but returned without fighting: wherefore the beſeeged were forced to ſubiect themſelues vnder the obedience of *Aben Iaf*: who ſhewing himſelfe trecherous, and breaking his promiſe with *Cid*, hee gaue him occaſion ſoone after to returne to Valencia, and to ſubdue it for himſelfe, the which hee did by a ſeege of ten monthes, reducing the towne, and the inhabitants to ſuch extremity, for want of victu-
C als, and by continual aſſaults, as they yeelded to his mercy, hauing all the places and forts already in his deuotion. Beeing maiſter of the city, hee put *Aben Iaf* to death by iuſtice, and ſent a way the Moores which were ſuſpect vnto him, the which ſoone after brought a great army of Almorauides out of Andalouſia, and other countries which they held in Spaine, againſt *Cid*, and his new conqueſts: but hee repulſt them valiantly, and ſo ſetled himſelfe, as during his life, it returned not vnder the Moores ſubiection: theſe things were effected by *Cid Ruis Diaz* of Biuar, after the returne into Affrike of King *Ioſeph Aben Tefin*, the chiefe of the family of the Almorauides Arabians.

Valence taken by Cid Ruis Diaz.

About the yeere of our Lord 1096. beganne that famous expedition of Chriſtian Princes to the holy Land, decreed by Pope *Vrbain* the ſecond, at the councell of Cler-
D mont; in the which there went infinit numbers out of France, England, Italy and Germany, vnder the conduct of diuers Princes and Noblemen. Few made this voyage out of Spaine, by reaſon of the warres, which they had againſt the African Moores, by whom they were greatly anoyed: Onely D. *Raymond* Earle of Toloufe and Saint *Gyles*, ioyned in theſe Leuant warres leading with him ſome ſmall number of Spaniſh Knights, and was followed by D. *Eluira* his wife, who was brought in bed, in the Eaſt countries of a ſonne, who was baptized in the water of Iordain, and for that cauſe was named *Alphonſo Iordain*. D. *Bernard* Archbiſhop of Toledo, beeing deſirous to goe, was croſt, and went into the Eaſt, recommending his charge to certaine regular Chanoins of Saint *Auguſtine*, who after his departure choſe an
E other Archbiſhop, whereof D. *Bernard* aduertiſed, beeing not yet gone out of Spaine, hee returned ſodainely, and paſſing by the Monaſtery of Sahagun, he tooke with him certaine Monkes, with the which he went to Toledo, where hee puniſhed the Chapter for their inconſtancy, depoſed the new Archbiſhop, and placed the Monkes of the Order of Saint *Benet* in his church, the which continued there many yeeres.

An. 1096.

Expedition into Syria, or the Holy warre.

This done, beeing deſirous to ſee the world, hee continued his courſe and came to Rome, to receiue the Holy fathers bleſſing, meaning to proceed in his voiage; but they ſay the Pope would not ſuffer him, but ſent him backe into Spaine, knowing him to be fit for the affaires of the Romiſh Catholike church: ſo D. *Bernard* returned, beeing abſolued of his vow.

F He paſt through France, from whence hee carried with him many men of fame, amongſt others one named *Girard*, borne at Moyſi, whom hee made Chantre of his church, afterwards he was Archbiſhop of Braga, and canonized for a Saint: one *Peter* borne in Berry, whom he made Arch-deacon, and was afterwards Biſhop of Oſma, put alſo in the numbers of Saints: *Bernard* of Agen the ſecond Chantre, and after Biſhop of

Prelats of the French nation giuen to the churches in Spaine.

of Siguença and in the end Biſhop of Saint *Iaques*: *Peter* alſo of Agen, ſecond Arch- A
deacon of Toledo, and ſince biſhop of Segobia: *Raymond* of Agen, who ſucceeded in the Biſhoprike of Oſma, and in the end to the ſame D. *Bernard* in his dignity of Toledo: an other *Peter* who was Biſhop of Palence, and *Ieroſme* of Perigueux, whom hee made Biſhop of Valencia, arriuing in that city ſoone after that D. *Roderigo Diaz de Biuar* had conquered it; to whom he was an aſſiſtant to order clergy matters. Hee carried with him alſo one *Bernard*, who was biſhop of Zamora: and beſides a Limoſin called *Bourdin*, who was Arch-deacon of Toledo, and afterwards Biſhop of Coimbra, and ſucceſſiuely Arch-biſhop of Braga: but this *Bourdin* became a *Iudas* to the church of Rome, and would haue made himſelfe Pope, againſt *Calixtus* the ſecond, which cau- B
ſed a great ſciſme.

All this ſeed the Archbiſhop of Toledo brought out of France into Spaine, at his returne from Rome, & furniſhed Spaine with theſe Prelats, in recompence of the vow which he did not performe to goe to the holy war: and moreouer he re-built churches and other apparent places in the towne of Tarragone, with the money which was prepared for his voiage, and there eſtabliſhed *Berenger* Archbiſhop, hauing beene Biſhop of Vic d' Auſone, leauing the temporalty of that towne to *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone.

Barcelone. This Prince was left young at the death of his father, who had beene cruelly murthered by his owne brother, deſirous to rule alone in Cattelogne. He was much troub- C
led with diuiſions and factions betwixt the Noblemen of the country, and was ſpoiled of Carcaſſone and other Lands which he had in France, by tirants, as it happens often during the minority of the Prince or Lord. His mother the Conteſſe *Almodia*, a widow, gaue ouer al gouernment, and profeſſed herſelfe a Nunne in the conuent of Saint *Daniel* of Girone: ſo as hee remained in the hands of *Armingol* Earle of Vrgel, the Earle of Cerdagne, and ſome other of his bloud, who beeing imploied againſt the Moores, got for themſelues, and did not much attend the good of their pupil, yet did he grow both in vertue and valour. Cont *Armingol* died in the yeere of our Lord 1092. and D. *Guillen Iordain* of Cerdagne, went to the warres of Syria with *Godefrey* of Bouillon, where beeing dead and ſoone after his brother D. *Bernard Guillen* his ſucceſ- D.
ſor, leauing no heires of their bodie, the Earle D. *Raymond Arnould*, as neereſt allied
God the Protector of pupils. did inherit the Earledome, whom God did ſo fauour, as that *Barnard* of Aton who had vſurped Carcaſſone, was growne ſo hatefull to them of the country, as they chaſed him away, and deliuered the towne to D. *Raymond Arnould* their naturall Lord. So he not onely recouered that which they had taken from him, but alſo augmented his Eſtates and Siegneuries with the towne of Tarragone, and the county of Cerdagne. We haue ſayd before, that he was in a certaine incounter againſt *Cid Ruis Diaz*, during the warres betwixt Valencia and Denia, and that hee was repulſed and vanquiſhed by him: but became afterwards good friends, after that *Cid* had taken Valencia about the yeere of our Lord 1096.

Caſtille. To returne to which conqueſt, we will ſay that *Cid* did preſently ſend to King D. *Al-* E
phonſo his Lord, a hundred goodly horſes richly furniſhed, with other great preſents, who being in Palenza, receiued them with great contentment. He ſent other preſents to D. *Ximena* his wife, whom with his two daughters, D. *Eluira*, and D. *Sol*, he cauſed to come to Valencia with the leaue of King D. *Alphonſo*. The Almorauides of Affrike ſtaied not long before they paſt the ſeas, to defend their new conqueſt in Spaine, and came into the country of Valencia with a great power, but they were repulſed by *Cid* with great loſſe and diſhonour; of the ſpoiles of which victories *Cid* ſent two hundred horſes vnto his King, richly furniſhed, and at euery ſaddle did hang a ſword of great value. The King D. *Alphonſo* was at that time at Vailledolit in Caſtille, who receiued
Marriage of the daughters of Cid Ruis Diaz. this preſent gratiouſly: There beganne the treaty of marriage for the daughters of F
Cid, with D. *Diego* and D. *Fernand Gonçales*, ſonnes to D. *Gonçalo* Lord of Carrion, for the effecting whereof, the King, *Cid* and the parties came to Requegna, whether the King brought the two young Noblemen, to whom *Cid* promiſed his daughters; and afterwards the marriages were celebrated at Valencia with great pompe. But in the

end

A end of this feaſt there happened an accident, which did much trouble theſe two houſes, ſo inconſtant and ſhort are humaine pleaſures; and the councels and iudgements of God inſcrutable. There was a Lyon bred vp in *Cids* houſe, the which by the negligence of the Gouernor, or otherwiſe, getting looſe, came into the hall, where there was a great aſſembly of Noblemen and Ladies, with the married coples, and ſtrooke a great terror among them, where as aboue all others the two *Gonçales*, newly married ſhewed themſelues faint-hearted cowards, whereat they were aſhamed, ſeeing themſelues leſſe eſteemed, both by their father in law, and by the other knights there preſent. From that time they conceiued a mortal hatred againſt *Cid*, thinking that this Lyon had beene let looſe by his commandment, to try them and feare them, ſo as they reſol-
B ued to be reuenged vpon the firſt occaſion. This was no vaine argument of their baſeneſſe, ſeeing a Lyon vpon the ſodaine (although that an vnexpected accident, might amaze the moſt hardy, being an ordinary thing in nature to be moued at ſodaine things) for ſoone after they gaue a more ample teſtimony of their want of courage, in a battaile againſt the Moores, who were come againſt Valencia, where they carried themſelues baſely, yet by the wiſdome and valour of *Cid* theſe Infidels were vanquiſhed. After al this, theſe two baſe Knights would carry their wiues home to their houſes, but hauing their hearts full of poiſon, and fearing they ſhould not be able to hurt their father in law, they reuenged themſelues inhumainly vpon their innocent wiues, and intreated them ſo il before they came to Carrion, as they left them for dead vpon the way, at a
C place called Robledos de Corpes, neere to Berlanga, where theſe poore Ladies beeing cheriſhed by the good people of the country, they had meanes to aduertiſe *Cid* their father of their miſery. The meſſenger whom they ſent, was incountred by *Cids* men, going to the King D. *Alphonſo* with foure ſcore horſes, and other rich preſents, of the ſpoiles of the laſt victory obtained againſt the Moores. Complaint was made by them vnto the King, of this villanous act committed by the ſonnes of the Lord of Carrion againſt their wiues: whereupon the King aſſembled the Noblemen and Knights of the country of Toledo, and kept a court (whereas *Cid* appeered, hauing retired his daughters to Valencia) and Iudges were appointed to doe right vnto the parties, vpon ſo great a controuerſie, among the which D. *Raymond* of Bourgongne, the Kings ſonne in
D law was one: Their ſentence was that their queſtion ſhould bee decided by armes, betwixt Knights choſen of either part: ſuch was the Iuſtice in thoſe daies among Nobles, a cuſtome which is not loſt amongſt Chriſtians at this day. The campe where they ſhould fight was choſen in the towne of Carrion, whereas there appered *Pedro Bermudes*, *Martin Antolines* and *Nugno Guſtos*, Knights for *Cid*, who vanquiſhed, the two ſonnes of Carrion, with their vncle a partiſã of their villany, called *Suero Gonçales* who were proclaimed infamous and traitors, and degraded of al honor and title of nobility. Theſe two Ladies were afterwards happely married into the houſe of Nauarre, that is D. *Eluira* to D. *Ramires*, ſonne to the King D. *Sancho Garcia*; and D. *Sol*, to the ſonne of D. *Pedro*, then raigning in Nauarre and Arragon, called alſo D. *Pedro*, who died before
E his father. After theſe laſt marriages, *Cid* growne old, did nothing that was memorable. He ſetled the Eſtate of Valencia as well as he could, with the aide of the Princes of Nauarre and Arragon his allyes. And the better to aſſure it, he chaſed away diuers families of the Moores, which were ſuſpected vnto him. A captaine of the Moores, who was alſo a Doctor of the law of *Mahumet*, called *Alfaraxi*, a great friend to *Cid*, tooke vpon him the Chriſtian religion, being held a man of great valour and Iudgement. The authors place the death of *Cid Ruis Dias* of Biuar in the yeere 1098. the towne of Valencia beeing anoyed by the Moores, which held their campe about it: yet notwithſtanding they ſay that the widow accõpanied with D. *Ieroſme* the Biſhop, went out of the towne, conducting her husbands body, to bury it at Saint *Pedro de Cerdegna*, where it was laied: the Monkes of that place at this day ſhew many iewells and other things
F which they ſay had beene giuen by that great captaine to their Monaſtery. After his death, the Chriſtians which were at Valencia fearing they ſhould not bee able to reſiſt the forces of the Moores Almorauides, abandoned the towne, which came into the Infidels power againe, and ſo continued 140. yeeres.

Cowardlineſſe of Cids ſonnes in law.

Reparation of crimes by combate.

Alfaraxi a great Doctor of the Mahumetiſts baptized.

Death of Cid Ruis of Biuar.

D. Pedro

D. Pedro the firſt of that name, the ſeuenteenth King of Nauarre, and the third of Arragon.

Nauarre and Arragon.

19. IN the meane time by the deceaſe of D. *Sancho Ramires*, the crowne of Nauarre and Arragon was come to D. *Pedro* the firſt of that name in the yeere 1094. who had raigned nine yeeres in Sobrarbre and Ribagorça. At his comming hee ſwore to maintaine the lawes & preuiledges of the country, and intitled himſelfe King of Pampelone and Arragon. He continued the ſeege of Hueſca, the which was long and difficult, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, and the reſiſtance of the Inhabitants, aſſiſted by *Almocaben* King of Sarragoſſe and other Moores, and alſo by ſome Chriſtians, of which number were D. *Garcia* Earle of Cabra, and D. *Gonçales*, vaſſals to the King of Caſtille. Theſe beeing come to ſuccor Hueſca with a mighty army, in the yeere 1096. thinking to raiſe the ſeege, had a battaile in the fields called Alcoraz, with the Nauarrois and Arragonois, who wonne it, killing aboue 30000. Moores, the reſt were wholy put to rout and flight, ſo as the towne deſpayring of al ſuccors, yeelded to D. *Pedro* King of Nauarre and Arragon. Here they forge the ancient armes of Arragon, vpon a viſion which the Spaniſh writers ſay had appeered to many Arragonois during the combat: that is, Saint *George* on horſe-backe with a ſhield of ſteele and a croſſe gueules, fighting for the Chriſtians: and that after the defeat there were foure heads of the chiefe Princes of the Moores found: wherevpon they ſay that D. *Pedro* the King tooke for the armes of Arragon a croſſe gueuls in a field argent, betwixt foure Moores heads of the ſame collour.

A great defeat of Moores, and the taking of Hueſca.

The armes of Arragon.

In this battaile of Alcoraz, were renouned for their vertue and proweſſe, *Gaſton Biel*, the ſtemme of the family of *Cornels*, *Federic Atrocillo*, *Lopes Ferencio de Luna*, *Gomes de Luna*, *Fortun Maza*, *Simon Aznar Oteicia*, & *Sancho Pegna*, Knights of Arragon. Hueſca being taken, the great Moſquee was preſently dedicated for a Cathedral church, and the Epiſcopal Sea of Iacca was tranſlated thether, as it had beene in times paſt. There were Chriſtians Muſarabes found within the towne, who had liued there during the Moores Empire, alwaies in liberty of their religion, ſaying their ſeruice in Saint *Peters* church. The King D. *Pedro* indowed this Cathedrall church of Hueſca with great reuenues, and inuited by great preuiledges men to come from al parts to inhabit it.

This D. *Pedro* during the life time of D. *Sancho* his father, was married to an Italian Lady, called by ſome *Bertha*, by others *Ygnes*, ſo as it is vncertaine whether hee had one wife, to whom theſe names are attributed, or that he were twice married. Hee had by his wife one ſonne called alſo D. *Pedro*, and a daughter, named D. *Iſabel*, both which died before the father. The Infant D. *Pedro* was married to D. *Sol*, the ſecond daughter of *Cid Ruis Diaz*. As for D. *Eluira* the other daughter of *Cid*, ſhee had by her husband D. *Ramir Sanches*, ſonne to the King D. *Sancho Garcia*, one ſonne called D. *Garcia Ramires*, who was Lord of Corrada, and one daughter D. *Eluira Ramires*, the which was married in Caſtille, to D. *Rodrigo Gomes*, ſonne to D. *Gomes* Earle of Candeſpina and Gormas. By theſe alliances, the houſe of Nauarre and Arragon beeing fauorable to *Cid Ruis Diaz*, who held Valencia, he had often aide and ſupport againſt the Moores, both of men and money, from the Princes thereof. After the taking of Hueſca, the King D. *Pedro* put in garriſon there D. *Fortun Garces de Biel*, D. *Ferris de Liçana* and D. *Pedro de Vergas*, hee tooke a ſtrong caſtle nere to Bolea, called Calaſanzo, and he with the other Chriſtian Princes had done greater exploits, if there had beene more faith and better correſpondency amongſt them, yea more zeale, and good religion, but euery one ſeeking to make his houſe great, and to that end croſſing one an other, the Moores power increaſed, by the vnion which they had made of Spaine and Affrike.

Genealogy of Nauarre.

It was at that time when as the warres in the Eaſt were moſt hot, and that all the Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen which bare armes in France, Germany, Italy and England, yea and in Spaine, burned with deſire to goe this voyage. Forgetting their countries,

countries, affaires, and families, to ingage themſelues in this enterpriſe. So as it is no wonder, if the Moores Eſtate beeing in a manner troden vnder foote in the Weſt, by their ſeditions and factions, hauing found ſupport of the Myralmumins of Affrike, at ſuch time when as euery man did runne to the conqueſt of the Eaſt, were reſtored by the Almorauides.

Tithes granted to laymen.

At this time the ſecular Lords or Lay men, fitted themſelues with the reuenues of the church and with titles throughout all Europe, Pope *Vrbain* hauing granted his Bulles to Chriſtian Princes and Potentats, according vnto thoſe of Pope *Gregory* the 7. giuen at Saint *Iean de Latran*, in the yeere 1073. who did not grant it but vnto Kings, in thoſe Lands where they ſhould build churches: But Pope *Vrbain* granted it to all Kings, Princes, Noblemen and gentlemen, not onely in places of their foundations, but in all other places, yea in thoſe countries which they ſhould conquer from the Moores; whereof the Noble houſes of Spaine, as well as in other places, haue made their profit, yea in high Nauarre and Biſcay. All theſe permiſions and faculties, to enioy (as they cal them) the ſpirituall goods of the church, the Pope granted to incourage men to make warre againſt the Infidels, not ſo much for to make them deſirous to become Chriſtians, as to ſtay them, and repulſe them, fearing they ſhould come and trouble the commodities of the Romane church, which were great in thoſe daies, and ſince.

Caſtille.

D. *Alphonſo* the Braue, Emperor of Spaine, as hee is intitled, in the inſtrumental letters, giuing about that time faculty to the Abbot *Fortun* to build a towne about the Monaſtery of Saint *Dominike* of Silos, for the great wonders which Chriſt did vnto the Chriſtians, which implored the aide of this Saint: ſuch be the words of the letters cited by *Garibay*, in the yeere 1095. This towne in our time is come into the poſſeſſion of the Duke of Frias, Conſtable of Caſtille. The ſame King re-edefied nere vnto Toledo, and to the caſtle of Saint *Seruant*, the monaſtery of Saint *Seruant*, and Saint *Germain*, of the order of Saint *Benet*, which had bin a houſe belonging to the ſame order, & indowed it with great reuenues. The name of the Biſhop of S. Iames, called vntil that time Irienſes, was changed, & they were called of Compoſtella, by Buls from Pope *Vrbain* the 2. The firſt Biſhop which caried this title, was *Dalmichius*, a religious man of the order of Clugny: it was alſo granted to that church that from thence-forth they ſhould bee no more vnder the Archbiſhop of Braga, as that of Iria had bin, but ſhould immediatly acknowledge the holy Apoſtolike Sea of Rome. The Epiſcopal ſeat of Oca, was changed by the ſame Pope *Vrbain* to Bourgos, the chiefe city of Caſtille, with the ſame preuiledge and exemption, not to acknowledge any but the Sea of Rome immediatly: yet ſome ſay it had bin done long before, and that it was only a confirmation which Pope *Vrbain* the 2. made. D. *Pedro* King of Nauar, did for his part giue bountifully vnto churches. The writers of the Spaniſh hiſtory make mention of a holy man called *Leſmes*, a Frenchman borne, dwelling at Bourgos, but they make no particular relation of his Holineſſe. The country of Nauarre being ſpoiled by graſhopers and caterpillers, the Nauarrois had recourſe to the holy father at Rome, bewayling their calamities, and intreating him to be a meanes to pacefie the wrath of God. The Pope by the aduice of the Conſiſtory of Cardinals, ſent the Biſhop of Oſtia, called *Gregory*, who let them vnderſtand that it was for their ſins, the which it may bee D. *Pedro de Roda*, biſhop of Pampelone, and their other paſtors had not told them, or elſe could not perſwade them, that it was the cauſe of their affliction. This Biſhop of Oſtia was beleeued, and therefore after ſome amendment amongſt the people of Nauarre, this ſcourge of graſ-hoppers and caterpillers ceaſed. Herevpon this *Gregory* of Oſtia was held a Saint by them, and is at this day the patron and protector of Vignes and fruites, againſt caterpillers, and other ſuch vermine, in Spaine. Saint *Dominike*, called *de la Calçada*, was his diſciple, who liued long in the country neere vnto Nauarre, foure leagues from Nagera, receiuing ſtrang pilgrimes which came from diuers partes of Europe to viſit the ſepulcher of Saint Iames. This Saint *Gregory* died afterwards at Logrogno, and is buried at Beruela in Nauarre, where (as the hiſtory ſaies) the Chriſtians which recommended themſelues vnto him, are cured of many infirmities. In the ſame ſeaſon 1098. was inſtituted the order of Ciſteaux in the Dioceſe of Chalon in Bourgongne, by one named *Robert*.

Beginning of the towne of Saint Dominike of Silos.

Biſhop of Saint Iaques exempt from all ſubiection but of the Pope.

Bourgos made a Biſhopriſe.

Nauarre.

Gregory Biſhop of Oſtia, made the protector of vignes and fruits in Spaine.

This order was augmented ſince by Saint *Bernard*, who entring into it about the two and twentith yeere of his age, did ſo well, as in leſſe then 36. yeeres, hee erected 16. Abbaies of his Order. Theſe were the exerciſes of religion in thoſe daies, to the which the great deuotion of Princes and people, did mooue all Kingdomes, States, Prouinces, Townes and in a manner all priuate families. A

Caſtille. In the yeere 1100. died D. *Raymond* of Bourgongne, Earle of Galicia, ſonne in law
An. 1100. to King D. *Alphonſo* the Braue, leauing one ſonne by D. *Vrraca* his wife, called D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, who was bred vp by the Earle D. *Pedro Traua*, and came afterwards to raigne in Caſtille and Leon.

Moores. 20. The ſame yeere their died at Maroc, *Ioſeph Aben-Tefin*, or *Texifien*, *Miralmumin*, B
or Emperor of the Arabians in Affrike and Spaine, hauing raigned 32. yeeres; to whom *Ali Aben-Tefin*, his ſon ſucceeded. This new King *Ali*, deſirous to win honor by armes paſt, ſoon after his comming to the crowne, into Spaine, with a great power of Almorauides Affricans, and hauing made ſome ſtay in Andaluſia, to ioyne the Moores of Spaine vnto his army, hee entred the territory of Toledo, where the King D. *Alphonſo* made then his reſidence, being old & ful of infirmities, & therefore vnfit to make head againſt this Barbarian, who was yong and full of ambition to inlarge the country conquered by his father, yet hauing called his Nobility together in time, if they had beene well led, he commanded D. *Sancho* his ſonne to ſally forth againſt this army of Moores, being a Prince of a great courage and too deſirous to fight, beeing accompanied by D. *Garcia de Cabra*, and other Earles and Noblemen of Caſtille, who hauing incountred C
Chriſtians defeated by the Moores and D. Sancho heire of Caſtille ſlaine. the enemy nere vnto Voles, they gaue them battaile, but they were defeated, and put all to rout. The Infant D. *Sancho*, the Earle D. *Garcia*, and other great perſonages were ſlaine vpon the place, ſo as the Moores had meanes to ouer-run and ſpoile the country at their pleaſures: they tooke many places and forts, which the King could not preuent, nor make any reſiſtance; who was exceeding heauy and ſorrowfull for the loſſe of this battaile, but eſpecially for the death of his ſonne and onely heire. Hee did much blame many captaines which had eſcaped that day, for that they had ſo raſhly ioyned in battaile; but this was no meanes to cure the diſeaſe. This route was the more vnſeaſonable, for that his ſonne in law *Raymond* of Tolouſe and Saint *Gyles*, a valiant D
Commander in the warre, by whom hee might haue beene much eaſed was then abſent in Syria, where hee died a while after leauing three ſonnes, *Bertrand*, *William* and *Alphonſo Iordain*, which were all Earles of Tolouſe; although with great difficulties and troubles. The heat and furie of theſe Arabian Almorauides, was cooled and ſtaied by ſome other good ſucceſſe of the Nauarrois, Arragonois, and Cattelans, againſt the Moores their neighbours, which gaue the Caſtillans ſome time to breath, and to recouer new forces.

Nauarre. D. *Pedro* King of Nauarre after the taking of Hueſca, had made continuall warres againſt the Infidels which lay neere vnto him, and had taken Pertuſa from them. After
An. 1101. which he went to beſeege the city of Barbaſtro, which after a long conteſtation of either ſide, was yeelded, with the caſtle of Vililla, and other forts of that country in the E
yeere 1101. He preſently reſtored the Epiſcopal Sea to that city, as it had beene, whereof D. *Ponce* was Biſhop, who was of Rode.

Barcelone. On the other ſide the Earle of Barcelone, growne both in courage and poſſeſſions, hauing with him the Earle of Vrgel his couſin, made an enterpriſe vpon the Iſland of Majorca, which was held by the Moores. Being aſſiſted by ſome gallies of Piſa and Genoua, they paſt their army into the Iſland, and beganne to batter the forts, and to aſ-
Majorca taken by the Cattelans. ſault the Moores which inhabited it. D. *Armingol* Earle of Vrgel was ſlaine there in a ſally, leauing a ſon of his owne name to be his ſucceſſor, yet *Cid Raymond* did batter and aſſault the city of Majorca with ſuch fury, as it was taken in the yeere 1102. and for that hee had newes that the Moores, to diuert the conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands were come to F
beſeege Barcelone, hee returned into Cattelogne, leauing the Iſland to the Geneuois,
Infamous cometouſneſſe of the Geneuois. to reduce the reſt vnder the power of the Chriſtians, but mooued (as the Cattelans ſay) with a trecherous & villanous couetouſneſſe, they ſold both the town and the whole Iſland to the Moores, for a ſum of money, whereof, they ſay, grew the irreconciliable

hatred

A hatred betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuois. The Moores which had beſeeged Barcelona, were forced to abandon it with ſhame and great loſſe of their men. Some authors of the Spaniſh Hiſtory write, that this Earle D. *Raymond Arnould*, went into Germany in a diſguiſed habit, and did fight a combat for the Empreſſe *Mathilda*, wife to *Henry* accuſed of adultery, and that hauing vanquiſhed her accuſer, and deliuered the Lady, hee returned to Barcelona, without diſcouering himſelfe: yet this fact beeing knowne and verified, the Emperor rewarded him with the county of Prouence, which did then belong to the Empire. About that time, which was in the yeere 1102. died in Caſtille the wife of *Cid Ruis Diaz*, daughter to D. *Gomes*, Earle of Gormas, who was buried with her husband, at Saint *Peter* of Cardegna, neere vnto Burgos. The King of
B Caſtille in the meane time made head againſt the Moores without hazarding of much, ſo as after great ſpoiles of either ſide, that realme had ſome reſt.

Prouence giuen to the houſe of Barcelone by the Emperor Henry the fifth.

Caſtille.

The affaires ſtanding vpon theſe termes, D. *Henry* Earle of Portugal, ſon in law to the King D. *Alphonſo*, had a deſire to goe into the Leuant, to ſee the Land where our Sauiour and ſo many holy Prophets and Apoſtels had liued, and thruſt on alſo with an emulation of the fame of his couſin or vncle D. *Raymond* of Toloufe and Saint *Gyles*, and of ſo many Noble men and Barons of France and Germany, which had run to that warre. He parted in the yeere 1103. hauing with the helpe and aduice of D. *Bernard* Archbiſhop of Toledo, reſtored the cities of Coimbra, Braga, Viſeo, Lamego and Porto, to their Epiſcopal Seas, of which townes Coimbra was the chiefe for the tempo-
C ral, and for the ſpirituall Braga was made Metropolitaine; as it had beene in the Gothes time. His way was by Germany and Hongary, with many other Noblemen of France and Germany, whoſe voyage was long and painful. There is nothing ſpoken of him, but that he returned with many relikes, and among others an arme of Saint *Luke* the Euangeliſt, as they did beleeue: whereof *Alexis Comnen* Emperor of Conſtantinople (a ſecret enemy to the Weſterne Princes, and to al their enterpriſes, & who mocked at all their deuotions) made him a worthy preſent; which relike Cont *Henry* carried into Portugal, and placed it with great reuerence in the chiefe church at Braga. It was at ſuch time as the Knights of the Temple of Ieruſalem were firſt inſtituted, by
D one *Hugues* de Paganis, and *Ieoffrey* of Saint *Adelman*, hauing vowed to keepe the waies ſafe from the port of Iaffa (in old time called Ioppa) vnto the Temple: to whom and to their companions (which ſoone increaſed to a good number) was a place aſſigned for their dwelling nere the Temple, whereof they tooke the name of Templers; afterwards mingling Knight-hood with Monacal rules, they inſtituted an order, the which which confirmed by the Pope; they tooke vpon them a white habit, with a red croſſe, and in ſucceſſion of time got ſo great poſſeſſions throughout all Chriſtendome, as Kings and Popes themſelues did enuy them: ſo as vnder the collour of many crimes, whether true or falſe, they were condemned and rooted out at the councell of Vienne, by Pope *Clement* the fifth, their order hauing continued 200. yeeres. Whoſe ſpoiles were diuided betwixt the Pope, King *Philip* of France, the Hoſpitaliers of Saint *John*
E of Ieruſalem and others. Theſe Templers were the beginning of al the millitary orders, which haue beene ſince made in Chriſtendome.

Knights of the Temple at Ieruſalem.

Templers the beginning of al the Militare orders in Chriſtendom.

Returning to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille his ſubiects ſeeing, him without any heires male, by the death of D. *Sancho*, & that he was now old and broken, they tooke councell to perſwad him to marry the Counteſſe D. *Vrraca*, widow to *Raymond* Earle of Bourgonge to D. *Gomes* Earle of Campdeſpina, the greateſt Nobleman next vnto the King in Caſtille, for the effecting whereof, the Noblemen of Caſtille aſſembled at Magan, a Bourough of Toledo, or according vnto others at Maſquereque: the difficulty was that knowing the King to bee of a high and great ſpirit, there was not any one that durſt preſume to deliuer the meſſage; wherefore they reſolued to giue this charge to a phyſition which was a Iewe, called *Cidello*, who was very familiar with the
F King, the which (beeing a raſh man) hee accepted, to his owne ruine: for hauing found a fit opportunitie as hee thought, to ſpeake vnto the King of this marriage, hee had no ſooner touched that ſubiect, but he was repulſed with bitter words, and chaſed out of the Court, with charge neuer to returne againe vpon paine of death,

Caſtille.

A iuſt puniſhment of a raſh man.

yet this made the King to thinke, that it was fit to marry his daughter, and therefore hee A made choiſe of D. *Alphonſo* Infant of Nauarre and Arragon brother to the King D. *Pedro* for his ſonne in law, the which hee did by the aduice of D. *Bernard* Archbiſhop of Toledo, which marriage was accompliſhed according vnto ſome, in the life time of the King D. *Pedro*, others ſay it was after his deceaſe, D. *Alphonſo* hauing already ſucceeded him to the crowne of Nauarre and Arragon, in the yeere 1104. for that the King D. *Pedros* ſonne, of the ſame name, was dead without children, and D. *Iſabel* his daughter was alſo dead a virgin. This King D. *Pedro* and his children were buried at S. *Iean de la Pegna*, the laſt of the Kings which were interred there. He had raigned in Nauarre and Arragon ten yeeres and three monthes.

D. Vraca heire of Caſtille and Leon married to D. Alphonſo of Nauarre.

An. 1104.

As for King D. *Alphonſo*, he liued vnto the yeere 1108. being afflicted with great in- B firmities, with the which he languiſhed to the age of 73. whereof hee raigned foure and thirty yeeres and eight monthes, after the deceaſe of his brother D. *Sancho*, his body is interred in the Monaſtery of Sahagun, D. *Alphonſo* his ſon in law ſucceeded him, in the right of D. *Vraca* (the only lawfull daughter of the deceaſed) in all his realmes of Caſtille, Leon, Toledo and other Siegneuries. A little before his death, one *Moyſe* a Iew, very learned in the tongues, in Philoſophy and the holy Scriptures, was baptized, and the King D. *Alphonſo* was his god-father, wherefore hee was called *Pedro Alphonſo*. His conuerſion was profitable to many Iewes and Moores, whom by diſputing and writing hee brought to leaue their ſects, and to imbrace the name and profeſſion of Chriſtians. At the ſame time floriſhed *Dominike de la Calçada*, whoſe practiſe was to retire the pilgrimes which went to Saint Iaques, and to direct them in their way. At C the place of whoſe aboade there was ſince a city built of that name: he cauſed a Chappel to bee built there in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, and a little from thence, fiue yeeres before his death, he made his ſepulcher: for at that time they buried not any in holie ground. Now it is a Cathedral Church.

Death of D. Alphonſo the ſixth King of Caſtille.

Conuerſion of Moyſe a Iew.

The end of the eight Booke.

The Contents of the ninth Booke.

1. VNion of the realmes of Caſtille, Leon, Nauarre and Arragon, vnder the King D. Alphonſo the 7. of that name in Leon, and 2. in Caſtille, and the firſt in Nauarre, and Arragon.
2. Seege and taking of the city of Sarragoſſe from the Moores, the which was afterwards the chiefe of the realme of Arragon.
3. The County of Prouence anexed to the houſe of Barcelone, by hereditary ſucceſſion.
4. D. Alphonſo Henriques 2. Earle of Portugal, and the bad gouernment of the Counteſſe D. Thereſa his Mother.
5. The licentious life of the Queene D. Vrraca heire of Caſtille, her diuorce from King D. Alphonſo her husband, and the miſeries which happened in Caſtille.
6. Conſpiracy of the Nobility and States of Caſtille and Leon, againſt the Queene D. Vrraca, and the eſtabliſhing of her ſonne D. Alphonſo.
7. Raymond in the royall dignity, accounted the 8. of that name, and the 27. King of Leon, and 5. of Caſtille.
8. Diſordred and prodigious teſtament of D. Alphonſo the 7. King of Nauarre and Arragon.
9. Vſurpations of townes and Lands in Nauarre by King Alphonſo Raymond of Caſtille.
10. D. Garcia Ramir the 19. King of Nauarre, and 7. of that name.
11. D. Frere Ramir the 5. King of Arragon and 2. of that name.
12. Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, forced to acknowledge the ſouereignty of Caſtille.
13. Vnion of Cattelogne to the crowne of Arragon, by the marriage of the Earle of Barcelone D. Raymond Berenger, with D. Petronille.
14. Accord betwixt D. Raymond Berenger, Prince Regent of Arragon, with the Templers and Hoſpitaliers, vpon the teſtament of King D. Alphonſo.
15. The Earle of Portugal takes the title of King.
16. Change of the State in Affrike, and the new raigne of the Almohades.
17. Taking of Lisbone, and other townes from the Moores, by the new King D. Alphonſo Henriques.
18. D. Sancho the 20. King of Nauarre 7. of that name.
19. Change of Religion among the Moores in Spaine, and perſecution of Chriſtians by the new ſectaries.
20. D. Sancho the 6. King of Caſtille 3. of that name.
21. D. Fernand the 2. of that name 28. King of Leon.
22. Inſtitution of the Order of the Knights of Calatraua.

A

This ninth booke containes the reſt of the Kings of Nauarre, Arragon, Leon and Caſtille, and the erection of the Earldome of Portugal to a *Kingdome by* D. Alphonſo Henriques *as followeth.*

B

NAVARRE.	*ARRAGON.*	*LEON.*	*CASTILLE.*
18. Alphonſo *Emperour.*	1---4. *the ſame.*	1---26. *the ſame.*	7---4. *the ſame.* 2.
19. *D.* Garcia Ramir.	7. 5. *D.* Fr. Ramir.	2. 27. *D.* Alphon. Ra.	8---5. *the ſame.* 3.
20. *D.* Sancho.	7. *D.* Petronille *and*	28. *D.* Fernand	2. 6. *D.* Sancho. 3.
	D. Raymond Berenger *vnites Arragon and Catelogne.*		

C

PORTVGAL.

D. Alphonſo Henriques. 2. *Earle, and the firſt which tooke vpon him the title of King.*

D. Alphonſo the eighteenth King of Nauarre. Emperor of Spaine.

Nauarre, Arragon, Leon and Caſtille. An. 1108.

1. ALL the Chriſtian Kingdomes of Spaine were vnited in one D body, in the yeere 1108. by the ſucceſſion of Leon, Caſtille, Toledo and other conqueſts, fallne to D. *Vrraca*, wife to D. *Alphonſo* King of Nauarre and Arragon, intitled Emperor of Spaine by a better right then his Predeceſſors: notwithſtanding that ſome Chronicles will not haue him put in the ranke and number of the Kings of Caſtille and Leon, for that it was D. *Vrraca* his wife, and not hee which was heire of the ſayd Realmes D. *Pedro Anſures* during the Kings abſence, who was in Nauarre and Arragon, gouerned, and was Viceroy in Caſtille; in which time the Moores went to E field, and did great harme vnto the Chriſtians, taking the towne of Coria, with other places. D. *Alphonſo* King of Nauarre, entred with an army into Caſtille, leading with him D. *Vrraca* his wife, but there needed not any force, for all obeyed him, both the townes, forts and Noblemen of the country, whom hee gouerned with all mildneſſe, humanity and iuſtice, and repulſed the inuaſions of the Moores on the fronters of his wiues dominions: but hee made ſharper warre againſt them vpon the confines of Nauarre and Arragon: in Caſtille hee repaired Vilhorade; in Rioje Berlanga; and vpon the riuer of Duero, Almaſan and Soria. The ſurname of warrior was giuen him by reaſon of his deeds of armes, and the battailes wherein he was during his raigne: The Hiſtories report that he did fight 29. times in a pitcht field, & was victor in them al, except in the two laſt battailes, which were fought nere vnto Fraga. Hauing gotten foot- F ing in Caſtille, he began to forecaſt what might happen, if his wife ſhould die without children by him; wherefore he put gouernors and captaines of his countries of Nauar & Arragon in al the ſtrong places of Caſtille, that if he were forced to quit theſe realms of Caſtille, Leon, Toledo & their depẽdances, he might keep thoſe people in ſome awe,

D. Alphonſo ſeeks to aſſure himſelfe of Caſtille.

and

A and leaue it with his honor and aduantage: the which did ſomewhat eſtrange the Noblemen of Caſtile. He knew alſo, that his wife D. *Vrraca* was proud, ingrate, inconſtant, and not very continent, and therefore with good aduice he armed himſelfe for all euents. This woman vpon a light occaſion, conceiued a great hatred againſt the Earle D. *Pedro Anſures*, Lord of Vailledolit, who had nouriſhed her, and had kept her Eſtates after the death of the king her father, onely for that in his letters written to the king her husband, & her, aduiſing them to come and take poſſeſſion of her inheritance, he had intitled her husband King of Caſtile. Whereupon ſhe ſought to take Vailledolit, and other lands from him, but the King did preſently reſtore them: and to the end he ſhould be the more ſecure, againſt the rage of this woman, hee ſent him into Arra-
B gon, with D. *Elo* his wife, giuing him the gouernement of the young Earle of Vrgel his Couſin.

The bad qualities of D Vrraca Queene of Caſtile.

The firſt expedition which he made againſt the Moores, was about the yeare, 1110. vppon the frontiers of Nauarre and Arragon, where he tooke from them the towne of Exea, in which warre he was aſſiſted by many voluntarie Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, beeing deſirous to winne honor by bearing armes againſt the Mahumetiſts. Running along the riuer of Ebro, he tooke Tihauſt, Borja, Magallon, and other places of thoſe marches: ſo as the happy ſucceſſe of this enterpriſe gaue him courage to effect that which his predeceſſors Kings of Nauarre had long before deſeigned; which was, to reduce the cittie of Sarragoſſa vnder his obedience, the which as he made ſhew
C to beſeege, ſpoiling the countrie round about it King *Abuçaleh* came with a great power, and preſented him battaile, neare vnto Valtierra, where the Moore was vanquiſhed, and ſlaine vpon the place. By meanes of this victorie, King D. *Alphonſo* took Morella, and reſolued to beſeege Sarragoſſa, wherefore he put a ſtrong garriſon into the fort of Caſtella, of old ſouldiers, called at that time in Spaine Almogarabes, who were continually entertained vpon the Moores frontiers. This ſeege was long and dangerous, for the Moores defended this cittie courragiouſly, beeing great, full of men, and well fortified.

Expedition againſt the Mahumetiſts. An. 1110.

Moores defeated by D. Alphonſo.

Sarragoſſa beſeeged.

In the armie of king D. *Alphonſo*, there were many Noblemen of France, which had vowed to carrie armes againſt the Infidels, among the which were *Gaſton* Lord of
D Berne, the Earle of Cominges, and *Rotron* Earle of Perche, by whom the Towne of Tudele, ſeated vpon Ebro, betwixt Sarragoſſa and Calaorra, was taken by ſurprize. The Moores which were there in garriſon, did much annoy the campe; for that they ſpoiled their victuallers and merchants, and cut off their victuals: whereupon D. *Alphonſo* ſent Cont *Rotron* with good troupes of foot, and ſixe hundred horſe. The Earle kept himſelfe cloſe in certaine valleys, couered with woods, neere vnto the towne, and ſent foorth ſome men into the open plaines, to get ſome ſpoile, and to driue away their cattell; who being diſcouered by the Moores of the fort, they ſallyed foorth with all their forces, to the end that not any one of theſe runners ſhould eſcape. Whileſt they were in skirmiſh, the Earle came out of his ambuſh, and cut off their retreate to
E the towne, the which he found ill garded, ſo as he ſeazed thereon without any difficultie. The king D. *Alphonſo* to reward the Earle of Perche for this prize, which was of ſo great importance, for that ſeege where he was, gaue him this place of Tudele, the which was afterwards annexed to the crowne of Nauarre. The Moores amazed at this loſſe, began to faint in many places: ſo as Moncajo, and other neighbour townes, were made ſubiect to D. *Alphonſo* within few dayes. The Sarragoſſans were much aſſiſted by the Moores, which commanded at Lerida and Fraga, as well for the danger which did threaten them, as for their conformity in Religion.

Noblemen of France in the campe before Sarragoſſa.

Tudele taken by the Earle of Perche.

During this ſeege, the king D. *Alphonſo* beeing in the cittie of Barbaſtro, there came vnto his Court Count *Bertrand* of Tholouſa, ſonne to Count *Raymond*, and D. *Eluira*
F baſtard daughter to the deceaſed King D. *Alphonſo* the 6. This young Prince had bin diſpoſſeſſed of all his Eſtate by the Earle of Poictiers, who beeing gratiouſly intertayned and honored by king D. *Alphonſo*, to the end he might bee ayded by him, to recouer his Eſtate, he made himſelfe his vaſſall, acknowledging him for his Soueraigne Lord of all he did, or ſhould poſſeſſe (according to the Spaniſh Hiſtories.) The King receiued

receiued him into his protection,& gaue him good hope,it was about the yeare 1116. A
yet this did little auaile Cont *Bertrand*: for the continuall warre which D.*Alphonſo* had againſt the Moores, would not ſuffer him to attend the affaires of Tholouſa, beſides *William* Earle of Poictiers was the kings friend,and came himſelfe in perſon to the war againſt the Moores in Spaine,and was at the ſeege of Sarragoſſa, with the Earles of Perche, Cominges and Bigorre, the Lord of Bearn, the Vicount of Lauedan, Biſhop of Eſcar, and many other Noblemen and Knights of France, whereas alſo were all the Noblemen of Nauarre and Arragon,both Eccleſiaſticall and ſecular;among the which thoſe of greateſt marke, were *Diego Lope Ladron*, *Ximen Fortunes de Leet*, *Simon Fortunes de mont Caſtel*, *Pedro Momeſio*, *Lope Ximenes Torelia*, *Lope Sancho* of Ogabre, *Pedro* Ximenes Iuſtice of Arragon, *Iean Galindio* d'Antilia, *Lope Fortunes* of Albero, *Pedro* B
Almudebar taken from the Moores. *Myr Entenza*, *Raymond Peres d'Erillo*, N. of Almorauid, and with them many of Caſtile and other places of Spaine. About the yeare 1118. Almudebar,a ſtrong place and well furniſhed, was taken by the French; the which ſtrucke ſuch a terror into the Mores thereabouts,as they abandoned Sarrignena, Salce, Robres, Zeura, and Gurrea, the which were ſeazed on by the Arragonois, whileſt that the French with the other forces did batter Sarragoſſa, with all violence, the which the Moores defended valiantly, the king D.*Alphonſo* beeing then gone into Caſtile. The Spaniards write, that the French ſeeing this ſeege to grow tedious, and beeing out of hope to take the cittie, they retired in a manner all home to their houſes, except the chiefe Commanders, to whome
C
D.*Alphonſo* brought new ſupplies, about Iuly this yeare 1118. The beſeeged beginning to doubt that they ſhould not be able to keepe the cittie long, they employed all their money, meanes,and credit, intreating the Moores that were neere and farre off, to ſuccour them in their great neceſſitie. Who ſending a captaine vnto them called *Temin*, with men and victuals: he was incountred and defeated neere vnto Daroca, by
Sarragoſſa taken. the king D. *Alphonſo*, and the Earle of Prouence, who (according vnto *Surites*, the Writer of the Hiſtorie of Arragon,) was there with ſixe hundred horſe; contrarie to that which the Spaniards ſay: ſo as the Moores deſpayring of all ſuccours, beganne to parle, and to treate of conditions to yeeld. Some notwithſtauding to do more honor to the Clergie of thoſe times, ſay, that D. *William Gaſton*, Biſhop of Pampelone, ge-
D
nerall of the ſouldiers of Nauarre, behaued himſelfe ſo in his quarter, as hauing made a great and ſpacious breach, he entred the towne by force, the Moores making wonderfull reſiſtance, with their king *Almocauen*, who was ſlaine among the ruines. This great cittie was taken in December, in the aforeſayd yeare 1118. where the king D.*Al-*
Epiſcopal ſeate reſtored to Sarragoſſa. *phonſo* entring,he lodged in the pallace of the kings of the Moores, called Açuda,nere vnto the Port of Toledo, beginning to ſettle the eſtate thereof, to make it the Capitall cittie of all the Realmes which he enioyed,or that he might conquer hereafter, intituling himſelfe king of Sarragoſſa. His chiefe care was to ſettle the Clergie, and to inrich that Order, which had ſerued him much in the ſeege of the towne: wherefore the Moſque Maior was then conſecrated for a cathedrall Church, vnder the name of S.
E
Sauueur, and one *Pedro de Libana*, was choſen Biſhop, confirmed by Pope *Gelaſius* then raigning. They found many Chriſtians Muſarabes in Sarragoſſa, who had liued there among the Arabians, with great liberty of their Religion, the which they did exercile in a very ancient church, called Noſtre Dame del Pilar:we reade in the Hiſtories of Arragon, and in the writings of *Ierom Surita*, that the Lords of Bearne,and the earls of Perche did long enioy very great priuiledges in the cittie of Sarragoſſa, by the grant of D. *Alphonſo*. This king and Emperour of Spaine granted great liberties and priuiledges to this cittie, to prouoke ſtrangers to come and dwell there, namely, the priuiledge of gentrie, and the lawes and Iuſtice of Arragon: and in time of factions and ſeditions to chuſe for their Councell certaine Syndics,Protectors of the people.

Dignitie of chiefe Iuſtice in Arragon. As for the dignitie called Iuſtice of Arragon, which was vſed in the time of D. *Pedro* F
Ximenes, it is a Magiſtrate,the gardien and protector of the publike libertie,againſt the violence of great men, yea to ſuppreſſe the exceſſe and tyrannyes of Kings, with ſouereigne iuriſdiction,inſtituted in the infancie and beginning of principalities and Chriſtian Eſtates in Spaine, after the inuaſion of the Moores, when as the kings, not by

ſucceſſion

A ſucceſſion of bloud and birth, but by their valour and vertues were choſen, to be ready and faithfull Gouernors of the affaires, as well of warre, as of Iuſtice, according vnto certaine ſimple lawes, and as then militarie, propounded vnder the title of the court or law of Sobrarbre. This Magiſtrate was firſt called Iuſtice maior, entertained and augmented both in dignitie and authoritie from time to time by good kings. There were great gifts and fees giuen alſo by this great king vnto the Earle of Bigorre, in recompence of the good offices he had done him in this warre. Theſe things thus done, hee went and layed ſeege before Tarraſſone; the which made no great reſiſtance, ſeeing that the neighbour places were come into the power of the Chriſtians. Beeing yelded, it receiued the ancient Epiſcopall ſeate, and one D. *Michel* was choſen Biſhop. *Tarraſſone taken from the Moores.*

B This towne which in former times had belonged to the Crowne of Nauarre, by this laſt conqueſt was annexed to that of Arragon.

D. *Alphonſo* continuing his conqueſts, tooke the places and forts which were along the riuer of Xalon, and in the end tooke the towne of Calatajub, into the which he put a great garriſon, as a place which frontred vpon the Moores on the mountaines of Cuenca, Molina, Valencia, and Caſtile, he cleanſed that which remained of the Mooriſh faction vpon the riuer of Xiloca vnto Daroca: he repayred and peopled Montreal, whereas this deuout king inſtituted an Order of Knights in imitation of the Templers of Ieruſalem, which was called S. *Saluator*, aſſigning them rents and reuenues, to the end they ſhould employ themſelues couragiouſly to roote out the Infidels in Spaine, *Order of knights at S. Saluiour.*

C as he had propounded. King D. *Alphonſo* did theſe great exploites vnto the yeare, 1120 at which time the Moores were diſpoſſeſſed of all which doth now belong to Arragon.

But in Cattelogne there yet remained the king of Lerida and Fraga called *Aben Gama*, whoſe forces were not to be contemned: and the which were as a thorne in the foot of the Eſtates of Arragon, but more to *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone, who was a good and a valiant Knight, and who had receiued no ſmall bleſſings from God: hauing by vnexpected meanes recouered the lands which were vſurped from him during his minoritie, and augmented his Eſtates by new ſucceſſions of the Earledome of Cerdagne, of the towne of Tarragone, and euen newly of the County of Beſalu, by the deceaſe of D. *Bernand Guillen*, by reaſon of which proſperities he intitled himſelfe *Cattelogne or Barcelone.*

D Marquis of Spaineu, Earle of Cerdagne, Beſal, and afterwards of Prouence and Aimillan, by the death of *Gilibert* his father-in law, who had no other heire then D. *Doulce*, wife to D. *Raymond*. It is likely, that by this meanes he got the Countie of Prouence, whereof (as a fee of the Empire) he was inueſted by the Emperour *Henry* the 5. as we haue ſayd. As for thoſe lands which he held in Languedoc, as Carcaſſone and others: ſome Authors write, that the vicious *Bernard* of Aton, hauing vſurped them, vnder a counterfeit promiſe to hold them of him, and to do him homage, hee afterwards made this acknowledgement to *William* Earle of Poictiers, vſurper of the Contie of Tholouſa: but D. *Raymond* forced him by armes to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him.

In Portugall Cont *Henry* had defended his country againſt the Moores wiſely and *Portugall.*

E valiantly, and had gouerned with all iuſtice and honor, vnder the ſoueraignetie of the King, or Emperour Don *Alphonſo*, vntill the yeare 1112. that he died in Galicia, in the *D. Alphonſo Henriques 2. Earle of Portugal.*

towne of Aſtorga, and was interred at Braga in S. *Maries* church, leauing for heire D. *Alphonſo Henriques* his eldeſt ſonne, about eighteene yeares old. D. *Thereſa* the Counteſſe widow, to whom the Earledome of Portugall did belong in proprietie, ſhewing her indiſcretion, married ſoone after to a knight of a noble houſe, called Don *Bermond Paez de Tranſtamara*, with whom hauing liued ſome time, by a diſordered appetite, or ſome other damnable occaſion, ſhe left him, and married againe with a *The deteſtable marriage of the Counteſſe of Portugall.*

brother of his called D. *Fernando Paez* of Tranſtamara; D. *Bermond* beeing thus forſaken, and as it were ſtriuing with his wife who ſhould be moſt inceſtuous, hee married her eldeſt daughter, and ſiſter to D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, called D. *Thereſa Henriques*.

F Theſe goodly exploites were done among Chriſtians, in the houſe of Portugal, which was but now growing: for expiation whereof, they ſay, that *Fernando Paez*, who had taken away his liuing brothers wife, built a Monaſterie at Sobrado in Galicia, nine leagues from Saint *Iaques*, a pennance and ſatisfaction taught by the paſtors of thoſe times,

times, to miſerable contemners of Gods lawes and ordonances. The young Earle A
Don *Alphonſo* beeing much troubled with theſe exceſſes, and moreouer ſeeing himſelfe contemned, and out of all credit and fauour, for that the adulterous and inceſtuous D. *Fernando* intitled himſelfe Earle of Portugal, in the right of his wife, he went to armes againſt him, the euent you ſhall heare hereafter.

Nauarre, Caſtile, Arragon, &c.

If this Counteſſe were vnchaſt in her ſeuerall marriages, her ſiſter D. *Vrraca* ſhewed her ſelfe as looſe and diſloyall to her husband King Don *Alphonſo*: ſo as this Prince who was endowed with great vertue and wiſedome, was forced to reſtraine her in the fort of Caſtellar, neere vnto Sarragoſſa, from whence ſhee ſought by all meanes to eſcape; as ſhee did, with the helpe of ſome diſcontented Noblemen of Caſtile, with whome ſhee retired into her Inheritance, where ſhee tooke councell to bee diuorced B
from the King her husband, making her pretext, that ſhee had beene married againſt her will, and by conſtraint; and moreouer, that ſhee was his couſin germaine remooued, and therfore the marriage could not be lawful, without diſpenſation frō the church of Rome, the which in thoſe dayes was not much vſed. Of this Councel were the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Biſhops of Bourgos, Leon, Palence and others, who were al diſpoſſeſt, chaſed away, and baniſhed by D. *Alphonſo*, and with them the Abbot of S. *Facunds*, whoſe Abbey was giuen to D. *Ramir* the kings brother. Wherefore the Nobilitie and Eſtates of Caſtile, conſidering what troubles and miſeries would enſue, if this deſſeigne were put in execution againſt the king D. *Alphonſo*, they would not giue their conſents, but took their Queene with all reſpect, and conducted her into Arragon, to her husband; who diſſembled the wrongs ſhe had done him, receiued her into fauor: but C
as ſhe continued her leud life, forgetting more and more the honor of her ſelf & houſe,

Queene D. Vrraca vnchaſt.

which ſhould haue bin more deare vnto ſuch a Princeſſe, then her life, the king in the end cauſed her to be conducted to the towne of Soria, chaſed her from his company for euer: notwithſtanding he kept ſtill many ſtrong places in Caſtile, not caring much for the gouernment of the Realme.

D. Vrraca chaſed away by the king D. Alphonſo her husband.

Without doubt this king was of a great courage, and gaue good prooſes, that he did more eſteeme vertue and his honor, then all worldly goods, diſpoſſeſſing himſelfe of ſo great iuriſdictions, as thoſe of Caſtile, Leon, Toledo, and others, which D. *Vrraca* had brought him; who being ſetled in her countries, began to ſhew ſome tokens of amendment, gouerning her ſelfe by the aduice and counſell of D. *Pedro Anſures*, and other D
knights of greateſt wiſdome and fame among the Nobility of Caſtile. Hauing then aſſembled her eſtates, ſhe complained that many forts were kept from her, demaunding their aduice and ayde to recouer them: Thoſe which were kept by Captains and gouernors Caſtillans, were preſently yeelded vnto her, without attending any commaundement from the king D. *Alphonſo*, in hatred that he had chaſed away the Queene. Among others D. *Pedro Anſures*, preſently after the reſtitution of ſome places by him, went to the king, who was at Caſtellar; where coming before him, beeing mounted vppon a white horſe, and clad all in ſcarlet, hee lighted, and holding a halter in his hand, hee

Caſtile ſeparated.

ſayed vnto him, That hee had done vnto his Queene (the naturall and ſoueraigne E
Princeſſe of Caſtile) the dutie of a faithfull vaſſall: yet hauing failed vnto the king, to whome hee had ſworne fealtie and homage, hee had brought vnto him both hand and mouth, the inſtruments of the oath which hee had made vnto him, to the end that his Maieſtie might diſpoſe of them, and of his whole bodie at his Highneſſe pleaſure and command. King Don *Alphonſo* (alwaies like himſelfe) although (vppon ſufficient grounds) he were diſcontented with the yeelding vp of theſe forts, ſhewing no good countenance vnto the Earle, yet vppon his firſt ſpeech hee pardoned him, yeelding to

Magnanimity of King D. Alphonſo.

the counſell of the wiſe, who commended much the loyaltie and integritie of this knight, the which ſhould ſerue as a Preſident to poſteritie: wherefore he was ſent backe with honor into Caſtile.

After this, D. *Vrraca* did nothing of merit: for falling to her old deſſeigne of diuorce F
ſhe obtained it by the authoritie of Pope *Paſcal*. Of whoſe commandement and Bulls, Don *Diego Gelmirio*, Biſhop of Compoſtella, was miniſter and executioner. Thus finding her ſelfe without reſtraint in her luſt & luxurioufneſſe, ſhe exceeded ſtrangely.

Shee

A She had familiar and diſhoneſt conuerſation with D. *Gomes*, Earle of Candeſpina, who had in former times pretended to be her husband, who was ſecretly deliuered of a ſonne, gotten by him, and was for that cauſe called D. *Fernand Hurtado*, from whome as they ſay, is deſcended the houſe of Hurtados, a noble family of Spaine. Although that ſome doubt hereof, yet it is moſt certaine, that the Earle D. *Gomes*, had in a ſhort time the whole gouernement of the Realme, and diſpoſed of all the affaires, both of warre and peace at his pleaſure, conuerſing as familiarly with the Queene, as if ſhe had beene his wife: and yet another Knight called D. *Pedro de Lara*, ſonne to Don *Ordogno*, Earle of Lara, who entred combat at the ſeege of Zamora, againſt the three ſonnes of *Aria Gonçalo*, after the deceaſe of the king D. *Sancho*, did inſinuate himſelfe in the B Queenes fauour, and was in a ſhort time one of her greateſt minions, whereof the earle D. *Gomes* was very iealous. The diſſolute and vnchaſt life of D. *Vrraca* was ſo publikely knowne to all the world, as king D. *Alphonſo* (mooued with a iuſt diſdaine, both for it, and for the aboue-mentioned diuorce) reſolued to enter into Caſtile with an armie, putting all to fire and ſword, beeing much incenſed as well at the diſſolute life of the Queene, as at the Caſtillans baſeneſſe, who obeyed her, bearing them alſo a ſpleene, for that they had deliuered her thoſe places which he had giuen them in gard.

Nauarre, Caſtille, Arragon, &c.

Queene D. Vrraca vnchaſt.

There went againſt him to field the Queenes two fauorites, D. *Gomes*, and D. *Pedro*, with the forces of Caſtile and Leon, who hauing incountred the kings armie, conſiſting of Nauarrois and Arragonois, they came to fight neare vnto Candeſpina, and C not farre from Sepulueda. D. *Pedro* who led the foreward, was firſt charged, who abandoned his men baſely vpon the firſt incounter, and retired to Bourgos, where the Queene, was carrying newes of the route which he had no leyſure to ſee. The army of Caſtile was defeated and put to flight, and many good Knights ſlain and others taken, namely, D. *Gomes* Earle of Candeſpina, with a brother of his called *Diagomes* died vpon the place. The valour of one of the houſe of Olea was great, which carried the Standard of the Earle D. *Gomes*, who beeing ouerthrowne from his horſe, and both his hands cut off, he held his Standard faſt in his armes whileſt hee liued, crying out with a loud voyce, *Olea, Olea*. After this victorie, D. *Alphonſo* paſt vnto Leon, by the territo- D rie of Campos, making a cruell ſpoyle and murther, wherſoeuer his armie went, vpon D. *Pedro's* faction. And for that his treaſure failed him, the ſouldiers abandoning themſelues to the ſpoyle, committed infinit thefts and ſacriledges, ſparing nothing, were it holy or prophane.

D. Vrraca chaſed away by the King D. Alphonſo her husband.

Caſtile ſeparated.

King D. *Alphonſo* hauing paſt into Galicia with the like diſorder, the Nobilitie of thoſe countries, aſſembled all that were fit to carrie armes, and came to meet with this furious enemy, bringing in the armie young D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, the ſonne of D. *Vrraca*, and of Cont *Raymond* of Bourgongne her firſt husband. There king D. *Alphonſo* had another battaile, neere vnto a place called Carrera of Anguas, betwixt the townes of Leon and Aſtorga, where the Nauarrois and Arragonois had the victorie. E So as hauing ſlaine a great number of Leonois, put the reſt of the army to flight, and taken D. *Pedro de Trauzs* priſoner, D. *Alphonſo Raymond* was forced to ſaue himſelfe in Portugall. King D. *Alphonſo* paſt no farther, but returned with his victorious armie, ruining all thoſe which followed D. *Pedro de Lara's* partie: who with their Queene ſhut themſelues vp in a place neere vnto Palenza, called Mençon, which was the retreate of them that had fled: and ſo returned into his owne country, with many priſoners, and great ſpoiles.

Loyaltie and integritie of D. Pedro Anſures.

6 The Queene beeing freed from ſo great a danger, continued her luſtfull and vnchaſt life, with her minion D. *Pedro*, with as little ſhame and reſpect, as ſhee had beene accuſtomed; who playing the king, yea the very tyrant, incenſed the Nobility in ſuch ſort, as many of them conſpired to abandon the Queene, and to call vnto the gouern- F ment, D. *Alphonſo Raymond* her ſonne, who by hereditarie ſucceſſion ought to haue ſucceeded her. The chiefe of theſe conſpirators were D. *Gutiere*, *Fernandes de Caſtro*, and D. *Gomes de Moncanedo*, who with their confederates (hoping that the infant D. *Alphonſo* ſhould draw great ayde from his vncle Pope *Calixtus*, who then gouerned the Church of Rome) they cauſed D. *Alphonſo* to come vnto their aſſembly; and in deſpite of

Magnanimity of King D. Alphonſo.

of the Queene his mother, and her Minion D. *Pedro*, made him king of Caſtile and Leon, in the yeare 1122. D. *Alphonſo* King of Nauarre hauing raigned in thoſe realms, almoſt 14. yeares, in continuall troubles and care. A

This Pope *Calixtus* of whom we haue ſpoken, was before called *Guy*, brother to Cont *Raymond*, and Cont *William* of Bourgogne, who being Archb. of Vienna, had bin aduanced to the ſea of Rome, after the deceaſe of *Gelaſius* the 2. in the yeare 1120. in the Abbey of Clugny, where *Gelaſius* died, flying the fury of the Emperor *Henry* the 5. This *Calixtus* was to contend againſt *Maurice* Archb. of Braga, a Limoſin, called *Bourdin*, who had bene choſen Pope by the Emperours faction, againſt the election of *Gelaſius*, and cauſed himſelfe to be called *Gregory* the 8. Hee had bin brought into Spaine by D. *Bernard*, Archb. and Primate of Toledo, with a great opinion of his holines and wiſedome, and therefore he made him biſhop of Coimbra, and afterwards Archb. of Braga: but he ſought to make him a bad requitall, perſwading Pope *Paſcall*, who was Predeceſſor to *Gelaſius*, to depriue D. *Bernard* of his dignity, and to chooſe him in his place, offering him a good ſumme of mony. The Pope who was exceeding couetous, took his mony, and put him in hope, but he did not any thing. Wherefore there growing great diſſention betwixt the Pope and the Emperor *Henry*, for the nomination of Prelates, *Bourdin*, who had changed his name, & taken that of *Maurice*, to his promotion to Braga, ioyned with the Emperor, and ceaſed not till he was made Pope of Rome, whileſt *Gelaſius* liued, who ſoone after died, leauing this quarrell to bee decided by *Calixtus*. B C

The Papacie diſputed by armes.

Then might you haue ſeene Chriſts Vicars command armies, place guards, giue the word, be in battels armed, giue the bodies and goods of miſerable Chriſtians in prey, and to countenance the moſt horrible inſolencies which warre could produce. *Gregory* the 8. going from Sutri, where he had aſſembled his forces, preſt Rome by al acts of hoſtility, ſpoyling pilgrims which went to get pardons, according to the Romane doctrine. On the other ſide, *Calixtus* ſending many ſouldiers out of Bourgongne, vnder the conduct of *Iohn de Crema*, Cardinall of S. *Chriſogone*, he himſelfe followed after in perſon, with other troupes, ſo as he entred Rome with great effuſion of bloud, and there ſuppreſſed *Gregorie*; where making him a ridiculous ſpectacle vnto the people, mounted vpon a Camell, with his face backward, holding the tayle in his hand, for a bridle, he put him in perpetuall priſon, where hauing renounced his Popedome, he ended his dayes. Thus were Eccleſiaſticall charges executed among Chriſtians in thoſe dayes. Pope *Calixtus* hauing preuailed ouer his aduerſarie about the time that D. *Alphonſo Raymond* his nephew was choſen in Caſtile to raigne in ſtead of his vnchaſt mother, it was likely this election ſhould be confirmed and ſupported by the authority of Rome, againſt all that ſhould contradict it. D

Portugal.

The eſtate of Portugall was troubled with the like diſorder, and D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, and the Portugals were preſt with the like difficulties, by the diſordered appetites of their Counteſſe, D. *Thereſa* his mother, who was then enioyed by D. *Fernand Paez*: againſt whom D. *Alphonſo* armed, purſuing him as a Tyrant and inceſtuous adulterer, their armies ioyned neere vnto Guymaranes, where D. *Alphonſo* was vanquiſhed, being too haſtie to fight, and would not attend ſome ſupplies, which D. *Egas Nugnes* (who had bred him vp, and gouerned him in his infancie) brought vnto him: by whome hee was then ſharply blamed for his raſhneſſe, proceeding from want of experience and heat of youth. Hauing recouered new forces, there was a ſecond battaile fought, whereas D. *Alphonſo* had the better: for D. *Ferdinands* armie was put to route, and himſelfe with the Counteſſe put in a ſafe priſon, from whence D. *Fernand* was afterwards deliuered at her intreatie, with promiſe neuer more to ſtile himſelfe Earle of Portugall, but to be a perpetuall ſubiect and vaſſall vnto D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, who by this meanes remayned a peaceable Earle in Portugall. Theſe fruites did the two vnchaſt and laſciuious ſiſters reape, beeing Daughters to king *Alphonſo* the ſixth, and in a manner at the ſame time. E F

Warre betwixt the Mother and the ſon in Portugal. The Counteſſe D. Thereſa and her vnlawfull husband taken priſoner.

Caſtile.

D. *Alphonſo* the 7. left raigning in Caſtile, where he had ſome places at his deuotion, held by a Nauarrois gariſon: during whoſe raign dyed S. *Dominike* of Calçada in Rioje,

who

A who was reputed a Saint: hee was buried in the tombe which hee had made in his life time. He had beene a Monke of the Order of Saint *Benet*, at Valbanera, and after in the Monaſterie of Saint *AEmylian*, where they did not much eſteeme him: wherefore he gaue himſelfe to a ſolitarie life, and to follow the doctrine of *Gregorie* biſhop of Oſtia: for he was a man without any learning. At the place of his Sepulcher, there is at this preſent a towne built with a Cathedrall church, and Epiſcopall ſea, carrying his name, vnited at this preſent to that of Calaorra. He was much honoured in his life time, and after his death his memorie was reuerenced: Monkes beeing then admired, which gaue themſelues to a monaſticke and ſolitarie life. At that time there was giuen by the king D. *Alphonſo*, to the Monaſterie of Saint *Mary* of Valbanera, the church of Leuador, to
B that of Saint *Saluadour* of Leyre, halfe the towne of Araſcues: in imitation of whome other Noblemen gaue gifts vnto Churches, where they had ſpeciall deuotion, euery one chooſing for his Patron, Aduocate, and Protector, that Saint of whom the churches and Monaſteries were named. This was the ordinarie doctrine of that age to win Paradiſe.

In the meane time the Biſhops intruded themſelues into the Councels of Kings, to mannage affayres of State, and to maintaine their Eccleſiaſticall priuiledges, rights, and reuenues, they led armies, and were many times too forward to fight, as wee reade of D. *Pedro* of Roda, Biſhop of Pampelone, who about the yeare 1115. medling with the quarrels of ſome ſouldiers in the Towne of Tholouſa, receiued a blow on the head
C with a ſtone, whereof he died a Martyr, as the Spaniards ſay: an aduertiſement for the reſt to containe themſelues in their vocations. D. *Mayor Garcia*, daughter to the Earle D. *Diego Ordognes*, and of D. *Vrraca Garcia*, daughter to the king D. *Garcia*, gaue vnto the Monaſterie of Nagera about that time, certaine poſſeſſions which ſhe had in Calaorra. D. *Fortun Velez* a knight, at that time one of the moſt renowned in the Kingdome of Nauarre, gaue vnto the ſame Monaſterie, the place of *Aleçon*, to furniſh lights at the Altar of the Virgin *Mary*: ſo great and ſo conſtant was the opinion of men in that age, that by gifts vnto the Clergie, they might redeeme their ſoules from eternall damnation, as they did not ſpare the principall townes of their Eſtates: D. *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone, at the ſame time, gaue vnto D. *Alderic* the Archbiſhop,
D the cittie it ſelfe of Tarragone, which the Archbiſhops did enioy in full proprietie, for the ſpace of foure and thirtie yeares. The foundation of the Hoſpitall vppon the Pyrenee mountaines, at the paſſage of Ronceual, ſeemes to be a godly worke, the which was done by D. *Sancho de Roſas* Biſhop of Pampelone, about the yeare 1122. but it was onely for Pilgrimes, going out of France to Saint *Iames*, wherein King D. *Alphonſo* aſſiſted him with money. This Hoſpitall was built neare vnto the place which was called *Charlemagnes* Chappell, a place which was much ſubiect to winds, and continuall ſtormes: whereupon it was afterwards built lower in Ronceuall where it is now.

The exerciſe of Biſhops of that age.

The citty of Tarragone giuen in propriety to the Archbiſhop of that place.

As ſoone as D. *Alphonſo Raymond* was crowned King of Caſtile and Leon, by the meanes and direction of D. *Pedro de Trauas*, a Nobleman, who was allyed in Catte-
E logne, to the Earles of Vrgel, and had bred and gouerned that Prince, hee beganne to purſue his mother, and D. *Pedro de Lara* her minion. D. *Vrraca* fortified her ſelfe in the tower of Leon, where he beſeeged her: but by the mediation of ſome Noblemen, who were al of the new Kings partie, a peace was made vpon condition, that ſhe ſhould giue ouer all gouernement of affaires, and be content to liue a priuate life, hauing a penſion fit for her eſtate and calling. As for D. *Pedro de Lara*, after that hee had wandred long vp and downe, in the end he left the countrie, and beeing as coldly entertayned in Nauarre and Arragon, as in Caſtile, he made his retreate into Barcelone.

Accord betwixt the king of Caſtile and his mother.

F

D. Alphonſo the 8. of that name, and the 27. King of Leon, and the fifth of Caſtille.

An. 1122. Caſtile and Leon.

7. D. *Vrraca* beeing thus diſpoſſeſſed, D. *Alphonſo Raymond* carryed himſelfe for king of Caſtile and Leon. After which he thought vpon the recouerie of the forts of Caſtille, which his father-in-law, D. *Alphonſo* King of Nauarre detayned from him, wherefore he rayſed a mightie armie to vſe it, if hee might not recouer that which hee pretended without armes: with theſe forces he marched towards Nauarre and Arragon, which were not vnprouided: for the King had alſo taken armes to croſſe him, if he ſhould proue inſolent, and was alreadie entred into Caſtile by Rioje, when as the Prelates of both kingdomes, foreſeeing the great miſeries which would inſue, if theſe two great Princes ſhould once enter into warre, they laboured to make a peace and vnitie betwixt them: and they preuayled ſo, as they perſwaded the new king of Caſtile, to make requeſt vnto the king of Nauarre and Arragon, to reſtore him his townes and forts; the which was of ſuch force, as without any difficulty, King D. *Alphonſo* beeing glad that he had taken ſo modeſt a courſe, did louingly reſtore vnto him all that he held in Caſtile, retayning onely the countrie which is from Villorado to Calaorra: for that (ſayd he) thoſe lands were of the ancient patrimonie of Nauarre, vſurped by king D. *Alphonſo* his father-in-law, ſince the deceaſe of Don *Sancho Garcia* king of Nauarre, and by the ſame reaſon, the Prouinces of Guipuſcoa and Alaua remained to the crown of Nauarre. Thus they layed downe armes of either ſide, and retired into their countries: *Alphonſo Raymond* King of Caſtile, ſeeing himſelfe ſetled in peace, he beganne to make warre againſt the Moores, his firſt enterpriſe was vpon Coria; which towne had beene ſurprized, during the inter-regne or abſence of the king of Nauarre and Arragon after the deceaſe of King D. *Alphonſo* the Braue, his grandfather. This was a worke of few dayes, for he eaſily recouered it, but not content herewith, hee paſt on into the countries of Extremadura and Portugal, held by the Moores, the which he waſted, and brought away the ſpoyles, not any Moore appearing to make head againſt him. This good ſucceſſe of his affaires, gaue him courage to greater attempts, and were as a ſpur to the naturall vertue and bountie wherewith God had endowed him, as much as any Prince of his time: for he was actiue, hardy and valiant, and withall wiſe, mild, capable, and very deuout.

Modeſtie of greater force than armes.

Exploits of K. D. Alphonſo the 8. againſt the Moores.

The vertues of King D. Alphonſo the 8.

In his time flouriſhed the Order of Ciſteaux, and the religion of S. *Bernard*, of the which he was carefull, and a great benefactor, ſo as they attribute to him the building of moſt part of the Monaſteries of that habit which are in Spaine: and hee was no leſſe carefull to repayre the ruines of many townes, and caſtels, which had beene deſtroyed by the continuall courſes of the Arabians; he built and peopled new, and made many good lawes and ordonances, for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and gouernement of townes: ſo as for theſe excellent vertues he was fauoured of God, beloued and reſpected of his ſubiects, and greatly feared of his enemies. It was about his comming to the Crowne, that his vncle *Calixtus* erected an Epiſcopall ſea at Zamora: whereof D. *Bernard*, Arch-deacon of Toledo was the firſt Biſhop, whereas now the Sepulcher of *Ylleſonce*, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, is worthipped with diuine honours, found (as the Hiſtories ſay) by a ſhepheard, a teſtimonie worthie of the inuention. At the ſame time (which was about the yeare 1125.) the church of S. *Iames* in Galicia, was made a Metrapolitan, by the ſame Pope *Calixtus*, in fauour of his nephew, king D. *Alphonſo*, who ſhewed great deuotion to this Saint, for that he had had his breeding, and paſt moſt of his youth in Galicia. The firſt Archb. of that place was Don *Diego Gelmirio*, aboue-named, borne in the ſame Dioceſſe; vnder which Archb. were appointed 12. Biſhops, *Salamanca*, *Auila*, *Plaiſance*, *Zamora*, *Badajos*, *Cite Roderigo*, *Coria*, *Lugo*, *Aſtorga*, *Orence*, *Mondognedo* and *Tuy*. Then began the Abbey of S. *Dominike* of Calçado to increaſe, to the which was giuen by Don *Alphonſo* the Warriour, king of Nauarre, the place called

Zamora made a biſhopricke.

An. 1125. *S. Iames of Compoſtella made an Archbiſhopricke.*

A called Olgabarte, or otherwiſe Iubarte, with great freedomes and exemptions. This Church was made ſubiect to the Biſhop of Calaorra, and at that time there was an Abbot and Monkes there, whereas ſince there were Chanoins placed, and in the end it was made a Cathedrall church, the which is now a towne ſeated betwixt Nagera and Vilhorado, and in the beginning was but a ſmall borough, called Malburguete, the which is now by corruption called Margubette, and is ioyned to the Cathedrall Church of that place, the which at this preſent is called the Bourg of Saint *Dominicke* of Calçada.

King D. *Alphonſo* the warriour had giuen ſome reſpite vnto the Moores, vnto the yeare 1125. when as he led his armie againſt them of Denia and Valencia, and ſpoyled *Nauarre and Arragon.*
B the countries: then paſſing into Murcia and the marches of Carthagena, hee attempted Alcaras, but could not take it: wherefore purſuing his good fortune, hee ouer-run the territories of Granado, then turning by Cordoua, as he prepared to beſeege it, he was diuerted by an armie of Moores Almorauides, to whome hee gaue Battaile and defeated them. Yet he did not thinke it fit to ſtay then at this ſeege, but returned laden with ſpoyles into his countrie, whither he led many Chriſtians Muſarabes, retired out of the tyrannie of the Moores, to whom he gaue dwellings and lands, with exemptions and titles of Nobilitie for them and theirs.

In Portugal, Count D. *Alphonſo Henriques* did in like manner annoy the Moores v- *Portugal.*
C pon his frontier, from whome he tooke Leyra, in the yeare 1127. the which hee gaue *An.* 1127. to the Monaſterie of Saint *Croix*, in the towne of Coimbra, built by him, as the firſt fruites of his victories. Hee tooke in like manner the towne of Torreſnouas. The contrarie happened in Cattelogne, whereas the Moores (whileſt that the king of Nauarre and Arragon did ouer-runne their weſterne countrie) were furiouſly entred, and committed infinite ſpoyles, the which might well bee one of the reaſons which made the ſeege of Cordoua to ceaſe, and cauſed the king of Nauarre and Arragon to retire to come and ſuccor D. *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone.

In theſe warres D. *Alphonſo* king of Nauarre, had great ayde and aſſiſtance of many *Nauarre and Arragon.*
Knights and Noblemen of France, that were neighbours to the Pyrenees, to whome
D a great part of the victories obtained by him againſt the Moores are attributed by the teſtimonie of the Spaniſh Authors themſelues. In this voyage of Cattelogne, hee led with him the infant D. *Garcia*, ſonne and heire to D *Ramir Sanches*, to whom by right of ſucceſſion the kingdome of Nauarre did belong, for that he was iſſued from the direct and lawfull line of the king *D. Sancho Garcia* his grandfather. This young Prince was left *D. Garcia right heire of Nauarre.*
by his dying father in the gouernement of D. *Sol* widow to the infant D. *Pedro*, daughter to *Cid*, his Aunt by the mothers ſide, by whome he was bred vp in his youth, in all vertue and religion, and they called him the Lord of Monçon. After this expedition the king peopled the new Bourg of Pampelone, which he had cauſed to be built neere vnto the old towne, and was called at that time Iruna, that is to ſay, good towne: hee
E placed French Inhabitants there, taken out of the ſouldiers which had followed him in the warres againſt the Moores, whom he would reward for their good ſeruices, in lodging them in this new increaſe, which he had made of the towne of Pampelone, giuing them the priuiledges and exemptions of the towne of Iaca. Some thinke they came from Cahors in Quercy: he alſo gaue priuiledges to the Inhabitants of Maragnon.

During theſe things, the Counteſſe of Portugall, who was a priſoner, beeing too *Caſtile.*
hardly intreated by D. *Alphonſo Henriques* her ſonne, had meanes to acquaint D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, king of Caſtile her nephew, with her afflictions, and to intreate him to imbrace her cauſe, and to free her from that hard priſon, wherein ſhee was detained: in recompence whereof ſhe offered to make him her heire of the Earledome of Portugal. D. *Alphonſo* deſirous to ioyne this peece to his demaynes, came in perſon with a great
F armie, to deliuer this woman, forgetting that the Earle had aſſiſted him in the warre, which he had againſt his mother D. *Vrraca* Queene of Caſtile and Leon, but hee had a ſharpe incounter in the fields of Valdues, along the bankes of the riuer of Limia, where beeing vanquiſhed by the armie of D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, his couſin, hee ſaued himſelfe, beeing hurt in the foote, in the territorie of Leon.

Beeing cured, and hauing rayſed another army, he entred againe into Portugal, being deſirous to recouer his honour, and to force the Portugals to acknowledge him, and to do him the homage which they ought him, as King of Leon. Beeing arriued at Guymaranes, where the Earle was, he beſeeged it, and did all hee could to take the place: but D. *Egas Nugnes* the Earles Gouernor going foorth with a ſafe-conduct; they ſo treated, as vpon a promiſe which Don *Egas* made vnto the King, that the Earle of Portugall ſhould take an oath of fealtie, as to his Soueraigne, he returned ſatisfied into his Countrey, without doing any other exploit: but the Earle D. *Alphonſo Henriques* would not performe that which his Gouernor had promiſed: wherefore D. *Egas* went to the King beeing at Toledo, and there preſenting himſelfe at his feete, with a halter about his necke, he craued pardon, for that which he had promiſed, and could not performe; which was, that the Earle ſhould do him homage for his Earledome of Portugall, whom the King pardoned, beeing duly informed that hee had done his beſt indeauour to effect his promiſe. Theſe wars (which were the firſt the Caſtillans had againſt the Portugals, written by the Hiſtorians of Portugall, wherof notwithſtanding others make no mention) paſt about the yeare 1127. D. *Thereſa* for that time had no eaſe, Her ſiſter D. *Vrraca* made her reſidence in Saint *Vincents* church, beeing ſtreightly garded: yet they ſay, that going one day to Saint *Iſidores* church in Leon, to take the treaſure which her father and grandfather had giuen vnto that place, as ſhe was carrying this prey, hauing one foote within, and another without the doore, ſhee burſt in the middeſt, a worthie and condigne puniſhment due for the adulteries which ſhee had committed, and the murthers which enſued not long after, to the preiudice and diſhonour of the Kings houſe, and of all the Chriſtian Eſtate in Spaine, as alſo for the ſacriledge. Others ſay, that ſhee dyed in the Caſtell of Saldagne, beeing brought in bed of a child by ſtealth. So Don *Alphonſo Raymond* remayned deſtitute and without a mother.

Death prodigious to D. Vrraca of Caſtile.

About that time the king of Caſtile, prouoked by the Moores, who were entred into the Territories of Toledo, marched farre into their countrey, and tooke from them by a long and painefull ſeege, the towne of Calatraua, the which he gaue to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, beeing a great fauourer of the Church and Clergie, into the which he put a good garriſon, the which ſome beleeue were Templers; who were wonderfully increaſed, and growne exceeding rich, euen in Spaine. After which D. *Alphonſo Raymond* tooke from the Infidels, Alarcos, Caracuel, Almodouar del campo, and other places, whereof he fortified ſome, and razed others. At that time there raigned ouer the Moores in Spaine and Affricke, *Hali Aben-Teſin*, the third Miralmumin, and laſt of the Almorauides, vpon whom the King of Caſtile extended his limits vnto the Mountaines called Sierra Morena, where he fortified Pedroche: then he paſt into Andalouſia with a great army, and layd ſeege vnto the towne of Iaen, but it was in vaine: for being valiantly defended by the Moores, he was forced to retire, and returned with his army into Caſtile.

Calatraua taken from the Moores.

Cattelogne.

This King D. *Alphonſo* had married D. *Berenguela*, daughter to Don *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone, who dyed in the yeare 1131. hauing held the Earledome eight and forty yeares. A little before his death, he made himſelfe of the Order of Saint *Iohn* of Hieruſalem, called the Hoſpitaliers. The Earledome of Prouence was fallen vnto him in the right of his wife D. *Doulce*, and of other lands in France, whereof hee cauſed himſelfe to be called Marquis: by which Lady he had two ſonnes, D. *Raymond Berenger*, who ſucceeded him in the principalitie of Cattelogne, and afterward came by marriage to the Crowne of Arragon, and D. *Berenger Raymond*, who was Earle or Marquis of Prouence, thus ordered by his will. Of D. *Doulce* was alſo borne D. *Berenguela* Queene of Caſtille, and two other daughters, who were married into France. The Earledome of Prouence had beene in queſtion betwixt D. *Raymond Arnould*, and the Earle of Tholouſa and Saint *Giles*, but their ſute, after many delayes, was ended by accord: which was, That the lands of Prouence lying betwixt the riuers of Durance and Iſera, making at this day a part of Daulphiné, ſhould belong vnto the Earle of Tholouſa, with the Caſtell of Beaucaire, the Lands of Argence, Caſtell of Bolobrege,

An. 1131.

Genealogie of Cattelogne.

A brege, and the moitie of the cittie of Auignon, and of Pont de Sorge, the reſt ſhould remaine to the Earle of Barcelone. According vnto this diuiſion, D. *Berenger Raymond* did inherit Prouence, and there was added, that if any of the parties dyed without lawfull heires, the other ſhould ſucceede. Among other Articles of D. *Raymond Arnoulds* teſtament, he ordained, that if his heires dyed without lawfull children, his daughter *Berenguela*, Queene of Caſtile and Leon, and D. *Ximena*, wife to *Roger* Earle of Foix ſhould ſucceed.

Genealogie of Caſtile.

By this noble and vertuous Queene D. *Berenguela*, D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, had foure children: D. *Sancho* who was king of Caſtile, hee was bred vp in his youth and gouerned by D. *Guitiere Fernandes de Caſtro*. The ſecond, D. *Fernand*, who did inherite B the Realmes of Leon and Gallicia: and two daughters, D. *Iſabella*, called by ſome D. *Conſtance*, wife to the French King, *Lewis* the young, the ſeuenth of that name, he that did put away *Elenor*, Counteſſe of Poictiers, heire of Guienne, daughter to Count *William*, who after this diuorce married with *Henry* Duke of Aniou and Normandie: who beeing heire to the Crowne of England, had long and cruell warres againſt the French, by reaſon of this Ladies patrimonie, the which continued aboue three hundred yeares, vnto King *Charles* the ſeuenth. The ſecond daughter which D. *Alphonſo* had by D. *Berenguela*, was called D. *Sancha*, or by others D. *Beacia*, who was Queene of Nauarre, hauing married the king D. *Sancho* ſurnamed the Wiſe, or the Valiant, as others write. There is to be ſeene among the tombes which are in the great Chappell C of the Monaſterie of Ogna, an inſcription of D. *Garcia*, who they imagine was ſonne to the ſayd D. *Alphonſo*, who had a ſecond wife, daughter to *Vladiſlaus* Duke of Polonia, called D. *Rica*, by whome he had one daughter called D. *Sancha*, who was married to D. *Alphonſo*, the ſixt king of Arragon, the ſecond of that name. He had familiar acquaintance with two Gentlewomen, whereof the one, which was called D. *Maria*, brought him a daughter, called D. *Stephana*, or *Eſtienette*: the other which was called D. *Gontrude*, bare him D. *Vrraca*, who was firſt married to D. *Garcia Ramires* King of Nauarre: and for her ſecond husband, ſhe married a wiſe and valiant Knight, called D. *Aluaro Rodrigues*, without any reſpect of her degree, falling from a Queene to be the wife of a ſimple Knight: it may be the Ladies of thoſe times had no ſuch haughtie ſpiD rits as they haue at this day, or elſe could not diſtinguiſh betwixt vertue and fortune. D. *Stephana* her ſiſter was married to another Knight, of the houſe of Caſtro, whome they called D. *Fernand Rodrigues* the Caſtillan, from whom iſſued a ſonne, called D. *Pedro Fernandes de Caſtro*. This was the poſteritie of King D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile. About the yeare 1132. he made his eldeſt ſonne D. *Sancho* a Knight, on Saint *Mathias* day, vpon the which he alſo gaue the towne of Vra, to the Monaſterie of Saint *Dominicke* of Silos.

Nauarre and Arragon.

It was about this time that Don *Alphonſo* the Warriour, King of Nauarre, who alwayes called himſelfe Emperour of Spaine, had certaine quarrels with them that dwelt on this ſide the Pyrenees, towards France, in the Duchie of Guienne, the occaſion beeE ing concealed by the Authors, is not knowne to vs, but that wee may coniecture hee would fauour Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Tholouſa and Saint *Giles*, from whome *William* Earle of Poictiers detained his liuing: but whatſoeuer mooued him, hee beſeeged Bayonne, the which hee tooke with little danger and difficulty, extending his limits much on that ſide.

Bayonne taken.

During this ſeege he made his laſt will and teſtament, and as hee was alwaies enuironed with Biſhops, who forgot not themſelues in ſuch oportunities, beeing alſo very deuout, and ſeaſoned with an opinion, that ſinnes are wiped away, and puniſhments redeemed by gifts and foundations of rents and reuenues to Churches: Hee gaue vnto the great Church of Pampelona, and to the Monaſterie of Leyre, the towne and Caſtell of Eſtella, to enioy the moytie thereof, with all the rights, profites, and comF modities. To the Monaſteries of Saint *Mary* of Nagera, and of Saint *Æmilian* of Cogolla, he gaue the towne of Nagera and Tubie with the caſtels. To the Monaſterie of Saint *Dominicke* of Silos, hee gaue the Towne of Sangueſſa, together with the caſtell, and the two boroughs, the old and new. To that of Saint *Saluadour* of Ogna, the

D. Alphonſos Teſtament.

towne and territorie of Villorado. To the Monaſteries of *Iean de la Pegna*, and of Saint *Peter* of Ceresa, and to the Cathedrall churches of Saint *Iames* in Galicia, and of Saint *Sauiour* of Ouiedo, he gaue many Legacies of great conſequence, but the moſt important was, that which he gaue to the religious of the holy Sepulcher, and to the knights of the Temple, and the hoſpitaliers of Ieruſalem, of both his Realmes of Nauarre, and Arragon, and whatſoeuer elſe he ſhould conquer from the Moores, ordaining in particular, that his armes and horſe ſhould be ſent to the Knights of the Temple. A

A prodigious clauſe in D. Alphonſos teſtament.

The King gaue all theſe prodigious Legacies, vpon a wonderfull ſuperſtition, together with a hatred which he bare to them of his bloud, finding himſelfe old, and without any heires of his bodie: but there were but few put in execution, beeing ſo preiudiciall to the Chriſtians eſtate in Spaine, and would haue beene the ſeed of diuiſion and wars betwixt the Princes: yet his teſtament was made with all ſolemnities, and fortified with the paines and threates which were in vſe in that age. Beeing returned into his countries, he ordained a ſeueral court or iuriſdiction for the Inhabitants of Calatajub, granting them many priuiledges and immunities, and ordaining that the reuenues of the Clergie ſhould be hereditarie, to the end that the inhabitants, and ſuch as were borne there, might onely enioy them, as in our time in Caſtile, thoſe do which are of the Biſhoprickes of Calaorra, Calçada, Bourgos, and Plaiſance, and in many places of the Biſhopricke of Pampelone. B

An. 1133. *Aſſembly at Sarragoſſa.*

In the beginning of the yeare 1133. this King and Emperour of Spaine, called an aſſembly of the Biſhops and Noblemen of his country at Sarragoſſa, to reſolue vpon the warre againſt the Moores. Among thoſe which were there preſent, they name the infant D. *Garcia Ramires*, Lord of Monçon, the right heire of Nauarre: *Rotron* Earle of Perche, Lord of Tudele, D. *Sancho de Roſes*, biſhop of Pampelone, another D. *Sancho* Biſhop of Calaorra, D. *Garcia Guerra* Biſhop of Sarragoſſa, D. *Michel* of Tarraſſone, and D. *Arnould* of Hueſca, with many other great perſonages, both Clergie and Secular. There they concluded to make warre againſt the Infidels, enemies to the Chriſtians, vſurpers of the countrie of Spaine; and withall, order was giuen for all things neceſſarie for ſo great an enterpriſe: leuies of ſouldiers were made, and Commiſſaries ſent out for victuals, carriages, boates and other things neceſſarie for the conduct of munition, victuals, inſtruments and engines of batterie, with great prouiſion of arms, and all that was needfull for ſo great an army. C

Expedition againſt the Moores vnfortunate.

D

The King D. *Alphonſo* the warriour hauing reſolued to root out the Moores, hee began on this ſide Ebro to aſſayle them of Lerida and Fraga, from whome hee tooke the towne of Mequinença by compoſition, being at that time exceeding ſtrong, and valiantly defended by the Moores: from thence he came before Fraga, a towne well fortified, and ſtrong by nature, ſeated vpon the riuer of Cinca, the which he began to preſſe about Auguſt, and there made a long and fruitleſſe ſtay: ſo as winter approching, hee was forced to raiſe his ſeege, hauing an intent to returne in the Spring: the which hee did in Februarie, 1134. If the place were ſtrong before, the Moores had ſo fortified it during the winter, as they had made it impregnable: when as they retired, the beſeeged taking courage, as wel by the retreat of the Chriſtians, as by ſome ſuccors which they had from about Lerida, they went to field, and charged the rereward of the Nauarrois army, whom they forced to turne head, and to fight with all his forces. There was the king D. *Alphonſo* vanquiſhed, the which was ſtrange, and of hard digeſtion to him, who hauing beene accuſtomed to beate his enemies, euer ſince he commaunded an armie. Wherefore he retired wonderfully perplexed, hauing loſt that day many Chriſtians, and among others many valiant Knights, and great perſonages of his Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon.

An. 1134.

E

Alphonſo king of Nauarre vanquiſhed by the Moores.

The Moores growne proud with this victorie, and that they had chaſed the king out of their limits, entred into his countrie, putting all to fire and ſword, which they could not carrie away with them, and came as farre as Monçon: wherewith the king being incenſed, he thruſt himſelfe into a calamitie vnworthie of ſo great and wiſe a Captaine as he had alwaies ſhewed himſelfe. Bnt we ſtriue in vaine againſt the will of heauen, and worldly man doth in vaine call backe good fortune, which hath once turned her face from

F

A from him, for his ſinnes, which hee doth not vouchſafe to acknowledge. His troupes being diſperſed, and euery one retired to his houſe, after this route he called thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, and attending a conuenient number to attend his perſon, hee went in all haſt, beeing old and broken, with foure hundred horſe to purſue theſe Moores, who carried away a great prey, and an infinit number of Chriſtians priſoners, hauing ouertaken them neere vnto their fort of Fraga, hee found his owne error, and would gladly haue retired, but it was to late; for the Moores deſcouering the ſmall number which purſued them, turned head, and hauing ſtretched forth their bands, they enuironed the King and his whole troupe, and put them in a manner all to the ſword, where amongſt the reſt the King was ſlaine. This happened in September, in the
B yeere 1134. Such was the end of King D. *Alphonſo* the warrior, a very worthy and a fortunat Prince, if home-bred calamities, the hatred of his owne bloud, and his ouer great ſuperſtition, had not vndermined and weakned the vigour of his ſpirit, the which was much decaied in his latter daies. They ſay his body was taken vp and buried in the Monaſtery of Ieſus of Nazareth in Montarragon: yet many hold that it was not found, beeing (it may bee) ſcattered in this defeat from his company, and ſo ſwallowed vp in ſome bogge or riuer, or loſt by ſome other accident, as hath happened to other Princes, in the like incounters. The brute was among the common people, that he was eſcaped in the charge, and that ſeeing himſelfe twice vanquiſhed, wherevnto he had not beene accuſtomed, he was ſo greeued as he durſt not ſhew himſelfe to his ſub-
C iects any more, but went to Ieruſalem, from whence he neuer returned. He had raigned about thirty yeeres. At his deceaſe, the Eſtates of Nauarre and Arragon were much perplexed, both for that their King had left no heire of his body, as alſo for the deſperate will which he had made. Theſe difficulties were augmented by the factions of the Nobility, who could not agree vpon the election of a new King.

Deſeat and death of King D. Alphonſo the warrior.

9. Whileſt they contended among themſelues, D. *Alphonſo Raymond* King of Caſtille, being aduertiſed of the deceaſe of his father in law, by the aduice and perſwaſion of his councell, hee reuiued his pretenſions to the Eſtates of Nauarre and Arragon, as great grand-child to D. *Sancho* the great, who was King of Nauarre and Earle of Ar-
D ragon; wherevpon hee ſeized vpon the Lands of the riuer of Oija, of Villorodo, Granon, Nagera, Logrogno, Arnedó, Biguerra, and many other places vnto Calaorra, which were thence cut off from the body of Nauarre: ſo as the iuriſdiction of that Kingdome was then lymited towards Caſtille, by the riuer of Ebro. D. *Alphonſo* continuing his conqueſts, whileſt that no man made head againſt him, hauing attempted the towne of Victoria in vaine, he ouer-runne the country of Alaua, and tooke the towne of Maragnon and other forts: ſtriking ſuch a terror into the Nauarrois and Arragonois, as if they had not feared to looſe their exemptions and preuiledges, and to bee ill intreated by King D. *Alphonſo*, they would haue willingly yeelded all vnto him.

Vſurpation of ſome places in Nauarre by by the King of Caſtille.

Amongſt the chiefe which did councell and accompany the King in this ſpoile, were
E the Biſhops, D. *Bernard* of Siguença, D. *Sancho* of Nagera, & D. *Bertrand* of Oſma; and of Noblemen D. *Lope*, and D. *Sancho Diaz*, D. *Garcia Fortuniones*, D. *Roderigo Gonçales*, the Earles D. *Pedro Lopes*, D. *Gomes Nugnes*, D. *Guttiere Peres de Lorca*, *Diego Nugnes*, *Garcia Garces*, *Almerigo* ſtandard bearer to the King, D. *Lopes* Lord Steward of the Kings houſe, *Melendo Boſino*, *Ordogno Peres*, *Rodrigo Gonçales* of Olea, *Guttiere Fernandes*, *Rodrigo Fernandes*, and *Rodrigo Nugnes de Guſman*. King D. *Alphonſo* ſpoyling all along the riuer of Oija, beeing admoniſhed not to forget to make expiation for his exceſſe, he gaue many goodly things to the Monaſtery of Saint Emilian, the which are found written and receiued by *Berenger* Arch-deacon of Toledo. Beeing afterwards entred in Arragon, hee committed the like ſpoiles as in Nauarre. The Nauarrois and Arragonois ſeeing themſelues preſt by the King of Caſtille, they made haſt to preuent
F theſe miſchieſes, wherevnto they were ſubiect for want of a head: wherefore beeing aſſembled at a place called Borja, a towne belonging to D. *Pedro de Atares*, a knight of the bloud royall, who ſome thinke was ſonne to D. *Garcia*, the ſonne of D. *Sancho*, Baſtard to D. *Ramir* firſt King of Arragon, and of D. *Thereſa Caxal* his wife, a great number

Names of Knights and Prelats, which did accompany the King of Caſtille.

Expiations of the ſins and vſurpations of D. Alphonſo King of Caſtille.

number of them were of aduice, that they ſhould chooſe him for King of Nauarre and A
Arragon, for that they had obſerued in him many royall qualities, and did know that
the deceaſed King had much eſteemed him, and had giuen him that towne in reward
of his ſeruices, with many other guifts. Notwithſtanding this perſonage (otherwiſe
endowed with great vertues) was graue and exceeding ſeuere; which made him to bee
the leſſe beloued by the Nobility of Nauarre: of whom ſome held themſelues wrong-
ed in their particular, for that offring ſome-times to viſit him, they haue refuſed them
the entry, the porters ſaying, that *Mounſier* was buſie about matters of great impor-
tance, but they vnderſtood afterwards that the great affaires which had made D. *Pedro*
D. Pedro reie-cted for his ſolence. exclude his friends, were, that his Barber was a trimming him: wherefore his great
ouer-weening and his vnſeaſonable grauitie, did him then harme, ſo as hee was not B
choſen King of theſe two large Kingdomes, his greateſt aduerſaries beeing *Pedro Tizon*
of Quadrieta, and *Pelegrin* of Caſtellezuelo, who gaue the aſſembly to vnderſtand,
that the chiefe vertues, requiſite in Kings, wanted in D. *Pedro* which were clemency
and affability, in ſteed of which hee was full of Arrogancy and inſupportable pre-
ſumption.

If he haue (ſay they) made ſhew thereof in many places lyuing in a priuate eſtate,
" who can doubt, but after that hee hath attained to the royall throne, hee will paſſe all
" bounds of modeſty, and that hee will contemne the Noblemen and Gentlemen his
" ſubiects: who ſhalbe the more reiected, when hee ſhall finde them to bee vertuous,
" for pride in him that holds the ſoueraigne place, is euer accompanied with iealou-
" ſie and deadly hatred againſt the beſt men. Wherefore they concluded, that they C
" muſt bee very carefull, not to ſubmit themſelues to ſuch a man, but ſhould chooſe
" ſome other Lord, who was deſcended of the ſame bloud, whereof the country, by the
" Prouidence of God, was not vnfurniſhed: that they had D. *Ramir*, brother to the
" deceaſed King, D. *Garcia Ramires*, Lord of Monçon and others, who had giuen better
" hope of them then D. *Pedro*.
" By their perſwaſions, the Noblemen and men of State aſſembled at Borja, inclined
to D. *Ramir*, who was a Monke of the order of Saint Benet. But to the end it might be
effected with more order, and leſſe difficulty, they reſolued to change the place of their
aſſembly, and goe to Monçon. D

D. Garcia Ramires the ſeuenth of that name and the ninteenth King of Nauarre.

10. IN this diſlodging, the Nauarrois grew to bee of an other opinion, conſidering
that D. *Ramir* hauing beene bread vp amongſt Monkes, for the ſpace of forty
Diuiſion among the Nobility of Nauarre and Arragon. yeeres, it was likely that hee was better acquainted with matters belonging to a mo- E
naſticke and ſollitary life, then to gouerne a Kingdome, beſides they grew iealous, that
the Arragonois chooſing a King of the bloud royall of Arragon, they would by this
meanes aſpire to the chiefe places of fauour and honour in Court: wherefore theſe
things being propounded in priuate aſſemblies, by D. *Sancho de Roſas*, Biſhop of Pam-
pelone, *Ladron de Gueuara*, ſonne to *Ygnes*; chiefe of the houſe of Gueuara in Alaua,
William Aznares of Oteyça, *Fortunion Ynigues* of Leete, *Ximen Aznares*
of Torres and others, it was concluded, that in ſteed of going to the generall
aſſembly at Monçon, the Eſtates of Nauarre ſhould aſſemble at Pampelone,
the which hauing performed with great diligence, they did chooſe D. *Garcia Ramires*,
Lord of Monçon for King of Nauarre, who was ſonne to the infant D *Ramir* grand-
child to D. *Sancho Garcia*, & great grand-child, to D. *Garcia* the 6. who was ſon vnto the F
king D. *Sancho* the great. D. *Garcia* was at Monçon at the time of this election, with the
Arragonois, aſſiſting at their aſſembly, for the election of a future King, hauing no
thought to aſpire to that degree, when as *Willi. Aznares* of *Oteyça*, & *Ximen Aznares* of
Torres,

A Torres, beeing ſent by the aſſembly of *Pampelone*, came to aduertiſe him of that which had paſt, and led him ſecretly away to *Pampelone*. So D. *Garcia Ramires* was eſtabliſhed King of Nauarre, in October, 1134. being about forty yeeres old.

D. Ramir the ſecond of that name, and fifth King of Arragon.

B 11. VVHen as the Arragonois vnderſtood that there was a King in Nauarre, they ſodainely made choiſe of D. *Frere Ramir* for their King, who had beene Monke at Tomires, appointed to bee Biſhop of Roda and Barbaſtro, hauing beene before of Bourgos and Pampelone, and in like manner had beene choſen Abbot of Sahagun in Caſtille, and was a prieſt, as D. *Rodrigo Ximenes* the Archbiſhop doth write. To his election was added a diſpenſation from Pope *Ancletus*, then raigning. By this meanes the Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon, which had beene vnited eight and fifty yeeres, ſince the King D. *Sancho Ramires*, were ſeperated in theſe two Kings. *Arragon.*

D. *Frere Ramir*, the new King of Arragon, had need of a more quiet eſtate, in reſpect of his breeding vp in Saint *Benets* order, for thinking to raigne in Arragon, hee found C a rough aduerſary in D. *Alphonſo Raymond* King of Caſtille, wherefore hee retired himſelfe into the mountaines of Sobrarbre, hauing neither force nor courage to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him: ſo as to ſettle and to aſſure himſelfe, he was forced to vſe milder meanes then armes, and come to prayers and intreaties, imploying mediators which were fit to treat, and pleaſing to his enemy. Amongſt others which labored to make a peace betwixt theſe two Princes, were, D. *Oldegaire* Archbiſhop of Tarragone; but both he and the reſt loſt their labours, for the King of Caſtille beeing come neere vnto Sarragoſſa, the chiefe city of that Eſtate, hee was receiued, and commanded there as King, hauing in his company D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Barcelone, his wiues brother, and *Roger* Earle of Foix who had married the other ſiſter of Queene D. *Berenguela*, D. *Alphonſo Iordain* Earle of Tolouſe, *Armingol* Earle of Vrgel, *Myr* Earle of Pallars, *Berenger* Arch deacon of Toledo, and many other Knights of Caſtille, Arragon, Cattelogne, yea and of France. *Saragoſſa ſeized on by the king of Caſtille.*

Hauing with this company diſpoſed of the affaires of Arragon, he returned to Leon, whereas he made an aſſembly of Prelats, and other chiefe men of his Eſtates, whereas hee cauſed himſelfe to bee crowned Emperor of Spaine in the Cathedral church, with the ſolemnities and ceremonies requiſit in ſo great an act, receiuing the holy vnction and the crowne from D. *Raymond*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, which title was afterwards confirmed (as ſome Spaniards write) by Pope *Innocent* the ſecond, although that the E Kings his Predeceſſors (who had vſurped the like title, for that they were ſoueraigne Lords in their countries, without acknowledging any other ſecular power) had not affected the like confirmation. Some ſay this coronation was at Toledo: it may bee it was a reiteration of that pompe and ceremony in Caſtille and the territory of Toledo, which were diſtinct Kingdomes, and different from that of Leon, or it may bee a ſecond coronation, as the cuſtome is in the Empire of Germany. *Caſtille.* *Alphonſo Raymond King of Caſtille crowned Emperor of Spaine.*

They adde moreouer that the name of Imperiall was confirmed to that city, by King D. *Alphonſo* the eight, and armes giuen it, the which it carries at this day, which are, an Emperor in a roab of gold, ſitting in a throne, holding a globe in his left hand, and in his right a ſword. In this pompe the church of Toledo had by guiſt from the Emperor D. *Alphonſo*, the towne of Alcala the old, in the yeere 1135. It was a fort built by F the Moores, and ruined in the former warres: wherefore they hold that D. *Raymond* the Archbiſhop did afterwards build the towne of Alcala de Henares, whereas it is at this day, and whereas in old time the towne of Complutum ſtood. *Toledo the Imperial towne.* *An.* 1135.

This Spaniſh Emperor ſeeing himſelfe in that greatneſſe, ſtrooke againſt the ſame ſtone where his Predeceſſors had groſly ſtumbled, and came to diuide his realmes amongſt

Caſtile and Leon diuided.

mongſt his children, making them Kings, being ill aduiſed by bad councel: to D. *Sancho* the eldeſt he gaue Caſtille and Toledo; and to D. *Fernand* Leon and Galicia. To D. *Sancho* hee extended the ancient lymits of Caſtille towards Leon, vnto the towne of Sahagun, by Moral de la Roine, Tordehumes Vregna and Cauillas. To the ſecond he aſigned the Lands of Leon and Galicia, with that part of the Aſturies, which lies from the riuer of Oua vnto Galicia. A

Theſe ſeeds of warre and diſcord, were laied by the bad councel of the Earles D. *Almeric de Lara*, otherwiſe called *Manriques*, ſonne to D. *Pedro de Lara*, and D. *Fernand* of Tranſtamara, great Noblemen, who thought to maintaine the greatneſſe and reputation of their houſes the better, by theſe partages, and from the troubles which might enſue, then if there were but one Monarke in Spaine, an ordinary practiſe in great Chriſtian Eſtates: this done D. *Alphonſo* returned into Arragon. B

Nauarre.

D. *Garcia Ramires* King of Nauarre, ſeeing the ſucceſſe of the King of Caſtille, in the countries of Nauarre and Arragon, doubting hee ſhould not be able to reſiſt the great power of this new Emperor D. *Alphonſo*, eſpecially if hee made himſelfe maiſter of D. *Ramirs* Kingdome, as hee was very likely, hee reſolued to purchaſe a peace and his friendſhip, by ſome ſubmiſſion vnto him for his realme of Nauarre. D. *Alphonſo* then being returned into Arragon, after the ceremonies of his coronation, theſe two Princes had an enterview at Pradilla, with great ſhewes of loue, where their accord and league was confirmed.

Nauarre vaſſalto Caſtille.

Arragon.

King D. *Ramir*, who could not obtaine his realme of Arragon, pretended to recouer that of Nauarre from D. *Garcia Ramires*, ſaying, that it belonged vnto him, as beeing brother, and lawfull ſucceſſor to the deceaſed King D. *Alphonſo* the warrior; notwithſtanding that D. *Garcia* had more intereſt then hee, or his Predeceſſors Kings of Arragon, being ſonne to the Infant D. *Ramir Sanches*, and grand-child to the King D *Sancho Garcia*, ſlaine by his brother D. *Raymond* through deſire of raigne, after which Parricide, the Nauarrois called in D. *Sancho* of Arragon, father to the Kings D. *Pedro*, D. *Alphonſo*, and of this Monke, to raigne ouer them, by reaſon of the minority of the children of their deceaſed King, and with the forces of Arragon to repulſe the murtherer D. *Raymond*, and his faction: and to keepe him from raigning in Nauarre: yea D. *Garcia Ramires* had a better title to Arragon, then D. *Alphonſo Raymond* King of Caſtille, for that he was deſcended from the King D. *Garcia Sanches*, the eldeſt ſonne of D. *Sancho* the great, but where force raignes, right muſt giue place. Notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, D. *Frere Ramir* would make warre in Nauarre, and being in armes, hee forced D. *Garcia* to arme alſo, who to auoide the danger which did threaten him, if D. *Ramir* ſhould make an agreement with the King of Caſtille, hee made haſt to doe the homage, whereof wee haue ſpoken, but it continued not long: for ſoone after the Kingdome of Nauarre recouered the ancient and hereditary ſoueraignty. D *Ramir*, who kept at Monclus in the mountaines of Sobrarbe, ſtaied not long to ſubmit himſelfe alſo to the King of Caſtille, and to doe him homage for his realme of Arragon: wherefore D. *Alphonſo* reſtored him all his lands exeept Sarragoſſa, and ſome other places, which he kept, to make vſe of them againſt the Moores. C D E

VVar betwixt Nauarre and Arragon.

In the meane time there were cruell warres vpon the fronters of Nauarre and Arragon: but the Prelats deſirous to ſee this warre ended, laboured to reconcile the two Kings. D. *Sancho de Roſas*, biſhop of Pampelone, an Arragonois borne, delt ſo in this treaty of peace, as hee gaue the King D. *Garcia* occaſion to ſuſpect him to be falſe vnto him, for the which he chaſed him out of his countries, whereupon he was taxed of two great ſeuerity; and for that he had banded himſelfe againſt a prelat, he was in a manner compared to D. *Pedro d' Athares*, who by reaſon of his ſterne and ſower diſpoſition, had beene reiected from the royall dignity, ſo dangerous it was to touch theſe ſacred perſons, were they good or bad. F

The Prelats who had vndertaken to make this appointment, neuer ceaſed vntil they had brought it vnto theſe termes, that they ſhould chooſe ſixe knights: three of either realme, by whoſe iudgement all quarrels ſhould bee ended: for Nauarre were choſen *Ladron de Gueuara*, *William Aznares* of Oteyça, and *Ximen Aznares* of Torres. for

Arragon

A Arragon they did chooſe D.*Pedro d' Athares*, D.*Caxal*, and D.*Ferris* of Hueſca. Theſe ſix being aſſembled at Vadoluengo; after many counſels and conferences, in the end they concluded that either party ſhould lay downe armes, and the two Kings ſhould continue good friends; and for an order betwixt them, they aſſigned vnto D. *Garcia Ramires*, the ſuperiority ouer the Nobility, who ſhould haue the conduct of armies as Generall of both realmes: and that D. *Ramir* ſhould haue commandment ouer the reſt of the people, and adminiſter iuſtice, the which ſhould take place in regard of their perſons onely, and during their liues: with which ſentence the Kings were not well contented. Yet D. *Ramir* beeing willing to ſatisfie D. *Garcia*, came to Pampelone, where hee was receiued with great honour procuring at his firſt comming the reſtitu-
B tion of D. *Sancho* the Biſhop, whom hee reſtored into fauour with the King D. *Garcia*. There they conſulted for the ſetting downe of certaine and apparent lymits, betwixt the two realmes of Nauarre and Arragon. The ſeperation was drawne by a direct line, from Saint *Encratia*, to Biosal, the valley of Roncall remayning to Arragon. Then paſſing the riuer of Sarazas, vnto the place whereas it falls into that of Yda, and to Pont Saint *Martin*, and from thence to the place whereas as Yda falls into the riuer of Arragon, and that of Arragon into Arga, and that of Arga into Ebro, and along Ebro, into Tudele.

Treaty of peace betwixt Nauarre and Arragon.

Ancient lymits betwixt Nauarre and Arragon.

This diuiſion beeing made, it ſeemed there ſhould not remaine any cauſe of hatred betwixt theſe two Kings, and that D. *Garcia Ramires*, ſhould reuerence D. *Ramir*, as
C his father; and D. *Ramir* imbrace D. *Garcia* as his ſonne, to whom moreouer hee granted, during his life, out of his portion, Valtierra. Quadrita, and that which lies betwixt Roncal, and Biſoal, the which he ſhould hold in fee of the crowne of Arragon, to bee reunited againe after his death. Yet D. *Garcia* was not ſatisfied with this accord; perſwading himſelfe ſtill, that D. *Ramir* ought not to raigne in Arragon, for that hee had beene a profeſſed Monke, and had taken all orders: ſo as vpon the purſute which he made to bee freed from the homage which hee had done vnto D. *Ramir*, for thoſe places aboue mentioned, he attempted to ſtay him in Pampelone, giuing the charge thereof to ſome of his followers, but they could not put it in execution; for the King of Arragon was aduertiſed by a Knight, called *Ynigo d' Ayuar*, ſo as hauing conferred
D with D. *Pedro d' Athares*, and other knights of Arragon, he went out of the towne vnknowne, with foure more with him, poſting away with all ſpeed vntill he came to Saint Sauiour of Leyre, where hee ſtaied three daies for his traine, who came vnto him, according to his directions, and from thence he retired in ſafety to Hueſca. So it happened to the King D. *Sancho Ramires*, as to his great Grand father. D. *Garcia Sanches*, when as he would haue taken King *Fernand* the firſt King of Caſtille, his yonger brother, priſoner, in the towne of Nagera.

Nauarre.

Fraude of the King of Nauarre ill executed.

Herevpon D. *Ramir* began to leauy men for the future warre of Nauarre, whereof the King D. *Garcia* was aſſured, and therefore hee made many prouiſions for his defence and ſafety: the beſt and moſt worthy to bee imitated, was, that hee made
E choiſe of twelue of the chiefeſt families of his country, whom hee bound vnto him by honours and preferments, making them as it were heads of all the reſt of the Nobility and gentry of Nauarre. Which were the houſes of Gueuara, Almorauit, Baçtan, Aybar, Leet, Subica, Rada, Bidaurre, Montagut, Vrox, Caſcant and Mauleon.

Orders for the Nobility of Nauarre.

He made one Commander ouer theſe noble houſes, which ſhould bee reſpected of them next to the Kings perſon: this was D. *Ladron* of Gueuara to whom he gaue the title of Earle, and was the firſt which called himſelfe Earle of Nauarre: this he did, for that there were ſome gentlemen of his country beganne to abandon him, to follow the partie of Arragon, retyring to D. *Ramir*, who entertained them, and aſſigned them lands in Arragon. Of which number was D. *Caxal*, a man of great quality in thoſe daies, hauing lands in both realmes, ſo as hee quit them in Na-
F uarre to ſerue the King of Arragon, but as hee carried himſelfe verie paſſionately in theſe quarrells, hee fell ſoone after into a great daunger; for beeing ſent by D. *Ramir*, to the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, to confirme a peace with him, that hee might with more liberty attend the affaires of Nauarre, as hee

paſt

paſt vnaduiſedly neere vnto the lands of D. *Garcia*, beeing aduertiſed thereof, he cauſed him to be taken, at a place called Cares, a little Bourg, the which is now become a towne, named Pont de la Roine, vpon the riuer of Arga, about the which growes the beſt wine of all the countrie of Nauarre. D. *Caxal* was put in a ſtreight priſon, where he continued long: but the Abbot of Saint *Saluador* of Leyre, who was his kinſman and friend, gaue vnto the king all the Iewels and treaſure of his Abbey to redeeme him: wherefore after his deliuerie he ſhewed himſelfe very thankeful to this Monaſterie, and gaue vnto it all the lands he had in Tudele. A

Arragon. All matters betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Arragon were reconciled, and there was an interview of theſe two Princes at Alagon, whereas D. *Ramir* did acknowledge to hold his Realme in fee, and did homage to D. *Alphonſo*, which ſubmiſſion continued ſome yeares. Such was the dexteritie of the King of Caſtile, hauing reduced theſe two Kings vnder his Soueraignetie, and as it were feudataries of his Empire, that although they had a great deſire to inuade one another, yet he kept them from all open hoſtility, as well by his authoritie, as by other meanes: ſometimes reſtrayning them by promiſes, ſometimes by threates, preſuming, that if they continued in that eſtate, he ſhould haue them more at his commandement, then if one increaſing with the ruine of another, he would grow ſo great, as he might rebell, and deny him the homage which hee had ſworne. B

Dexterity of D. Alphonſo King of Caſtille.

King D. *Ramir* preſently after he had left the Monaſterie, married (with a diſpenſation from the Pope, for that he had ſung Maſſe) to a French Ladie, called D. *Ignes* or *Agnes*, daughter to *William* Earle of Poictiers, and Duke of Guienne, who dyed in the yeare 1136. going in pilgrimage to Saint *Iames*, for elſe his ſiſter, as ſome hold, by whom he had the Infanta D. *Petronilla*, who was afterwards married to the Earle of Barcelone: he did not long enioy his wife, after whoſe death, deſiring to quit the affaires of the world, he ſent his onely daughter to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, to be bred vp in his Court with the Queene D. *Berenguela*: notwithſtanding that the Noblemen of Arragon, brought her backe againe, ſaying, that ſhee did not find her ſelfe well in Caſtile. C

Arragon and Catelogne vnited by marriage. About that time there was a knight retired into Arragon, called D. *William Raymond* of Moncada, Seneſhal of Cattelogne, who had fled, for certaine outrages which he had committed. By him there was a treaty of marriage begun, betwixt the Infanta D. *Petronilla*, heire of Artagon, and D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Barcelone his Lord, the which was afterwards accompliſhed, and in recompence of ſo great a ſeruice, the Seneſhall obtained his pardon, and his dignity, which was to bee chiefe and captaine of the horſemen. It is not certaine when this marriage was effected, but it is probable, that it was neere the end of King D. *Ramir*, for that the Infanta *Petronille*, was onely two or three yeeres old, when as the King left the gouernment of the Realme, to returne to his religious order, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1137. three yeeres after his election and promotion to the crowne, at which time the authors write that this marriage was concluded by words, *De futuro*: the conditions amongſt others, were. That the Earle ſhould not take vpon him the title of King, but ſhould onely call himſelfe Prince of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelone, but that the children which ſhould deſcend of this marriage, ſhould bee called Kings of Arragon. That the Earle ſhould carry in chiefe, the firſt and moſt ancient armes of Arragon, which was a croſſe argent in a field azure, in all actions of warre, but hee might carry thoſe of Barcelone in his ſhield and enſignes, hauing foure bends gueules, or a field or: yet the enſigne bearers ſhould bee of Arragon; that the Arragonois ſhould take the deuiſe of Saint *George*. D

An. 1137.

Conditions of the treaty. E

This treaty beeing made and concluded in Barbaſtro, by the King, beeing aſſiſted by the Noblemen of Arragon, and the Earle of Barcelone, hee was receiued in quality of Regent of the Realme of Arragon, with the which Cattelogne remained vnited a hundred and three yeeres, after that Arragon was made a realme, and two hundred fifty and three yeeres after that there had beene hereditary Earles in Cattelogne. This done, King D. *Ramir* giuing ouer all adminiſtration and gouernment, as in a royall F

Eſtate

A eſtate and habit, hee had alwaies carried a Monkes heart, hee retired into a Monaſtery which hee had built, in the Pariſh of Saint *Peter* the olde at Hueſca, there to ſpend the remainder of his daies religiouſly, with the Chaplins.

Cruelty of the King D. Ramir.

This Prince is taxed of cowardiſe and great cruelty, being tranſported with continual iealouſies, his deeds doe witneſſe it, for that by the councel of the Abbot of Saint Ponce of Tomeres in Languedoc, he cut off the heads of *Lope Ferencio*, *Rodrigo Ximenes*, *Pedro Martines*, and *Fernand Gomes*, all of the houſe of Lara: *Federic Liſane*, *Pedro Verga*, *Gyles Atroſil*, *Pedro Carnel*, *Garzia Pigna*, *Raymond de Foſſes*, *Pedro Lueſia*, *Michel Azlario* and *Sancho Fontana*, all noble men of great houſes, onely vpon a conceit that hee was contemned by them. This execution was done at Hueſca. They

B hold that this yeere 1137. the towne of Lerida, held by the Moores, was attempted, but not taken, by the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, who ſeeing himſelfe aduanced in dignity, greatneſſe and forces, beeing Prince of Arragon and Earle of Barcelone, would alſo inlarge his eſtates, and ioyne vnto it the realme of Nauarre, reuiuing the pretended title of his father in law D. *Frere Ramir*, for the effecting whereof hee had many treaties with the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, whom hee found alwaies fauourable, by the mediation of the Queene D. *Berenguela* his ſiſter, ſo as beeing prouoked by the Earle, and no leſſe by his owne ambition, hee led an army againſt D. *Sancho Ramires*, whom hee found well attended to make head againſt him betwixt Cortes and Gallur, where it pleaſed God to ſtay theſe armies from fighting, by the meanes of ſome good

C men, who did mediate ſome kinde of accord for that time.

League betwixt the King of Caſtille and Prince of Aragon againſt the King of Nauarre.

Notwithſtanding Count *Raymond* (deſirous to imbarke the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, his brother in law in this warre) came vnto him to Carrion, where hee renewed the oth of fealty, doing him homage for the country of Arragon; where he did inſinuate ſo well into his fauour, as hee got out of his hands the townes of Sarragoſſe, Taraſſone, Calatajub and Daroca, which were held by the Caſtillans. Afterwards D. *Raymond Berenger* returned againe to D. *Alphonſos* court at Carrion, whereas the conditions and Articles were concluded and ſet downe, concerning the warre which they ſhould make in common, againſt D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre.

D Amongſt the which they diuided the Beares skinne before hee was taken, agreeing, that of all the country of Nauarre which they ſhould conquer, the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* ſhould haue a third part, and the other two ſhould belong vnto D. *Raymond*, Prince of Arragon, vpon condition to hold them in fee of the realme of Caſtille. At this treaty there were preſent the Biſhops D. *Berenger* of Salamanca, and D. *Pedro* of Burgos, with other Noblemen both Clergy and Secular. From Carrion they went to Soria, where after they had held a councell of prophane things, they had a great care of religion, that is to ſay, of the temporall reuenues of the Church, wherefore the King and Queene did giue vnto the Monaſtery of Saint *Mary* of Valbanera, a houſe in Canegoſa, with certaine immunities, to the end that if

E any thing were attempted vniuſtly, to the ruine of an other, this ſinne might by that meanes be purged.

Nauarre.

The army of Caſtille beeing ready to march, the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* paſt vnto the frontier of Nauarre, by the riuer of Ebro, marching along the which, hee came to Calaorra, where hee was met by D. *Sancho* Biſhop of Calaorra, D. *Stephen* Prior of Saint *Mary* the royall of Nagera, D. *Michel* Biſhop of Taraſſone, with the Earle D. *Ladron* of Gueuara, and others, who imployed themſelues happely to appeaſe the ambition of this Prince, and to conuert the warre into a good peace, the which was concluded by an enterview of the two Kings of Caſtille and Nauarre, betwixt Calaorra and Alfaro: to confirme the which, there was a marriage concluded betwixt the Infant D. *Sancho*, the eldeſt ſonne of Caſtille, and D. *Blanche*, daugh-

Peace betwixt Nauarre and Caſtille.

F ter to D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre, in the yeere of our Lord 1140. and promiſes made by words, *de futuro*, by reaſon of the tender age of the Infanta, who was deliuered vnto D. *Alphonſo* her father in law, to bee bred vp in Caſtille, vntil ſhee were capable for the conſummation of the marriage.

Arragon and Cattelogne or Barcelone.

14. This was a ſecond croſſe to the deſignes of the new Prince of Arragon, who was at the ſame time in quarrel with the knights of the Temple, and the Hoſpitaliers of Saint *Iohn* of Ieruſalem, which pretended the ſucceſſion of the realme of Arragon, by vertue of the Teſtament of the deceaſed King D. *Alphonſo* the Warrior, by the which they were made heires. *Raymond* Maiſter of the hoſpitaliers was come into Spaine to that end, who ſeeing it very difficult to challendge their right by armes, and that to purſue it by Iuſtice, beſides the tediouſneſſe, the euent would be vncertaine, and the execution very hard, hee ſought to make an accord, and compounded with D. *Raymond Berenger*, quitting vnto him that part which did belong vnto the Hoſpital, vpon condition, that if he died without children lawfully begotten, it ſhould returne to the ſame religion. A B

Beſides hee receiued many benifices and charitable guifts for the ſayd religion, in thoſe places which the Earle did then enioy, with promiſe of a large portion of all which hee ſhould conquer from the Moores. According to this accord the Templers ſurceaſed their action: ſo as after that time thoſe two Orders got great reuenues in Arragon, Cattelogne, and Valencia. In the tranſaction which was made betwixt D. *Raymond Berenger* and the Templers, for the Prince there aſſiſted, the Biſhops of Saragoſſe, and Hueſca, with the Archbiſhop of Tarragone: and moreouer *Arnauld* Earle of Pallars, *Bernard* of Comminges, *Peter* of Bigorre, and other Noblemen and knights of Arragon, Cattelogne and others: and for the Templers, *Euerard Oſtan* of Saint Ordogno, *Hugo Borrato Pedro Anticho* and *Bernard Reginol*. This accord was confirmed by Pope *Adrian* the fourth. C

Nauarre.

D. *Garcia Ramires* King of Nauarre, beeing (by meanes of a peace made with D. *Alphonſo* Emperor of Spaine) freed from a great danger, he ſtood very carefully vpon his gard, in reſpect of D. *Raymond Berenger*, who preſt him towards Arragon, finding himſelfe ſtrong ynough to reſiſt him: for notwithſtanding that the Earle was a wiſe and valiant knight, yet the King D. *Garcia* was nothing inferiour vnto him in vertue, greatneſſe of courrage, knowledge and diſcipline in warre, and was alſo well aſſiſted with good and wiſe Knights, amongſt the which hee was faithfully ſerued by D. *Sancho de Roſas* Biſhop of Pampelone, newly reconciled, the Earle D. *Ladron* of Gueuara Lord in Ayauar, *William Aznares* Lord in Sangueſſe, *Ximen Aznares*, Lord in Tafalle, *Ramir Garcia*, Lord in the towne of Saint *Mary* of Vxue, *Martin de Leet*, Lord of Gallipiençó, & Peralta, *Peter Tizon*, Lord in Cadreyta, *Rodrigo* of *Açagra*, Lord in Eſtella, *Roderigo Abarco*, Lord in Funes and Valtiera, *Iean Dia*, Lord in Caſcant, *Ramir Sanches*, Lord in Maragnon (they were Gouernors or Captaines in theſe places) & many others, as well of his owne country, as of France. Hee kept in fronter places well manded, like a prouident Prince, as the fort of Tudele, which came vnto him by marriage, as we will ſhew, *Bureta* and *Sos*. D

Hee had put a valiant captaine into the fort of *Malon*, called *Gerard* the Diuell, into that of Freſcano an other captaine, a ſtranger, called *Robert* of *Matalon*, and ſo in the reſt which frontered vpon Arragon. Moreouer hee had practiſed a league with France, firſt with *Lewis* the ſixth, ſurnamed the Groſſe and then with *Lewis* the ſeuenth, called the young, who aſſiſted him with their forces, and fortified his army, when as the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* preſented himſelfe firſt betwixt Cortes and Galur, and then in the ſecond expedition of Calaorra, where the peace was concluded and confirmed by the marriage of D. *Sancho* Infant of Caſtille, with D. *Blanche*, Infanta of Nauarre, whom the King D. *Garcia* had had by D. *Marguerite* his wife, daughter to *Rotron* Earle of Perche, who had brought vnto him the towne of Tudele for her dourie, the which Count *Rotron* had obtained from King D. *Alphonſo* the warrior, for his valour and good deſerts. The King D. *Garcia Ramires* had many other children by this Ladie: D. *Sancho* who was King after him, D. *Alphonſo Ramires*, Lord of Caſtro Vieijo, D. *Marguerite*, who was Queene of Naples and Sicile, married to *William*, ſonne to *Roger*, father and mother to an other *William*, King of Naples and Sicile. Queene *Marguerite* dyed about the yeere 1141. after which the King D. *Garcia* married againe with D. *Vrraca*, baſtard daughter to the Emperor D. *Alphonſo*, which he had by a gentle- E F

Genealogy of Nauarre.

A gentlewoman, called D. *Gontrude*, ſiſter to one *Diego Abregon*, or *Apricio*. The King had one daughter by this ſecond wife, called D. *Sancha*, who was married firſt to *Gaſton* Earle of Bearne, and afterwards to D. *Pedro de Molina*, from whom iſſued D. *Almerigo*, or *Manrique*, who was vicont of Narbonne, by ſucceſſion from D. *Ormeſind*, his grand-mother by the fathers ſide: ſome ſay, that the ſecond wife of there King D. *Garcia*, was not D. *Vrraca*, baſtard daughter to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, but the daughter of D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay the third of that name, and the firſt which intitled himſelfe *de Haro*, the which was called D. *Geiffrey*, who ſiſter D. *Vrraca Lopes*, was wife to D. *Fernand* King of Leon, the ſecond of that name, ſonne to the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* then raigning. Theſe two Ladies had alſo one brother, called D. B *Diego Lopes de Haro*, ſurnamed the good, who was a braue a valiant Knight. Yet the firſt opinion taken out of D. *Rodrigo Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, a Nauarrois, is more approoued by the Spaniards, touching the marriages of the King D. *Garcia*. *Family of Haro Lords of Biſcay.*

There is mention made in the Hiſtories of Spaine, of a Lady of this houſe of Biſcay, called D. *Maria Lopes*, verie deuout and bountifull to the Clergy, who gaue Saint *Michel de Barbadilla*, Saint *Mary de Lor*, Saint *Mary a Eſtiualis*, *Aperreguri* and *Magnariette*, with other lands which are in the Prouince of Alaua, where ſhe dwelt, to the Monaſterie of Nagera. The deuotion of Princes and Noblemen in thoſe daies was great, ſtriuing who ſhould giue moſt vnto the Church, beeing inſtructed by the Cler- C gie, that the onely meanes to redeeme their ſoules from eternall damnation, was to doe good to religious men, who praied to God for them, whileſt they abandoned themſelues to all voluptuoſneſſe, and pleaſures in their ſecular eſtates, ſpoyling oftentimes their neighbours, or ſubiects of their patrimonies to inrich (that is to ſay, to ruine) the Church, making Biſhops, Abbots, Prieſts and Monkes partakers of their rapines and ſpoiles. *Donations vnto churches.*

During the troubles of Caſtille, Arragon and Nauarre, there grew great contenti- *Caſtille.* on betwixt D. *Simeon* Biſhop of Burgos, and D. *Sancho de Funes*, Biſhop of Calaorra, for the church & ſepulture of Saint *Dominike* of Calſada, either of them maintayning that it was of his Dioceſe and iuriſdiction. Therein (in my opinion) they did not ſtriue D who ſhould haue the greateſt flock, and feed the beſt for their ſoules health, but they rather ſought their owne reputations, and particular profits, for that the opinion of the holineſſe of this dead man, did euery day increaſe, in which place they built a towne, and moreouer that the Kings then raigning in Spaine were very deuout, and great benefactors; namely the Emperor D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, and his wife D. *Berenguela*, who had a little before indowed this church with great poſſeſſions. The cauſe was argued before Iudges appointed by the Emperour, yet named by the two Biſhops which contended: for him of Calaorra there was choſen *Pedro de Granon*, Arch-deacon of Calaerra, and for the Biſhop of Burgos, the Arch-deacon of Birbieſca, called alſo *Peter*, a dignity of Burgos; theſe two hauing made diligent inquiry, examined ancient and cre- E dible witneſſes, and viſited the confines of both Dioceſes, they gaue ſentence for the Biſhop of Calaorra, the which in the yeere 1137. many notable perſonages aſſiſting at the Iudgement ſigned. *Debate among Biſhops to enlarge their Dioceſes.*

In the yeere 1141. the Emperor D. *Alphonſo*, to incourrage men to people the town *An.* 1141. which they began to build about the church of Saint *Dominike*, granted to the Inhabitants thereof, the vſe of the woods, forreſts, mountaines and paſtures thereabouts like vnto the other townes their neighbours, and moreouer the waters which fell from the mount of Fayola, with other commodities, which did helpe to plant this Bourg, which beganne then to bee built, and ſince is growne a good towne, and a Cathedrall church, as we ſee it. The towne was vnder the iuriſdiction of the church, for a time, for ſome occaſions, there was a Court rayoll eſtabliſhed, in the time of *Ferdinand* the F third, as we will note hereafter.

A

D. Alphonſo Henriques the firſt King of Portugal.

Portugal.

THe affaires of Portugal during theſe actions aboue mentioned, remaine obſcure, by the error and negligence of authors; for there is no memory found of the deeds of D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, ſince the conqueſt of Leyra and of Torreſnauas, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1127. vnto the yeere 1139. when as hee paſt the riuer of Tayo, and led an army againſt a King of the Moores, called *Iſmar* or *Iſmael*. In this B voyage died D. *Egas Nugnes* who had beene Gouernor to the Earle in his youth, and his faithfull councellor; hee was interred at the Monaſtery of Sonſa, neere vnto the towne of Porto. Hee had founded, according to the opinion of ſome, the Monaſtery of Saint *Martin* of Cucuayes, in the country of Saint *Mary*. *Iſmar* came out of his country, againſt D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, beeing accompanied by foure other pettie Kings Moores: the two armies were in view one of an other, in the fields of Obrigue; the Earles was about Caſtroverde, which at that time was called *Cabeças de Reys*, that is to ſay, heads of Kings: and as the Chriſtians were much inferiour to the Infidels in number, ſo their opinions were diuers, moſt inclyning to a retreat without fighting: but the Earle who was of a Noble courage, and generous reſolution, perſwaded his people with ſuch forcible reaſons, as they reſolued to all hazards, and for C a happie preſage of a future victory, the ſouldiars turning themſelues to God, were moued to ſalute their Earle, with a royal name and title, crying all with one voice, Portugal, Portugal, for the King D *Alphonſo Henriques*.

Roial title of the houſe of Portugal.

Beeing thus incourraged, and all in good order, they charged the Moores ſquadrons, and made a horrible ſlaughter of them, ſo as hauing put them all to flight, they remained Maiſters of the field; they tooke fiue royal Standards of the Moores, and all their baggage.

Victory of Obrique.

The Portugals celebrate this memorable victory, called of Obrique, vnto this day: the honour whereof is due to them which dwell betwixt Tayo and Duero, and betwixt Duero and Minio, for the Inhabitants beyond Tayo were at that time ſubiect to D the Moores, who held alſo a great part of the country on this ſide. After this battaile D. *Alphonſo Henriques* tooke vpon him the title of King of Portugal, and left by ſucceſſion to his deſcendants this title obtained by a millitary prerogatiue, before the

Armes of Portugal.

battaile. Then beganne the armes of that royall houſe, this King taking (in memorie of ſo great a victory which God had giuen him) fiue little ſhields Azure, repreſenting the Standards of thoſe fiue kings which he had vanquiiſhed, in a great ſcutchon argent, placing the ſmall ſcutchions like a croſſe, through deuotion, in ſigne of our Sauiours fiue wounds vpon the croſſe, adding moreouer to euery one of them fiue deniers argent, which make in all 25. the which with the fiue ſcutchons made the number of thirty repreſenting in ſome ſort the thirty pence which *Iudas* receiued to E betray his Maſter, our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt (it is the allegory and ſpirituall interpretation of the armes of Portugal) to the which was ſince added a border gueules charged with caſtles, or, in the time of D. *Sancho* the ſecond of that name King of Portugal, for ſome cauſes which we will hereafter ſpecefie. After the defeat of theſe fiue Arabian Kings, who, you muſt vnderſtand were vaſſals to *Alboali*, *Aben-Tefin*, the great Miralmumin of Affrike King D. *Alphonſo* returned with his victorious and rich army, to Coimbra, being then the chiefe city of his Eſtate.

Practiſes of the Counteſſe of Portugal againſt her ſon.

In this happie ſucceſſe of his affaires, D. *Thereſa* his mother, beeing a priſoner, ſought to croſſe him, treating with D. *Alphonſo* King or Emperour of Caſtille, for her deliuery and reſtitution: and moreouer by her inſtruments ſhee made great com- F plaintes at Rome, to Pope *Innocent* the third, accuſing her ſon of cruelty and impiety: ſo as the Pope ſent the Biſhop of Coimbra into Portugal, beeing then at Rome, with charge to enioyne the King by the Apoſtolike authority, and in his name to

ſet

A ſet the Counteſſe at liberty: which the ſonne refuſing to obay, the Biſhop did interdict the citty of Coimbra, and returned to Rome, ſtealing away ſecretly in the morning, without the Kings priuity, wherewith beeing incenſed, hee would haue forced the Chapter to proceed to the Election of a new Biſhop, wherein hee was not obayed, ſo as hee committed many outrages: wherepon the Pope ſent a Caradinall Legat vnto him, to correct him, but hee loſt his time; for the Counteſſe continued ſtill in priſon, beeing very expedient and neceſſary for the good and quiet of the country. For this the Cardinal did interdict all Portugal, and then tooke his way towards Rome: but hee was purſued by the King, who did greatly feare theſe interdictions: and hauing ouertaken him betwixt Coimbra and Vera, neere vnto the
B Comanderie of Poyares, hee forced him to diſanul this interdiction, and moreouer to grant him whatſoeuer hee deſired, partly by force and threats, and partly by perſwaſions.

Whileſt hee was in this debate with the Church, *Iſmael* or *Iſmar*, who had beene vanquiſhed, came vpon the towne of Leyra, belonging to the Monkes of Saint Croix of Coimbra (the which for that it was ill garded by a Knight called *Payo Guttieres*, who was there in garriſon for the Pior) fell againe into the Moores power; whereof the Abbot being aduertiſed, leauing his frocke and monkes weed, hee went to horſe-backe with a good troupe of ſouldiars, where hauing ſpoiled the Moores country, hee ſeized
C vpon *Ronches*: ſoone after King D. *Alphonſo Henriques* came and laied ſiege to Leyra, and tooke it, ſince which time he depriued the Monkes of the Temporalty of this place and of *Ronches* alſo, leauing them only the preffits of the ſpiritualty.

Leyra taken by the Moores.

The warre betwixt Nauarre and Arragon was hot at this time: but D. *Raymond* Prince of Arragon found himſelfe troubled, not only againſt the Moores, which were neighbors to Arragon and Cattelogne, from whom hee tooke Chalamera and Alcolea, vpon the riuer of Cinca, in the yeere 1143. but alſo againſt ſome knights of Prouince, which were enemies to D. *Berenger Raymond* his brother, hauing ſeized vpon
D ſome places, and beene the cauſe of great troubles, ſo as hee was forced to goe himſelfe in perſon: wherefore his country was much anoyed by the Nauarrois, who finding all aſſured towards Caſtille, did what they liſted: yet at his returne hee had ſome ſmal reuenge and tooke the fort of Sos. The peace betwixt the Caſtillans and Nauarre, being ſetled and entertained, it was againe fortified by the marriage of the King D. *Garcia Ramires* with D. *Vrraca*, baſtard daughter to the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, by whom hee had the Infanta D. *Sancha* aboue mentioned: and wee muſt not doubt but that which ſome haue left written of this Kings third marriage with the daughter of D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, is a mere fiction. It is likely the towne of Haro was built at that time, whereof the Lords of Biſcay, and there ſucceſſors, carried the name, from whence are deſcended many worthy knights, and great perſonages in Caſtille and Leon. The realme of Nauarre at that time had larger bounds then it had ſince, hauing no means
E to augment them vpon the Moores, for that the realmes of Arragon and Caſtille lay betwixt both; ſo as the Arragonois, Caſtillans and Cattelans were to make warre againſt them, as frontering vpon Valencia, and other their lands and Siegneuries. Yet the Kings of Nauar, which haue bin ſince, were ſo far from extending of their lymits, as they haue beene often reſtrained by the violence and too great power of the Kings of Caſtille.

Nauarre.

An. 1143.

Confirmation of the peace betwixt Nauarre and Caſtille.

About the yeere 1146. D. *Alphonſo* Emperour of Spaine reſolued to make warre with all violence againſt the Moores of Andaluſia, by reaſon of the ſeditions and reuolts which were in Affrike, againſt the Almorauides, whoſe Hiſtory it is needfull to relate.

An. 1146.

16. *Alboali, Aben-Teſin* (whom ſome will haue to bee *Auicenne* the great Phy-
F loſopher, whoſe workes wee read, but without any ground) raigning ouer the Moores of Affrike and Spaine, the third King or *Miralmumin* of the race of the *Almorauides*; a Moore of Affrike, called *Aben-Thumert*, very learned in Aſtrology, tould a certaine young-man called *Abdelmon*, that he found by the ſtarres, he ſhould get the crowne of the Arabians: and therefore hee aduiſed him to meete with theſe heauenly influences,

Moores.

Troubles in the Moores eſtate in Affrike by Imperfections dyuinations.

and to prepare himſelfe to receiue this great good which they had promiſed him. A

This man although hee were of a baſe and vile condition, whoſe father got his lyuing by making of pots, and other earthen veſſel, yet hee was neither faint-hearted, nor without ambition, wherefore hee gaue ſuch credit to that which the Aſtrologer had deliuered vnto him, as leauing his houſe and trade, hee acquainted himſelfe with a certaine religious Moore, a Doctor in the law of *Mahumet*, and withall eloquent in the Arabian tongue, and therefore much eſteemed amongſt all the Affrican Moores, to whom hee imparted the prognoſtication of *Aben Thumert*, intreating him to councell him, and to aſſiſt him in a matter of ſo great importance, aſſuring him that if hee attained to that which hee aſpired, hee would make him the chiefe man amongſt the Arabians, next vnto himſelfe. B

This Doctor who was called *Almohadi*, tickled with the hope of greatneſſe, could finde no better, nor more expedient meanes, then to bring in new ſects, and to make ſome change in religion, knowing that nothing doth more alter and tranſport the hearts of men, then perſwaſion of religion: wherefore he imployed his knowledge and eloquence to interpret *Mahumets Alcaron*, after a ſtrange maner, and neuer heard of among the Arabians, nor any other nations that were his ſectaries: fitting it ſo well to the humors and diſpoſitions of the people, as in a ſhort time hee was followed by the greateſt part of the Affrican Moores, a nation eaſily miſled with ſuperſtition: ſo as if before they tooke *Almohadi* for a holy man, now they held him for a Prophet, ſent vndoubtedly from God. Hee ſeeing this buſineſſe ſucceed ſo well as hee was wellcome throughout all Affrike, and admired of all men, hee beganne to put forth this youngman *Abdelmon*, giuing the people to vnderſtand, that he was of the true and lawfull royall race of their great Prophet *Mahumet*, and that hee was a man ſent of God, endowed with ſuch vertue, as hee ſhould ſubiect all the world to the Law of *Mahumet*; that thoſe great matters had beene diuinely fore-told him, and ſignifyed by the ſtarres and heauenly motions: ſo as by his perſwaſions his fictions were receiued and beleeued of all men. And proceeding farther, he preſumed to ſpeake ſomething againſt King *Alboali*, and the preſent Eſtate and Gouernment of the Almorauides, and ſo by little and little to taxe him openly, declaring with great aſſurance, that *Alboali* was a tyrant, whoſe race had by force and violence expelled out of the royal throne of the Arabians in Affrike the lawfull Princes deſcended from *Aben-Alabecy*, and that the will of God, reuealed and knowne vnto him by many ſignes from heauen, was that *Abdelmon* ſhould bee aduanced and choſen for King: hee who was ſent of God, and deſcended from the royall bloud of their great Prophet *Mahumet*. This Impoſtor did ſo preach vnto them, concurrning with the diuell to bewitch theſe credulous men, giuen to the damnable art of dyuining, as many Noblemen and Knights, with an infynit number of the Affrican people, deſirous of Innouations, according to the mutinous nature of that nation, tooke armes againſt King *Alboali*, beeing accompanied, aſſiſted and councelled by *Abdelmon*, *Aben-Thumert* and *Almohadi*. Whereof the King aduertiſed, meaning to ſuppreſſe theſe great alterations, hee rayſed his forces, and had diuers incounters againſt this new ſect, which carried the name of *Almohades*, by reaſon of their Preacher *Almohadi*. C D E

A new ſect among the Arabians of Affrike.

Auicenna and other learned Arabians.

Wee haue ſayd that ſome were of opinion, that the King *Albo-Ali Aben Tefin*, was hee whom we call *Auicenna* or *Auicenni*, ſaying that the goodly workes which are amongſt vs at this daie, were compiled and written by his commandement, by the foure and twenty great Philoſophers, and publiſhed vnder the name of *Auicenna*. For my part I rather beleeue them which haue written that *Auicenne* or *Auicenna*, called alſo *Albo Hali*, was an excellent man, learned in Philoſophy and Phyſicke, as his rare workes written in the Arabicke tongue doe witneſſe, beeing tranſlated ſince into Latin, who liued in thoſe daies at Cordoua in Spaine, where it ſeemes the Moores had alwaies entertained an vniuerſity of all ſorts of ſciences, with a great concourſe of learned men of their nation; the which had beene alwaies well furniſhed, the Affricans beeing people giuen to contemplation, and of a ſubtill ſpirit: wherefore they haue made Aſtrology famous, and aduanced a ſect of Phyſicke diuerſe from F

that

A that of the Grecians, giuen wonderfully to diuination and coniuring, very ſuperſtitious in matters of religion, and reaſonably eloquent either in verſe or proſe. *Aben Rois* whom wee call *Auerrois* liued and frequented with him, a great Commentator of *Ariſtotle*, who through enuy poyſoned *Auicenna*, who finding it before it had wrought his full effect, cauſed the poyſoner to be ſlain, as *Meſua* and *Zoar* report: for hee was a man of great authority, and of a Princes houſe.

Then alſo liued *Aben-Zoar*, and other great and learned Arabians, which haue written many goodly workes in their owne language, in naturall Phyloſophy, Metaphiſicke, Phyſicke and Aſtrologie, whereof part haue beene preſerued and kept vnto our daies, and ſome loſt. If theſe were Moores borne in Spaine, it
B redoundes to the honour of the countrie: but it is doubtfull whether they came out of Affrike.

Caſtile.

The Moores Eſtate beeing thus troubled in Affrike, it mooued the Chriſtian Princes to make ſome gallant attempt vpon them of Spaine: wherefore the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* beganne in the yeere of our Lord 1146. to raiſe a great army of his ſubiects of Caſtille, Toledo, Leon and other countries, and to make the Chriſtians armes of greater force, hee laboured to make a peace betwixt the King of Nauarre, and D. *Raymond* Prince of Arragon, for the effecting wherof hee called them to Saint *Stephano de Gormas*, whither beeing come, hee could not obtaine any thing of them,
C but a truce for ſome few daies. There notwithſtanding they treated of the warre againſt the Moores, in the which theſe two Princes ayded the Emperour: the King of Nauarre by land, and the Earle of Barcelone by ſea, who hauing armed ſome ſhips, and giuen the charge thereof to D. *Galceran* great Admiral of Cattelogne, and to the Earle of Vrgel, hee cauſed them to ioyne with the Geneuois, who either for pay, or voluntarily in hope of ſome gaine, came to this warre, and there did great ſeruice. The land army was great and well furniſhed with good and valiant Knights, the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, and the King D. *Garcia Ramires* beeing there in perſon, their entrie into Andaluſia was ſo fearefull, as approching and comming neere vnto Cordoua, with a ſhew to beſiege it, that great and well
D peopled cittie, which had beene the Queene of Spaine for ſo many yeares, was yeelded vnto him by the Gouernour *Aben Gami*, who preſented him the keyes with great humilitie, not attending either aſſault or batterie; into the which the Chriſtian Princes entred in armes, but very peaceably, in the yeare 1147. Yet the Spaniards write, that for that the towne was of too great a guard, and wonderfully peopled, it was left in fee to *Aben-Gami* himſelfe, who did homage to the King of Caſtile, the which is very doubtfull, conſidering the importance of the place, and the conſequence thereof. We may beleeue that the Emperour aſſured himſelfe after another manner, and with better caution then the faith of this Mooore, who (they ſay) ſware vpon their Alchoran, to bee his faithfull vaſſall: from thence the armie marched towards Baeça, the which beeing
E inueſted, they had newes that the Moores came to ſuccour it: wherefore the Emperor going to meet them, he fought with them, and had the victorie, and afterwards tooke the towne by compoſition; where leauing a ſufficient garriſon to aſſure the countrey behind his armie, he marched on to Almerie, a towne vpon the Mediterranean ſea, which at this day belongs to Granado, much frequented of Merchants of diuers nations. There he found the ſea armie of Count *Raymond*, and the galleys of Genoua, which had alreadie attempted it, vnder the command of *Anſaldo Doria*, *Vbert Torre*, and other captaines of that common-weale. This place was ſo furiouſly battered both by ſea and land, as it was taken by force: yet the Moores beeing retired into a part of the cittie of good ſtrength, they were taken to ranſome, from whom they drew great ſums of mony.

Cordoua yeelded to the king of Caſtile.

Baeſa taken from the Moores.

Almerie taken by force.

F They ſay, that at this prize, that great and ineſtimable Emeraud without peere, was taken, the which is at this day at Genoua, and was giuen vnto them for their part of the bootie, and in recompence of the great ſeruice they had done there. Yet many beleeue, that the Geneuois brought it out of Paleſtina, from the towne of Ceſarea, at which ſeege they were employed. The ſpoyle & ſacke of this place was diuided betwixt the

Emeraud of ineſtimable price.

the Caſtillans, Nauarrois, Geneuois, and the ſubiects of the Earle D. *Raymond*. This is all which was done in that voyage, from whence euery one retired into his countrey rich, ſome by land, ſome by ſea. The King Don *Garcia Ramires* accompanied his father-in-law into Caſtile, where he remayned, with great tranquilitie and content, the reſt of that yeare. A

Councell at Rheims.

If the Chriſtian affaires in Spaine ſucceeded well againſt the Moores, thoſe in Syria declined much: wherupon a Councell was held at Rheims, vnder Pope *Eugenius* the 3. to reſolue vpon ſome meanes, to ſupport the eſtate of the Kings of Ieruſalem, by ſome ayde from the Princes of Europe. Thither went D. *Raymond*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine: who paſſing by Saint *Denis* in France, obſerued in a chappell an Inſcription of this tenour: *Here lyes Saint Eugenius the Martyr, the firſt Archbiſhop of Toledo.* B

Beeing returned, he reported vnto the Church what he had found, whereof the Emperor Don *Alphonſo*, and the Kings children were aduertiſed, who together with all the people were exceeding glad: for ſince the death of this holy man, they could not learne where his body lay. Beeing thus found, they of Toledo procured means to haue one of his armes, from king *Lewis* the young. It was a remarkable act of Religion in the Archbiſhop Don *Raymond* in his voyage to Rheims: In our time King *Philippe* obtayned from *Charles* the ninth, the French King, and from *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine, and Abbot of Saint *Denis*, the reſt of the bodie (as they ſay) of this Martyr, the which was brought to his Church of Toledo, where he had gouerned, *Domitian* beeing then Emperour at Rome: for they did not know him much in France, neither did it ſerue to any purpoſe, amidſt the ciuill, or rather vnciuill warres, growne for matter of Religion. C

Arragon and Barcelone.

D. *Raymond Berenger* beeing returned into Cattelogne, hauing the Geneuois army ready, and at his commandement, he employed it againſt the towne of Tortoſe which was held by the Moores, the which he beſeeged both by ſea and land: at which ſeege the Earle left D. *William Raymond* of Moncada, Seneſhall of Cattelogne, for his Lieutenant generall, whileſt that he made a voyage to Barcelone, to pacifie ſome ſeditions which were riſen in that cittie. Such was the diligence of the Seneſhall and Geneuois, as by the 30. day of the ſeege, after many ſharpe aſſaults giuen and valiantly defended, the towne was taken, and ſoone after D. *Pedro de Semenate* arriuing with freſh ſupplies, the caſtell was alſo taken: the Geneuois had their part of the ſpoyle, for the good ſeruices they had done vnto the Earle. And the Authours of the Arragon Hiſtorie write, that a third part of the towne was giuen in fee to the Seneſhall D. *William Raymond* of Moncado, and another third part to the common-weale of Genoua, which portion was afterwards redeemed by the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, for 16000. Marauidis Maroquins, a kind of mony which was then currant, leauing vnto the Geneuois the Iland of Saint *Laurence*, and granting vnto all the Inhabitants of the citty of Genoua, and of the iuriſdiction (the which was limited by Porto venere towards the Eaſt, and by Monaco, vppon the Weſt, along the ſea ſhore) exemption of all Impoſts and cuſtomes, *Henrico Guercio*, *Marin Moro*, *William Luſio*, and others, beeing then Gouernours of the Common weale. D

Tortoſe taken by the Arragonois.

E

Warre betwixt Nauarre and Arragon.

Whileſt the Earle was buſie at this warre, the King of Nauarre brake the truce made at Saint *Eſtienne de Gormas*: for that the King Don *Garcia* hauing cauſed the Emperour Don *Alphonſo*, and other Noblemen and Prelates, to perſwade and adiſe the Earle, to relinquiſh the pretenſions, which hee vaunted to haue to the Realme of Nauarre, hee would not do it, but threatened to pourſue it, when oportunitie ſerued: wherefore the Nauarrois did ouer-runne the Countrey of Arragon, and tooke the Towns of Thauſte and Fayos, where they put good Garriſons, to ſerue as a frontier againſt the Arragonois. F

Portugal.

It is no wonder, if in all theſe attempts of the Chriſtian Princes in Spaine, againſt the Moores, the new King of Portugall did not ioyne with the reſt: for that hee was in diſgrace and out of fauour with the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, who held him as an vſurper of the Eſtate of D. *Thereſa* his mother: and moreouer, of the title of a king, in a

Prouince

A Prouince which was ſubiect to the Soueraigntie of Leon. King D. *Alphonſo Henriques* hauing liued now 52. yeares without a wife, he married in the yeare 1146. D. *Malfada Manrique de Lara*, daughter to the Earle D. *Manrique*, Lord of Molina, a great Noble-man of Caſtile, by whom he had one ſonne named D. *Sancho*, who ſucceeded him in the Realme of Portugall, and the Infanta D. *Vrraca*, who was married firſt to D. *Fernand* the 2. of that name, King of Leon and Gallicia, and from them iſſued D. *Alphonſo* king of the ſame Realmes, father to the king D. *Fernand* the 3. of Caſtile and Leon: a marriage notwithſtanding which was broken, by reaſon of their proximitie of bloud, and for that they were married without a diſpenſation. King D. *Alphonſo Henriques* had another daughter by D. *Malfada*, called D. *Thereſa*, maried to *Philip* Earle of Flanders, B the firſt of that name, and one called *Malfada*, as the mother. Beſides theſe lawfull children, the King of Portugall had one baſtard before he was married, whom they called D. *Pedro Alphonſo* of Portugall. Soone after his marriage, beeing importuned by the continuall complaints of his ſubiects, for the ſpoyles which the Moores of Saint *Iren* committed in his countrie, he reſolued to beſeege that place, but he preuailed more by policie, then happily he ſhould haue done by open force: for marching thither in the night, after that he had made a vow (paſſing by that place where as now ſtands the royall monaſterie of *Alcouaça*) to build a Monaſterie there if his enterpriſe ſucceeded well: it fell out according to his deſire, for he put his men ſecretly into the towne, beeing ill guarded, without diſcouerie, and tooke it in the yeare 1147. on Saint *Michaels* day, put- C ting all that reſiſted to the ſword, and taking many priſoners. Beeing returned to Coimbra, and hauing giuen thankes vnto God for the fauour which he had done him, hee performed his vow, and built the Monaſterie of *Alcouaça*, where he placed Monkes of the Order of *Ciſteaux*, for the loue of Saint *Bernard*, who liued in thoſe times. After this conqueſt, ſeeing that the Miralmumin of Affricke and Spaine, was much troubled to defend himſelfe againſt the faction of the Almohades, he followed his good fortune, and tooke from the Moores the caſtell of Mafra, where he placed D. *Fernand* of Montezo for Gouernor, who in ſucceſſion of time was great Maſter of the Order of *Auis*, of the profeſſion of S. *Benet*, which had its beginning during the life of this king of Portugall. Hee tooke alſo from them the caſtell of Sintra, and from thence came to lay D ſeege to Lisbone, where he was aſſiſted by many knights of France, England, & Flanders, which came by ſea, and landed at Caſcais, then came they & camped where as the Monaſterie of S. *Francis* was ſince built, the Kings armie beeing lodged where as Saint *Vincent* now ſtands: which places were then without the circuit of the citty wals. The cittie was ſo preſt by theſe forces, as after many dangerous aſſaults, it was taken, the Chriſtians entring by the port of Alfama, the 25. of October 1147. the ſeege hauing continued fiue whole moneths. Many Knights and other ſtrangers, which were come to this warre, deſirous to employ themſelues continually againſt the Infidels, enemies of our faith, vowed neuer to returne into their countries, but to remaine in Portugall; who by the kings permiſſion inhabited there, and peopled Almada, Villeuerda, Arruda, E Zambuja, Caſtagrera, Lourinhan, Ville franche, and other places. This cittie of Liſbone, which ſince hath beene the chiefe of Portugall, and the ornament of Spaine, was purged by the biſhops from the impieties of *Mahumet*, and their great Moſquee made a Cathedrall church, where as one *Gilbert* a ſtranger, but of a holy life, was made biſhop: and the king cauſed the Monaſterie of S *Vincent* to be built in the ſame place where he had camped. By means of this important conqueſt, the king took alſo from the Mores, Alanguer, Obidos, Torreſuedras, and many other places, ſo as he diſpoſſeſt them in this warre, of all the countrie which is called Extremadura, and paſſing Tayo, he extended his limits, conquering Acaçar de Sal, Ebora, Yelbes, Moura, Serpa, & vnto Veja, where he put the Moores which defended it to the ſword, for that during this ſeege, other Moores hauing taken the towne of Troncoſo, had vnpeopled it, and chaſed away all F the Chriſtians that were within it.

Genealogie of the Moores.

S. Iren taken frō the Mores.

Lisbone taken frō the Mores.

King D. *Alphonſo Henriques* did theſe goodly exploits, whilſt that the Arabians were at war among themſelues, by reaſon of the factions of the Almorauides and Almohades, the which was continued with ſuch animoſitie, as after many routes of either part

Moores.

on

on the one ſide the followers of *Abdelmon*, and his companions *Aben-Thumert*, and A
Almohadi, not ceaſing to vrge the new interpretation of the law of *Mahumet*, and to perſwade the Affricans to pourſue the race of the Almorauides, as tyrannous, and detayning the Soueraigntie of the Arabians vniuſtly: and on the other ſide, *Albo-Ali Aben Teſin* defending the royall Soueraigntie couragiouſly, which he had receiued from his predeceſſors, in the end the chiefe forces of both factions incountring in a bloudie battell, the Almorauides were vanquiſhed, and their King *Albohali* ſlaine vppon the place: and the victors neuer ceaſed, vntill they had ruined all the contrarie faction, the ſoueraigne command remayning to the Almohades: ſo as *Abdelmon* was choſen Miralmumin and king, in the yeare of our redemption 1147. and of the Arabians Empire, 530. the Almorauides Moores hauing raigned in Affricke about 79. yeares, and B
55. in Spaine. The troubles of Affricke, not preſently pacified, did ſo buſie the new king *Abdelmon*, as he had no meanes to prouide for the affaires of Spaine, vntill the yeare 1150. during which time the Chriſtian kings had leyſure to do theſe exploytes.

End of Almorauides raigne in Affrick, and the beginning of the Almohades.

Arragon and Barcelone.

Beſide the which, it is found, that *D. Raymond Berenger* wonne the ſtrong townes of Lerida and Fraga, and D. *Armingol* Earle of Vrgel, thoſe of Alquarra, Tamarit, Litera and others. D. *Raymond Berenger* changed the Biſhoprickes of Roda and Barbaſtro to Lerida, with the Popes approbation, the firſt Prelat was D. *William Pedro de Rayeta*. This Prince of Cattelogne beeing no leſſe deuout to Monkes then others of his time, gaue vnto the Monaſterie of Eſcala Dei, the towne of Alma in perpetuitie, whereas the Monaſterie of Oliue was built. Hee intitled himſelfe then Prince of Arragon, Earle of Barcelone, and Marquis of Tortoſe. C

Nauarre.

An. 1150.

In the yeare 1150. D. *Garcia* king of Nauarre died, a Prince endowed with royal vertues. Beeing prouoked by the daily mutinies of the Inhabitants of Pampelone, to ſuppreſſe and puniſh them, he went thitherward from Eſtelle, and by the way ſtayed ſome little time at Lorca to hunt: as he galloped through the woods and mountaines, his horſe ſtumbling, fell with him in a narrow ſtonie place, ſo as the king brake his leg, and withall was ſo bruſed, as he dyed (paſt all cure) vpon the place, hauing raigned ſixteene yeares and ſome dayes. His body was carried to Pampelone, and interred in the Cathedrall Church with a royall pompe, beeing the firſt of the kings of Nauarre, which had bin buried there: D. *Sancho* his ſon ſucceeded him, the ſeuenth of that name, ſurnamed the Wiſe. D

Arragon and Barcelone.

This yeare D. *Raymond Berenger* continued to annoy the reſt of the Moores, whom he chaſed quite out of all the countrie which lyes betwixt Lerida and Sarragoſſe, hauing diſpoſſeſt them of the forts of Aytona Seros, and Mechinenſa: this was when the Almohades began to ſhew themſelues in Spaine.

Caſtile.

The marriage betwixt *Lewis* the French King, called the young, and Don *Iſabella*, daughter to the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, and of D. *Berenguela*, ſiſter to the Earle D. *Raymond*, was then treated of. Beeing concluded, ſome put a conceipt in the Kings head, that D. *Iſabella* was a baſtard: wherefore he came in perſon into Spaine, vnder colour to go to Saint *Iames*, but it was in truth to informe himſelfe of the birth of D. *Iſabella*, and to ſee her, where he found that ſhe was the lawfull daughter of D. E
Alphonſo Raymond, and of D. *Berenguela* his wife. In this voyage king *Lewis* was receiued in the cittie of Burgos, the royall ſeate of Caſtille, with all the honors fit for ſuch a king, who in his returne came to Toledo, where as he found the King or Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, and with him the Earle of Barcelone, accompanied with a good number of his Knights of Cattelogne to honour theſe kings. It was this king *Lewis*, who had put away *Elenor* Dutcheſſe of Guienne, and Counteſſe of Poictiers, who married with *Henry* king of England, which was the cauſe of long warres in France.

Arragon and Barcelone.

The yeare following 1151. for as much as the towne of Tarragone was not wel peopled, it may be, for that it did belong vnto the Archbiſhop and the Clergie, and that feare of the Moores which were neere, kept the people in thoſe places which were com- F
manded by martiall men. The Archbiſhop D. *Bernard Cord*, made ceſſion againe of the ſayd Towne vnto the Earle D. *Raymond*, reſigning it into his hands, with the permiſſion of Pope *Eugenius* the third, and with the conſent of the Chapter and Biſhops Suffragans

ganes of the Church. Don *Raymond* put it inſtantly into the hands of a Knight called *Robert*, and did inueſt him with a title of Principalitie. The ſame yeare his wife D. *Petronille*, Queene of Arragon, was brought in bed of her ſonne Don *Raymond*, whoſe name, after the deceaſe of his father, was changed to Don *Alphonſo*, and hee inherited the Realme of Arragon, and Principalitie of Cattelogne. This deliuerie was ſo dangerous, as the Queene reſoluing to dye, made her will, and inſtituted her after-birth for her heire, and the Earle his father for Gouernour of his Eſtates: but God deliuered her, and ſent her health, after which ſhee had Don *Sancho*, who was Earle of Rouſſillon and of Cerdagne: and two daughters, D. *Aldonça* the eldeſt, married to *Sancho* the firſt of that name, and ſecond King of Portugall, the other was wife to Don *Armingol*, Earle of Vrgel. After Queene *Petronilles* lying in, Don *Raymond* cleanſing the reſt of the Countrie which lyes betwixt Sarragoſſa and Tortoſa of Moores, hee tooke from them the Caſtell of Mirauet. A little before D. *Berenguela* Queene of Caſtile was deceaſed, who deſired to be interred at Saint *Iames*, for the great opinion ſhe had of the Apoſtles interceſſion, as ſhe had beene inſtructed by her Prelates.

Genealogie of Arragon.

D. Sancho the ſeuenth of that name, the 20. King of Nauarre.

Nauarre.

18 D. *Sancho*, ſurnamed the Wiſe, ſonne to D. *Garcia*, beeing come to the Crowne of Nauarre, hee made an Aſſembly and enteruiew of Princes at Tudele, neere vnto Aigues-chaudes, whither came the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, and his ſonne Don *Sancho* King of Caſtile, and D. *Raymond Berenger* Prince of Arragon: where they conſpired againſt the new King of Nauarre, and ſet downe many Articles concerning the warre, as the Emperour and Earle had done ſome yeare before. Among others they agreed, That the Realme of Nauarre ſhould be conquered at their common charge, and diuided equally betwixt them, except the forts which the Nauarrois held, belonging to the Crowne of Arragon, the which ſhould be re-united. As for the towne of Tudele, the Iuriſdiction ſhould be diuided, the moitie thereof entring into that portion of the lands which lye from Ebro to Montcajo: and that for one halfe of the Realme of Nauarre, which the Earle ſhould enioy, he ſhould, as Gouernour of Arragon, do homage to the King of Caſtille. That by Saint *Michels* day next enſuing, the Infant Don *Sancho* ſhould take vnto him D. *Blanche* the Infanta of Nauarre, to marry her, or (if he thought good) to leaue her. Theſe and ſuch other like conditions were concluded betwixt theſe Princes, to the ruine of the young King D. *Sancho* of Nauarre, and of his Eſtates, if God had not preſerued him. With this reſolution the Caſtillan and Arragonois parted from Tudele, and went euery one into his Countrie, to giue order for that which was needfull for the warres, thinking that their enemie, who was but a child, could not defend himſelfe againſt ſo great forces: but God had otherwiſe decreed, and confounded all their practiſes. Soone after D. *Pedro a' Athares* dyed, who had fayled to bee King of Nauarre and Arragon, the founder of the Monaſterie of S. *Mary* of Veruela, where he was interred.

The Nauarrois doubting ſome practiſe againſt their Prince, in this Aſſembly of Tudele, were very carefull to fortifie their frontier places, and to renew the allyances of the houſe of Nauarre, with the French king, and other Noblemen of that nation. The young king D. *Sancho* was crowned after the death of his father, in the Church of Pampelone, where he ſware to obſerue the lawes and ſtatutes of the Countrie, which were the ſame which they call at this day the lawe of Arragon, according to the which Nauarre, Guipuſcoa, and the places ioyning to Nauarre, were then gouerned. Saint *Sebaſtian*, which was at that time a place of great trafficke, had priuiledges granted by him, and ſo had the Towne of Durando in Biſcaye. They ſurnamed this king the Sage, for that in truth he was a wiſe and a diſcreet Prince, and for his valour and courage hee

was

was called by ſome, Valiant. Hee had ſome knowledge of learning, honored learned A
men, and was ſtudious of the Scriptures, as the vſe was in thoſe times, and ſhewed himſelfe a great Iuſticer: for all which vertues he was much eſteemed by other Princes, and was honoured, feared, and loued of his ſubiects. The armies of the league made at Tudele, beganne to annoy him at his firſt entrance, and did him ſome harme vppon his fronters, yet he did not looſe any place of importance: for although hee were very young, yet he was of an actiue ſpirit, and a noble courage, and was well and faithfully aſſiſted by his allies, and ſerued by the Nauarrois. The warre was hotteſt in the valley of Roncall; but there is no mention, that either in that yeare, or in the others following, there was any memorable exployt done, and they hold that *Lewis* the French king, B
who had beene a great friend to Don *Garcia* his deceaſed father, did wonderfully croſſe
French king fauours the king of Nauarre. the enterpriſes of the League, and hindred them all he could, beeing either vppon his treatie of marriage, or elſe newly married to Dona *Iſabella* Infanta of Caſtile, in fauour of which allyance the Emperour D. *Alphonſo* did deſiſt from that warre, or did neglect it, and Don *Sancho* his ſonne, King of Caſtile, (who had his choice to marrie
Genealogie of Caſtile. D. *Blanche*, or to leaue her) married her, and had a ſonne by her at the end of the yeare called D. *Alphonſo*, who was king of Caſtile and Toledo, after the father. Some hold that the marriage of king *Lewis* with D. *Iſabella*, was after all this, in the yeare 1154. and that the King of Nauarre came to Burgos, to the celebration thereof, the which was admired by the French, for the exceeding pompe.

The Countrie of Nagera was then one of the chief gouernments of Caſtile, for the C
Gouernour thereof was Captaine generall of the fronter towards Nauarre. The Infant Don *Sancho* who was called king of Caſtile, did enioy thoſe lands, and had a Lieutenant called *Roderigo Pelaes*, a wiſe Knight. About that time died D. *Roderigo Gomes*, ſonne to Don *Gomes* of Candeſpina, one of the greateſt Noblemen in Caſtile, whoſe Tombe is yet to be ſeene in the Cloyſter of Saint *Sauiour* of Ogna: and the towne of Surita was peopled with Chriſtians Muſarabes, which came out of Calatajub, Sarragoſſa, and other parts of Arragon.

Arragon. The Earle Don *Raymond Berenger* ſought all meanes poſſible to ſeaze vppon Nauarre, ſo deſirous he was to ioyne it vnto Arragon: importuning the Emperour Don D
Alphonſo continually, to declare himſelfe an open enemie to D. *Sancho*, ſo as in the
1156. yeare 1156. there was a new League made betwixt them, to vndertake this warre: where among other Articles, for the better fortifying of their friendſhip, there was a future marriage concluded betwixt Don *Raymond*, the young Infant of Arragon, who was afterwards called Don *Alphonſo*, and D. *Sancha* daughter to the Emperour Don *Alphonſo*, by his ſecond wife. Dona *Rica*, daughter to *Vladiſlaus* king of Pologne, whom he had married in the yeare, 1151. yet they could neuer perſwade the Emperour Don *Alphonſo* to hurt the king of Nauarre, whom he loued: but rather aſſiſted him vnderhand. The ſame League was renued at Toledo, in the yeare 1157. after Don *Raymonds* returne out of Prouence. The occaſion of which voyage was to defend his Nephew, E
heire to his Brother Don *Berenger Raymond*, who (beeing in a manner diſpoſſeſt of his Eſtate by the enemies of their houſe, which had ſlaine his father in an incounter) had need of his ayde. Hee repulſed the young Earles enemies, aſſured his Eſtates, and brought him into Cattelogne, there to bee brought vp. And for that in thoſe troubles of Prouence, the Knights and Commanders of Saint *Iohn* of Hieruſalem, (who were growne mercenarie in theſe Chriſtian warres) did intermeddle, hee gaue them large reuenues in Cattelogne. After the renewing of this League, we find no mention of any worthie act done by this earle, but that hee debaucht ſome faithleſſe and trecherous Knights, which fled out of Nauarre and Arragon; yea one of the greateſt called *Garcia Almoraust*, who came vnto him to Lerida, and there made himſelfe his vaſſall, F
and receiued from the Earle the title of Lord of Ronceuaux, Vrros, and Obanos, which were not in his power: wherefore it is to be preſumed, that from that time hee ſought to gouerne his Eſtates peaceably, ſeeing he could not get the Crowne of Nauarre: and with this deſire he ended his dayes, after all his vaine attempts againſt this Kingdome. Soone after this laſt aſſembly at Toledo, the king of Caſtile was ingaged in

warre

A warre againſt the Moores of Andaluſia, which made him perchance neglect that of Nauarre, beſides he did not greatly affect it.

19 The troubles of Affricke beeing paſt, as we haue ſayd, *Abdelmon* eſtabliſhed Miralmumin of the Arabians, and the Almohades in credit by the ruine of the Almorauides. The Preacher *Almohadi* would alſo haue the Moores of Spaine ſubmit themſelues to this yoake: wherefore leauing *Aben Thumert* the Aſtrologian at Maroc, hee paſt with *Abdelmon* into Spaine, with great numbers of ſouldiers, beeing puſt vp with pride by their late victorie againſt their enemies. They found no great reſiſtance there: for the pettie Kings and Gouernors of Prouinces and townes in Spaine, beeing preſt by the Chriſtians, and too weake to make head againſt them, ſeeing the race of the B Almorauides of Affricke extinct, from whom they might haue expected ſome ſuccors, they ſought nothing more then ſupport, to maintaine themſelues in their authoritie, and greatneſſe, which is moſt commonly the chiefe god of great men of this world, and therefore as men which regarded not Religion, but for a colour, and for their owne priuate commodities: ſo as leauing the interpretation of the *Alcaron*, they embraced the new doctrine of *Almohadi*, without any oppoſition, thinking to preſerue themſelues by that meanes. And as this Impoſtor did vomit foorth greater blaſphemies and impieties, then his Predeceſſors had done againſt the true Religion, they became violent and furious perſecutors of the Chriſtians: ſo as the poore Muſarabes, who had had ſome peace of conſcience, liuing among the Moores, and had there exerciſed their religion, without any violence done vnto them for many yeares, were in great perplexi- C tie, beeing now perſecuted by theſe new Sectaries of *Almohadi*, both in their perſons and goods, with all kind of rigor: for that they would not yeeld to their ſuperſtitions: ſo as either by the reuolts, or by death, or by the continuall flying away of theſe poore people, all the townes of Spaine which were held by the Moores, were vnpeopled of Chriſtians, who for aboue 400. yeares had preſerued themſelues, inuoking (though with little knowledge) the name of Ieſus Chriſt. The gouernement of the Almohades in Spaine, continued in *Abdelmon* and his ſucceſſors 52. yeares, vntill that notable battle in the fields of Tholouſa, called by another name of the mountaines of Muradal, or of Vbeda. *Abdelmon* hauing aſpired to that which he pretended, held his royall ſeate in D the cittie of Maroc, and ſhewed himſelf a profitable Prince, and pleaſing to the Mores, notwithſtanding that he was a Potters ſonne, and for his chiefe Councellors, the Aſtrologian *Aben Thumert*, and the Preacher *Almohadi*, who dying within few months after this conqueſt, was by the commandement of King *Abdelmon*, buried with pompe and royall honours in a ſumptuous Tombe, neare vnto the cittie of Maroc, whereas ſince the fooliſh multitude, holding him to be ſome great Prophet, and a meſſenger of God, made prayers and vowes in all their neceſſities: as amongſt the Chriſtians they had recourſe vpon all occaſions, to the ſepulchers (either true or fained) of Apoſtles, holy Confeſſors and Martyrs of the name of Ieſus Chriſt. This paſſage of the Almohades, bred a great alteration in Spaine, whereas many Moores which held their coun- E tries in fee and homage of Chriſtian Princes reuolted.

Moores.

Change of Religion among the Arabians in Spaine.

Chriſtians perſecuted by the Moores in Spaine.

The Emperour D. *Alphonſo* led firſt an armie of Chriſtians againſt this new Eſtate, in the yeare 1157. beeing accompanied by his two ſons, D. *Sancho*, and D. *Fernand*, who had the titles of Kings: in Andaluſia he recouered the towne of Baeça, which had beene loſt, and tooke Queſada and Arcdujar. But he did not long enioy this victorie with his ſubiects, for bringing backe his armie towards Toledo, hee fell ſuddenly ſicke, the which (as he paſt the mountaine or ſtreight of Muradal) did ſo increaſe, as hee was forced to light at a place called Freſnedas, where he dyed in the armes of D. *Iohn* Archbiſhop of Toledo, and of his ſonne D. *Fernand*: D. *Sancho* remayning behind to guard thoſe places which he had newly conquered. Hee was a worthie Prince, but too ambi- F tious, a great fauourer and benefactor of the Clergie, a friend to the people, and a ſeuere puniſher of the inſolencies of great men: of whom the Spaniards write this Hiſtorie. That a certaine Gentleman called D. *Fernand* in Gallicia, hauing taken away a poore labourers goods, for which wrong he could haue no iuſtice from the ordinarie Magiſtrate of the country, ſo as he came to the Emperor beeing at Toledo, where ha-

Caſtile. Death of the Emperor D. Alphonſo.

uing watched his oportunitie, he caſt himſelfe at his feet, making knowne vnto him the violence which had beene done him by D. *Fernand*, and demanded Iuſtice: The Emperour did not diſdaine this poore man, but beeing duly informed of the fact, he ſent vnto the Gouernour, and *Merino* Maior of Gallicia, commanding them to cauſe reſtitution to be made preſently vnto the Labourer, of all that he ſhould find had beene taken from him, but the Gentleman would not obey any commaund, neither durſt the Iudge force him, either fearing to diſpleaſe him, or elſe wanting meanes to conſtraine him: whereof the Emperor beeing aduertiſed, hee parted from Toledo, to come into Gallicia, where hauing made diligent inquirie of D. *Fernands* fact, and of his diſobedience and contumacie, he cauſed his houſe to be enuironed; where being taken, he commanded he ſhould be hanged before his owne gate; for a warning to others to liue vprightly and in peace with their neighbors, & not to contemne Iuſtice nor their Prince. A noble act and worthie imitation. He had raigned king and emperour 35. yeares: his bodie was carried to Toledo, and interred in the royall chappell of that Church. His Eſtates were diuided after his death, as hath beene ſayd, betwixt his two ſons D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernand*.

D. Sancho the ſixth King of Caſtile.

Caſtile and Leon diuided.

20 THe Realmes of Caſtile & Toledo, were then diſ-united from Leon and Galicia, in the yeare 1157. D. *Sancho* being aduertiſed of his fathers death, he parted ſuddenly from Baeça, and came to Toledo to his funerall. A Prince who did nothing degenerate from the vertues of his Anceſtors, yea did rather exceed them, but he raigned little.

D. Fernand, the 28. King of Leon.

Leon.

21 HIs brother D. *Fernand*, neither attending his comming, nor the performance of his funerals, departed preſently, and went to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdomes of Leon and Galicia, according to the fathers will, which diuiſion was a great cauſe of ciuill warres, to the preiudice and diſhonour of the Chriſtians name in Spaine: wherefore great Monarkes ſhould be warned by theſe examples, (which are ordinarie in Hiſtories) neuer to diſmember their Monarchies, but to employ all their ſpirits and wiſedome, to continue it ſtill vnited, although they leaue many children, leauing the Soueraigne authoritie ouer the reſt, vnto him whom the lawes and cuſtomes do call.

Nauarre.

D. *Fernand* beeing receiued and ſetled in his Realmes of Leon and Galicia, hee began to intreate his Nobilitie ill, & among others he diſpoſſeſt one of the chiefe knights of Leon called D. *Pedro Ponce de Minerua*, of his lands and goods, who for this cauſe came into Caſtile, to beſeech the King D. *Sancho*, to mediate his reſtitution, and to bring him againe into fauour with the king his brother. But it falling out at that time, that Don *Sancho* the wiſe king of Nauarre, beeing aduertiſed of the death of the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*, had made certaine roades into Caſtile almoſt vnto Burgos, for that D. *Sancho* had alwaies ſigned the Leagues which the Earle of Barcelone had made againſt his father and him, with the Emperour D. *Alphonſo*: and moreouer, detayned from him Nagera, and the lands vpon the riuer of Oja, this knight was entertained by the king of Caſtile, who imployed him in this warre of Nauarre, and made him head of an armie, which he ſent vnto the fronters, by the riuers of Oja, which hauing incountred that of Nauarre neere to Bagnares, they came to battaile in the fields of Valpierre neere to S. *Aſſentio*. In the Nauarrois Armie D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Earle of Biſcay, led the foreward: Count *Ladron* of Gueuara had charge of the rereward, with the Earle D. *Sancho* of Larrinacar, *Inigo Ramires d'Aiuar*, with other, and the king the battaile. On the other ſide, the Earle D. *Pedro Ponce* had ordered his men as well, and were more in number: wherefore comming to fight, although in the beginning the Nauarrois ſeemed to haue the better, yet were they defeated, and forced to ſaue themſelues in the next forts,

The

A The king D. *Sancho* had this route for that he was too haſtie to fight and would not attend the ſuccours of horſe and foote, which came out of France; which beeing arriued, and deſirous to wipe out this blemiſh and infamie, they charged the Caſtillans, which gaue them battaile againe in the ſame fields of Valpierre, and defeated them.

Battell of Valpierre.

Theſe things are written in ſome Hiſtories, but not allowed nor credited by other Spaniſh Authors: for that they inſert ſome things which haue ſmall probabilitie, and others that are meere fictions. Whereas they ſay, that Don *Pedro Ponce de Minerua*, vſed a ſtrange liberalitie to priſoners, both Nauarrois and French, ſetting them all free without any ranſome, which is not probable: and they alſo affirme, that D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre dyed in the firſt battayle, the which is reprooued by other Authors, and by B the letters and titles which are yet extant, witneſſing that he liued aboue 37. yeares after: by theſe reaſons, whatſoeuer is written of theſe two victories may iuſtly bee ſuſpected.

Arragon.

That which is written of the Earle Don *Raymond Berenger*, Prince and Gouernour of Arragon, is more authenticke: that burning with deſire to haue the Realme of Nauarre, he did ſolicite D. *Sancho* King of Caſtile to declare himſelfe with him, and that they two ioyning their forces together, ſhould ſet vpon the King of Nauarre: and that in the yeare 1158. D. *Raymond* came againe into Caſtile, accompanied with a great number of Prelates and Knights, to renue their League, yet without any effect for Caſtile, for this aſſembly and enterview paſt not without great contention, for that Don C *Raymond Berenger* refuſed to do homage vnto the King of Caſtille, for the townes of Sarragoſſa and Calatajub: but in the end he was forced to acknowledge himſelfe his vaſſall in that regard, with a bond to come to Court, and to aſſiſt at the coronation of the Kings of Caſtile, to carrie the royall ſword before them at thoſe ceremonies. As for the Earle D. *Pedro Ponce de Minerua*, and other Noblemen which were in the like perplexitie, the beſt Spaniſh Authors ſay, that the king D. *Sancho* tooke the paines to goe himſelfe in perſon with them into Leon, to reconcile them to the King D. Fernand his brother, who came in a peacefull manner, to meete him as farre as Sahagun, receiued him honorably, with great ſhewes of loue, and reſtored theſe Noblemen to their goods and honours; yea he augmented them by his bountie, in fauour of the King D. D *Sancho*, to whom he carried ſo great honour and reſpect, as he offered to acknowledge to hold of him (as his vaſſall) his Realmes of Leon and Galicia; the which D. *Sancho* would not accept, ſaying, *God forbid, that the ſon of ſo great a Prince as the Emperor* Don Alphonſo *was, ſhould euer acknowledge to hold his land of any.* In the end after great feaſts and ioy, theſe two Kings parted good friends.

Caſtile.

The king D. *Sancho* being returned to Toledo, hee had newes that the Moores were gone to field, & came with a great power to beſeege Calatraua, a fort of great importance vpon the frontier, the which did then belong vnto the knights of the temple; who amazed at the brute of this ſeege, did ſo diſtruſt their owne ſtrength to defend it, E as they deliuered it into the kings hands, to the end he ſhould ſend Captaines and ſouldiers to reſiſt the Moores. The king hauing receiued it into his protection, and meaning to prouide for it, he found himſelfe much troubled: for there was not any one that preſented himſelfe to take this charge, but they all drew backe and excuſed themſelues, fearing the great power which was ſaid the Mores had. In the end God inſpired the hearts of two religious men of the Order of *Ciſteaux*, who offered vnto the king, that if it pleaſed him to giue them that place in gard, they would defend it like honeſt men. One of theſe religious men was Friar *Raymond*, Abbot of the Monaſterie of S. *Mary de Hitero*, vpon the riuer of Piſuerga, in the Dioceſſe of Palence, not of Hilero in Nauarre, which was not then built: the other was one of his Monkes, called *Diego Velaſco*, who had caried armes long before he became a religious man of that Order. The offer was pleaſing vnto the King, but more to D. *Iohn* Archbiſhop of Toledo, for that the lands of his F Dioceſſe ſhould be firſt annoyed by the entry of the Moores to Calatraua: wherefore this Prelate by preaching and publike exhortations, began to commend this Abbot D. *Raymond*, and to incourage all men to aſſiſt him, ſo as in a ſhort time hee was followed by a great number of Nobilitie and other ſouldiers, ſome thruſt on to winne honour,

ſome mooued with zeale to defend the Chriſtian Religion againſt the inuaſion of In- A
fidels, and ſome with ſhame. The king, the Archbiſhop, the Nobilitie of his Court, and the Inhabitants of Toledo, euery one for his part, furniſhed money, armes, horſes, corne, and other neceſſaries for a towne which attends a ſeege; and all with ſuch willingneſſe and bountie, as the Abbot might well put himſelfe into Calatraua, beeing aſſured not to be taken for want of men, victuals, and munition of warre: but before hee diſlodged, the king to incourage him to do his duty, and to recompence the good which he had ſhowne, to employ himſelfe for the defence of the countrie, mooued alſo with ſome Religion, gaue vnto God, to the Virgin *Mary* his mother, to the congregation of *Ciſteaux*, to the Abbot D. *Raymond*, and to his Monkes, both preſent and B
to come, the towne of Calatraua with all the confines, hilles, land, waters, meddowes, paſtures, entries and iſſues, rights, names and actions belonging thereunto, whereof he cauſed letters pattents to be drawne in the yeare, 1158. ſigned by his Secretarie *Martin Peleaz*: in the which are named as witneſſes, Don *Sancho* king of Nauarre, vaſſall to the king of Caſtile, Don *Iean* Archbiſhop Primate of Spaine, Don *Raymond* Biſhop of Palence and others.

Calatraua giuen to the Monkes of Ciſteaux.

The Abbot hauing this prouiſion, he ſet forward, and came to Calatraua, a place of great importance, as we haue ſayd, and the onely rampar for the Chriſtians on that ſide againſt the Moores: who either aduertiſed of this great preparation to defend that place, or for ſome other lets, did no great exploit worthie the great brute which had C
runne of their armie, neither came they to beſeege Calatraua, whereof the King was exceeding glad, and the Abbot with his Monkes no leſſe, who by their couragious reſolution had gotten this towne, the which the Templers had baſely abandoned. Many Gentlemen which had followed the Abbot in this voyage, ſeeing him in ſuch reputation left the world, and made themſelues Monkes of Ciſteaux, yet with a decent habit, fit for the exerciſe of armes, the which they meant to follow againſt the Infidels Moores, enemies to the Chriſtian Religion.

Knights of Calatraua firſt inſtituted.

This was the beginning of the Knights of Calatraua, an Order which was famous in Spaine. The Abbot Don *Raymond* beeing freed from feare of ſeege, leauing a good garriſon in Calatraua, he returned to Toledo, and from thence paſt to his Monaſtery of Hitero: about the which he gathered together a great multitude of people, to the D
number of twenty thouſand, as the Hiſtories report, whome with their mooueable goods and catteil, hee tranſported to Calatraua, and other places of the fronter, which was badly peopled, making it as it were a ſtrong baſtion againſt the enterpriſes of the Arabians. The king Don *Sancho* the deſired, liued not long after, but dyed the ſame yeare. They write, that his wife D. *Blanche* beeing deceaſed ſome few dayes before in child-bed, hee was ſo oppreſt with griefe, as he fell ſicke and dyed. His death was very preiudiciall to the Realme of Caſtile, and followed by many miſeries, the which he did well fore-ſee. He left the gouernement of his ſonne Don *Alphonſo*, who was yet very young, to a knight whoſe name was Don *Guttiere Fernand Ruis de Caſtro*, ordayning E
that hee ſhould bee bred vp vnder his diſcipline, vntill hee came to the age of fifteene yeares complete: willing that the Knights which held any places and garriſons, ſhould keepe them vntill that time. They ſurnamed him the Deſired, by reaſon of the great vertues wherewith hee was adorned, and the hope and taſte the people had of his good and iuſt gouernement, in one yeare, or there-abouts, that hee raigned. Hee was buried at Toledo in the Cathedrall church, neere to the Empereur Don *Alphonſo* his father, The Queene Dona *Blanche* his wife lyes in the Monaſterie of Saint *Mary* the royall of Nagera, to the which a little before her death ſhee had giuen the towne of Nectares, neare vnto Torrezillas de los Cameros.

Death of Don Sancho the Deſired.

The Earle Don *Raymond Berenger* Gouernour of Arragon, hauing in the meane time made warre againſt Don *Sancho* King of Nauarre, with his forces of Arragon F
and Cattelogne, beeing not able to ingage the King of Caſtile, and taken Buereta, with ſome other pettie forts of ſmall importance, ſeeing in the end that hee ſtriued in vaine againſt an enemie which had not onely meanes to defend himſelfe, but alſo on the contrarie, to offend him: hee yeelded himſelfe tractable to the perſwaſions of

Arragon and Barcelone.

of certain good Prelates, who were much grieued to see Christians seeke the ruine one of another, for their ambition: wherefore in the yeare 1159. after many treaties of Peace, betwixt these two Princes, in the end there was an interview, and they remained good friends, making an end of all their quarrels, which had continued almost fiue and twentie yeares.

1159. *Peace betwixt Navarre and Arragon.*

We must not wonder, if Secular Princes were in combustion, seeking to rule one ouer another, hauing (it may be) some plausible pretext, seeing that the Prelates of Spaine were a president for them without any reason. The Primacie which hee of Toledo held ouer other Bishops, was not acknowledged of all: for the Archbishop of Braga, and he of Saint *Iames* refused to obey him:

Primacie of Toledo confirmed.

but the Primate of Primates, *Adrian* the third, sending Cardinall *Hyacinth* his Legat from Rome, forced them by a sentence.

The end of the ninth Booke.

THE TENTH BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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D. Sancho

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40 *Order of the Knights of Alcantara.*
41 D.Henry *the firſt of that name*,*and* 8.*King of Caſtille.*
42 *Councel of Saint* Iohn de Latran, *vnder* Innocent *the* 3. *ſute for the Primacy of Spaine.*

This tenth Booke conteines the deſcent and continuance of the royall families of Spaine. that is,

D

Of Nauarre.	Of Leon.	Of Portugal.
21 *D. Sancho* 8.	29 *D. Alphonſo.* 9.	2 *D. Sancho* 1.
		3 *D. Alphonſo.* 2.

Of Arragon.	Of Caſtille.
6 *D. Alphonſo.* 2.	7 *D. Alphonſo.* 4.
7 *D. Pedro.* 2.	8 *D. Henry.* 1.
8 *D. Iaques.* 1.	

E

D. Alphonſo the noble the ſeuenth King of Caſtille the fourth of that name.

1. THE death of the King D. *Sancho* confirmed his ſurname of deſired,for that there followed dangerous combuſtions begunne betwixt two great families of Caſtille,through iealouſie and deſire of rule. The young Kings perſon(beeing then but foure yeeres old)was vnder the charge of D. *Guttiere Fernando Ruis de Caſtro*, according vnto the will of the deceaſed King his father,who had alſo ordained that the captaines and Gouernors of Prouinces and places ſhould continue in their charges,

F

Troubles in Castille, by reason of the Kings Nonage.

charges, vntill that his sonne D. *Alphonso* should bee fifteene yeeres old compleate. A Those of the house of Lara, being men of great account, were discontented with this decree; of which family the chiefe was the Earle D. *Manrique de Lara*, who had two brethren, D. *Aluaro*, and D. *Nugno*, all sonnes to D. *Pedro de Lara* (of whom wee haue made mention) and of D. *Aba*, forsaken by the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra*: with these there ioyned, by reason of consanguinity, D. *Garcia d' Acia*, their brother by the mothers side, sonne to that Lady D. *Aba*, and the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra*, her first husband: they were greeued to see the Kings person, and the chiefe affaires of the Realme in the hands of them of Castro, who held many places, and good gouernments in Castille and Toledo: wherefore they sought all occasions to seize vpon the authority, and to dispossesse their aduersaries: D. *Guttiere Fernandes*, was an ancient Knight, B wise, faithfull, and without any malice, who gaue no man occasion to complaine, but great meanes to such as enuied his honour to hurt him by his sincerity. Hee had also beene Gouernor to the King D. *Sancho* his father, in his youth, and was so worthy a knight, as they say hee had made and armed fiue hundred Knights, with his owne hand. Onely hee wanted the happinesse to haue children: but his brother D. *Ruy Fernandes*, called the Bald, had foure. D. *Fernand*, D. *Aluar*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Guttiere*, surnamed *Ruys*, and one daughter, called D. *Sancha Ruys* married to D. *Aluaro Ruys de Gusman*.

These factions declaring themselues, euery one stood vpon his gard: and for that it was not easie to dissolue that which D. *Sancho* had decreed by his testament, nor to wrest the authority from them of Castro by force, being in possession: the brothers of C *Lara* found meanes to circumuent the good knight D. *Guttiere Fernandes*, by goodly perswasions, saying, that for the good of the general peace, he should bee content with those honours hee had, and suffer the Earle D. *Manriques* to keepe the Kings person: the which should in no sort blemish his authority, but should giue great reputation vnto the Earle, who was a noble man of that quality, as hee well deserued it: all the foure brothers promising and swearing vnto him, that they would alwaies preserue and defend the honour and authority which was due to his reuerent age. D. *Guttiere* deceiued with these good words deliuered the King into the hands of these foure brethren, who remained with D. *Garcia d' Acia*, as the eldest, the rest hauing at that time no meanes to contradict it, but soone after they had an oportunity to get the King D from him: for D. *Garcia*, who was not cunning, nor of a bad disposition, beeing entred into some termes and difficulty, touching the entertainment of the yong Kings house, and the necessary prouisions of money for his Estate with the brothers of Lara, they wrought in such manner as hee resigned this burthensome charge vnto them, the which they willingly accepted, as a thing which they had long affected; wherein the Earle D. *Garcia*, did some-what wrong his honour and faile of his dutie, as well as D. *Guttiere Fernandes de Castro* had done; so the King came into the power of D. *Manriques de Lara*.

Indiscretion of D. Guttiere Fernandes.

These alterations, vnfit for the dignity of the young King, discontented D. *Guttiere*, and withall, those of Lara beganne to faile in that which they had promised him; E wherefore he let them vnderstand that he would haue the King D. *Alphonso* againe, to nourish and breed him vp according to the disposition of the King D. *Sanchos* will: but they mocked him, as a man which had lost his sences. Whereupon these two houses went to armes, and drew vnto them their kinsmen, friends and partisans, giuing way and meanes to all the lewd people of the country to commit a thousand insolencies, following the one or the other faction, as it is vsuall in ciuill warres.

And moreouer they made a passage for D. *Fernand* King of Leon, to enter into the territories of Castille, where hee committed great excesse vnder pretext to pacefie the warres betwixt these two houses of *Castro* and *Lara*: for beeing entred with an army, he seized vpon those forts, which were neerest vnto his fronters of Leon, along the ri- F uer of Duero, and passing on further, hee caused the Earle D. *Manriques* and his brethren to dislodge, who carried the King D. *Alphonso* with them to Soria. During these tumults D. *Guttiere Fernandes de Castro* died, and was buried in the Monastery of

Saint

A Saint *Chriſtopher* of Encas: after whole deceaſe the Earle D. *Manriques* cauſed his Nephewes D. *Fernand*, D. *Aluaro*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Guttiere Ruis* to be ſommoned to deliuer vp into his hands the places belonging vnto the crowne, the which they held, and had commanded vnto their vncles death: but they made anſwere that they were not bound to deliuer them vp, ſeeing that the will of the deceaſed King was, that they ſhould hold them vntill the King D. *Alphonſo* were full fifteene yeeres old. There vpon D. *Manrique* commanded that the body of D. *Guttiere Fernandes* ſhould bee vnterred, and charging him with fellony and treaſon againſt the King and crowne, hee ſought to haue him found guilty.

His foure Nephewes imbraced the cauſe, and defended both themſelues and their
B deceaſed vncle, ſaying that they neither had, nor did commit any fellony, in retayning of thoſe places, ſeeing it was according to the laſt will and teſtament of the King D. *Sancho*, the which they had neuer demanded of their vncle lyuing. The Lords of the councell, who were Iudges in this cauſe, gaue ſentence that there was not any fellony committed, and therefore they ordained, that the body of D. *Guttiere*, which had beene againſt the law of Nations inhumainely pulled out of his graue, ſhould bee laied in againe. Their contentions were ſo great, and the miſeries which enſued ſo infinit, as preſt by neceſſity, they were forced to ingage all the reuenues of Caſtille and Toledo, for twelue yeeres, vnto King *Fernand*; and in the end the Earle D. *Manriques* bound
C himſelfe to deliuer vnto the King of Leon, the perſon of young D. *Alphonſo*, his Lord, and to make him his vaſſal. And to performe his promiſe, he led the King D. *Fernand* to Soria, where hauing propounded certaine reaſons, in an aſſembly of the Noblemen of Caſtille, to perſwade them that it was expedient the Kings perſon ſhould bee put into his vncles cuſtody, they deliuered him vnto him, proteſting that they put him into his hands, being a free Prince, and therefore they intreated him to maintaine him in his liberty. The Noblemen durſt not herein contradict the King D. *Fernand*, being within the country and in armes. The young Infant beeing carried in a gentlemans armes, beganne to weepe and cry out, wherefore they carried him backe to the lodging to giue him an aple, or ſome ſuch like thing to pleaſe him. At that time there
D was preſent D. *Pedro Nugnes Almexir*, a hardy and generous knight, who beeing greeued at this trecherous act of the Earle D. *Manrique*, gaue order (that whileſt they dandled the child, to ſtill him) they ſhould bring him a good horſe behinde the Kings lodging, then approching neere vnto the young Prince, making ſhew to flatter him, hee tooke him in his armes, and ſlipping away by ſome ſecret paſſage well knowne to him, he carried him to his horſe, and ſo fled with him to the towne of Saint Eſtienne of Gormas: doing this act for the liberty of his King with ſuch dexterity and diligence (whileſt that the King D. *Fernand* attended the Infants returne) as he was gon a good way before it was diſcouered.

Treachery of D. Manriques de Lara againſt his Prince and country.

Pero Nugnes a faithful vaſſal.

This beeing knowne by the King D. *Fernand* hee grew into a great rage, and vſing
E threats, he commanded D. *Manrique* and the reſt of his faction, to giue order, that the child might bee found out and brought againe, whereſoeuer he were: wherevpon the Earle D. *Manrique*, and his brethren, vnder collour of ſeeking their King D. *Alphonſo*, had meanes to get out of Soria, where all was in Combuſtion. Being arriued at Saint Eſtienne de Gormas, that night they ſeized againe of the Kings perſon: notwithſtanding whether remorſe of ſo foule an act, altered the mindes of theſe knights of Lara, or that all the bretheren were not a like affected, as D. *Manrique*: D. *Nugno* the yongeſt of the brethren tooke king D. *Alphonſo*, and carried him to Atiença, not reſpecting the accord made with the King D. *Fernand*, who holding himſelfe deceiued by D. *Manrique*, ſent him word by a knight, that hee was a traytor, and that he would bee reuenged. The Earle made no other anſwer, but that it was lawful for him to doe any thing to deliuer
F his King and natural Prince from captiuity. Afterwards the Earle meeting with the King D. *Fernand*, who accuſed him of treachery, and demaunded Iuſtice of the Eſtates of Caſtille; he anſwered againe, that he knew not that he was a traytor, but that hee repented him not to haue done his beſt endeauor, to deliuer his King, a child of ſo tender age from ſuch vniuſt ſlauery.

After

The yong King D. Alphonſo giuen in garde to the Inhabitants of Auila.

After many reaſons and allegations of either ſide, the Earle D.*Maurique* was abſolued: but the King D.*Fernand* kept in a manner all the places and townes in Caſtille, except ſome of the leſſer, which continued vnder the obedience of the King D.*Alphonſo*, who was not in any great ſafety, vntill they had found meanes to put him into the Citie of Auila, where hee was faithfully kept, by his good ſubiects the inhabitants thereof, vntill he was twelue yeeres old, wherefore they ſay commonly in Spaine, the Loyal of Auila. A

Nauarre.

The tumults and confuſions of Caſtille, inuited D.*Sancho* King of Nauarre, ſurnamed the wiſe, to make his profit, which is the marke whereat all worldly men doe aime: yet had he ſome iuſt pretenſion to doe it, eſpecially to inuade the lands lying vpon the riuer of Oja, which the Emperour D.*Alphonſo* had laied hold on, during the vacancie and Interregne of Nauarre and Arragon. So as hee went to armes, entred in hoſtile manner into that Prouince, and tooke Logrogno, Entrena and Cerezo: and paſſing on, he alſo tooke Birbieſca, and in a manner all that was in his way, euen vnto Burgos: all which places he did fortefie, but yet he enioyed them not long. The King of Nauarre did all theſe things, without any reſiſtance made by them of Caſtille, beeing fauoured by the confuſion of the time, and the infancy of the young King D.*Alphonſo*: beſides that towards Arragon hee found himſelfe aſſured by a peace concluded with the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, the which was the better confirmed by his death, which happened in the yeere 1162. in Piedmont, in the Bourge of Saint Dalmace, neere vnto Turin. This Prince went by ſea into Italy, with his Nephew the Earle of Prouence, to conferre with the Emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, who made warre then in the Dutchy of Milan. B C

Death of D. Raymond Berenger Earle of Barcelone. 1162.

D. Alphonſo the ſecond, and the ſixth King of Arragon.

Arragon.

2. THis Earle had gouerned Cattelogne and Barcelone thirty one yeeres, and the realme of Arragon fiue and twenty. He was wiſe and valiant, but too ambitious. He left D.*Raymond* his ſonne, who was afterwards called D. *Alphonſo*, heire of both Eſtates by his teſtament: by the which hee gaue vnto D. *Pedro* his ſecond ſon, the Earledome of Cerdagne, with the ſame rights as Cont *Bernard William* had held it, and moreouer the demeins and reuenues of the lands of Carcaſſone, and rights of Narbonne, and other places in Languedoc, reſeruing the homage vnto the Earle of Barcelone and King of Arragon his eldeſt: ſubſtituting to D.*Pedro* his third ſon D.*Sancho*, in caſe hee died without children, and them two to their eldeſt brother D.*Alphonſo*, either of them in his Siegneuries, with his children, vnto *Henry* the ſecond, King of England, his ally and faithfull friend, the Queene D.*Petronille* his wife remayning Regent and tutreſſe of her Son, and Realme; but ſhe brought D.*Alphonſo*, being but 12. yeeres old, to the gouernment of the State, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Prouence, his couſin germain, the Queene giuing ouer that charge, as vnfit for women. This was the firſt King of Arragon that was Earle of Barcelone, ſince which time theſe two Eſtates haue not beene diuided. D E

Diſpoſition of D. Raymond Berengers wil.

Nauarre.

Returning to D.*Sancho* King of Nauarre, hee gouerned his realme wiſely and iuſtly, and had about him many good and vertuous Prelats and Knights: amongſt the which were D.*Vitian* Biſhop of Pampelone, the Earle D. *Bela Ladron* Lord, that is to ſay, gouernor in Alaua, *Rodrigues Martines* Gouernor in Maragnon: *Pedro Ruis* in Eſtella, and Gallipienço; *Sancho Ramires* in Sangueſſa, *Ximeno* of Ayuar in Roncal; *Ximen Aznares* in Tafalla, *Sancho Eſquerra* in Saint *Mary* of Vxua, *Martin de Leet* in Peralta, *Aznar de Rada* in Falſes and in Valtierra, *Peter* of Araçury in Logrogno and Tudele, with diuers others. As for his domeſtike affaires, hee was married to D.*Sancha* Infanta of Caſtille, whom others call *Beacia* or *Beatrix*, daughter to the Emperor D.*Alphonſo*, by whom he had a goodly iſſue: D.*Sancho*, who was King after his father, D.*Fernand*, and D.*Ramir*, F

A D. *Ramir*, the which was Biſhop of Pampelone: for Eccleſiaſtical charges which had great reuenues, were not there giuen to Paſtors, which had care of Chriſtians manners and conſciences, but were portions for Kings children: hee was otherwiſe called D. *Remy*. Beſide three ſonnes, ſhe brought him three daughters, D. *Berenguela*, who was married to *Richard* King of England, ſurnamed *Corde-Lion*, and had for her dowry the country of Maine in France, where ſhee ſpent the remainder of her daies, like a vertuous widow, after the deceaſe of the King her husband D. *Sanchos* ſecond daughter was D. *Thereſa*, otherwiſe called *Conſtance*, who died a virgin: and the third was D. *Blanche*, married to *Thibaud* Earle of Champaigne and Brie, from whom the race of the Kings of Nauarre, of the houſe of Champaigne had their beginning, in D. *Thibaud* their ſon. *Genealogy of Nauarre.*

B About the yeere 1165. the ſentence of the Proceſſe betwixt the Biſhops of Pampelone and Sarragoſſe, begunne in the time of D. *Lope*, Predeceſſor to D. *Vivian*, with D. *Pedro* of Zarroja, for the lymits of their Dioceſes, and Iuriſdictions, which had beene iudged by the Legat *Hyacinthe*, Cardinal of the title of Saint *Mary* in Coſmedin, was confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the third, ſucceſſor to *Adrian* the fourth, beeing at Montpellier in France, who alſo by his Bull confirmed the preuiledges of the Church of Pampelone, and the order of the regular Chanoins of Saint *Auguſtin*, inſtituted by D. *Pedro Roda*, the Biſhop, as other Popes his Predeceſſors had done. *An.* 1165.

During theſe things, D. *Alphonſo Henriques* King of Portugal, hauing ſome quiet with the Moores, who were not well ſetled vnder the obedience of the Almohades, ſpent his time about the fortification of the fronter townes of his realme, vnto the C yeeres 1165. when as he went againe to field, parting from Alcaçar de Sal, and went and laied ſiege to Cezimbra, the which he carried, and in like manner *Palmela* hauing put the Moores of Badajos to rout, in the mountaines of Cezimbra, comming with great troupes of horſe to ſuccor theſe two places. It is a remarkable thing in this Prince, that although he were three ſcore and fiue yeeres old, yet he was continually in armes, and himſelfe in perſon, enduring the trauels and diſcomodities of the warre, as wel as the yongeſt. The troubles of Caſtile and Leon procured his peace on that ſide, where hee was to diſpute his royal title, and the acknowledgment of the lands held by him, with D. *Fernand* king of Leon: who giuing ſome time of breathing vnto the Caſtil- D lans, vpon whom he had made his profit, although he could not get their kings perſon, he retired into Leon, leauing them of Lara and Caſtro to end their owne quarrels. *Portugal.*

3 The Eſtates of Caſtille and the Gouernors of places, amideſt ſo great troubles which the King D. *Fernand*, hee of Nauarre, and the factions of the noblemen of the country had cauſed, maintained themſelues as well as they could, whileſt that the King D. *Alphonſo* was bred vp at Auila. The Order of the knights of Calatraua, which had his beginning in the time of the King D. *Sancho* the Deſired, was now confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the third, by his Breefe in the yeere 1164. directed vnto D. *Garcia*, firſt Maiſter of the knights of that Order. It appeeres by the Spaniſh Hiſtories, that at that time there were Abbots at Calatraua, and that D. *Raymond* liued yet: in E whoſe place there ſucceeded Priors, by grant from the Chapter generall of the Order of Ciſteaux. We finde alſo that at that time the houſe of Aualos (which hath beene famous ſince in Caſtille) was then great in Nauarre, from whence it is deſcended: and mention is made of many great perſonages of that family: of D. *Ximen d' Aualox*, *Iean Martines*, and *Sancho Martines d' Aualos* brethren, and of *Garcia Nugnes d' Aualos*: whereof D. *Ximen*, in the yeere 1162. gaue vnto the Monaſtery of Saint *Emibian*, certaine rights which he had in the church of Saint *Felix d' Aualos*, the letters whereof are yet extant in that Monaſtery. *Caſtille.* *Confirmation of the order of Calatraua.* *The family of Aualos.*

The King D. *Alphonſo* beeing eleuen yeere old; the Earles D. *Manrique*, D. *Aluaro* and D. *Nugno de Lara* with other Noblemen, which had the charge of him, thought it F now fit, that he ſhould goe and viſit the townes of his realme, and ſhew himſelfe to his ſubiects, who deſired to ſee him: wherefore they drew him out of Auila, with good troupes of horſe, beſides an hundred and fifty horſe which they of Auila gaue him for his gard. Some places which D. *Fernand* King of Leon had ſeized on in Caſtille, beganne already to reuolt; but when as King D. *Alphonſo* went his progreſſe, euery

towne where hee paſt, obeyed him; vntil hee came to Toledo, whereas D. *Fernand Ruis* A
Caſtro was Gouernor, ſince the raigne of the King D. *Sancho*, and ment to keepe it vntill the King D. *Alphonſo* was fifteene yeeres old, as it was decreed by the fathers will: but the Earle D. *Manrique de Lara* was not of that minde: for hauing ſome ſecret intelligence with a knight of Toledo, called D. *Eſtienne Illian*, who had built the pariſh church, and the high tower of Saint Romains, and was in ſome bad termes with D. *Fernand Ruis*, hee had by his practiſes meanes to ſtirre vp the people to a mutiny, hauing cauſed the King to approach to Saint Romains tower, in a diſguiſed habit, where he hung out his armes and collours, ſo as D. *Fernand* (feating his owne weakneſſe) abandoned the caſtle, and fortefied himſelfe in Huete.

By this meanes the city of Toledo was deliuered vnto the Earle *Manrique* in the B
Kings name, by this knight D. *Eſtienne Illian*, whoſe picture armed on horſe-backe, for this goodly act, is to bee ſeene in the body of the great church of Toledo, and not for any proweſſe that is knowne to the ignorant people. In recompence whereof they gaue him the gouernment of this Citie. From thence D. *Manrique* led the King to Huete, againſt D. *Fernand Ruis*, who beeing faithfully and couragiouſly aſſiſted by the Inhabitants of Huete, ſallied forth againſt the Earle D. *Manrique*, where there was a cruell battaile: before the fight D. *Fernand* had giuen his armes and deuice vnto a Squire of his, ſetting him in the moſt remarkable place of the battaile, to the end they ſhould take him for his maſter: for hee knew they had vowed and conſpired his death, at what price ſoeuer: ſo as comming to fight, the Earle D. *Manrique* followed by his choiſe men, picked out this Squire, whom hee ſlue with his owne hand: C
but an other of D. *Fernands* Squiers, reuenging his Campanions death, gaue the
The Earle D. Manrique de Lara ſlaine before Huete. Earle a deadly wound, and ſlue him vpon the place: ſo as D. *Manriques* army hauing loſt their Generall, was put to route, and defeated. D. *Nugno de Lara* for his brothers death, did afterwards accuſe D. *Fernand* of treaſon, ſaying that hee had cauſed his brother to bee trecherouſly ſlaine, but it was ended by the Prelats, by reaſon of the great ſpoiles they endured; but the hatred continued ſtill betwixt theſe two families: many forts came afterwards into the power of the yong King D. *Alphonſo*, without any reſiſtance.

The towne of Surita which was held by *Lope d' Arenas*, would not yeeld, obiecting
the teſtament of the young King D. *Sancho*, yet notwithſtanding they would haue the D
place, and hauing inueſted it, they beganne to batter it. D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, was at this ſiege well accompanied, although hee had not beene called, the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara* and hee beeing at ſome iarre. The taking of this place ſeeming euery day more difficult, D. *Nugno*, and the Earle D. *Suero* entred into the towne, vpon aſſurance giuen by oth, to parle, with *Lope d' Arenas* the Gouernor, but they were detained priſoners; *Lope* was ſoone after puniſhed for this fraude, God ſhewing that there is not any thing which diſpleaſes him more then falſe-hood and treachery; and in truth there is no brute beaſt more deteſtable then that man which ſeekes to circumuent by promiſes and othes.

There was in King D. *Alphonſos* campe, one which had ſerued, or beene bred vp in E
Lope d' Arenas houſe, who preſented himſelfe vnto the King, offring to deliuer him the place, if hee would giue him meanes to liue, and that there were any one which would bee content hee ſhould wound him, that hee might haue ſome collour to flie vnto the enemy. The King promiſed to recompence him well, but as for the hurting of any one, there was ſome difficulty: yet there was one *Pedro Diaz*, or *Pedro Ruis*, as others call him, of Toledo, offred himſelfe to receiue the blow. This varlet, whoſe name was *Dominguillo*, drew his ſword preſently, and gaue this poore *Pedro Diaz*, a deadly wound, and then fled, the gard and other ſoldiars making ſhew to follow him towards the towne, where hee was receiued and knowne by his old Maſter *Lope d' Arenas*, who nothing ſuſpecting *Dominguillo*, was trecherouſly ſlaine by him; the murtherer ha- F
uing meanes to ſlip downe the wall, and to recouer the campe. Vpon the Gouernors death the ſouldiars and inhabitants reſolued to yeeld the towne of Surita vnto the King. *Dominguillo*, who was prowd of this execution, demanded his reward of the

King:

A King: but the King by a memorable example of Iustice, whosoeuer aduised him, vsed an admirable proportion in this action: for hee first caused his eyes to bee put out, for the murther which hee had committed, hauing not made him acquainted therewith; and then hee gaue him that which was needfull for his entertainement: but hearing after that hee did glory too much in his treason, hee caused him to bee slaine. After this enterprise of Surita, the King dismissed his souldiers, who returned to their houses.

Portugal. : Howsoeuer D. *Alphonso Henriques* King of Portugal, ended his quarrels with D. *Fernand* of Leon; yet in the yeere of our Lord 1169. hee had confirmation of his royall titles from Pope *Alexander*, to whom he sent his Bulles, taking the King D. *Alphon-*
B *so Henriques*, his successours, Realme and subiects, into the protection of the church of Rome, paying two markes of gold for an acknowledgment or rent; the which the Archbishop of Braga, did receiue yeerely for the church of Rome, yet no man can say, that this rent was euer paied; and if D. *Fernand* married his daughter D. *Vrraca*, by whom he had one sonne called D. *Alphonso*, who succeeded him in his realmes of Leon and Calicia; yet this affinity did not suppresse the troubles and lamentable factions, which followed.

Leon. King D. *Fernand*, by the aduise of a banished Portugais, caused the city of *Rodrique* to be fortified, the which some hold to bee ancient Mirobrisa, and there placed a good garrison, the which did wonderfully annoy the Portugals that lay neere it, & built Ledesma, neere to Salamanca, which did much in-domage that city, as you shal heare: this King
C tooke pleasure in building, when hee was not prest with warre: and therefore they say that Granada, which is neere to Coria Valencia in the Bishoprike of Ouiedo, Villalpando, Mansilla, Majorga in the Bishoprike of Leon, and Castro in Toraphe in the Bishoprike of Zamora are his workes. Hee was diuorced from D. *Vrraca*, by reason of consanguinity, and tooke to his second wife D. *Theresa* daughter to *Nugno de Lara*; after whose death he had a third wife called D. *Vrraca Lopes*, daughter to D. *Lope Diaz*, Lord of Biscay; By this last wife D. *Fernand* had D. *Sancho* and D. *Garcia*, lawful heires to the realme of Leon, for that they were, by the Popes sentence, borne in lawful wed-locke, & not D. *Alphonso*: yet they raigned not; neither did they leaue any heires.

Places built by D. Fernand King of Leon.

Genealogy of Leon.

D 4 The house of Biscay was then in great esteeme; out of the which was issued the third wife of the King D. *Fernand*: the order and continuance of which family is thus set downe by the Spanish writers. They name for the best knowne stem of this house, D. *Suria*, who by his mothers side was Nephew to the King of Scotland, begotten by a knight of Biscay, called D. *Lope*, who obtained the Siegneury of Biscay in the yeere 870. *Suria* in the Cantabrian tongue signifies white. He carried in his armories two wolues sables, either of them with a Lambe in his mouth, in a field Argent, which were the ancient armes of Biscay: he married to his second wife D. *Dalda*, daughter and heire to D. *Sancho Estequis Ordognes*, Lord of Tauira of Durango, by whom he had one sonne, called D. *Manso*
E *Lopes*, who was Lord of Biscay, and of Tauira of Durango: this D. *Manso* had by his first wife (for hee was married thrice) one sonne, called D. *Inigo Esquerra*, that is to say, deafe, in the Biscaine tongue, who was the third Lord of Biscay. Of him was borne D. *Lopes Diaz* the fourth Lord of Biscaie, who liued in the time of D. *Fernand Gonçales* Earle of Castille. D. *Sancho Lopes* was his sonne and the fifth Lord of Biscay: who although hee had two sonnes, D. *Inigo* and D. *Garcia*, surnamed *Sanches*, yet did neither of them succeed him in the Siegneurie of Biscay: the reason was, that the souldiars beeing in mutynie, at their returne from a certaine warre in Cubijana of Morillas, in the Prouince of Alaua, as D. *Sancho Lopes* came amongst their drawne swords to pacifie them, he receiued a wound for an other, and was slaine, leauing these two verie little: wherefore the Biscaines hauing neede of a Lord able to gouerne
F them, they made choise of D. *Inigo Esquerra* the second of that name, bastard brother to the deceased, who was the sixth Lord of Biscay: of him came D. *Lope Diaz* the second, who ruled in Biscay. And to make some recompence to the children of D. *Sancho Lopes*, D. *Inigo Sancho* had Lodio giuen him for a portion, and D. *Garcia* that of Orozco. D. *Lope Diaz* the seuenth Lord of Biscay, was father to D. *Diego*

The house of Biscay.

Lopes, who ſucceeded him in the daies of King D. *Alphonſo* the ſixth. This D. *Diego* was A
the eighth Lord of Biſcay, ſurnamed the white, and being maried to a Lady of Arragon,
he begat one ſonne called D. *Lope Diaz*, who was afterwards the ninth Lord of Biſcay,
the third of that name. It is that D. *Lope* which was at the ſiege of Surita, with King D.
Alphonſo, called the Noble, in whoſe raigne wee now are come, and whoſe daughter D.
Vrraca was married to *Fernand* the ſecond King of Leon and Gallicia: hee alſo (hauing
built vp the towne of Haro, in Rioje) ſurnamed himſelfe of *Haro*, and left it to his poſte-
rity. He had of D. *Mencia* his wife, one ſonne called D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, heire of his
fathers eſtates, and an other daughter called D. *Gaufreda*, who ſome ſay had beene
Queene of Nauarre, but it is doubtfull. This D. *Diego Lopes*, was the tenth Lord of Biſ-
cay, and a very good Knight: who had the honor to bee ſtandard-bearer to the King of B
Caſtille, and was at al the exploits of warre, done by King D. *Alphonſo* the ninth. Hee had
to wife D. *Maria Diaz de Lara*, daughter to Cont *Nugno*, of whom we haue made men-
tion, and ſhe bare him D. *Lopes Diaz de Haro*, who was the eleuenth Lord of Biſcay. His
Image is to be ſeene kneeling, in the quier of the great church of Toledo, planted againſt
a piller. The ſucceſſion of theſe Lords, ſhall bee here-after ſet downe according to
the time.

Caſtille. Returning to King D. *Alphonſo*, after the taking of Surita, hauing diſmiſſed his ſouldi-
ars, he returned to Toledo, where hee kept his court, and aſſembled the Noblemen and
knights his vaſſals: where finding himſelfe in free poſſeſſion of all the country of Tole-
do, he came to Burgos, where hee called an other aſſembly, and kept his court, in the
An. 1170. yeere 1170. touching that which lies on this ſide the mountaines, belonging to Caſtille C
D. Alphonſo the noble King of Caſtille comes of years. and Nagera: and for that the fifteenth yeere of his age was now ended, all the townes &
forts were yeeled vp vnto him, without any contradiction, according to the will of his
deceaſed father, yea thoſe which were held by D. *Fernand* of Caſtro, who was neuer
more ſeene in Caſtille, by reaſon of the quarrels he had with the houſe of Lara, but paſ-
ſing to the Moores, hee ſhewed himſelfe a perpetuall enemy to his country. In the aſ-
ſembly at Burgos, there was ſpeech of the exceſſe, and outrages done by *Fernand* King
of Leon; to reuenge the which hee reſolued to proclaime warre againſt him, but it was
not put in execution long after, by reaſon of D. *Alphonſos* youth, who was not yet capa-
ble of ſo great an enterpriſe. There they treated alſo of the Kings marriage with *Elenor*
And marries Elenor of England. daughter to *Henry* the ſecond King of England, who was as renouned as any Prince at D
that day in Chriſtendome: he was ſonne to *Geoffrey* Duke of Aniou and Normandie. It
was this *Henry* which had married Queene *Elenor*, heire of the Dutchie of Guienne, and
countie of Poictou, put away by *Lewis* the ſeuenth the French King.

5 After theſe things, there was an enter-view of two yong Kings, D. *Alphonſo* of Ca-
ſtille, and D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, at Sahagun, with ſhewes of great loue; and from
thence they went to Sarragoſſe, from whence there was an Ambaſſage ſent to effect the
marriage of the King of Caſtille. The Ambaſſadors were D. *Celebrun* Archbiſhop of To-
ledo, the Biſhops of Palenza, Calaorra, Burgos and Segobia, the Earles D. *Ponce* and D.
Nugno, with other Noblemen; who found the court, with the Queene mother and her
daughter at Burdeaux: whoſe returne the King of Caſtille attended at Sarragoſſe, E
where during his aboad, the league was renewed betwixt Caſtille and Arragon, and
a new made for the mutuall defence of both Kings, againſt all men, except the King
of England, in the which were named all the great men belonging to either eſtate:
for aſſurance whereof, there was conſigned and laied in pawne the caſtles of Na-
gera, Biguerra, Clauijo, Ocon and Arueda, for the King of Caſtille; and for the
King of Arragon, Hariza, Daroca, Aranda, Epila Borja: with a condition that hee
which ſhould breake the league, ſhould looſe theſe places: and the conuentions
were ſigned and confirmed by the two Kings, and their chiefeſt Nobles. The Am-
baſſadors of Caſtille were welcome to Burdeaux, and their charge was very plea-
ſing to the king of England: whereupon the Princeſſe *Elenor* was ſent into Spaine, F
beeing accompanied by *Bernard* Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, the Biſhoppes of Poi-
ctiers, Angouleſme, Perigueux, Xaintes, Agen, and Bazas: by *Raoul de la*
Faye, Seneſhall of Guienne, *Helie* Earle of Perigort, the Vicounts of Tartax,

Chaſte-

A Chastelcraud, Chastillon, Mortmar, Vendome, *Angoulesme*, *Labrit* or *Albret*, with very many other Noblemen and Knights. By the treaty made with the Ambassadors it was sayd, that the assurance and contract of marriage should bee made at Tarrassone, and should be sollemnly ratefied in the presence of the King of Arragon: wherefore the two Kings came to Tarrassone, where these things were celebrated and sworne with great sollemnity, in the yeere of our Lord 1170. and for accomplishment thereof at that instant D. *Alphonso* King of Castille, caused all the Knights of Castille, which were there present, to sweare fealtie to his future spouse: and moreouer hee gaue vnto her in fauour of the marriage, the castles and city of Burgos, Castro, Xeris, Auia, Monçon, Saldagne, Tariego, Dueregnas, Carrion, Aabeson, Medina del Aampo, Villa Escusa, A-

Guifts to the new Queene of Castille in fauor of her marriage.

B guillar & Astudillo, & for her idle expences & to furnish her cabinet, he assigned particularly vnto her, Burgos, Nagera, and Castro Xeris: besides he gaue vnto her the rents of the port of Saint Emeterio, Besgo, Cabedo, Briza de Centillana, Calaorra, Logrogno, Arnedo, Biguerra, Granon, Vilhorado, Pancoruo, Monasterio, Poza, Atiença, Osma, Penafiil, Curiel, Surita, Hita, Aegna Negra and others. Moreouer hee promised to giue her the moytie of all hee should conquer from the Moores from the day of their marriage. These promises and matrimoniall conuentions were sworne in the presence of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and other English Ambassadors, to whom in the Queenes name hee caused the forts to bee deliuered, and the homages aboue mentioned to bee done, all in the presence of the King of Arragon, as an indifferent arbi-

C trator for both parties. These things thus finished, the two Kings of Castille and Arragon, parted good friends, and the Ambassadors, with the new spouse, came with D. *Alphonso* the Noble, to Burgos, where the marriage was celebrated with great state and royal pompe, after which the court parting from Burgos, it came to Nagera, in the countrie of Oja, where the King gaue leaue to many which had come to attend the solemnitie of his marriage, namely to them of Auila, who had alwaies followed him, to whom for their willingnesse to serue him, hee graunted many priuiledges.

After which hee led the Queene to Toledo, where hee grew so amorous of a Iew, whom they called *Hermosa*, as hee forgot his new spouse, and intangled himselfe so farre in her loue, as hee almost lost his sences; whereat some Knights of Ca-

Disorderat lust of D. Alphonso king of Castile.

D stille beeing verie much greeued, they thought to doe an act pleasing vnto God, and profitable to the common-weale; to kill this Iew, the which in the beginning the King did beare verie impatiently, but in the end hee acknowledged his error, and detested it.

Vpon the confines of Arragon and Castille, there began at that time a petty estate in Albarrazin, which place was vsurped by a Knight, called D. *Pedro Ruis d' Açagra*, who held it of God and his sword. Hee was borne in Nauarre, and wonne the loue of the Moores of Murcia, and other neighbour places, which did fauour and succor him in his enterprises, and withall hee had newly made a league with D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre,

Fort of Albarrazin.

E who supported him and vsed him, to bridle Arragon and Castille, with which estates hee had or feared some Iarres. This fort which had beene in ancient time called Saint Marie of Albarrazin, was a troublesome thorne in the feete of the Kings of Castille and Arragon, into whose territories D. *Pedro Ruis d' Asagra*, made often roads, at his plea-

An. 1172.

sure: who hauing about this yeere of our Lord 1172. taken some places in Castille, the King D. *Alphonso* the noble, resolued to make warre against him, and to take them from him if hee could: for this consideration hee made a priuate league with the King of Arragon, who was interessed; by the which it was concluded, that the King of Arragon should haue the fort of Albarrazin; and hee of Castille should haue the rest which D. *Pedro* did hold, for the obseruing of which Articles, hee of Arragon did giue in pawne to the King of Castille, the castle of Hariza, with Aranda, Boria and

F Arguedas: and the castle of Verdejo was giuen to the King of Arragon by him of castille, bynding also the townes of Agreda, Aquilar and Cerueda: which places were assurances for that which had beene contracted betwixt them, promising that if there should bee any contrauention, or fraude betwixt them, it should bee repaired within three yeeres, or the places lost for him that had committed the fraude. But

theſe deſeignes went to ſmoake, the two Kings beeing at a iarre for Hariza, the which was deliuered to the King of Caſtille by *Nugno Sanches* a knight, without the King of Arragons expreſſe command, and before the warre of Nauarre was begunne. Then the King of Caſtille was moſt commonly accompanied by D. *Celebrun* Archbiſhop of Toledo, Primat of Spaine, the Biſhops D. *Ioſelin* of Siguença, *Gonçalo* of Segobia, *Raymond* of Palenza, *Pedro* of Bourgos, *Sancho d' Auila*, *Bernard d' Oſma*, with other Prelats and Church-men, of which kinde of men Kings councels did then moſt commonly conſiſt; and therefore whatſoeuer Princes committed, were it good or bad, is iuſtly to bee imputed to them, be it in religion or in matters of State. There were alſo many Noblemen of Marke in thoſe daies; amongſt the which were D. *Ponce*, Lord Steward, and D. *Nugnes* ſtandard-bearer of Caſtille D. *Gonçalo Maragnon*, a ſtandard-bearer alſo, and D. *Roderigo Guttieres* a Steward, which were the chiefe offices of the crowne: they were annual, as it ſeemes, or elſe at the Kings pleaſure. A B

Nauarre. An. 1173.

6. By their aduice and aſſiſtance, with other Prelats, Noblemen and Knights of his realmes, D. *Alphonſo* entred Nauarre in the yeere 1173. with a great army, againſt his vncle D. *Sancho* the wiſe, moued therevnto, as wel by the ſpoiles which he had done in the territories of Rioje and Bureua, during his nonage, as alſo by the perſwaſion of the King of Arragon his couſin, whoſe countrie D. *Sancho* had inuaded, whileſt that the armie of Arragon was in the Realme of Valencia againſt the Moores, thinking to make his profit thereby, whileſt the King of Arragon was abſent with his forces. So breaking the accord and peace, which hee had made with the deceaſed D. *Raymond*, and renewed with Queene *Petronilla*, hee had ouerrunne his country, and forced D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, to giue ouer his praiſe-worthie enterpriſes, and to turne head againſt his enemie, whom he had repulſed into Nauarre, entring by Tudele, where hee did beſiege and take the towne of Arguedas, the which hee fortefied and manned with a good garriſon.

Nauarre inuaded by the Kings of Caſtille and Arragon. C

Theſe two Kings of Caſtille and Arragon beeing in armes, and preſſing D. *Sancho* in diuers places, hee found himſelfe to weake to make head againſt them, ſo as his countries endured great ſpoiles and miſeries, for his armie beeing defeated towards Caſtille, the Caſtillans did runne as farre as Pampelone: on the other ſide the King of Arragon tooke from him the towne and caſtle of Milagro, the garriſon whereof did alwaies keepe his fronters in alarme, by reaſon whereof hee razed it, but it was ſince repaired by the Nauarrois. Notwithſtanding theſe two vnited forces, yet D. *Sancho* defended himſelfe valiantly againſt the King of Arragon and tooke from him the caſtles of Traſmos and Caxuelos. The moſt renouned Knights which were in thoſe daies in Nauarre, as appeeres by the ancient Records of townes and Monaſteries, were *Inigo* Almorauid in Roncal, *Sancho Ramires* in Aybar, *Iordain* in Saint Marie in Vxue, *Ximen* Almorauid in Peralta, *Garcia* of Albero in Tudele, and *Martin Ruis* in Eſtella, who had the gouernment of theſe places and forts, and commanded D. *Sanchos* ſouldiers. D

Arragon.

7. During theſe warres, the King of Caſtille reſolued to propound a marriage vnto D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, the which had beene treated of betwixt him and D. *Sancha* his aunt, daughter to the Emperor D. *Alphonſo*, by his ſecond wife D. *Rica*, and would attempt (by the charity which did guide both him and his councel) to breake the marriage which was already concluded betwixt the ſayd King of Arragon and the daughter of *Manuel* the firſt Emperour of Conſtantinople, and ſo farre aduanced, as ſhee was come alreadie to Montpellier, when as D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon forſooke her to hearken to the marriage of D. *Sancho* of Caſtille, to the great contempt and diſgrace of the Emperor. This other marriage was afterwards celebrated in Sarragoſſa, in the preſence of Cardinal *Hiacinthe*, the Popes Legat in Spaine, in the yeere 1174. in conſideration whereof, the King of Arragon gaue vnto his ſpouſe many townes in Arragon and Cattelogne, imitating the example of the King of Caſtile, who had extraordinarily aduanced the Princeſſe of England. E F

King of Arragon leaues the Emperors daughter, to marry D. Sancho of Caſtille.

An. 1174.

8 Queene *Petronilla* of Arragon was deceaſed the yeere before this marriage, it may bee whilſt her ſonne was in Prouence to diſpute the ſucceſſion of the Earle of

Prouence

A Prouence his couſin, who had beene ſlaine nere vnto Nice by the Niſſards: whoſe inheritance he had obtained, notwithſtanding that the Earle of Tolouſa were a great enemy vnto him. They write that this Princeſſe by her laſt wil and teſtament did ordaine, that no women ſhould ſucceed to the crowne of Arragon. *Prouence returnes to the crowne of Arragon.*

It was the ſame yeere 1174. that King D. *Alphonſo* the noble confirmed the priuiledges of the city of Toledo, the which we haue ſet downe by Articles during the life of the Emperor D. *Alphonſo* the ſixth: a while after the King D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, beeing at the ſiege of Cuenca, he quit vnto D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon the fealty and homage, and al pretenſion of ſoueraignty, which hee had to the realme of Arragon, in confirmation of their friendſhip, and in reſpect of their new contracted alliance, three and fortie B yeeres after that the Realme of Arragon had beganne to hold of the crowne of Caſtille. *Caſtille.* *Arragon exempt for the ſoueraignty of Caſtille.*

The Noblemen and Knights which had conducted *Manuell* the Emperors daughter to Montpellier, ſeeing themſelues and their Princeſſe thus mocked, not knowing what other courſe to take, they would haue carried her backe into Greece: But either by loue or force they married her to *William* Earle of Montpellier, in whoſe houſe ſhee was lodged: of which marriage iſſued a daughter, called *Mary*, who in time, was wife to the ſonne and heire of this D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille. This ſonnes name was D. *Pedro*, borne of D. *Sancho* of Caſtille, beſides ſhee brought the King her husband, D. *Alphonſo*, who was Earle of Prouence, and D. *Fernand*, who beeing a Monke in the royall Monaſterie of Poblette, which his father had finiſhed, Hee left it, to bee Abbot of C Montarragon. King D. *Alphonſo* had three daughters alſo by the Queene D. *Sancha*, that is D. *Conſtance* who was married firſt to the King of Hongarie, and afterwards to the Emperour. *Frederic* the ſecond, D. *Elenor* and D. *Sancha*, both Counteſſes of Tolouſa, the one married to Cont *Raymond* the father, and the other to Cont *Raymond* the ſonne. This Queene D. *Sancha* was verie deuout, after the manner of that age: wherefore as ſoone as ſhe was married ſhe built the Monaſtery of Sixena, of the Nuns of Saint Iean. *Arragon.* *Genealogie of Arragon.*

9 This age was (as the reſt) full of deuotions, and inuentions of new ſeruices: for Cardinall *Hyacinthe* beeing Legate a *Latere* for the Pope in Spaine, the order of D knights or men at armes, of Saint *Iames*, had his beginning in the realme of Galicia, by an emulation betwixt ſome knights, & Monkes of Saint Eloy, a Monaſtery in the ſame Kingdome. Theſe good religious fathers ſeeing the great concourſe of people which came from all parts of Chriſtendome to the ſepulcher of Saint *Iames*, they beganne to build Hoſpitals, out of their reuenues which were very great, vpon the paſſage which in Spaine they doe commonly call the French way, to lodge and feed Pilgrimes, and to ſupplie all their neceſſities, in ſickneſſe or in health: wherein they imployed themſelues honeſtly, and the firſt Hoſpitall of their foundation was that of Saint *Marke* the Euangeliſts, without the walles of the city of Leon: afterwards they built another vpon the paſſage of Caſtille, called de las Tiendas. In imitation of theſe Monkes, vſing ſuch courteſie to ſtrangers which went to Saint *Iames*, there were thirteene Knights, very deE uout to this Apoſtle, taking him for their particular Patron and aduocate, according to their inſtruction, vowed themſelues to gard and aſſure the way for pilgrimes againſt the incurſions of the Moores, and other theeues which troubled Spaine; and hauing imparted their deſeigne to the Monkes of Saint Eloy, they agreed to make one body amongſt them, and to make the patrimonie of the Monaſtery of Saint Eloy common, with that of theſe Knights, and others which ſhould ioyne with them: at that time they did enioy about twenty caſtles; which made the Monkes more willing to allow of this communion: al theſe holy ſouldiars were married from their firſt inſtitution, wherefore they did onelie vow coniugal chaſtetie, and as for pouerty it was not very great, F they onelie renounced the propertie of their goods, for the ſeruice of the order; enioying the fruites, whereof they payed tithe vnto the Monkes for the diuine ſeruice, wherein they were imployed: they did vowe obedience to their Priot and Maiſter, by ſuch an order, as the Monkes ſhould bee ſubiect to their Priors both for ſpirituall and temporall; and the Knights to the ſame Prior touching the *Caſtille.* *Order of Saint Iames.*

ſpiritualty; but in regard of the temporall they ſhould obay the maiſter of the order. A

Firſt conuent of Knights of Saint Iames.

Whereof the firſt was named D. *Pedro Fernandes de Puente Encalada*. The firſt conuent which was built for theſe Knights, was neere vnto Saint Markes Hoſpitall, without the walles of Leon, on a peece of ground belonging to the Monkes of Saint Eloy, which they gaue; into the which they all retired, taking vpon them a modeſt kinde of habit, fit for the warre, carrying vpon a white cloake a red-croſſe, in forme of a ſword, for a marke of their order, and for an argument of humilitie they had their haire powled, which was no ſmal abaſement in thoſe times.

Their Order was vnder Saint *Auguſtin*, according to that of the Monkes of Saint Eloy: and all theſe things were ordred in the preſence of Cardinal *Hyacinthe*, the Legat, and allowed by him, hauing eſpeciall authority for it. A while after D. *Pedro*, the Ma- B ſter of the Order, accompanied with certaine Knights, this order beeing wonderfully increaſed, went to Rome, to preſent himſelfe to Pope *Alexander*, who confirmed the order in the yeare of our Lord 1175. according to the diſpoſition of Cardinal *Hyacinthe* his Legat, who was afterwards Pope. Many haue beleeued, and ſome haue written, that this order of Knights of Saint Iames is more ancient, grounding it vpon a certaine priuiledge which is found at Salamanca, in the Monaſterie of the Holie Ghoſt, where at this preſent the relligious women of that order are: for beſides the moderne Caſtillan Language, in the which this priuiledge is written, with the date and yeere thereof, counted from the natiuity of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, diſcouers the falſhood: for that in thoſe daies all Inſtruments, titles and letters were written in Latin, and that they did account the yeeres from the Æra of *Cæſar*, there is not any mention found in C Authors of the Inſtitution of this Order, nor of any exploit of the Knights thereof, before this time: beſides other markes of falſhood which may bee diſcouered in this priuiledge, as to intitle the King D. *Fernand* the Great Lord of Biſcay, and King of Leon, which hee was not, and by conſequence had no cauſe to grant priuiledges to that Monaſtery of the citie of Salamanca, which hath been alwaies of the iuriſdiction of Leon. Whereas in the yeere 1034. which is the date thereof, there raigned D. *Bernard* the third of that name, ſo as it is not without cauſe if they doubt of the truth of the priuiledges granted to churches and conuents.

Theſe Knights newly inſtituted being fallne into ſome diſlike with D. *Fernand* King of Leon, raigning at that time, they left their Conuent of Saint Marke at Leon, and re- D tired into Caſtille, where they were courteouſly receiued by the King D. *Alphonſo*, who gaue them the towne and Caſtle of Vcles, called in old time Vrceſia, where they built that renowned conuent, which is the chiefe ſeate of their religion and order: yet they ſent ſome of their brethren to dwell in their firſt conuent of Saint Marke at Leon, after the deceaſe of the King D. *Fernand*, vpon condition that the ſuperioritie ſhould belong to that of Vcles: but it is not obſerued, for the conuent of S. Marke doth not acknowledge that of Vcles in any thing, but doth keep their firſt reuenues, the which were ſince augmented in Eſtremadura, after the conqueſt thereof by them of Leon. In time this order did extend farre into Portugal, where it got great reuenues vnder the obedience of the conuent of Vcles, vnto the King D. *Denis*, who put the Knights E out of his country.

A thouſand launces of the Order of Saint Iames.

This order of the Knights of Saint *Iames* did ſo grow in wealth and number, by the bountie of Kings, and indulgences of Popes, as they were able to arme a thouſand launces compleat, in both conuents of Vcles and Saint Marke: and before that by the authority of Pope *Adrian* the ſixth, the maſters place was incorporate to the crowne of Caſtille, the Maiſters of the Order were choſen and diſplaced, if there were cauſe, by the ſuffrages of thirteene brethren, who had that authoritie and power from the whole Order, the which doth enioy more dignities, conuents, monaſteries, colle-

Two chiefe conuents.

ges, and other lands, then any Order that is in Spaine: firſt there are thoſe principal conuents, which are the chiefe of all the reſt, which bee Vcles and Saint *Marke*, vnder F the which are foure Hermitages, Saint Marie de la Pegna, neere vnto the Towne of Segure of the Mountaine, Saint Saluator of Munſtiers, neere to Almeſca: Saint Mary of Cagnamanes in the fields of Montiel, and Saint Anthony about Alhambra.

Beſides

A Beſides one Conuent in the Cittie of Seuille, two Colledges in the Vniuerſitie of Salamanca, ſixe Monaſteries of Religious women; which were the holy Ghoſt at Salamanca, S. Foy at Toledo, Saint Croix at Vailledolit, Saint Iames at Granado, S. Olalia at Merida, and Saint Iames in Iunguera of Barcelone. They haue alſo ſiue Hoſpitals: S. Iames of Toledo, where they go to be cured which haue the poxe or French diſeaſe, and all other infirmities which depend thereon, S. Iames at Cuença, las Tiendas in Caſtile the old, the hoſpitall neere vnto the Conuent of Saint Mark at Leon, and the hoſpitall of the Conuent at Vcles. Moreouer, this Order hath many commanderies, the which are bound to ſerue in time of warre againſt the Moores, and to furniſh 368. lances: thoſe which belong to the iuriſdiction of Vcles, are, the great Commanderie of Caſtille, that of Para-

B cuellos, Monthernand, Mora, dos Barrios, Monreal, Horcajo, el Corral of Almaguer, el Campo de Critana, Alhambra, Membrilla, Montizon, Bedmar, Vacas, Segura de la Sierra, which is the beſt Commanderie of all Spaine: Yeſte, Moratallal, Carauaca, Aledo, Ricote, Biedma, Cieça, Soconos, Torres, and Cagnamares, Montiel, Socuellamos, Villamaior, Carrizoja, Vilhermoſa, Vallanoua de la Fuente, the buildings del campo de Montiel, Villa Eſcuſa de Haro, the buildings of Mancha, and the riuer of Tayo, Huelamo, Orria, Eſtremera, Saint Croix de Sarça, Villoria, Villarubia, Alpages, and the Priorie of Vcles, the Chamber of the Priuiledges of the Order, and Alorqui. Theſe bee thoſe which acknowledge Vcles. Now thoſe follow which are of the Iuriſdiction of Saint Mark of Leon, the great Commanderie Aquilarejo, Calçadilla, la Puebla de Sancho Peres,

C el Santo, Villafrancha, la Fuente del maeſtre, Almendralegio, Lobon, Montijo, Merida, Alcueſcar, Riuera, and Azebucha, Hallame, Ellotiua, Palomas, Ornachos, Reyna Hinojoſa, Medina de la Torres, Valencia del ventoſo, Monaſterio, Montemolino, Vſagre, Azuaga, Guadalcanal, Mures, Benaçuça, Eſtepa, the houſes of Corduba, the buildings in the Prouince of Leon, the Prouince of the conuent of Leon, Villauoua of Aliſdar, Vena Mexi, the Prouoſtſhip of Bienuenida. In Caſtile the old, are Pegna, Vſende, Eſtriana, Caſtrotoraua. Beſides all theſe there are the commanderies of la Torre d'Ocague, Sarça, Mirauel, Caſtelleja de la Cueſta, Barra, Caſtroverdé. And in the Realme of Valencia are the commanderies of Muſeros, Enguerra, Orcheta, Sagra, Zenet and Fradel. Beſides theſe Commanderies, this Order hath at this day aboue ſixe hundred

D Knights of the habit, aboue two hundred Clerkes breethren, which remaine in the conuents, with Vicarages and other Benefices, ſo as it is wonderfull great and rich. And although it were firſt inſtituted to make warre againſt the Infidels, yet there are few at this day which affect theſe commanderies, or the habit to that end, but only to increaſe their reuenues, or to be in greater reputation among ſouldiers, by meanes of this habit. Such was the iuriſdiction of this Order of Knights.

During the raigne of this King Don *Alphonſo* the Noble, the Monaſterie of religious women of Balbuena was built by *Peter* of Balbuena an Hermite: in like manner one *Iohn* of Ortega, borne at Quintana in Ortugno, in the Dioceſſe of Burgos, was ſanctified, I know not for what holines, and his bodie was buried in the yeare 1173. in the Monaſtery

E which carries his name: where the Spaniſh Authors ſay, hee did many miracles. There were infinit donations made vnto Monaſteries, Conuents, and Orders of Knights, by the King and the Nobility of Spaine, for the redemption of their ſoules, and of their kindred and friends deceaſed, as their letters report.

10 The Order of the Knights of Calatraua, whoſe beginning wee haue deſcribed in the life of the king D. *Sancho* the deſired, was much augmented at that time, and was only gouerned by maſters: whereof the firſt was called D. *Garcia*, to whom ſucceeded D. *Martin Peres* of Syon: and the third maſter which gouerned at that time, was D. *Nugno Peres*, of Quignones. The firſt Conuent of this Order was at Calatraua: but ſince the Knights

F made diuers changes, as appeares by their Hiſtories, as to Ciruelos, Buxeda, Corcoles, and caſtel of Saluatierra: and ſince the chiefe ſeate of their Order was tranſlated to the caſtell of Couo, in the time of D. *Nugno Hernandes* the twelfth Maſter, where it now remaines. The rents and reuenues of this holy company of Warriours haue ſo increaſed from time to time, by the bountie of the Kings of Caſtile, as they haue beene ſeene to ſerue againſt the Moores with 300 Lances well appointed, whereunto thoſe Commanderies

Colledges. Religious commanderies of women.

Hoſpitals.

Order of Calatraua.

manderies are ordinarily bound, whoſe names be, firſt the great commanderie, Clauerra, A
Obreria, and Argamaſilla: the commanderies of Malagon, Mançares, Almagro, Montan-
cheulos, Daymiel, Villa rubia, val de pegnas, Eluico, and Saint Croix, Fuente el Moral,
and the houſes of Citté Real, Caſtellanos, Almodouar del campo, Puerto Llano, Corral
of Caracuel, Piedra Buena, Herrera, Fuente del Imperador, Carrion, Guadalerza, Me-
ſtança, Caſtilleras, Baleſtreros, Alcolea, Poſſuelo, Torroua, Bolagnos, Moral, Almira-
diel, Hauanilla, the houſes of Seuile, the houſes of Corduba, Belmer, Villafranca, Lo-
pera, Canaueral, Ximena, and Recena Pegna de Martos, Biuoras, Moratalaz, Tores and
Caſſena, Vallaga, Sorita, Almoguera, Auignon, and Verniches, the houſes of Talauera,
thoſe of Toledo, Huerta, Val de Carauanes, the houſes of Plaiſance, Ateca, Carezuela,
Ottas, Calatraua the old. And in the realme of Arragon are the commanderies of Alca- B
nis, Mouroijo, Penna Roija, Faraxneda, Ralfas, Caſtelleras, Laguna rotta, Molinos. In that
of Valencia there are alſo other commanderies. In Caſtile are the Priories of Seuile, Gra-
nado, Iaen, Alhama, Fuencaliente, Porcuna, Sugueca, and Villatoro, beſides other dig-
nities & eccleſiaſticall reuenues. This Order was confirmed by Pope *Alexander* the third,
and receiued into the protection and tuition of the Apoſtolike Sea, and had vnder it,
Knights of the Alcantara for a time.

Nauarre. About the yeare 1176. was founded the Monaſterie of our Ladie of Irançu, by Don
An. 1176. *Pedro de Paris*, biſhop of Pampelone, who notwithſtanding he called himſelfe ſo, was of
Nauarre. It is very likely that the Prelates in thoſe dayes had a great deſire to build Mona-
ſteries and ſuch like houſes, that they might leaue ſome markes and memorie after their
death of their diligence in the eſtate whereunto they were called: for otherwiſe they could C
leaue no ſubiect to ſpeake of them, that age beeing vnlearned, and full of ignorance, ſo
as not knowing in a manner any other duties, they thought themſelues ſufficiently diſ-
charged, if they did build any retreate for Monkes: and withall, they had an aſſurance,
that their beginning ſhould not remaine imperfect, nor vnprouided of rich reuenues, ſe-
ing that the hearts of Kings, and of all men in generall, were ſeaſoned with this perſwaſi-
on, that to enrich the Clergie, was the true meanes to wipe out all their offences, and to
bee ſaued: Wherefore all their exhortations, councells, and other care, tended onely to
this end, to entertaine all, eſpecially the Nobilitie in this opinion. This Biſhop, accor-
ding to this kind of doctrine, built and erected this Monaſterie of Noſtra Signora of
Irançu, and there placed the religious of *Ciſteaux*: the Abbot of which place is of D
great authoritie in Nauarre, and hath a voyce in the aſſembly of the Eſtates, as a chiefe
member of the Clergie.

Caſtille. 11 Returning to the ſecular affaires of *Caſtile*, wee finde that this yeare,
Don *Alphonſo*, the Noble, made another roade into Nauarre, being aſſiſted by Don *Cel-
brun*, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and many other Biſhops, but to ſmall effect. The moſt
renowned among the Knights, which ſerued him, were Don *Gonçal* of Maragnon, his
Standard-bearer, and Don *Roderigo Guttieres* Lord Steward: theſe were Offices in the
An. 1177. court of Caſtile, which were held during the kings pleaſure.

Cuenca taken from the Moores. This warre was diuerted by the inuaſions which the Moores made into *Caſtile* and
Arragon, in the yeare 1177. Whereupon the two Kings ioyning their forces together, E
beſeeged Cuença. The place was ſtrong and well manned, and hard to be forced: where-
fore the King of Caſtile left the king of Arragon there, who after many aſſaults tooke it.
There they placed and inſtituted an Epiſcopall ſeate, changing that of old Valeria, by a
graunt from Pope *Alexander* the third. After which, the Moores of Alarçon, doubting
they ſhould not be able to defend that place, quit it: which conqueſts remained to Ca-
ſtille: and this was at the ſame time when as King Don *Alphonſo* the Noble, did remit the
Soueraigntie and homage which the King of Arragon did owe to the *Crowne* of
Caſtille.

An. 1179. In the yeare 1179. there was a new League made and confirmed betwixt theſe Prin-
League againſt Nauarre. ces of *Caſtille* and Arragon, to make warre againſt the king of Nauarre, at their com- F
mon charge, and equall conqueſts: according to the which Don *Alphonſo* the Noble
did ſo preſſe the King Don *Sancho* alongſt the Riuer of Oja, as hee tooke from him
the places which hee had ſeazed on during his infancie, and recouered Burbieſca,

Cereſo,

A Ceresо, Granon, Entrena, and Logrogno, remaining by this meanes Lord and Maſter of Rioje and Bureua, the which the kings of Nauarre could neuer after get. This loſſe was made more grieuous by the death of Donna *Beacia*, Queene of Nauarre, a Princeſſe of great vertue, who (as ſome write) was buried in the Cathedrall church of Pampelone.

Rioie and Bureua taken by the Caſtillans from Nauarre

12 After all this, D. *Alphonſo* the Noble came to Burgos, to prouide for the neceſſities of the warre, as well againſt Nauarre, as the Moores: and hauing need of great ſums of money to that end, he propounded in a generall aſſembly of the Eſtates at Burgos, to leauie a taxe vpon the people, whereunto the Nobility as well as the reſt ſhould contribute, impoſing fiue Marauidis of gold for euery perſon, the which was valued aboue fiue Ducats: this counſell was giuen him by *Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, but it tooke

B no effect: for all the Gentlemen of Caſtile (beeing diſcontented that hee ſought to infringe their liberties) fell to armes, and beeing led by the Earle Don *Pedro de Lara*, they were reſolued to defend it, with the hazard of their liues. Wherefore D. *Alphonſo* changed his opinion, and let them vnderſtand, that from thenceforth hee would maintaine their immunities, and that whatſoeuer he had then propounded, was not to continue, but onely to ſupply the preſent neceſſitie of his affaires, which he would ſeeke to furniſh by ſome other meanes. For the great reſolution which D. *Pedro de Lara* ſhewed in this action, they ſay, that the Nobilitie of Caſtille did grant to him and to his ſucceſſors, a ſollemne break-faſt, in teſtimonie of his good indeuour in a buſineſſe of ſo great conſequence: and moreouer they affirme, that thereby the Lords of Lara haue the firſt voice

Nobility of Caſtile defend their freedom

C for the Nobilitie in the Court of Caſtil. It is not from theſe 5. Marauidis of gold, that the Prouerbe is growne in Spaine, To reuenge or defend their Nobilitie for fiue hundred ſolz, for fiue Marauidis are not fiue hundred ſolz. Wherefore leauing all the fables which ſome produce to that purpoſe, you muſt vnderſtand, that according to the ancient lawes of Caſtile, the iniurie which any one did vnto a Gentleman, where there was a ciuill reparation, they payed fiue hundred ſolz for a fyne, which were worth foure hundred Marauidis of currant money at thoſe dayes, and that which was done to one which was no Gentleman, was repayred by three hundred ſolz, which were worth but two hundred and fortie Marauidis: wherefore the Prouerbe, to reuenge his Nobility, for 500. ſolz, is drawne

Whence the Prouerb comes in Spaine, to reuenge his Nobilitie for 500 ſolz.

D from theſe ciuill lawes. D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile meaning to follow the warre with all vehemencie againſt the Moores, after that he had recouered thoſe places which D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre had taken from him, and the quarrels betwixt him and his vncle Don *Fernand* king of Leon beeing ſomewhat reconciled: by the mediation of the Noblemen and Prelates of both Realmes, and by the meanes of the king of Arragon, who ſent Don *Berenger* Biſhop of Lerida, and D. *Raymond* of Moncada thither: the more to tye the holy Knights vnto him, and to haue them readie at need, he made Vcles the chiefe ſeate of the Knights of Saint Iames, to whom he gaue the Townes of Mora, Ocagne, Oreja, and other places, along the riuer of Tayo. He gaue to the Order of Calatraua, the townes of Magueda, Aceca, Cogolludo, Surita and others: hee peopled the towne of Palence in

E Vera, or rather Playſance, and there placed the auncient Epiſcopall ſea: hee fortified Toledo, and rampared Alarcos in that Dioceſſe, beeing a place of importance vpon a hill on the left hand, comming from Almodouar del Campo, to Cité reall, about Caracuel.

13 In the meane time there fell out a great quarrell, betwixt Don *Fernand* king of Leon, and Don *Alphonſo Henriques* King of Portugall, by reaſon of the fort of Cité Roderigo, whereas the King of Leon maintained a garriſon which did much annoy the Portugals: for the ſouldiers of this place did continually ſpoile the Portugals countrie, without any reſpect: wherefore D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, who was now very old, ſent his ſonne D. *Sancho* with an army againſt this garriſon of the King of Leon, and to race the place, whereof D. *Fernand* beeing aduertiſed, he fortified his guard there, and approching himſelfe with good troupes, he encountred the Portugals neere to a place called Arraganal,

Portugal.

Kings of Leon and Caſtile in quarrell.

F or Arganal, where they were defeated, and their Generall D. *Sancho* taken, with many Noblemen and Knights of his armie, who notwithſtanding were courteouſly ſet at libertie by the King of Leon.

D. *Alphonſo Henriques* wonderfully incenſed at this loſſe, being now aboue 85. yeares old, he gathered his army together, and went to horſe, where entring Galicia in hoſtile manner,

manner, he tooke Lymia, Turon, and other places: then returning into his countrie, hee drew his forces againe together, and marched beyond Guadiana, where he did aſſaile the cittie of Badajos which the Moores held, beeing in a countrie, the conqueſt whereof did belong to the Realme of Leon: whereby it appeares, that among the Chriſtian Princes of Spaine, there was ſome diuiſion made for their warres againſt the Moores, to the end they ſhould not croſſe one another by their ambition and couetouſneſſe. The king of Portugal battered Badajos with ſuch ſpeed, as he had meanes to enter it, and wonne two parts of the towne, forcing the Moores to retire into a part, which was of ſome ſtrength, where they defended themſelues. The King of Leon hearing of this enterpriſe of the King of Portugall, (although he were not fully reconciled with his nephew of Caſtile, by reaſon of the new troubles which happened by the reuolt of D. *Fernand Ruiz de Caſtro*, & that he muſt of force leaue ſome part of his forces to make head vpon the frontiers of Caſtile, (if happily they would preſſe him on that ſide) marched from Zamora, which was newly taken by him, with ſuch ſouldiars as he could gather together, towards Badajos, whereas D. *Alphonſo* came to meet him, and gaue him battaile, which the Portugals loſt: ſo as D. *Alphonſo Henriques* was forced to fortifie himſelfe in that part of Badajos, which he had wonne: yet finding himſelfe not very ſafe, he reſolued to retire as well as he could into his countrie: but as they went out of the cittie in a great preſſe, hee bruized his foot againſt a barre of the gate, ſo as he was taken by the Leonois, who carryed him to the campe to the king D. *Fernand*, who receiued him with all honour, as his father-in-law, and a great Prince as he was, from thence he was carried to Auila, where hee was carefully looked vnto, and there made an accord with the King of Leon his ſonne-in-law: ſo as they continued good friends. The places which the Portugals had taken in Galicia, were reſtored, and D. *Fernand* deſired no other ſatisfaction, but an oath of fealtie and acknowledgement of the countrie of Portugal, holding of Leon. So Don *Alphonſo Henriques* returned free into his Realme of Portugall: after which time he could not ride, being lame of his fall, but was ſtill carried in a coach or chariot.

A B C

D. Alphonſo K. of Portugal taken, and the warre of Leon ended.

Leon.

As for D. *Fernand Ruis de Caſtro*, who, as wee haue ſayd, had left the king of Caſtiles ſeruice, and was retired into the Moores countrie, after that hee had followed their armies ſome time, in the end he came to ſerue D. *Fernand* King of Leon, by whom he was put into cité Roderigo, after that he had ſuccoured it, and chaſed away the Portugals. This Knight who was of a turbulent ſpirit, and did hate the Caſtillans deadly, bred a quarell betwixt the Kings of Leon and Caſtile, making continuall roades from his garriſon of cité Roderigo, into the countrie of D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, and had newly defeated ſome troupes of Caſtillans, which were gathered together to repulſe him, whereas ſome were ſlaine vpon the place, and ſome taken priſoners, among the which was the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara*, and others whome he deliuered afterwards vpon their faith. This was the occaſion which did much trouble and hinder the King D. *Fernand*, when as hee came againſt his father-in-law: and the Portugals who beſeeged Badajos, a towne in his iuriſdiction belonging to the Moores, whom notwithſtanding hee chaſed away, making himſelfe maſter of the towne: where he left *Aben Abel*, a Moore for Gouernor, in whom he truſted, for that the Inhabitants were all Moores: but this Infidell did not keepe the place long, but yeelded it to *Aben Iacob*, great Miralmumin of the Almohades, ſonne and heire to *Abdelmon* deceaſed.

D E

Badajos taken by D. Fernand of Leon.

Portugal.

15 *Aben Abel* did not onely commit this trecherie againſt the king D. *Fernand*, but moreouer hauing gathered together great forces of the Moores Almohades, hee ouerrunne and ſpoyled the territories of Leon: then entring into Portugal, he came and beſeeged the towne of Saint Iren, in the which the king D. *Alphonſo Henriques* was, being then old, and vnprofitable for the warre; who was in great danger to be taken within that place: but the King Don *Fernand* comming in good time, the ſeege was raiſed, and the Moores put to route: who were afterwards purſued by the Infant Don *Sancho*, who marched with the armie of Portugall neere vnto Seuille, where beeing incountred by the Moores, he vanquiſhed them, and then beſeeged Niebla: but he was forced to leaue it, beeing aduertiſed that the Moores were entred by Extremadura, and did beſeege Veija: wherefore being preſt to defend his owne, he left the other. Arriuing at Veija, he defeated

F

Exploits of D. Sancho againſt the Moores.

and

and diſperſed the Moores, and freed the towne from danger: this was in the yeare, 1181. 1181.

At that time the chiefe in Spaine among the Princes of the Moores, according to the diuiſion which they had made among themſelues, vnder the Soueraigntie of Maroc, were the Kings of Murcia; one of the which called *Lobo*, had had a perpetuall hatred againſt the Royall family of *Almohade*, called the Mazemutes. This *Lobo* had beene tributarie to the King of Arragon: but during the quarrels betwixt Arragon and Caſtile, he had rebelled, by the fauour of the King of Caſtile: whereupon the King of Arragon fauoured the Mazemutes. *Lobo* beeing dead, his ſonne *Modef* ſucceeded him, who was father to *Zaen*, the laſt King of the Moores at Valencia. *Moores.* *Zaen the laſt King of the Moores.*

16 As for *Zamora* which D. *Fernand* King of Leon had newly ſubdued, it was thus: The king of Leon hauing built and peopled the towne of Ledeſma and others, to accommodate his new Collonies, hee had ſomewhat reſtrained the territorie of Salamanca, whereat the Inhabitants beeing incenſed, they rebelled againſt him: and hauing drawne vnto them Auila and Zamora, and infected other neighbour places with the poyſon of their rebellion, they made choice of a Knight, called *Nugno Rauia*, for their head; with whom going to field with a great number, as well of their cittizens, as of their allies, the King D. *Fernand* came and charged them neere vnto Valdemuça, where he did quite defeate them, and tooke their captaine D. *Nugno Rauia* aliue, whoſe head he cauſed to be cut off. This victorie made the chief of them which had taken armes againſt the King, to retire, giuing the reſt occaſion to giue ouer the enterpriſe, and then all ioyntly together demanded pardon, and obtained it. The towne of Zamora beeing (as we haue ſayd) ingaged in this mutinie, the King D. *Fernand* led his victorious armie thither, but the Inhabitants yeelded without any difficultie: ſo within few daies theſe two townes, and others by their example, returned to the obedience of the king of Leon. *Leon.*

17 This yeare 1181. D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre, fortified a little towne, called at that time Gaſteiz, to ſerue for a barre againſt the king of Caſtile, and to defend the frontier in the Prouince of Alaua. This place being ſince augmented in circuit and people, was called *Victoria*, a part whereof (which at this day is called Villa de Suço) was that Bourg of Gaſteiz. The king granted to his new town the ſame Lawes he had done to Logrogno, correcting and reforming them in ſome points: he gaue many priuiledges to the Inhabitants, namely, that they ſhould not haue any ſtranger to bee Iudge or Gouernour ouer them, but one borne in the countrie, who ſhould be choſen and changed by them, if they found him not faithfull and capable: the which was called the priuiledge Merino, according to the ſtyle of the countrie. They haue obſerued this order in the gouernement of the towne, the which is one of the beſt ordered in Spaine, hauing aboue all things beene carefull not to admit any new Chriſtian to publike charges, vnleſſe he bee of foure deſcents. The reaſon of this name *Victoria*, was for ſome victorie obtained in that countrey againſt the Caſtillans, as it is to be preſumed: but by the defect of Hiſtories of thoſe times the particularities are not knowne. *Nauarre.* *Victoria built at Alaua.*

After that this town came vnder the obedience of the kings of Caſtile, they did much inlarge it in circuit, and built the foure pariſhes of Saint Michel, Saint Vincent, S. Peter, and Saint Illefonce or Alphonſe. It is written of this king D. *Sancho* the Wiſe, that hauing about this time ouer-runne the territorie of Rioje and Bureua, the which D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile had taken from him ſome yeares before, and beeing neere vnto Burgos, at a place called Atapuerca, he gaue a blow with his ſword againſt an Elme, for a marke that the limits of Nauarre ſhould extend ſo farre: then returning with an infinite number of cattell, and other ſpoyles, as he had a little paſt the Monaſterie of Saint Peter of Cardegna, the Abbot of that place, who was a reuerent man, took the Standard of *Cid Ruis Diaz* great Grand-father to the king D. *Sancho*, (who was buried in that Monaſterie) & mounted vpon a Mulet, beeing accompanied by tenne of his Monkes; the ſtrongeſt of which carryed this Standard: he made all the haſt he could after this armie, vntill hee had ouertaken the king, before whome he humbled himſelfe. The king wondring to ſee theſe Monkes in this equipage, with ſtandard of warre, yet he gaue them good reception, beeing of himſelfe very deuout: and demanding what was the reaſon of their comming, the Abbot ſayd vnto him, That he was Abbot of Saint Peter of Cardegna, and that he was come vnto him to beſeech him, for the honour of *Cid Ruis Diaz*, his great Grandfather,

(who

(who was interred with them and his Standard which he ſaw in their hands) that it would A
pleaſe him to leaue the prey which he carried away. The King thought thereon a little, in
the end he found himſelfe ſo touched with the remembrance of *Cid Ruis*, and the deuoti-
on and great reuerence he bare vnto the religious, as he left this great booetie which hee
had made, to reſtore it to the owners, wherewith all men were not content.

Caſtile. The quarrels betwixt the kings of Caſtile and Nauarre continued long, although by
fits they had ſome reſt, but it was a counterfeit peace, or a feate of warre. Logrogno and
Aguiſejo were (by ſome accord made betwixt theſe Princes) as neuters betwixt Nauarre
and Caſtile, in the hands of *Ramir de Barea*: but the citty of Calaorra was held by a knight
called Don *Diego Ximenes*, in the name of Don *Alphonſo*, king of Caſtile. And for that
the warres betwixt theſe Chriſtian Princes were very diſhonorable and preiudiciall to re- B
ligion, whereof they carryed the title, Pope *Lucius* the third then raigning, ſent a Cardi-
nall Legat into Spaine, to reconcile them, who vſed great diligence, but not with ſuch
effect, as he deſired. The kings of Caſtile and Arragon had an interview, and he of Ar-
ragon paſt to Saint Iames, to viſit the Apoſtles Sepulcher. This Legat did ſet downe an
order betwixt theſe two kings, for the conqueſt of the Moores countrie, whereunto hee
did animate theſe Princes, and aſſigned to Arragon, that which lyes from Valencia to-
wards Cattelogne, and the reſt to Caſtile: with which diuiſion the kings of Arragon
(which came after) were not well content, ſo as they were faine to make a new diuiſion,
extending the iuriſdiction of Arragon, vnto Alicant: this happened ſince in the raigne of
Don *Pedro*.

Arragon. 18 This king Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, hauing about that time held a Prouinciall C
Councell at Tarragone in Cattelogne, made a decree among other things, That from
thencefoorth the Notaries ſhould not ſet downe the yeares of the raigne of the Kings of
France, in any contract which ſhould be made in Cattelogne, as they had till then obſer-
ued, but onely the yere of the Incarnation of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; which was, that they
would no more acknowledge the ſoueraigntie of France, of whom Cattelogne and the
Countie of Barcelone did hold and depend. This King D. *Alphonſo* finding himſelf migh-
tie, and hauing a good ſhare on this ſide the mountaines, buſied himſelfe in the French
warres, taking part with the factions, which were among the Noblemen of that nation,
and yet was neuer in very good tearmes with Caſtile, but for his own profit: yet he main-
tained himſelfe wiſely in his countrie, and with reputation. D

Portugall. 19 Don *Alphonſo Henriques* being very old, and at the graues brinke, thought what
An. 1183. was fit for his ſoules health, as he had beene inſtructed: he procured in the yeare 1183. to
haue the bodie of Saint *Vincent* tranſported to Lisbone; the which they ſayd, was in that
countrie called *Algarbo*, on the holy promontorie, the which hath beene ſince called (by
reaſon of this relique) Cape Saint *Vincent*, he was borne at Sarragoſſa. The king went
twiſe in perſon to Cape S. *Vincent*, beeing 89. yeares old, for the remouing of this bo-
die, the which he placed in the Cathedrall church at Lisbone. This Prince was ſo religi-
ous, and ſo great a benefactor to the Clergie, as (beſides the three Monaſteries of S. *Croix*
of Coimbra, of Alcouaſa, and of S. *Vincent* at Lisbone) hee built the great Cathedrall
church of that cittie, and that of Ebora, indowing them with great reuenues. The queene E
Donna *Malfada* his wife, carrying the like zeale, did alſo build the Monaſterie of Saint
Dominike at Porto, the church of Saint *Peter*, the Monaſterie of Leza, of the Order of S.
Iohn, a League from the ſame cittie, and Saint *Mary d'Aquas Santas*, Saint *Saluator* of
Goandara, Saint *Peter* de Retes, Saint *Mary* de Gojos, and about Guymaranes the Mo-
naſterie of Acoſta, with many others, to the number (as they ſay) of an 150. if they fayle
not in their account. And for a teſtimonie of great charitie, they ſay, that theſe good
Princes left a rent to the barke of Mexanfrio, vpon the riuer of Duero, to the end they
ſhould paſſe euery one without any fee.

Whileſt they buſied themſelues about theſe workes of pietie, *Aben-Iacob* great Miral-
mumin of the Arabians, (being aduertiſed of the routs and ruine of his ſectaries in Spain) F
paſt the ſtreight in perſon with great forces of the Almohades Affricanes, where hauing
ioyned with the Moores of Spaine, hee went to beſeege Saint *Iren*, into the which Don
Sancho the Infant of Portugall had put himſelfe, beginning to make his Engines
readie

A ready to batter it, where the beſeeged were likely to be in great danger: but the good old man Don *Alphonſo Henriques* would not let the Infidels glorie, in that they had done him this affront in his old age, but hauing put his men in order, and being reſolute, hee ledde them to ſuccor his ſonne, who had intelligence of the Portugall armie, the which (being fauoured by a furious ſalley which the beſeeged made) charged the Moores armie with ſuch reſolution, as they put them to flight, with great ſlaughter of their beſt men, and the loſſe of their king *Aben Iacob*, who being mortally wounded in the charge by a Portugal, dyed at the paſſage of the riuer of Tayo. This battell was wonne in the yeare 1184. on S. *Iohn* Baptiſts day, fiue dayes after the Moores had begun the ſeege. *Aben Ioſeph* his brother ſucceeded this Moore, and was the third King of the Almohades. 1184.

B 20 After this famous victorie, theſe Princes, father and ſon came to Coimbra, which was at that time the chiefe towne of the Realme of Portugal, and from thence to Porto, where the marriage of D. *Thereſa* Infanta of Portugall, was concluded with *Philip* Earle of Flanders. Beeing returned to Coimbra, D. *Alphonſo Henriques* fell ſicke, whereof hee dyed, being 91. yeares old, hauing raigned with the title of a King about 46. yeares, and had ſucceeeded in his fathers Eſtates, and held them 73. yeare. His body was interred in the Monaſterie of S. Croix of Coimbra, D. *Sancho* his ſonne was king after him in Portugall, ſurnamed the Builder of townes. *Portugal.* *D. Sancho the 2. King of Portugal, firſt of that name.*

21 D. *Fernand* King of Leon, had a little before his death, put away D. *Vrraca* his daughter, by reaſon of proximitie of bloud, their marriage beeing made without a diſ-
C penſation from the Pope, who beeing (as they write) wonderfully preſt by the King, to giue them leaue to remaine together, would neuer yeeld vnto it, notwithſtanding that of her was borne D. *Alphonſo*, who ſucceeded his father in the Realmes of Leon and Gallicia: they were couſins in the third degree. D. *Fernand* married afterwards with the daughter of the Earle Don *Nugno*, who liued little with him: then he tooke to his third wife D. *Vrraca Lopes*, daughter to the Earle D. *Lopes*, and ſiſter to Don *Diego Lopes de Haro*, with whom he continued not long, for hee died in the towne of Benauent in the yeare 1188. hauing had two ſonnes by her called D. *Sancho Fernandes*, and D. *Garcia*. His bodie was interred at Compoſtella, in Saint *Iames* church, where as his mother D. *Berenguela* the
D Empreſſe did lye. *Leon.* *Fernand King of Leon puts away his wife.*

D. Alphonſo the 9. of that name, the 27. King of Leon.

22 AT the time of his death, it ſeemed there remayned no cauſe of quarrell, betwixt Leon and Caſtile, which was not decided and ended. His ſonne D. *Alphonſo* beeing troubled with continuall ſtormes and quarrels by his mother-in-law D. *Vrraca Lopes*, was retired into Portugall: ſo as at the time of his fathers death, he was abſent, but being aduertiſed thereof, he came preſently to Leon, where he was receiued and crowned king,
E without any contradiction. The King of Caſtiles Councellors were of opinion, that by the death of D. *Fernand*, their Prince had a good oportunitie offered, to bee reuenged of the wrongs which were done him during his nonage. If he had then any deſire of reuenge the future euents will ſhew. *D. Alphonſo King of Leon.*

D. *Alphonſo* ſurnamed the Noble, raigning then in Caſtille, was numbred for the 4. of that name, of thoſe that raigned alone in Caſtille, whoſe poſteritie was very great; for he had eleuen children by Queene *Elenor*, daughter of England; the eldeſt was Queene *Blanche*, mother to the king S. *Lewis* of France: the ſecond D. *Berenguela* who was queene of Leon, daughter to D. *Alphonſo* the ninth. The 3. was a ſonne named D. *Sancho*, who died in his Infancie: the 4. was D. *Vrraca*, Queene of Portugall, married to D. *Alphonſo* the ſecond of that name ſurnamed the Groſſe: the 5. child was Don *Fernand*, who died alſo
F yong: the ſixt was D. *Malſada*, dead in Salamanca and was not married: the 7. D. *Conſtance* Abbeſſe of las Huelgas de Burgos, a Monaſterie built by her father. Then had D. *Alphonſa*, and D. *Elenora* two daughters, who died young: and ſucceſſiuely the Queene was deliuered of another daughter, called alſo *Elenor* like her ſelfe, who was wife to Don *Iayme*, or *Iames*, firſt King of that Name, and the eighth King of Arragon. *Caſtile.* *Genealogie of Caſtile.*

In the end they had the infant Don *Henry*, who ſucceeded his father in the realmes of Caſtile and Toledo. Theſe were the children which iſſued of that marriage. A

Leon. The other Don *Alphonſo* being crowned King of Leon, his mother-in-law retired into Nagera, where ſhe liued long in her widdow-hood, and beeing dead, was buried in the Monaſterie of Saint *Mary* the royall, in the chappell of the true Croſſe, whereas afterwards others of her houſe were interred, and three of her brethren, Don *Lopes Diaz*, D. *Martin Lopes*, and Don *Diego Lopes de Haro*. The new king of Leon ſtayed not long after his Coronation before he came to the court of Caſtile, beeing at Carrion, where they ſay, that King Don *Alphonſo* the Noble his couſin made him knight, as he did alſo *Conrad* the fourth ſonne to the Emperor *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*; to honour whom, the Spaniards write, that he would haue giuen him the Infanta Donna *Berenguela* his daughter, but B ſhe would not go into Germany: others ſay, that the marriage was made and accompliſhed: but *Conrad* beeing departed to returne into Germanie, (whither he was called to be Duke of Suabe) Donna *Berenguela* deſired to be diuorced, the which was done by the meanes of Don *Gonçalo* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and Cardinal, *Gregorie* the Popes Legate: and was afterwards married to D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, couſin germaine to her father. Don *Raymond* called *Flacade*, Earle of Tholouſa, was alſo made Knight in the company of theſe two Princes. In this ceremonie the King of Leon kiſſed the king of Caſtilles hand, which was a fore-telling of the pretenſions and quarrels which ſhould fall out betwixt theſe two Realmes.

Caſtile. The court beeing then at Carrion, there was an aſſembly of Noblemen vaſſals, which C did acknowledge the Soueraigntie, to take the oath of fealtie vnto the King, as it was in auncient time obſerued almoſt euery yeare, where they were accuſtomed to treate of matters of conſequence concerning the State, and the houſes of Princes. The Councellors of greateſt note to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille in this aſſembly, were Don *Gonçalo* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, Primate of Spaine, the Biſhops Don *Rodrigo* of Calaorra, Don *Maurice* of Burgos, Don *Arderic* of Palence, and Don *Gonçalo* of Segobia, Don *Iohn* of Cuença, the Earles Don *Pedro de Lara*, Don *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Diego Lope de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, chiefe Standard-bearer of the kingdome, Don *Rodrigo Guttieres* Lord Stuard, and *Guttiere Rodrigues* Chancelor.

Aſſembly of the Eſtates euery yeare in Spaine.

Hatred betwixt fiue Chriſtian kings raigning then in Spaine. The diſcontents and ſecret hatred betwixt the Chriſtian Princes, which raigned then D in Spaine, was great, beeing fiue, carrying the titles of Kings, that is, three *Alphonſos*, of Caſtile, Arragon, and Leon, and two *Sanchos*, one of Nauarre, and the other of Portugal. The King of Caſtile preſumed to haue ſuperiority ouer the other foure, as his vaſſals, notwithſtanding any accords which had beene made: wherefore hee thought hee might lawfully controule them at his pleaſure. Some yeares before he had taken from the king of Nauarre, the lands lying vpon the riuer of Oja, and Bureua, beeing the auncient patrimonie of Nauarre, which came not to them of Caſtile by any iuſt title, but by meere vſurpation and violence. As for him of Arragon, he complained, that the King of Caſtile had neuer kept any thing promiſed in the League, which had beene made betwixt them, E but had made his profit in all warres, of the Arragonois bloud and meanes. The King of Leon began to find the error which he had committed, to haue come to the court of Caſtille, beeing at Carrion, and to haue kiſſed the Kings hand. As for Portugal, there was neuer any good correſpondencie betwixt theſe Princes, and them of Caſtile, ſince the firſt Earle Don *Henriques*: ſo as theſe vlcers hauing infected the hearts of theſe Potentates, by iealouſie, enuie, and bad councell: they mooued the kings of Arragon and Nauarre firſt of all, to make an offenſiue and defenſiue League: for the concluſion whereof the two Princes met at Boria, where, of mortall enemies, they became great friends. There it was accorded, that the frends & enemies of any one of theſe Princes, ſhold be reputed for ſuch by the other, and that they ſhould be bound to aſſiſt one another, for the defence of their Eſtates. For the obſeruation of which accord, either of them did pawne for his part, the F townes and caſtels following: for the King of Nauarre, the townes of Valtierra, Ablitas, Montagu, Saint Mary of Vxue, and Chaſtillon of Sanguesſe with their forts: and for Arragon, the townes of Boria, Sos Malon, Rueſta and Petillas.

For the guard of theſe ten places, there was choſen, by a common conſent of the two kings

A Kings, D. *Fernand Ruis d'Açora*, a knight borne in Nauarre, but remained in Arragon, and was Gouernor of Daroca and Calatajub. He tooke an oath to both these Kings, well and faithfully to keepe those places, to deliuer all vnto him, in whose preiudice the treatie had beene broken by the other: the which was not only sworne by both kings, but also by their eldest sonnes, Don *Sancho* of Nauarre, and Don *Pedro* of Arragon. And moreouer, it was agreed, that whensoeuer Don *Fernand Ruis* would discharge himselfe of the gard of those places and forts, that foure knights of either partie should be named, out of the which number, the two kings should either of them choose one, into whose hands the forts should be deliuered with the like oath: that is, the fiue townes of Nauarre to the knight of Arragon, and the fiue of Arragon to the Nauarrois. These things thus
B concluded, sworne, and signed, the Kings departed, D. *Sancho* into Nauarre, and Don *Alphonso* to Daroca: whereas the articles were againe confirmed and sworne, in the presence of the chiefe knights of both kingdomes: whereof those of Nauarre were D. *Pedro Ladron de Gueuara*, *Inigo Ortis*, *Garcia Almorauid*, *Pedro de Caseante*, *Michel de Leet*, *Lope de Valtierra*, and *Barthelemy de Rada*, all of the most famous families in Nauarre.

This League beeing made in the yeare 1190. was followed by another made betwixt the kings of Arragon and Leon, into the which Don *Sancho* king of Portugall was drawn. An assembly being made to that end at Huesca, thither came the ambassadors, of Leon & Portugal, with ample authority and instructions: whereas a League was made among those Princes like vnto that of Boria, capitulating, that not any one of them should make warre, truce, or peace, without the consent of the others. These allyances made and con-
C firmed with all the oaths and solemnities required, did not cause so great a storm as they did threaten: for the kings of Leon and Portugall were long quiet, without giuing any annoyance to Castile: the kings of Arragon and Nauarre made some attempts, but to small effect.

1190. *A League against Castile, made by Arragon, Leon, and Portugal.*

D. Sancho the 2. King of Portugall, the first of that name.

D 24 WHen as Don *Sancho* came to the Crowne of Portugall, he was 31. years old: foure yeares before he had married Donna *Aldoncia*, or *Douce*, daughter to Don *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelone, and Regent of Arragon, and of Queene *Petronilla*. D. *Sancho* had by this Ladie *Douce* nine children, whereof there were foure sonnes, the eldest was called Don *Alphonso*, and was king after his father, hee was borne in his Grandfathers life time: the second was D. *Fernand*, who was Earle of Flanders, by marrying with the heire of that countrie, whose name was *Iane* daughter to Count *Baudwin* Emperour of Constantinople: the kings third sonne was D. *Pedro*, who was great in Arragon, where he married the Earle of Vrgels daughter: the fourth sonne
E dyed young, and was called D. *Henriques*. Besides these sonnes, he had fiue daughters, the eldest whereof was married to Don *Alphonso* king of Leon, the ninth of that name, and was called Donna *Theresa*, from whom he was diuorced, by reason of consanguinity, notwithstanding two daughters and one sonne which they had had: after which diuorce shee liued religiously in Portugal, in the Monasterie of Lorban, which her father built, and indowed with great reuenues for her sake. King D. *Alphonso* who had put her away, did afterwards marry Donna *Berenguela* daughter to the king of Castile, who was as neere allyed to him as the other.

Portugal. Genealogie of Portugal.

This was the practise of those kings, when they had a desire to change their wiues, either for their pleasures, or for some other aduancements, the Pope interposing himselfe, dispencing, binding or dissoluing at his will and pleasure, by the authoritie of the Romish
F Sea. The second daughter of D. *Sancho* king of Portugal, and of D. *Aldoncia*, was Donna *Maisada*, Queene of Castile, a Lady of rare beauty, whom D. *Henry* of Castile married: but Pope *Innocent* the 3. dissolued this marriage within few daies, by the solicitation of D. *Berenguela* sister to this king of Castile, who in disdaine, that Don *Aluaro de Lara* had concluded it without her priuitie, informed the Pope of their neere allyance that

was betwixt them, and perſwaded him to ſeparate them: but this Princeſſe being thus re- A
iected, retired in great diſdaine into Portugal, where ſhe liued the reſt of her daies in the Monaſterie of Ronca, built by her. The third daughter was Donna *Sancha*, a Nunne in the Monaſterie of Saint *Francis* of Alanguer, built by her. The fourth, Donna *Blanche*, Lady of Guadalacara in Caſtile: and the fifth and laſt was D. *Berenguela*, who was not maried, but did accompany her eldeſt ſiſter Donna *Thereſa*, when as ſhe retired to the Monaſtery of Lorban. This King D. *Sancho* had familiarity with two Gentlewomen after the death of his wife: the firſt was called Donna *Maria Aires* of Fornello, by whom hee had one daughter called Donna *Vrraca*, and D. *Martin Sanches* of Portugall, who was Gouernor of the fronter of Portugall, and a great fauourite to Don *Alphonſo* king of Leon his bro-
ther-in-law: he married Donna *Olalla Peres*, daughter to the Earle D. *Pero Fernandes de* B
Caſtro. Don *Sancho* did marrie this Gentlewoman his friend, to a knight called D. *Gil Vaſ-
quez de Sonça*, and tooke a ſecond friend, whoſe name was Donna *Maria Peres de Ribera*, whom he loued much, and by her had Donna *Thereſa Sanches*, who was wife to Don *Al-
phonſo Tellez*, founder of the towne of Albuquerque, and had alſo one ſonne called D. *Ruy Sancho* of Portugall, and another daughter Donna *Conſtance Sanches*, who built the Monaſterie of Saint *Francis* at Coimbra. D. *Ruy Sancho* was ſlaine in a battaile neere vn-
to Porto: ſo as the king D. *Sancho* had in all fifteene children; nine lawfull, and ſixe Ba-
ſtards, whereof there were ſeuen ſonnes and eight daughters. After the deceaſe of his fa-
ther, hauing raigned about foure yeares, when as they began to treat of a League againſt the King of Caſtile, whereof we haue made mention, certaine Engliſh and French ſhips beeing arriued at Lisbone, with many Knights and ſouldiers, which went to the holy C
Land, by the Streight of Gibraltar, beeing ſtayed there by foule weather, hee made vſe of this occaſion, and intreated theſe paſſengers to aſſiſt him at the ſiege of Silues, in the countrie of Algarbe: and about the ſame time there arriued eighteen other ſhips of war, which his brother-in-law *Philip* Earle of Flanders ſent him, with which forces hee tooke Sylues, and did great harme vnto the Moores of that countrie. It was at that time when the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, king *Philip Auguſtus* of France, and *Richard* king of England, called *Corde-Lyon*, made their voyage into the Eaſt, that this towne of Silues was taken from the Moores, by the helpe of theſe ſtrangers. This King Don *Sancho* built more townes, and peopled more countries then any of the kings of Portugall, whereby he purchaſed the name of Poblador, which is as much to ſay, as Builder, or peopler of D
Townes: Valencia of Minio, Torreſ-nouas, Monte Maior the new, Batellas, Penama-
çor, Sortella, Penella, Figueira, Couillana. Folgacino, and Montemor, were his works, with many other places; part of the which hee gaue to the Orders of Saint *Iames* and *Auis*, which began in his time in Portugall: to Saint *Iames* hee gaue Alcacar de Sal, Pa-
mela and Almada: and to that of *Auis*, Valeillas, Alcanebe, Geromegna, Alcantade and Alpedrin, with the caſtell of Mafra. He recouered Yelbes from the Moores which they had taken from Portugall.

Caſtile.

An. 1194.

25 D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtille, againſt whom (as wee haue ſayd) the other foure Chriſtian Kings of Spaine had made a League, had not yet beene much annoyed thereby in the yeare 1194. wherefore hee thought rather to vndertake ſome warre againſt the E
Moores, then to defend himſelfe againſt his neighbours, of whom he made ſhew to haue ſo little feare, as he would not leaue any thing which he had taken, or that were in con-
trouerſie: nay, he built a towne betwixt Logrogno and Nagera, the which he called Na-
uarret, to the which he gaue many liberties and freedomes, as appeares by his letters granted in an aſſembly at Carrion, in the yeare 1095. Notwithſtanding all this, the Con-
federats did not ſtirre: but Hiſtories make mention, that D. *Sancho* ſurnamed the Strong, king of Nauarre, who had newly ſucceeded his father Don *Sancho* the Wiſe, beeing de-
ceaſed the yeare before 1194. and he of Leon, allyed themſelues with the King of Caſtile, for the warre which he intended againſt the Moores of Andaluſia: to beginne the which he ſent for Chiefe and General of his armie, D. *Martin* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, a Prelate F
much eſteemed by the Hiſtoriographers of Spaine, by reaſon of his great vertues, ho-
noured among others by Don *Roderigo* his ſucceſſour, who termes Don *Martin*, *Stole*, the Diademe of the Church; his wiſedome & prouidence, the peace of many; his tongue

*Fort of Na-
uarre betwixt
Logrogno and
Nagera.*

the

A the reformation of diſcipline, his hands, the releeſe of the poore, and his armes, the perſecution of Blaſphemie, with other ſuch Spaniſh elegancies, ſaying in the end, that the Church was happie which had ſuch a Paſtor: theſe are his very words. This Arch-biſhop finding armes the fitteſt meanes to propagate the faith of Chriſt, made ſo furious an entry into Andaluſia, as he left horrible markes throughout the whole Prouince, where he filled all with murther, ruine, fire and deſolation, and then returned triumphantly, beeing laden with great and rich ſpoiles: but this expedition beeing ſuddenly made againſt the Moores, did afterwards bring more miſerie and diſhonor to the King and his Eſtate, then it had done profit or honor vnto the Biſhop, who had ſhewed more rage and fury, then valour, reaſon, or warlike diſcipline.

B 26 The Arch-biſhops exploit, did ſo incenſe *Aben Ioſeph* King of the Arabians, (beeing ſollicited by the Moores of Spaine) as hauing with great ſpeed leuied a mighty armie of Affricane Arabians, yea out of the regions neereſt vnto the Negros, hee paſſed the Sreight, and came into Andaluſia, where he ioyned with the Moores of Spaine, and marched beyond the mountaine which they call Sierra Morena, againſt the Chriſtians. King Don *Alphonſo* the Noble, beeing aduertiſed of this great preparation, was come to lodge at Alarcos, a fort at that time (by reaſon of the ſituation) of great Importance, whether all his vaſſalls and men of warre of Toledo, Extremadura, and Caſtile came, where hee alſo attended ſupplies from Nauarre and Leon. The Moores marching with all ſpeede, approched neere vnto Alarcos, the Chriſtians campe beeing but weake, hauing not all
C their forces together: yet ſeeing the Moores collours flying in the ayre: the king Don *Alphonſo*, and his Knights reſolued not to keepe themſelues within their rampars & trenches, but to charge the enemy valiantly, to the end they might haue the honor of ſuch a victorie: but it fell out otherwiſe, for beeing come to handie-ſtrokes, the leſſer number, which were the Chriſtians did valiantly, but the Moores beeing the greater, vanquiſhed, and ſlue many braue men: among the which D. *Martin Martines* the fourth maſter of the holy Knights of Calatraua dyed. The King D. *Alphonſo* beeing ſore wounded, ſaued himſelfe by flight. The loſſe of this battaile was the loſſe of Alarcos, and of many Chriſtians that were within it, who fell into the Moores hands, as many other Townes and ſtrong
D places did, the Infidels ſeazing vpon the whole countrie, euen vnto the Ports of Yebenes, which is within ſixe Leagues of Toledo. There are to be ſeene at this day, markes of this battaile, and of other incounters in thoſe quarters, betwixt Ventas of Daraſutan and Sacuela, in a plain called Matança, where there are infinit heapes of ſtones, and many croſſes, ſhewing, that in former times, there had bin much bloud ſpilt in thoſe places. Some charge D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, ſaying, that he retired out of the fight too ſoone: others ſay, that he did it expreſſely, and led many Knights of Caſtile with him, beeing diſcontented for that the King had compared the knights of Extremadura with them: ſaying, that they were as good horſ-men, and did fight as well as the Caſtillans. Others accuſe the king and his captaines, that he made too great haſt to fight, and had not attended the
E Nauarrois and Leonois, who were vpon the way, and made haſt to ioyne with him: ſo as the fault of the one and the other, both of King, Captaines and Knights, was to ſeek their owne glorie, and not that of God, nor the profit of the common-weale; and the beſt excuſe they had, was, that they ſhewed themſelues more valiant then wiſe. The kings of Nauarre and Leon, beeing aduertiſed of this defeat, were not much troubled: for he of Nauarre (without paſſing any farther) led his men home into his countrie, and the king of Leon ſent backe his, the which did much diſcontent the king of Caſtile: for they abandoned him at his need, whereas if they had aduanced, they might haue ſtayde the Conqueſt, ruines and ſpoiles, which the Moores made after the battell: yea he noted the little loue, and bad allyance of the King of Nauarre, who beeing entred into his countrie, would not vouchſafe to viſit him, knowing that he was ſicke of the wound, which he had receiued in
F the battaile. Don *Alphonſo* king of Leon came to Toledo to ſee him, although hee loued him not much better then the king of Nauarre. All this he diſſembled for the preſent, and reſerued the reuenge till a conuenient time.

Moores.

Defeate of Chriſtians neere vnto Alarcos. 1195.

A

D. Sancho the 21. King of Nauarre, the eight of that name.

Nauarre.

27. THis King of Nauarre, which led ſuccors to D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile, was Don *Sancho* the Strong, ſonne to D. *Sancho* ſurnamed the Wiſe, who had ſucceeded his father, in the yeare 1194. as we haue ſayd, hauing raigned three and forty yeares, ſeuen months and ſome dayes, he is interred at Pampelone, in the Cathedrall Church. This D. *Sancho* the ſonne, at his comming to the Crowne, was aduiſed to proceed politikely with the B
King of Caſtille, vntill he were well ſetled: and therefore King D. *Alphonſo*, did build at his owne pleaſure, the towne of Nauarret, in the country of Rioje, the which was diſputable betwixt them, and vpon the frontier of Nauarre: the ſurname of Strong, was giuen him for his valour, but they did alſo call him the Retired, for that in his latter dayes hauing a Canker in one of his feete, (which made it to ſwell, and put him to great paine) he ſhut himſelfe vp into the caſtell of Tudele, and would not ſuffer any to ſee him, not ſpeake to him but his ordinarie ſeruants. This was the 21. King of Nauarre in number, and the eight of that name, deſcended by the maſculine line from the firſt King D. *Garcia Ximenes*, the which had continued in ſucceſſors males 518. yeares, fayling in him by the death of the Infant D. *Fernand* his ſonne, who dyed before his father. C

Deeds of the king D. Sancho the Strong for the good of the Common-weale and Religion.

This Prince was much eſteemed for his vertue, valour, Iuſtice, and gouernement, ſo as the Nauarrois held, he was the beſt King that had raigned ouer them. Among other teſtimonies he left of him, he turned the courſe of the riuer of Ebro, the which did runne by Mirepoix, and made it paſſe by Tudele, a towne which he did loue and frequent much: the which he did beautifie with a collegiall Church, of a fayre building: and richly indowed it: he fortified the places of his fronters towards Caſtile and Arragon, and built new forts; as the caſtell of Treuigno, in the Prouince of Alaua: he enlarged the towne of Victoria: and in Rioje, la Garde, and Saint Vincent: and towards Guienne, (which the Engliſh then held) he fortified the towne of Saint Sebaſtian, and Fonteraby in Guipuſcoa, but it was for another. As for religious buildings, beſides the Collegiall Church of Tudele, he made for his ſepulcher, S. Mary the Royall at Ronceuaux, a Colledge of Chanoins, and moreouer the Monaſteries of Saint Mary de Hitero, and Saint Mary de Oliua, both of the Order of Ciſteaux, whoſe abbots haue a place and voice, in the Eſtates of Nauarre, the which the Prior of Ronceuaux hath in like manner, yet he was not very liberall, but in caſe of neceſſitie and workes of piety: wherefore hee gathered together greater treaſures then any King in Spaine. By this his ſparing, it may be, he loſt the Prouinces of Alaua and Guipuſcoa, which were ioyned to Caſtile. The iuriſdiction of Nauarre was neuer ſo much reſtrained, as during the raigne of theſe two kings, *Sanches* the father and ſonne. D

This king of whom we ſpeake, gaue himſelfe occaſion to Don *Alphonſo* the Noble, to take armes againſt him: for ſeeing him much troubled to keepe his countrie from inuaſion of the Moores, who were growne proud by their late victorie, and that hee kept his bed wounded: hee thought it now a fit time to recouer his lands of Rioje and Bureua, which his aduerſarie kept frō him: wherfore hauing layd a plot with the king of Leon his allye and confederate, he attempted warre againſt D. *Alphonſo* the Noble, and entred into Caſtile in the yeare 1196. putting all to fire and ſword, eſpecially in the countrie of Soria and Almaçan. D. *Alphonſo* king of Leon, aduancing alſo into the Prouince of Campo did worſe, for he brought in the Moores of Extremadura, with whome hee was in League. E

Kings of Nauarre & Leon inuade Caſtile An. 1196.

Arragon.

There is no doubt but Don *Alphonſo* king of Arragon would haue beene a partaker in this Inuaſion of Caſtile, if death had not preuented him in the ſame yeare 1196. He died F
in Perpignan, hauing raigned three and thirty yeares, eight moneths, and ſome dayes, and was buried in the royal Monaſterie of Poublette, which he had founded: whoſe ſonne and ſucceſſor Don *Pedro*, thought it more ſafe to leaue the allyance of the kings of Nauarre and Leon, to ioyne with Caſtile, in whoſe defence and preſeruation he employed himſelf faith-

A faithfully againſt the two others : ſo as D. *Alphonſo* the Noble, had by this ſupport, meanes to ſtay the furie of his enemies, and to keepe his countrie and fronter townes.

Caſtille.

During theſe quarrels amongſt Princes, the Clergy was not idle; for the ſame yeere D. *Rederigo* Biſhop of Calaorra, deſirous to ſee the church of Saint Dominike de la Calſada (which Temple he had cauſed to be built) made an Epiſcopal ſea, would needs place Chanoins there : which cauſed great troubles; for this ſeemed an attempt againſt father *Lopes* : Abbot of the Monaſtery of Saint Mary the royal of Nagera, who pretended to be Biſhop of Nagera. On the other ſide D. *Rodcrigo* maintained, that there was no other Biſhop, hauing iuriſdiction at Nagera, but hee of Calaorra. The contention was great and drew neere vnto a ſcandale : but the King did ſo imbrace the cauſe, as information beeing made of the Abbots life and manners, hee was depriued by the Kings ſentence from all Eccleſiaſticall gouernment, and baniſhed the realme of Caſtille : this the King did by the aduice of the Biſhops which held againſt the Abbot who being diſlodged, was ſoone after followed by all the Monkes, whom the Biſhop *Rederigo* chaſed away, not onely aſpiring to the Epiſcopal title of Nagera, which was in this Monaſtery, but alſo to that which did belong vnto the Abbay : who in ſteed of Monkes, placed Chanoins at Saint Mary the royal; but the King diſliking the violent courſe of this Prelat, reſtored the Monkes to their Monaſtery : and the Chanonis were remooued to the church of Saint Dominike which was a ſigne of the future tranſlation of the Epiſcopal ſea of Nagera thether, which was the marke whereat the Biſhop of Calaorra aymed; but it was not ſo ſoone effected, remayning onely for the preſent a Colledge of Chanoins : for the which the Abbot and Monkes of Nagera, commenced ſute againſt the Biſhop of Calaorra, the which continued long.

Diſſention amongſt the Clergie.

B

C

28 King D. *Alphonſo*, being troubled by the Chriſtians, armed and diſarmed, both ſecular and Clergie; was alſo aſſailed in the yeere 1197. by the Miralmunim *Aben Ioſeph*, who came and laied ſiege to Toledo, cauſing his horſemen Moores, to runne as farre as Madrid, and Ahala de Henares, who ouer running the country, ſpoiled Ocagna Vcles and Cuenca, deſtroying all they found without the walles of townes and forts; but at that time the Arabians made other purchaſe, for ſeeing the ſtrength of the city, and beeing aduertiſed of the great garriſon and many Inhabitants which were within it, they returned into Andaluſia by *Alcaras*, carrying with them an incredible number of Chriſtians, of cattaile, and other ſpoiles : wherefore King D. *Alphonſo* ſeeing himſelfe freed from this daunger, reſolued to imploy the ſouldiars which hee had gathered together, and the alliance which hee had with D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, to bee reuenged of the Kings of Nauarre and Leon, who had ſpoiled his country during the troubles and calamities which he ſuffred by the Moores.

An. 1197.

Moores ſpoile Toledo and Caſtille.

D

Hee therefore led his army firſt into the territories of Leon, where hee tooke Bolanos, Caſtrouerde, Valence and Carpio, he put many Leonois to the ſword, and repulſed the Moores their allies, who came to ſuccor them : Hauing puniſhed him, hee turned againſt Nauarre, but he was forced to leaue that enterpriſe, to make head againſt the Miralmunim *Aben Ioſephe*, who aduanced againe towards Toledo with greater forces then before, making ſhew to beſiege that city, yet he paſt by Magueda, where hee did the like, but finding thoſe places very ſtrong and well fortefied, hee turned to Saint Olalla, the which hee tooke and razed : hee attempted Talauera in vaine, and paſt into the territory of La Vera, where he tooke Plaiſance : then beyond Tayo hee tooke Saint Croix, Montanges, and Trugillo. Hauing made this ſpoile and committed horrible cruelties, hee returned very rich with his army into Andaluſia, in the yeere 1198. which was the greateſt perſecution which the Chriſtians of Toledo, and other places aboue mentioned, did euer ſuffer, ſince the entry of the Arabians into Spaine, the which grew by the warre which D. *Martin* Archbiſhop of Toledo, had made in Andaluſia; wherein it may bee, God would make it knowne, that hee tooke no pleaſure to haue the Paſtors of the church, play the captaines and conductors of armies, for the which notwithſtanding D. *Martin* and his Predeceſſor D. *Iean*, are much commended by the Spaniards which haue written the Hiſtory of that age.

D. Alphonſo King of Caſtille inuades Leon and Nauarre.

E

An. 1198.

F

The

Leon.

The Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, hauing not yet forces ſufficient to reſiſt ſo mighty an army, as that of *Aben Ioſeph*, kept themſelues in the mountaines of Palomera about Auila, from whence they returned againſt the King of Leon, hearing that the Moores were diſlodged, from whom they tooke Alba de Liſte, and al that was in the way vnto Aſtorga, the which hauing ruined, they came & laied ſiege to Salamanca, but they tooke it not; only they ſpoiled and burned the country about it, and that of Alba de Tormes, carrying away the people, and leauing it deſolate: in the end they tooke Montreal, and returned victors, finding not any one to make head againſt them. And ſuch was the deſire of King D. *Alphonſo*, to bee reuenged of the Kings of Nauarre and Leon, as the better to effect his will, hee neglected the iniuries and ſpoiles hee had receiued from the Miralmunim, and made a truce with him: whereby hee gaue meanes to this King of the Moores, to commit horrible cruelties in Portugal, in the yeere of our Lord 1199. *An.* 1199.

Portugal.

This Realme of Portugal was at that time viſited with many afflictions, for beſides the ſpoiles committed by the Moores, there was an extreame famine, with a great plague, whereof many died for hunger, and many left their country, eſpecially in the country of Braga and Porto; beſides the Pope did interdict the whole Realme of Portugal, for the marriage of D. *Thereſa* with the King of Leon her kinſman, the which was concluded without his diſpenſation, and therefore he would diſſolue it. *Aben Ioſeph* hauing made a truce with the King of Caſtille, marched towards Portugal, where hee recouered Sylues in Algarbe and Alcaçar de Sal; he ruined Cezimbra and Palmela, with other places, burning and ſpoyling all the champian country, and carrying away innumerable poore Chriſtians priſoners. D. *Sancho* King of Portugal, could by no meanes reſiſt this mighty Barbarian King, for beſide the Moores forces, hee was preſt by the warre of Leon: yet ſoone after he recouered Cezimbra and Pamela, and repaired them, but not in the ſame eſtate they had beene. The quarrel hee had with D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, was the breaking of the marriage of his ſiſter D. *Thereſa*; In this warre hee had better ſucceſſe, it may bee, for that hee did affect it with more vehemency, beeing moſt commonly ſeene, that the hatred betwixt kinſ-folkes and allies is more violent, then that againſt ſtrangers. He tooke by force from the King of Leon (beeing otherwiſe weake) the townes of Tuy and Ponteuedra in Gallicia, which hee held for a time. After theſe things, the Miralmunim of the Arabians, beeing aſſured of the King of Caſtille, by the truce which hee had made with him, retired to Maroc in Affrike, thinking that the Moores of Spaine were ſufficient to reſiſt all the enterpriſes which might bee made by Portugal, Leon and Arragon.

The Moores ſpoile Portugal.

D. Pedro the ſecond of that name the ſeuenth King of Arragon, called the Catholike.

Arragon.

29 D. *Pedro* the new King of Arragon, tooke poſſeſſion of his Realme, in the yeere 1196. by the death of his father D. *Alphonſo*; hee was ſurnamed the Catholike, for that hee was too obedient to the Catholike church of Rome, and gaue much to Churches and Monaſteries already built; hee built the Monaſtery of Eſcarpe, vpon the riuer of Cinca, of the Order of Ciſteaux, not farre from Lerida. He had three ſiſters, the which were married during his raigne, as hath beene ſayd. As for his brother D. *Alphonſo* who had gotten the Earldome of Prouence, hee had to wife D. *Mary* Neece to the Earle of *Folguaguier*, from whom iſſued D. *Raymond Berenger*, who was Earle of Prouence after his father.

Marriages of D. Pedro kings of Arragon.

There was an other Lady of the houſe of *Folguaguier*, who was married to the King D. *Pedro*, by whom hauing one ſonne, called D. *Raymond Berenger*, ſhe died ſoone after, and her ſonne alſo: after which the King D. *Pedro* married the daughter of *William*, Earle of Montpellier, borne of that Princeſſe of Greece, which had beene made ſure

to

A to D. *Alphonſo* his father. This ſecond wife was called *Mary*; and for that ſhee was not very faire, he was ſoone wearie, and would haue put her away: but Pope *Innocent* the third then raigning, would not yeeld vnto it, for hee was a ſtrickt obſeruer and defender of the Eccleſiaſtical lawes. For this cauſe D. *Pedro* went to Rome, where the Pope did him great honour, and crowned him in the church of Saint Pancrace, with a crowne of gold, garniſhed with pearles and precious ſtones of great valour: where they ſay hee renounced vnto the Pope, the right of Patronage to the churches of his Realme, the which his predeceſſors had enioyed; and did ſo much forget himſelfe, as to acknowledge his Kingdome to hold of the Pope, and to binde himſelfe, and promiſe for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors Kings, to pay him a yeerely tribute of two hundred and fifty peeces of gold, *Submiſſion of D Pedro King of Portugal to the Pope.*

B called the Mahozemutins, of the name of the Miralmunim *Aben Ioſeph Mahozemut*, vnder whoſe coine they were ſtamped: theſe peeces were about ſix ryals, then currant, to which acknowledgement the Noblemen of Arragon did not conſent. The King being returned into his country he beganne to leade a diſſolute life, and contemning his wife, he ſought for thoſe that were faire and pleaſing vnto him, wherein hee wanted not men to follow his licentious appetite: wherefore the Queene his wife, who was verie holy, ſeeing that her husband offended God, and that, not accompanying with her, it was to bee feared the Eſtates of Arragon and Montpellier would fall to a ſtranger, for want of iſſue borne of them, ſhee found meanes to abuſe him with a commendable deceite: for vnderſtanding by a groome of his chamber, called *Pedro Flauian* (who was ſometimes a Miniſter of the Kings loue) that the next night he ſhould bring him one of

C his Miſtreſſes, ſhee wrought ſo with him, as hee brought her into the Kings chamber, in the concubines place, ſo as the King (in this opinion) ſpent the night with her, but perceiuing it in the morning, he was much diſpleaſed: yet conſidering the holy zeale of his Queene, and of thoſe which had ſerued her in this action, hee was pacified, and tooke it in good part. *A commendable deceite of Queene Mary of Hongary.*

Soone after the Queene found her ſelfe with child, and at her time was brought in bed at Montpellier of a ſonne, called D. *Iaime*; which they cal *Diego* in Caſtille, and *Iaques* in French, who was heire of Arragon and Montpellier, notwithſtanding that Queene *Mary* had one brother by the fathers ſide, called *William*, who contended for the

D Earldome of Montpellier, and did often attempt to kill the Infant D. *Iaime*. This matter was long in queſtion in the court at Rome, whether this Princeſſe went in perſon, as well to oppoſe her ſelfe againſt her brother, as to end the proceſſe which remained yet vndecided betwixt her and the King her husband, who ſought ſtil to bee ſeperated from her by *Hugo Tarrogia* his Ambaſſador. There by the ſentence of Pope *Innocent*, *William* was declared a baſtard, and vncapable to ſucceed in the Earledome of Montpellier. After this ſentence, the Queene thinking to returne into Arragon, fel ſicke, and died at *Death of Queene Mary of Arragon.*

Rome, where ſhe was buried, at the *Vatican*, in Saint *Peters* church, neere vnto the tombe of Saint *Petronilla*, daughter to Saint *Peter* as Authors write, and was put in the Catalogue of Saints. This Princeſſe had beene firſt married to the Earle of Cominges, by

E whom ſhe had two daughters *Mathilde* and *Petronilla*.

In the beginning of the raigne of this King D. *Pedro*, hee had a great quarrel with the Queene D. *Sancha* his mother, aunt to the Kings of Caſtille and Leon, for that the Kings Officers and Courtiers did not regard her as was fit, wherevpon ſhee ſeized vpon ſome townes belonging to her dowry. And for that it might breed great inconueniences, D. *Alphonſo* the Noble, King of Caſtille, labored to reconcile them, for the which he and the King D. *Pedro* met in the towne of Ariza, where an accord was made betwixt the mother and the ſonne, ſo as euer after they liued in peace. By this accord the townes of Ariza, Epila and Ambite, with their caſtles, were giuen by the Queene Douager, vnto the King her ſonne, and hee gaue vnto the Queene the townes of Tortoſe and Vzcon,

F with ſome other places in the principality of Cattelogne. There came to this aſſembly, D. *Pedro d' Aſagra*, Lord of Albarraſin, who had beene much hated by the Kings of Caſtille & Arragon, but was then reconciled, of whom we haue made mention, this was in the yeere of our Lord 1200. at what time the marriage of D. *Alphonſo* of Leon, and of *An.* 1200.

D. *Thereſa* of Portugal was diſſolued by the decree of Pope *Innocent* the third, for that they

they were kinſ-folkes in a degree which was prohibited by the church of Rome. A

Nauarre. 30 The houſe of Nauarre approching neere it's end, for want of heires males, it is fit we ſhould prepare the Readers to the acceſſe which the deſcendants from women which are iſſued from it, haue had vnto that crowne, ſpeaking ſome thing of the houſe of Champagne, into the which D. *Blanche*, daughter to D. *Sancho* the wiſe, and ſiſter to this King D. *Santho* the ſtrong was married. The Earles of Champagne haue beene of great poſſeſſions in France, of an ancient and noble familie, as well of their houſe, as by their alliances and marriages with the greateſt houſes of Europe. In the nine hundred and ninth yeere, mention is made of *Odon* firſt Earle of Champagne, Brie, Blois, Chartres and Touraine, who was a turbulent man, and had great quarrels with *Richard* Duke of Normandy, whoſe daughter notwithſtanding he tooke in the end to B his ſecond wife: he made warre againſt *Rodolphe* or *Ralphe*, the laſt King of Bourgogne, and was the cauſe why hee reſigned his Scepter and crowne, to *Conrade* the Emperour, whoſe daughter *Odon* had taken to his firſt wife, and had *Stephen* and others by her.

Deſcendants of the houſe of Champagne.

This *Stephen* was Earle of Champagne, in the yeere of our Lord 1032. (after the deceaſe of his father) and Lord of his other Eſtates by the ſucceſſion of his brethren. Hee died in the holie warre in Syria, hauing begotten of his wife *Alis* or *Adela*, daughter to *William* the conqueror, Duke of Normandie, and King of England, *Thybaud* and other children.

Thybaud ſurnamed the great, was Earle of Champagne, in the yeere of our Lord 1101. hee did alſo enioy the Earledomes of Brie, Blois and Chartres, and was called C the father of the poore; hee had to wife *Mahault* a Princeſſe of Germany of a great houſe, by whom he had *Henry* who was Earle of Champagne and Bry after him, in the yeere of our Lord 1151. beſides other children.

This *Henry* ſurnamed the Big, the fourth Earle of Champagne, was in Aſia with King *Lewis* the yong, and afterwards with *Philip Auguſtus*, where hee did great ſeruice to the cauſe; hee married *Mary* of France, daughter to *Lewis* the ſeuenth called the young, by his firſt wife *Elenor*, Dutcheſſe of Guienne and Conteſſe of Poictiers; of this marriage iſſued *Henry* and *Thibaud*, who were ſucceſſiuely Earles of Champagne one after another. *Henry* went to the warre of Aſia, and marrying with the daughter of *Almeric* King of Ieruſalem, widow to *Conrad* Marquis of Montferrat, was made King of Ieru- D ſalem, but returning into France, hee died without iſſue male. Wherefore his brother *Thibaud* the ſecond of that name, ſeized vpon the country of Champagne, in the yeere of our Lord 1196. to the preiudice of the two daughters of the deceaſed Cont *Henry*: and was the ſixth Cont *Palatin* thereof. It was this *Thibaud* which married D. *Blanche*, daughter to D. *Sancho* the wiſe, King of Nauarre, who had one ſonne after the death of her husband, about the yeere of our Lord 1201. called *Thibaud*, as the father, who was Earle of Champagne and Brie, notwithſtanding the pretenſions of a ſiſter, which was borne in their fathers life time, who contended for this ſucceſſion, but in vaine. Moreouer by the death of D. *Sancho* the ſtrong (of whom wee now intreate) without children, hee came to the crowne of Nauarre, by his mothers ſucceſſion: A Prince E greatly allied to the houſes of France and England, whereof wee will treate more at large. But let vs returne to D. *Sancho* the ſtrong, raigning at this time in Nauarre.

This Prince married with a French Lady, daughter to *Raymond* Earle of Tolouſe the fourth of that name, who was called D. *Clemence*: they hold that hee had not any children by her, wherefore, according vnto ſome Authors, hee left her, and married the daughter of the Emperour *Frederic Barbarouſſe*: notwithſtanding this ſecond marriage is doubtful: but as for the firſt, *Garcia d'Eugui*, biſhop of Bayone, hath left in writing, that hee had one ſonne named D. *Ferdinand Calabaſa*, vvho died in his fathers life time, vvith a fall of a horſe, running after a Beare, and vvas buried in the Collegial church of F Tudele. Hee had no other lavvfull children, but mention is made of one baſtard ſonne, called *William*.

31 The ancient league of Caſtille and Arragon beeing renevved, betvvixt the Kings

D. *Alphonſo*

A D. *Alphonſo* the Noble and D. *Pedro*, they did arme to annoy the King of Nauarre, about the yeere of our Lord 1200. the which he foreſeeing, he ſought to be ſupported by forraine Princes, and proceeded ſo farre, as hee did ſollicit *Aben Ioſeph Mazemut*, to breake the truce which he had made for ten yeeres, with the King of Caſtille; ſome Authors affirming that D. *Sancho* went himſelfe in perſon, into Affrike, to treat of the buſineſſe with this Mahumetan Prince: who notwithſtanding that he would not breake his faith, yet hee preſented him with a great ſumme of money and many rich Iewels. During his abſence, the confederate Kings, entred by diuers waies into Nauarre (where hee had left for his Lieutenant General, a knight called *Alphonſo Fernandes* of Guendulain) and tooke Ayuar and the valley of Roncal, which fell to the King of Ar-

A Mahumetan Prince keepes his faith religiouſly.

B ragon, and on the other ſide Miranda, and Inſura, or Inzula, which places the King of Caſtille kept for himſelfe, theſe two confederate Kings hauing agreed to diuide the conqueſt of Nauarre betwixt them: this was all they did for that yeere. As for the King D. *Sancho*, hee fel ſicke on the waie of a peſtilent feuer, the which in the end fell to be a canker in one of his feete, which continued with him all his life.

This indiſpoſition beeing knowne in Spaine, it gaue courage to the King of Caſtille to purſue his good fortune, and to trie all meanes poſſible to ioyne that Eſtate to his, preſuming that the King D. *Sancho* (who had no children) could not liue long, and that he beeing dead, there ſhould be no great oppoſition againſt him, for that D. *Ramir*, one

C of his brethren, was of the church, the other was young and abſent, and the Earle of Champaigne his brother in law, was either dead, or gone to the holy Land, but howſoeuer, hee was ſo farre off, as before hee ſhould returne into France, to debate his title to the Kingdome of Nauarre, wherevnto hee had right, hee did hope to bee in poſſeſſion.

Vpon this deſeigne hee leauied a new army, entred into Alaua, and ouerrunne all that Prouince, where in the end hee beſieged the Towne of Victoria, the which was valiantly defended by D. *Alphonſo Fernandes* of Guendulayn, who had put himſelfe into it with many good ſouldiers of Alaua and Nauarre, and maintained the ſiege long, without any ſuccors, or newes from the King D. *Sancho*, vntil that

The King of Caſtille inuades Nauarre.

D their victuals beganne to faile them. During this ſiege the Deputies of the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, came to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, making offer that if he would goe thether in perſon, they would yeeld vnto him, hauing long deſired to bee vnited to the crowne of Caſtille, for that they were ouercharged by the Kings of Nauarre, whoſe fortunes they had followed ſeuentie ſeuen yeeres. This offer was very pleaſing vnto D. *Alphonſo*, as a matter of great aduantage; wherefore leauing D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* to continue the ſiege of Victoria, he went in perſon to Guipuſcoa, which Prouince put it ſelfe vnder his protection, and of the Kings of Caſtille, vpon certaine conditions, and de-

Guipuſcoa yeelded to the King of Caſtille.

liuered into his hands the forts of Saint Sebaſtien and Fontaraby, with the caſtle of Ve-

E loaga, which is in the valley of Ojarçun, which frontierd vpon France, a fit place to aſſure him a paſſage, if need were, into Guienne, which was then held by the Engliſh, for that hee had married a Princeſſe of England. Beſides theſe places they gaue him the caſtle of Athau, vpon the frontiers of Nauarre, which is now ruined, the caſtle of Achoros, Val du L'eniz, and the caſtle of Arraſate, called at this preſent Mondragon, vpon the frontiers of Biſcay, with the fort which was then built vpon the mountaine of Heloſua, the ruines whereof are to bee ſeene at this day, which mountaine is in the iuriſdiction of the towne of Vergara, and is otherwiſe called Ariznoa. Thus D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, obtained this prouince of Guipuſcoa, without force, and ſo returned wonderfully content to the ſiege of Victoria, which continued ſtil, the beſieged hauing ſpent al their victuals; who by daily meſſengers did ſollicit D. *Sancho* their King,

F aduertiſing him of their extremity, whereby they ſhould be forced to fall into their enemies hands, if hee did not preuent it; but hee beeing ignorant of all that had paſt in his country, beeing abſent, ill diſpoſed, and without good councell, aduiſed them to yeeld vnto the King of Caſtille, vpon the beſt conditions they could.

Hauing receiued this anſwere, the beſieged held out ſeuenteene daies longer, attending if the King had not taken ſome better aduice, but ſeeing there came nothing from him

Victoria taken by the King of Caſtille.

him whereby they might hope of releeſe, beeing extremely preſt with hunger and want of all things they yeelded the towne, the which for the ſcituation and fortification was held impregnable. By the taking of Victoria, the King of Caſtille was maiſter of that other Prouince of Alaua; the country of Araya yeelded vnto him; he tooke Irrutita, Maragnon, Saint Croix and all the valley of Campeſo. King D. *Alphonſo* made this goodly conqueſt in the yeere 1200. part by force, and part by a voluntary yeelding, and did greatly diminiſh the realme of Nauarre, although that ſome places ſubmitted themſelues againe vnder the obedience of the King D. *Sancho*, neither did the Prouince of Alaua euer receiue any law from Caſtille, except Victoria and Treuigno. To aſſure himſelfe the better of the Guipuſcoans, and to gratifie them alſo, the King of Caſtille canſed to bee re-edefied vpon the ſea coaſt of that Prouince, the townes of Guetario and Motrico, the which hee did fortifie, and indow with great preuiledges: after all theſe things, the King of Nauarre arriued at Carthagena, and ſlipt through Arragon into his country, bringing great treaſure with him out of Affrike, at what time D. *Alphonſo* had newly beſieged Eſtella, the which was freed from ſiege vpon the bruite of his comming, (ſo great power and reputation hath the name of a king that is preſent) but if he had ſtaied longer in Affrike his country of Nauarre had beene wholy loſt: hauing viſibly ſeene the great harme which the King D. *Alphonſo* had done him, hee ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, to deſire him to reſtore him that which hee had taken from him in his abſence, againſt al law and iuſtice, and againſt the accuſtomed manner of making warre in that age full of loyalty: but the King of Caſtille entertained him with delaies and doubtfull anſweres.

Nauarre ſends Ambaſſadors to Caſtille.

Caſtille.

32 Whilſt that D. *Sancho* conſiders of his loſſes, and of the beſt meanes to repaire them, the King of Caſtille great, mighty, and redoubted, being allied to him of Arragon, and hauing a truce for many yeeres with *Aben Ioſeph*, hee beganne to repaire the ruines which the Arabians had made: he reſtored the city of Plaiſance, Bejar and other places of the country ruined: he did the like to Mirabel, Segura de la Serra, Monfredo, Moya, and many other places of the realme of Toledo: hee alſo built Aquilar del Campo in Caſtille: and moreouer in Guipuſcoa, he built the towne of Caſtro d' Ordiales, Laredo, Saint Ander and Saint Vincent de la Barquera.

An. 1201. About the yeere 1201. there was a peace treated of betwixt *Iohn*, ſucceſſor to *Richard* King of England, and King *Philip Auguſtus* of France, at Boutauant in Normandy, by the which amongſt other Articles, a marriage was concluded betwixt the Infanta D. *Blanche* the daughter of D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, and Queene *Elenor*, ſiſter to the King of England, with *Lewis* eldeſt ſonne to *Philip*, and heire of the realme of France: for the which, Ambaſſadors were ſent from both Kings into Caſtille, & they were made ſure by a Deputy for *Lewis*, in the city of Burgos, with great feaſting and ſtate, and the Infanta was conducted by the King her father, and other Noblemen of Caſtille vnto the frontiers of Guienne, where the Deputies for the French King did receiue her, for whoſe dowry there was aſſigned by King *Iohn* her vncle, all the places which were in queſtion betwixt him and the French King, whereof the ſayd French King was in poſſeſſion, in the Dutchies of Normandy, Brittaine and Aniou.

Marriage betwixt Lewis of France and D. Blanche of Caſtille.

At the ſame time D. *Aphonſo* King of Leon, ſeperated by the authority of Pope *Innocent*, from D. *Thereſa* of Portugal his wife, ſent to demande D. *Berenguela*, the King of Caſtilles other daughter: whereof (by reaſon of the diſcords which were betwixt theſe two Kings) the father made ſome difficulty; yet vanquiſhed by the perſwaſions and intreaty of Queene *Elenor*, who deſired as much to ſee her daughter weare a crowne, as a peace betwixt Caſtille and Leon, he yeelded vnto it, and theſe two Princes meeting to that effect in the towne of Vailledolit, the marriage was celebrated, aſſigning her for her dowry, the lands taken the yeere before from the king of Leon, except *Carpio* and *Monreal*, which remained to Caſtille. Of this marriage was borne the Infant D. *Fernand*, who ſucceded in the Realmes of Caſtille and Leon. Thinke that the Popes diſpenſation was not obtained for this marriage: for being couſin germains remoued, children of the vncle and nephew, Pope *Innocent* the third, did ſeperate them.

Caſtille.

In the yeers 1202. and 1203. the ancient preuiledges granted by the Kings of Nauar, vnto

A vnto Saint Sebaſtian and Fontarabie, townes of Guipuſcoa, were confirmed and augmented by the Kings of Caſtille, and their iuriſdictions lymited, eſpecially of Fontaraby, by the riuers of Oriaçun and Vidaſo, which diuides that Prouince from France, and by the mountaine Pegnadaya, by Leçaca, by Belſa and the ſea, and by Hirun vrançu, which is at this preſent a great Bourg, at which time Queene *Elenor* was deliuered of her laſt ſon, who was called D. *Henry*, by reaſon of his grand-father by the mothers ſide.

To theſe contents was added a truce betwixt this King D. *Alphonſo* the Noble, and D. *Sancho* the ſtrong, King of Nauarre, for the concluding whereof, D. *Sancho* came in perſon, vpon aſſurance, to Guadalajara in Caſtille, there it was agreed there ſhould be a ceſſation of armes betwixt the two Kingdomes, for fiue yeeres, with reſtitution of ſome of B thoſe places which the King of Caſtille had taken in Nauarre, and for the keeping of the truce, there were deliuered into the hands of certaine knights, named by both parties, the caſtles of Abuſeio, Clauijo and Iuvera, for Caſtille; and Irureta, Inzula and Saint Adrian for the King of Nauarre: and for that the warre betwixt Nauarre and Arragon continued ſtil, the King of Caſtille tooke vpon him to reconcile them, and in the meane time cauſed al acts of hoſtility to ceaſe. *Nauarre.*

Theſe foure Princes being at peace, he of Leon moued new troubles againſt D. *Vrraca Lopes*, his mother in law, with whom hee could neuer agree, ſeeking to fruſtrate her of her doury. And ſhe for her part did neuer ceaſe practiſing againſt D. *Alphonſo*, ſeeking to depoſe him from the royal throne of Leon, and to aduance the Infant D. *Sancho* her ſonne; for the which ſhe did continually importune her brother, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, intreating him to imbrace this buſineſſe, the which he had deferred C vntil that time, when as hee went to field to aide the Queene his ſiſter: but he was not the ſtrongeſt, for D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, being aſſiſted by the King of Caſtille, his father in law, chaſed him into Nauarre, from whence hee made roades into the territories of Caſtille, which made the two vnited Kings to goe and ſeeke him in his owne ſtrength, where they defeated him in battaile, neere vnto Eſtella, where hee was forced to ſaue himſelfe, which towne was inueſted and, as it were, beſieged by the armies of Caſtille and Leon, yet they could not take it. Vpon this occaſion the foure Kings of Caſtille, Leon, Nauarre and Arragon met together in Alfaro, whether alſo came D. *Sancha*, Do- D uager of Arragon, mother to the King D. *Pedro*, by the which the reconciliations and accords of theſe Princes were confirmed. D. *Lopes* being deſtitute of all meanes, hee retired in deſpight vnto the Moores pay at Valencia, and from thence to Maroc, where hee was accuſed to the councell of the Miralmumin, that hee had mounted D. *Pedro*, King of Arragon, on horſe-backe, being ouerthrowne in an incounter, which he had againſt the Moores of Valencia, vnder whoſe pay D. *Diego* made warre, yet hee was abſolued. *Leon.* *VVarre betwixt the King of Leon and his mother in law.*

The pittifull death of the Infant D. *Fernand*, brother to D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre, a Prince well beloued of the Nauarrois, ought to bee regiſtred amongſt the calamities E which fell vpon that realme in thoſe daies. The feaſt of Saint Nicholas being celebrated with ſuperfluous bankets and ſports, in the yeere 1207. in the towne of Tudele, according to the cuſtome of Chriſtians, as this generous Prince did runne on horſe-backe armed, doing ſome exerciſes which hee had inuented, a hog paſſing through his horſe legges, made him to fall, in ſuch manner, as he bruſed his head againſt a piller of ſtoane whereof hee died, thirteene daies after, beeing thirty yeeres old. Of this Prince, whom the Authors commend for a braue and valiant Knight, there is no mention made in the warre betwixt Caſtille and Nauarre: wherefore it is to bee preſumed that the King his brother, doubting leaſt hee ſhould attempt ſome thing to his preiudice, during his abſence, had led him with him into Affrike, although hee loued him deerely. Thus are the affaires of this world mingled with pleaſure and griefe, loue and F iealouſie. *Nauarre.* *An.* 1207. *Death of D. Fernand of Nauarre.*

Of the marriage which had beene made the yeere before, betwixt D. *Alphonſo* Infant of Portugal, ſon to the King D. *Sancho* then raigning, and D. *Vrraca* daughter to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, was this yeere 1207. a ſon borne called D. *Sancho*, as his grand-father by the fathers ſide, in whoſe life time this Lady was deliuered of an other *Portugal.*

ſonne, who was named D. *Alphonſo*, the which were Kings of Portugal ſucceſſiuely. A

Moores. *Aben Ioſeph* Miralmumin of the Arabians Almohades, being dead in Affrike, whileſt theſe things paſt in Spaine, there ſucceeded in his place his ſonne called *Aben Mahomad*, ſurnamed the Greene, the fourth King of that ſect, ouer the Moores of Affrike and Spaine: this ſurname was giuen him, for that hee carried a Miter, or ſome ſuch Ornament on his head, of a greene collour. In his raigne the truce expired, made betwixt the King of Caſtille, and his predeceſſor *Aben Ioſeph*, when as they fell more cruelly to armes them euer.

Caſtille. 33 Betwixt both, D. *Martin* Archbiſhop of Toledo died, to whom ſucceed *Roderigo Ximenes*, borne in Nauarre, the Author of the Hiſtory of Spaine which wee read at this day. A prelate of great authority, and much commended by the Spaniards: a- B bout the time of his death the riuer of Tayo did riſe ſo high, as it was fiue foote aboue the port of Almofala in that city. This was about the end of December, and the yeere before there was ſo great an Eccliſpe of the Sunne, as the day was darkned for the ſpace of ſixe houres. At that time King D. *Alphonſo* did two remarkable workes in the city of Burgos in Caſtille: which were the Monaſtery of Saint *Mary* the royal, of that citty, called de las Huelgas, for the daughters of noble houſes, according to the Order of the Ciſteaux: and ioyning to this Monaſtery, hee cauſed the Hoſpital royal to bee built, indowing both the one and the other with great reuenues: for the third, which is no leſſe to be eſteemed, hee erected an vniuerſity in the towne of Palencia, which was the firſt in Caſtille, ſince the comming of the Moores, and drew many learned men in al faculties *Vniuerſity of Palence.* thether, from France, England and other places, aſſigning large penſions to the pro- C feſſors: and as he was a warlike Prince, and could not liue long in quiet, the quarrels reuiuing betwixt the French and Engliſh, about the yeere 1209. hee made a voyage into *An.* 1209. Guienne, for that hee had an intereſt therein, yet hee returned without doing any thing memorable. Returning by the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, hee gaue preuiledges to the towne of Guetaria, the which he reſtored, granting the like vnto Saint Sebaſtian. This towne hath a good hauen, couered from al windes, by a little Iſland which is before it, *John Sebaſtian del Cano, the famous Pilot borne at Guetaria.* ryſing in ſuch manner, as it defends the ſhips from all ſtormes, and giues them free entry and paſſage with any winde: that famous pilote *Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano*, was borne at Guetaria, who in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth did cõpaſſe the whole world by ſea, D. *Alphonſo* did alſo giue the like priuiledges to Motrico as to Guetaria. D

Arragon. The ſame yeere a peace was fully concluded, betwixt D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, and D. *Sancho* the ſtrong, king of Nauarre, by the mediation of D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, and the Prelats and Noblemen of al the Kingdomes of Spaine, wherein the endeauors of D. *Roderigo Ximenes* Archbiſhop of Toledo, were very great: this peace was made, the two kings being in field about Mallen: among other particularities which the Spaniards write of this accord, the King of Nauar lent vnto him of Arragon 20000. Marauidis of gold, for the which were giuen in pawne the caſtles of Gallur, Pitilla, Pina and Eſco, the which were deliuered for ſixe monthes into the hands of D. *Ximeno de Rada*, a Knight, at the end whereof, if the King of Arragon did not pay the money, the places ſhould bee deliuered vnto the King of Nauarre, to hold them vntil he were ſatisfied. The diſſention E and warre which had continued betwixt Nauarre and Arragon, for the ſpace of ſixty fiue yeeres, was then ended, and there was a good and durable peace concluded betwixt thoſe two Eſtates: after which it did behoue the King D. *Pedro* to paſſe into Prouence, by reaſon of the death of the Earle D. *Alphonſo* his brother, whoſe daughters they of *Beziers* had married into France, without the conſent of the King of Arragon, and had beene too buſie in the gouernment of that Earldome, wherevpon hee came armed into Prouence, tooke Beziers and ruined it, and hauing waſted the country about Marſeilles, he returned into Spaine, hauing ſetled his Nephew *Raymond Berenger* in his fathers ſucceſſion: The towne of Tortoſe, was giuen by this King, to the Knights of the Temple, whereof *Peter* of Montague was Maiſter in the yeere 1210. F

Caſtille. The yeere 1210. beeing come, and the truce betwixt the Moores and Chriſtians expired, D. *Alphonſo* the noble ſent an army vntothe frontiers of Toledo vnder the con-
An. 1210. duct of his ſonne D. *Fernand*, knowing that King *Aben Mahumad* was paſt out of Affrike

A Affrike into Spaine with great forces of Moores Almohades, and other his ſubiects. This young Prince D.*Fernand* impatient of idleneſſe, began to ouerrunne the Moores country, about Baeça, Andujar and Iaen: but for all this, the Moore did not leaue to beſiege and to take within the third month the towne of Saluatierra, with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants, carrying away them that remained for ſlaues. The King of Caſtille had drawne his forces together at Talauera, to diuert him, but not able to come in time, hee retired, and ſoone after loſt his ſonne D. *Fernand*, in Madrid, by ſickneſſe, whereat hee was wonderfully greeued, his bodie was carried to Burgos, to the new Monaſterie of Las Huelgas, D. *Roderigo* the Archbiſhop accompanying it, with many other Prelats and Knights, yea D. *Berenguela* Queene of Leon, beeing ſeperated from B her husband by the Popes authority, who would not allow of the marriage, although hee had children by her. It is ſtrange theſe Princes were no better aduiſed in the marriage of their daughters, ſeeing they obaied the Popes reſtraints.

Saluatierra taken by the Moores.

Death of the Infant D. Fernand.

This warre begunne did much trouble the King of Caſtille, wherefore hauing called a Parliament of the Lords, Prelats and Deputies of the townes of his realme at Toledo, he reſolued to inuite al Chriſtian Princes to his ſuccour, and to demaund of Pope *Clement* the Indulgences and pardons of a Croiſado, for this holy warre, to the end he might draw vnto it more Knights and ſouldiers, for this cauſe hee ſent (by the election of the whole aſſembly) D. *Roderigo* to Rome; and for that neceſſity did force him to reforme the exceſſe and ſuperfluities of his Realmes, there were orders ſet downe for C feaſts, apparel, and other things. There were alſo publike proceſſions enioyned, with faſting, praying, and giuing of almes to pacifie the wrath of God.

Parliament at Toledo for the Moores warre.

In the end commandement was giuing to all his vaſſals and men of warre, to bee redie with horſe and armes, for the yeere following. The like prouiſion was made by the Moores in Spaine, euery one preparing for the warre: that is, thoſe of Extremadura, Andaluſia, Algarbes, Granado, Murcia and Valencia, and other lands which they held yet in the territory of Toledo; ſollyciting moreouer their King and Miralmumin of Affrike, to repaſſe into Spaine, with the forces of thoſe great Prouinces, which hee did hold in that part of the world.

D Whileſt theſe great preparations were making, the King of Caſtille came to Cuenca, where finding himſelfe accompanied with good troupes of ſouldiers, hee made a road into the Moores country by the riuer of Xucar, to exerciſe his ſouldiers, and tooke from them the fort of Alcala, Las Cuéuas of Algarande, and Tubas, and ſpoiled ſome Bourges in the territory of Valencia, and then hee returned to Cuenca, when the King of Arragon came vnto him, and offered to ſuccour him with all the forces of his realme, in this warre; the King of Nauarre in like manner ſent to make him the like offers.

In Italie the Archbiſhop D *Roderigo*, vſed great dilligence, and obtained from Pope *Innocent* the third a bountifull grant of his ſpirituall treaſors, of indulgences and par- E dons, to all thoſe that ſhould croſſe themſelues for this warre, the which was proclaimed in all places, and the Croiſadoe preached, eſpecially by the Archbiſhop of Toledo, in all places as hee returned, with ſuch efficacy, as there came out of Italy, Germany France and England an infinite number of ſouldiers into Spaine, who vowed their liues to defend the Chriſtian religion, and to repulſe the perſecutors thereof: ſo as hee aſſembled at Toledo an army (beſides the forces of Caſtille, Arragon and Portugal) of aboue a hundred thouſand ſtrangers, bearing armes, which number is by ſome augmented, and by others diminiſhed: for there are ſome Authors which mention, one hundred thouſand foote, and tenne thouſand horſe, others reſtraine it to fifty thouſand foote, and twelue thouſand horſe, ſome more, ſome leſſe; but howſoeuer, there was a great and mightie army, the which was lodged neere vnto the city, in the F moſt fertil places of the riuer of Tayo. The King of Arragon came thether, as the Authors of the Arragon Hiſtory write with twenty thouſand foote, and 3500. horſe, the number of footemen of Caſtille, and other countries of the King D. *Alphonſos* dominions was vncertaine, but they ſay there were 14000. horſe, amongſt the which were aboue fifteen hundred Knights nobly deſcended. Of them of Portugal the number is not

Croiſadoe preached againſt the Moores.

Great army againſt the Moores in Spaine.

ſet downe. All theſe ſouldiars, were entertained, lodged and bountifully rewarded A
by the King D. *Alphonſo*, according to euery mans ranke and dignity, giuing pay to all
in general: to euery footman ſixe pence a day, and to euery horſe-man two ſhillings,
which were worth a Marauidis and one third part of the money which was then cur-
rant, and the boyes and women of theſe ſouldiars had pay accordingly, ſaith *Gari-*
bay: the number of cartes to carry their baggage is made exceſſiue, by the Archbi-
ſhop *Roderigo*, reporting them to bee 60000. the which by others is reduced to the like
number of beaſts of burthen, and not of cartes. What ſoeuer it were, this army was
one of the greateſt which had beene ſeene in many ages, wherein the vnion and con-
cord was admirable, ſeeing it conſiſted of ſo many nations, of ſundry languages and
An. 1212. humors. This armie parted in Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1212. the conduct of B
the vltramontany, or beyond the mountaines (for ſo they called the ſtrangers) was gi-
uen to *Diego Lopes de Haro* Lord of Biſcay, who was now reconciled to the King of Ca-
ſtille, generall of the whole armie; they came to lodge at Malagon, about fourteene
leagues from Toledo, the third daie; the place (beeing ill defended by the Arabians)
Exploits of the Chriſtians armies againſt the Moores. was forced, and the garriſon cut in peeces. From thence the Chriſtian Kings aduan-
ced to Calatraua, which was come into the Moores power, and paſt the riuer of
Guadiana.

Many were of opinion, that they ſhould not ſpend their time in the ſieges of townes, C
where moſt commonly the beſt men are loſt: notwithſtanding the towne of Calatra-
ua was battred, and ſo preſt, as the captaine of the garriſon, called *Aben-Abir*, or ac-
cording vnto others *Aben Calis*, after that hee had valiantly defended himſelfe, yeel-
ded vpon compoſition to haue their liues ſaued, the which was duly obſerued by the
Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, contrary to the ſtrangers wil, who would haue had them
all put to the ſword. The Earle D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, had the charge to conduct
them to a place of ſafety, according to the compoſition. The towne was ſpoiled by
the ſtrangers and Arragonois, and then deliuered to the Knights of the Calatraua: at
which place there grew ſome diſcontentment, by reaſon that their victuals for ſo great
a multitude grew ſhort, as it often happens, and therefore the greateſt armies are not
euer of greateſt effect; for in an exceſſiue multitude, there is euer confuſion and diſobe-
Great multitudes in armies, are not euer of greateſt effect. dience, and it is impoſſible to prouide for all neceſſities, ſo as often times many great D
preparations haue gone to ſmoake by theſe defects, and haue loſt goodly occaſions of
gallant exploites: but God prouided for it, for a great number of ſtrangers, vpon this
cauſe, returned into their countries, whereby the Spaniards purchaſed the more honor.
The Archbiſhop of Narbonne with ſome of the nobility of his country and of the
county of Poictou ſtaied ſtil.

The army parted from Calatraua, and came and camped at Alarcos, which place,
being found abandoned, was manned with a good garriſon; there D. *Sancho* King of
Nauarre came and ioyned with the Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, bringing with him
great troupes of ſouldiers, both of his owne ſubiects, and of other nations, eſpecially
D. Sancho king of Nauarre comes to aide the King of Caſtille. of French, leauied by him, and voluntaries, beeing deſirous to ſee this warre, hoping to E
winne honour and wealth if they liued, or dying to bee in the ranke of Martires, and to
winne Paradice. The Hiſtories make mention of D. *Gomes Garces d' Agoncilo*, ſtan-
dard-bearer of Nauarre, D. *Garcia Almorauid*, D. *Pedro Martines de Leet*, D. *Pedro*
Garces d' Aronis, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montagudo, D. *Pedro Martines* of Subica, D.
Martin of Milagro, D. *Garcia Ximines* of Varriz, D. *William Roldouyn*, D. *Garcia Garces*
of Aoyz, D. *Pedro Ximenes* of *Oilleta*, and D. *Ximenes d' Aybuar*, chiefe Knights of Na-
uarre, which accompanied the King of Nauarre to this warre, many forts and places
which were held by the Moores in that countrie, were taken by the Chriſtian Princes,
who marched againſt Saluatierra, where they tooke a vew of their army, the which they
lodged vnder the mountaine called Sierra Morena, at Guadalfajar: *Aben Mahomad*, F
who had ſucceeded his father *Aben Ioſeph Mahozemut*, in the Empire of the Almo-
hades of Affrike, beeing aduertiſed of this great preparation which the Chriſtians
made againſt him, and his ſect, was paſt into Spaine, with great troupes both of horſe
and foote, beeing followed by other forces which came dayly out of Affrike into
Andaluſia;

A Andaluſia; ſo as hee had gathered together about *Iaen*, one of the greateſt armies that had beene euer ſeene ſince the firſt entry of the Moores, whileſt that the Chriſtian armie was imployed to recouer the country which lies betwixt Toledo, and the mountaine which bounds Andaluſia: the which the Moores ſeeing to bee loſt they reſolued to attend the Chriſtians army in a place of aduantage, and to flie the plaines, ſo as marching to Baeça, they ſeized vpon the paſſage of Loſa, in the fieldes of Tolouſa.

The Chriſtians (as it was the will of God) whileſt their enemies were doubtful what courſe to take, paſt ouer the mountaine called Sierra Muradel, by ſafe and vnknowne waies, being guided by a huntſman and ſhepheard (whoſe Image is to bee ſeene in the
B great chappel of the Cathedral church of Toledo, cut in ſtone) and chaſed away ſome Moores which were in the caſtle of Ferral, neere vnto the rocke of Loça, from whence after many difficulties and councels, they made choiſe of a place fit to put themſelues in battaile, as the Moores did in like manner. King *Aben Mahumad*, who lodged vpon a hill, where he might view his whole army, diuided into many ſquadrons; in that where the Kings perſon was were the moſt valiant Moores of the whole army, and they ſay hee cauſed that battailion to be compaſſed about with ſtakes, tied together with chaines, that taking from them al hope of flight, they might be forced to fight with more reſolution, hee himſelfe was ſeated in a high throne vnder a rich pauilion, and in this equipage hee proudly offred battaile to the confederate Kings, the which (for that their men were
C weary with the rough and vneaſie paſſage of the mountaine) they would not accept that day; which the barbarous King tooke for his aduantage, as if feare had kept the Chriſtians from fighting; writing to the chiefe townes of his dominions, that were neere, that he held the victory in his hands, and that within three daies hee ſhould haue the three Kings his aduerſaries at his command, notwithſtanding that many of his captaines did aſſure him, that the Chriſtians made ſhew rather to fight then to flie. The day following the Moores preſented themſelues againe in battaile, but the Chriſtians kept themſelues, within their forts and trenches: The 3. day which was the 16. of Iuly, both armies ioyned in battaile, where there was a furious fight, battailon againſt battailon, and ſquadron againſt ſquadron, with ſuch obſtinacy, as the victory was for many houres doubt-
D ful, euery one, both captaines and ſouldiers, ſtriuing to doe well, being ſeene and obſerued by their Kings, and by the principal men of both parties; but in the end the Moores beganne to recoyle, and to goe to route. Then did the Chriſtians preſſe them ſo furiouſly as they put them to a ſhameful & lamentable, flight & made an incredible ſlaughter. King *Aben Mahumad* (beeing perſwaded by his brother *Aben Zeit*) retired with great griefe, towards the towne of Iaen, there beeing no meanes to gather his troupes againe together. The Authors of the Spaniſh Hiſtory write (wherein it may be they exceed) that there were 200000. Moores ſlaine vpon the place, and many priſoners taken, among the which they number aboue 35000. horſe. Great was the riches they found in their campe, of tapiſtry, ſiluer plate, armes, horſes, moyles, camels, gold and ſiluer coy-
E ned, and other things of great price. Of the Chriſtians, according to the Archbiſhop *Roderigo*, there died but 25. others ſay 115. but *Beuter* and other affirme, there were 25000. ſlaine of the Chriſtians ſide; the which is not vnlikely, conſidering the reſiſtance the Moores made, and the long time the fight continued. But it is a thing worthy obſeruation, that notwithſtanding the great multitude of dead bodies, which lying one vpon an other, were like hils, after they had beene ſpoiled by the horſe-boyes and peaſants, there was little bloud ſeene vpon the ground: the which is to be imputed to the dry conſtitution of the Arabians and Affricans, Sotherne people, who (beſides that they are dried vp with the heate of the ſun in that region) eate thoſe things which are of ſmal norriſhmēt, and drinke nothing but water, ſo as they engender little bloud, the which is pale & diſ-
F colloured. The Kings performed the parts, not only of wiſe and circomſpect captaines, but alſo of valiant ſoldiers. The conſtancy of King D. *Alphonſo* was great, who was neuer ſeene to change collour, nor the countenance of an aſſured captaine, notwithſtanding the diuers euents which we may thinke were repreſented vnto him in ſo dangerous a battaile; great was his valour and reſolution, to expoſe himſelf to a ſhower of arrowes

Battail'e memorable of Muradal, and defeat of the Moores.

Number of the dead.

Valour of D. Alphonſo the noble King of Caſtile.

which fel vpon his men, and to thruſt himſelfe into the preſſe, where hee ſaw they gaue A backe, to ſuccour them: ſo as the Lords and Prelats which were in armes that day, had great labor to keepe him back, D. *Pedro* King of Arragon had his cuiraſſe peirced to the quicke, with a lance, but God preſerued him. The King of Nauarre did alſo carry himſelfe worthily; but there was a Chanoine Chanter of the church of Toledo, called *Domingo Paſcal*, who carried the croſſe before the Archbiſhop D. *Roderigo* (as it is the cuſtomes to carry before Primates) which did wonders: for hee paſt and re-paſt, and ranne through the ſquadrons of the Moores with his croſſe, and had no harme. The tombe of this Chanoine is to bee ſeene at this day, in Saint Lucies chappel, in the great church of Toledo. It is a pittie the Authors of theſe hiſtories, haue not beene more iuſt vnto thoſe valiant men which imployed themſelues that daie, to maintaine the Chriſtians B eſtate in Spaine, and haue not written many particularities which happened during the fight, which ſhould redound to the honour of families, and their poſterities, and ſhould ſerue as a ſpurre to generous mindes; wherein the Archbiſhop D. *Roderigo*, is chiefly to be blamed, hauing beene preſent at that battaile. The victorious army purſued them that fled vntil night, and then they went to lodge in the enemies campe, where they found tents, victuals, armes and other riches in great aboundance, & there they paſt the night, giuing thankes vnto God for ſuch an important victory.

Diuiſion of the ſpoiles after the battaile of Muradal.

Then the King D. *Alphonſo* thought it fit to diuide the ſpoiles, and to doe publicke honor, after the manner of the ancients, to thoſe great perſonages, which had carried them valiantly in the battaile. He named for Iudge and diſtributer of theſe things, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, a Nobleman very expert in matters of warre: by whom the tent of the C Miralmumin of the Arabians was giuen to D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, the which was exceeding rich, yet others ſay it was alotted to the King of Nauarre for his part; to whom (for that hee with his men had firſt broken the fortification made with chaines, about the ſquadron where the great Miralmumins perſon was in battaile) was adiudged all the bootie taken within the ſayd circuit, in the which were many camels with their burthens; for which conſideration ſome ſay, that the Kings of Nauarre carrie in their armes, chaines of gold in a field gueules. Of the reſt of the ſpoiles which were foũd without this fortification, there was a good part thereof giuen to the King of Arragon. D. *Diego Lopes* did adiudge vnto D. *Alphonſo* for his part, the honour of the victorie, and to the other captaines, knights and ſouldiers, what they could get. This diuiſion was al- D lowed by the Kings and all the reſt. Many haue thought that by reaſon of this victory King D. *Alphonſo* tooke a caſtle Or, in a field gueules, which are the armes of Caſtille at this daie, inferring thereby, that the realme of Caſtille was a fort and aſſured rampar againſt the Moores, and Infidels their enemies, in whoſe bloud the Tower ſeemes to bee planted, but there are priuiledges found in the treaſury of Saint Dominike of Calſada (the which *Garibay* reports that he hath ſeene) more ancient then this battaile, granted by this king, hauing a ſeale of lead like vnto the Popes, the which hath on the one ſide a caſtle, and on the other, the picture of a king on horſebacke, the which doth witneſſe that before the battaile of Muradal, or Tolouſe, they vſed this deuiſe, or blaſon in their armes; it is like that this King D. *Alphonſo* vſed it firſt in his armes, but vpon what conſi- E deration, it is neither eaſie nor ſafe to iudge. The Chriſtian Princes making vſe of this happy victory, whilſt the Moores were amazed and weake, tooke Bicles, Caſtro Feral, Bagnos and Tolouſe: then they came to Baeça, which they found abandoned, the inhabitants hauing carried their wiues, children, and all they had to Vbeda, except ſome which were fortified in the Megida, the which they burned.

Armories of Nauarre, as the Spaniards report.

Then they marched to Vbeda, and tooke it by force, putting many of the Inhabitants to the ſword, and making ſlaues of the reſt, by the inſtigations of ſome Prelats which followed the army, the ſpoile whereof was giuen to the ſoldiars; the honor of the taking of Vbeda, is giuen to D. *Lope Ferencio de Luna*, an Arragonois: as they went on ſtil conquering vpon this ſect of Mahumetiſts, it pleaſed God to ſtay the Chriſtians army: for F it began to be ful of diſeaſes, the which in the end were contagious: wherfore theſe kings were forced to returne with their campe, and re-paſſing the mountaine, or Sierra Morena, by the ſame mount of Muradal, they came to Calatraua, where they found the

Duke

A Duke of Auſtria, whoſe name was *Thibaud* ſonne to *Leopold*, who beeing deſirous to bee at this battell, was come into Spaine with two hundred Knights, but it was too late: wherfore he returned into Germany by Arragon: there the Kings parted with great ſhewes of loue. He of Arragon meaning to entertaine the peace with Don *Sancho* of Nauarre, with all ſinceritie, he reſtored vnto him fourteene caſtels and places of Strength which he had taken from him. The King D. *Alphonſo* beeing come to Toledo, where hee was receiued with great triumph by the Arch-biſhop Don *Roderigo*, it was ordained, that from that time the memorie of that great victorie obtained againſt the Moores, in the playnes of Tholouſa, ſhould be euery yeare celebrated on the ſixteenth day of Iuly, vnder the title of *Triumphus crucis*, the which is obſerued at this day, eſpecially at Toledo; whereas they B hang vp and diſplay that day in the great Church, many Guidons, Enſignes and Standards of the Moores, which had beene taken then, or others which do repreſent them. The chiefe men which did accompany the King in this battaile, were Don *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine, Don *Roderigo* of Siguença, D. *Tello* of Palença, D. *Mendo* of Oſma, D. *Pedro* of Auila, D. *Domingo* of Plaiſance, all Biſhoppes, with other Prelates, all which did ſerue, either for counſell or for armes. D. *Pedro Arias*, or *Aus*, Maſter of the Order of Saint *Iames*, D. *Roderigo Diaz*, maſter of the Calatraua, D. *Gomes Ramires* Prior of the Templers, D. *Guttiere* or *John Gelmirido* Prior of S. *Iohn*, with many Commanders and Knights of their Orders. Of Secular men, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, and his eldeſt ſonne D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, of whom it is written, that hauing ſome feeling, for that his father had abſented himſelfe out of Caſtile, after that he had fought C at Eſtella againſt the king D. *Alphonſo*, and alſo for that the loſſe of the battaile of Alarcos was imputed vnto him, he came and caſt himſelfe at his feet, a little before the battel, beſeeching him to carry himſelfe ſo well, according to the hope which hee had of him, that he might not be hereafter called the ſonne of a traytor: wherewith the father beeing incenſed, ſayed vnto him: It is more to be feared, thou wilt be called the ſon of a whore: for no man will call thee the ſonne of a traytor: which anſwer the father made vnto the ſonne, as the Earle D. *Pedro* ſonne to D. *Denis* king of Portugal writes in his booke of the Genealogies of Spaine, for that the mother of Don *Lope Diaz*, a woman of a weake brayne, beeing fallen in loue with a man of Burgos, which, they ſay, had beene a blacke-D ſmith, or Lock-ſmith, went out of Spain, and wandred through the world with this man, in a diſguiſed habit. With D. *Diego Lopes* was alſo D. *Pero Diaz* his other ſonne, D. *Sancho Fernandes de Canamero*, D. *Martin Nugnes de Hinojoça*, and Don *Inigo de Mendoſa*, kinſmen or allyed to the houſe of *Haro*: moreouer, the Earles D. *Fernand de Lara*, D. *Aluar Nugnes de Lara*, Don *Gonçalo Nugnes*, D. *Lope Diaz de los Cameros*, *Ruy Diaz de los Cameros*, and his brother Don *Aluar Diaz*, Don *Pedro Aria* of Toledo, *Gontes Peres* the Aſturien, D. *Garcia Ordognes*, *John Gonçalo* of Vzero, D. *Gonçalo Gomes*, D. *Gomes Manriques*, D *Gil Manriques*, D. *Alphonſo Telles de Meneſes*, and his brethren, *Fernand* and *Ruy Garcia*, D. *Roderigo Peres d'Auila*, *William Ginez*, D. *Willyam Peres* and his brethren, *Nugno Peres de Guſman*, *Gonçalo Yuanes* of Quintana, who was afterwards maſter of the E Calatraua, Don *Iohn Gonçales*, and Don *Gonçalo Ruis* and his brethren, Don *Ray Peres* of Villalobos, *Suero Tellez*, Don *Fernand Garcia*, and many others of the Realmes of Caſtile and Toledo. Thoſe which accompanied Don *Pedro* king of Arragon of greateſt Nobilitie, were, Don *Garcia Frontin* Biſhop of Taraſſone, and Don *Berenger* elect of Barcelone, with other Clergie men: and of Knights, Don *Garcia Romeu*, Standard-bearer royal of Arragon, Don *Ximen Cornel*, *Aznar Pardo*, Don *Willyam* of Peralta, Don *Michel* of Luezca, D. *Sancho* Earle of Roſſillon, vncle to the King, and Don *Nugno Sanches* his ſon, Don *Lope Ferrench de Luna*, *Arnaud* of Alaſcon, or *Artal* of Alagon, *William Aguillon* of Tarragona, Don *VVillyam* of Ceruera, *Berenger* of Petra Mola, Don *VVilliam* of Cardona, *Raymond Fouleques* Earle of Ampurias, Don *Pedro Ahones*, Don *Roderigo* of Liça-F na, Don *Pedro Maça*, Don *Artorella*, and Don *Artal de Foces*. The Arch-biſhop of Bourdeaux came out of France, and the Biſhop of Nantes from Brittanie, D. *Renald* Arch-biſhop of Narbone, and *Thibaud* of Blazon, Biſhop of Poictou, iſſued out of Caſtile. There were many Noblemen and valiant Knights out of Leon and Portugal. Don *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile did reward the Nobilitie of his countrie with honours and liuings, according

Feaſt of Triumphus crucis in Spaine, a monument of the victorie of Muradal.

to

to euery mans degree. As for *Aben Mahomad*, King of the Moores Almohades, after this notable loſſe, he cared no more for the affaires of Spaine, but paſſed ſodenly into Affricke, fearing that the brute of his defeate would breed ſome innouation in his kingdom of Maroc, beeing not yet ſo well aſſured, but there remayned ſome feeling of the Almorauides gouernement: wherefore knowing how much a route or loſſe of a battaile may preiudice the reputation of a King, with a nation that is deſirous of change, as the Arabians, he poaſted ſpeedily into Affricke to preuent it. A

Portugal. Death of Don Sancho king of Portugall.

36 D. *Sancho* king of Portugall, whileſt theſe things paſt betwixt the Chriſtian Princes and the Moores, died in his kingdome, the which he had held 27. yeares, beeing 58. yeares old, more broken with trauell then with age: a wiſe and well aduiſed Prince, but much croſt with aduerſities, notwithſtanding he gathered together great treaſures, and therefore is ſomewhat taxed of couetouſneſſe, which is the greateſt cauſe of the ruine and diſhonour of kings. They write, that he had at the time of his death in the caſtell of Lisbone, and in the Monaſterie of Alcabaça, Saint Croix of Coimbra, and other places where his treaſure lay, aboue 500000. Markes of gold (it may be they ſhould ſay Marauidis of gold) and a thouſand foure hundred markes in ſiluer coyned, beſides many other Iewels: and yet his expence was great. Drawing neere his end, hee diſpoſed thereof, giuing by his teſtament vnto his eldeſt ſonne 200000. Marauidis of gold, and to either of his other three children 80000. Marauidis of gold, and 250. Markes of ſiluer, to his Baſtards 7000. Marauidis of gold, and certaine Markes of ſiluer. The reſt he ordained ſhold be employed to charitable vſes, as to build and indow Monaſteries and Hoſpitals, to redeeme captiues, and to make Chalices, Croſſes, and ſuch like ornaments. He alſo ordained to haue the bridge of Coimbra, and the houſe of Saint *Ladre* built, neither did hee forget the Apoſtolike Romaine Sea, for he did bequeath vnto Pope *Innocent* the third, an hundred Markes of gold, and there was not any Church in his Kingdome, but taſted of his bountie. He was interred in the chappell of Saint Croix of Coimbra, neere vnto the Queene Donna *Aldoncia* his wife, from whence he was afterwards remoued into the Arch of the great chappell. In the ſame Monaſtery are buried D. *Henry*, D. *Sancha*, Donna *Blanca*, D. *Berenguela*, and D. *Conſtance* his children. B C

D. Alphonſo the 2. of that name, the third King of Portugall. D

1212. Genealogie of Portugall.

AFter him D. *Alphonſo* his ſon held the ſcepter of Portugal, who was then about 27. yeares old, and was crowned in the citty of Coimbra. And for that he was big, fat, and vnweldie of his perſon, they ſurnamed him the Groſſe: he was alreadie father of two children, D. *Sancho*, and D. *Alphonſo*, whereof the ſecond married *Matilda*, heire to the Earle of Bologne in France: beſides theſe he had by his wife D. *Vrraca* of Caſtile, Don *Fernand*, who was Lord of Serpa, and married to the daughter of the Earle D. *Fernand* of Lara, of Caſtile, called D. *Sancha Fernandes*, from whom iſſued a daughter, which was Queene of Denmarke; into which Realme D. *Elenor* daughter to this king D. *Alphonſo* was firſt married. Beſides theſe lawfull children, the king had company with a Moore, of whome he begot D. *Alphonſo Martines*. D. *Alphonſo* at his firſt entrance, had great iars with his ſiſters, for that hee would haue taken from them the lands which his father had giuen them for their portions: whoſe quarrell D. *Alphonſo* king of Leon did imbrace, and ſent his ſonne D. *Fernand*, accompanied by D. *Martin Sanches* (brother to theſe Ladies) for his guide, being very young, with an armie, who took from the king of Portugal, Valencia of Minio, Melgaçon, Hulgoſo, Frexo and other places: this war was afterwards ended by the commandement of Pope *Innocent*, who threatened to cenſure the kings of Portugal and Leon, if they made not a peace, to take armes againſt the Mores, who were enemies to the true Catholike Religion: from whom, about that time, and as the armie of Caſtile was diſſolued after the battell of Muradal, D. *Pedro* king of Arragon tooke Caſtelfabid and Ademus, which are in the Realme of Valencia. E F

Arragon.

37 Wee haue ſayd before, that this king had a ſonne by his wife, vnthought of, who was called *Iaime*, this Infant was much enuied, and his life ſought by his Vncles

of

A of either ſide; who wiſhed there had iſſued no heire from Don *Pedro* and Donna *Mary* Counteſſe of Montpellier, that they might haue ſucceeded to their Eſtates: a murtherous and couetous deſire, which did chiefly poſſeſſe Don *Fernand* Abbot of Montarragon. Wherefore they did breed vp Don *Iayme* carefully, and as much as they could out of danger: the king his father was aduiſed to ſend him into France, to bee kept by ſome Noble man his friend, where hee might be more ſafe then in Spaine: wherefore hee gaue him to *Simon* Earle of Montfort to bring vp, in whome he had great confidence, but hee abuſed him: for warre beeing attempted againſt the Albigeois, in the which the Earles of Tholouſa were ingaged, Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, and the Earle of Montfort grew enemies, and were in armes one againſt another; the Earle beeing made Generall againſt
B them of Albi, and their adherents: and the king Don *Pedro* fauouring the Earles of Tholouſa, father and ſonne, who had married his ſiſters. The euent was, as the Hiſtories of Spaine report, that the Earle of Montfort (who had conceiued a great hatred againſt the Earles of Tholouſa) hauing then great forces from the French king, vnder colour of making warre againſt the Albigeois, which were fallen from the Church of Rome, hee entred in hoſtile manner into the Earles countrie, whereof the king of Arragon beeing aduertiſed by his brother-in-law, hauing vntill then taken part with the Earle of Montfort, in this quarrell of the Albigeois he turned againſt him, hauing firſt aduiſed him, but in vaine, and cauſed the Pope to admoniſh him, that vnder the pretext of warre againſt the Albigeois, who were declared Heretickes, he ſhould not reuenge his priuate quarrels. D.
C *Pedro* beeing paſſed into France, and meaning to beſeege *Symon* of Montfort in the caſtle of Muret, which place he meant to abandon, there happened a furious skirmiſh among them, where as the king of Arragon was ſlaine vpon the place, and with him Don *Aznar*,, and *Pedro Pardo*, father and ſonne, Don *Gomes de Luna*, Don *Michel Lueſia*, *Michel Rada*, and many other Noblemen of Arragon: the Earle of Montfort retired ſafe with his men. Such was the pittifull end of this King Don *Pedro*, in September 1213. hauing raigned happily, and in great reputation, eighteene yeares, three moneths, and 20. dayes: his bodie was carried to the Monaſterie of Sixena, founded by the Queene his mother. The Albigeois warre continued, the end whereof you may ſee in the Hiſtories of France. They were people which oppoſed themſelues againſt the Popes Supremacie,
D and humane inuentions, brought in to the Chriſtian Religion, taught firſt by one called *Amaulry* in the towne of Alby, and thereabouts; againſt whom the Pope incenſed Chriſtian Princes.

D. Pedro king of Arragon ſlain in France 1213.

In this action *Dominicke* a Chanoine of Oſma did great ſeruice to the Romiſh Church, beeing brought into France, by D. *Diego* his Biſhop, whom the Pope did ſend his Legat for that effect. The Vniuerſitie of Paris did alſo condemne the opinion of the Albigeois: but *Dominick* relying not much vppon diſputations and reaſons, perſwaded all Princes and their ſubiects to armes, as beeing the moſt expedient meanes, for the which he was canonized, and put in the catalogue of Saints. It was he which brought in the Order of preaching Friars. Our French Hiſtories ſay, that Don *Pedro* fauoured the
E Albigeois; and yet thoſe of Spaine giue him the title of Catholike. In his time beganne the Impoſt for Beeues and other cattell in Cattelogne, which was after his returne from the battaile of Muradal, as well by reaſon of the great expences of the warre, as for the great ſummes diſburſed, for the marriages of Don *Pedro's* three ſiſters.

Dominicke of Oſma author of the Order of Iacobins.

Don Iames the firſt of that name, the eighth King of Arragon.

F 38 DOn *Iames*, or *Iaime* his ſonne was then in the power of the Earle of Montfort in the towne of Carcaſſone, the which did much trouble the Arragonois and Caſtellans; who laboured all they could to haue their Prince, but it auayled little: wherefore Pope *Innocent* the third was forced, at the ſute and inſtance of the Eſtates of Arragon and Cattelogne, to ſend a Cardinall, called *Peter* of Beneuent, into Languedoc, to whome the

the young king was deliuered, and led by him into his Countrie, where hee was receiued and crowned at Monçon, and then tooke and receiued the oath at Lerida. It was ordayned in theſe aſſemblies of Monçon and Lerida, that Don *Sancho* Earle of Roſſillon ſhould gouerne the realme during the king's minoritie, but they gaue him limitation. The kings perſon was recommended to Friar *William* of Monredon, Maſter of the Templers, to whom was giuen for an Aſſiſtant, Friar *Raymond* of Pegnafort, a Caſtellan, he that compiled the books of the Decretals, and did write arguments in caſes of conſcience, whereof there ſhall be more ample mention made. Don *Sancho* Earle of Roſſillon of a Regent, became a tyrant, and did in time much trouble the king Don *Iames*. Theſe things paſt in this manner in Arragon, the yeare after the victory of Muradal, or Tholouſa.

William of Monredon, and Raymond of Pegnafort or Rochefort, Gouernors of the kings perſon.

In Nauarre, the king D. *Sancho* the Strong, at his returne from Caſtile, found great diſorders and mutinies among his ſubiects, eſpecially in the citty of Pampelone, which grew by the young maydens of the towne, who had iniuried one another: and as oftentimes a ſmall coale kindles a great fire, which burnes a houſe, yea a whole cittie, ſo theſe petty brabbles made all the Inhabitants fall into factions, thoſe of the Bourg of Saint *Sernin*, and Saint *Michel*, to defend the female kind, fell to blowes and murthers, the which could not be preuented in the Kings abſence, who by his preſence pacified and reconciled them for a time: but beeing afterwards retired to his caſtell of Tudele, where he would not ſee any man, by reaſon that the incurable griefe in his foot increaſed daily, the young men of Pampelone reuiued their inſolencies and quarrels, ſo as one day thoſe of Saint *Sernin* and Saint *Michel* falling to armes, their fury and rage was ſuch, as there were aboue 800. ſlaine vpon the place, both men, wiues, and virgins, and many houſes were burnt: ſuch was their furious rage one againſt another, the which cauſed the King Don *Sancho* to leaue his voluntarie priſon, to pacifie it, as he did.

Nauarre. Pampelone in ſedition.

39 Among other remedies which might ſerue hereafter, hee found that peace could not continue long among a people, where there was a multitude of idle youth, and that of neceſſitie there muſt grow daily quarrels among them, if there were not meanes found out to employ them Seeing then that his ſubiects were giuen to armes, more then to any other exerciſe, he reſolued, ſeeing there was no warre with his neighbors, to make a garriſon vpon the Moores frontiers, whether the young men of the countrie ſhould be ſent, to be trained vp in martiall diſcipline, and to practiſe armes honorably againſt the enemies of Chriſt: for this cauſe he intreated the king D. *Iames*, or thoſe which did then gouerne his Realme of Arragon, to ſell him the fruites and poſſeſſion of the townes of Ademus, Caſtelfabib, Ferreta, Ferrelon, and Calamator, for his life, to make them a ſchole for armes: the which hee obtained, confirming alſo by the ſame mediators the peace which had beene concluded betwixt the kings Don *Sancho*, and Don *Pedro*, ſome yeares before, the which began to be troubled betwixt theſe two eſtates.

Caſtile. Exploits againſt the Moores.

D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtille, hauing ſuffered his ſoldiers to reſt ſome time in their houſes, drew his army againe together, in the yeare 1213. and recouered the Caſtell of Duegnas, which he reſtored to the Order of Calatraua: he alſo tooke the Caſtle of Ezna Vexor, the which he gaue to the Order of Saint *Iames:* from thence hee came and planted his campe before the towne of Alcarras, ſeated vpon a very high and rough part of the mountaine called Sierra Morena, the which hee tooke without any great difficulty, the Moores beeing yet amazed at the defeate they had the yeare before, and then hauing ſeazed vppon many other places with the like eaſe, hee returned to Toledo, where the Queenes D. *Elenor* his wife, and D. *Berenguela* his daughter, with the Infant Don *Henry* attended him. There was a great famine that yeare in Spaine, when as Don *Roderigo Ximenes* the Arch-biſhop, did much good by his preaching, perſwading the rich to releeue the poore: for which conſideration the King did afterwards giue many places to him and his ſucceſſors Arch-biſhops, the which did much augment the reuenues of that Sea; honouring moreouer the ſayd Don *Roderigo*, and his ſucceſſors Arch-biſhops, with the title of High Chancelors of Caſtile.

Leon.

The Kings of Caſtile and Leon had beene no very good friends, vppon diuers occaſions, but now lately by reaſon of the diuorce betwixt the King of Leon and his wife D. *Berenguela*, daughter of Caſtile, the which was partly the cauſe why the king of Leon was

not

not at the battell of Muradal: but this yeare (all hatred forgotten) the two kings had an interview in the towne of Vailledolit, whereas it was agreed, that Carpio and Montreall ſhould be reſtored to the King of Leon, vpon condition, that he ſhould raze them, and that he ſhould make warre againſt the Moores: for the execution whereof D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* was ſent to accompany Don *Alphonſo* king of Leon, with a good number of ſouldiers. The places beeing ruined, the king of Leon went againſt the Moores of Alcantara vppon the riuer of Tayo, on the confines of Portugall, the which hee tooke: whereas ſince he did inſtitute an Order of Knights, like vnto that of Calatraua. This king D. *Alphonſo* of Leon, is numbred the tenth of that name by them that mingle the kings of Caſtile and Leon together. We haue ſayd before that he had two wiues, the one was daughter to Don *Sancho* the firſt king of Portugall, called Donna *Thereſa*; of which marriage iſſued Don *Fernand*, who died before his father, Donna *Sancha*, and D. *Dulce*: being afterwards ſeparated by the Popes authoritie, for that they were couſins in the third degree: he married to his ſecond wife Donna *Berenguela*, daughter to Don *Alphonſo* the Noble, king of Caſtile, of whom was borne Don *Fernand*, who was King of Caſtile and Leon, and Don *Alphonſo* who came to be Lord of Molina, and had moreouer two daughters by this Lady Donna *Conſtance*, a Nunne in las Huelgas of Burgos, and Donna *Berenguela*, who married with the Earle *Iohn de Brenne*, whom they termed king of Ieruſalem. This ſecond marriage was alſo diſſolued, for that Donna *Berenguela* was daughter to her husbands couſin-germaine, & therefore Don *Alphonſo* had a friend, which brought him a baſtard, called Don *Roderigo Alphonſo* of Leon.

Reconciliation of the Kings of Caſtile and Leon.

Order of the Knights of Alcantara.

Genealogie of Leon.

Caſtile.

After the taking of Alcantara, Don *Diego Lopes de Haro* came vnto the king of Caſtile, who beeing entred into Andaluſia beſeeged Baeça, which the Moores had rampared: but by reaſon of the great dearth, he raiſed the ſeege, and returned to Calatraua, where hauing left Don *Roderigo* the Arch-biſhop, to order all things vpon the fronter, he came to Burgos. The Arch-biſhop began to build the new towne of Milagro, where the worke-men were charged by the Moores, who made a great ſlaughter of them, and of many of the people which began to inhabit it: for the which the Arch-biſhop prouided as well as he could, and made a truce with the enemie in the Kings name. Beeing returned to the king to Burgos he reſolued to make a voiage into Guienne, where hee had ſome pretenſions, in the right of Queene *Elenor* his wife. Before his departure, hee would conferre with Don *Alphonſo* king of Portugal, his ſonne-in-law, ſending to intreate him to meete him at Plaiſance, on a certaine day: but beeing vppon the way he fell ſicke in Garci Mugnos a Bourg of Areualo, where he was forced to ſtay: then did his griefe increaſe, by the anſwer he receiued from the King of Portugall, who ſent him word, he would not paſſe the limits of his kingdome, by reaſon whereof hee was ſo much mooued with choller, as he dyed, in the yeare 1214. the fiue and fiftith yeare of his raigne, and the nine and fiftith of his age: his body was carried to Burgos, whereas his funerals were made, and it interred in the Monaſterie of las Huelgas, with the teares and griefe of all Spaine.

Death of Don Alphonſo the Noble King of Caſtile.

D. Henry the firſt of that name, the eighth King of Caſtile.

41 IN his place raigned his ſonne D. *Henry* the firſt of that name in Caſtile and Toledo, who was but eleuen yeares old: whereupon the Prelats, Nobles and Commons aſſembled at Burgos, where hauing declared him king, and taken the oath, they made the Queene Donna *Eleonora* his mother, Gouerneſſe of his perſon and Realmes: but ſhe ſuruiued her husband but 25. dayes, and was interred in the ſame Monaſterie. By her decree Donna *Berenguela* the kings ſiſter gouerned both him and his Realmes, who carried herſelfe vprightly to the contentment of all the Eſtates, during her adminiſtration. She was Ladie of Vailledolit, Mugnon, Curiel, Gormas, Saint *Stephen*, of the caſtell of Burgos, and other places and rents aſſigned by Don *Alphonſo* her father. During her regency the Councell of Latran was celebrated at Rome, vnder Pope *Innocent* the third with a great

D. Berenguela queene of Leon gouerneſſe of Caſtile.

Councell of S. John de Latran vnder Innocent the third.

great concourſe of Prelates from all parts of Chriſtendome. Whither there went D. *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-biſhop of Toledo and Primate of Spaine: the Arch-biſhop of Braga, the Biſhop of Vic, and other Prelates of Spain. There were aboue 300. at this aſſembly, which did exerciſe chiefe dignities in the church, beſides others innumerable of all eſtates, they did chiefely treate of the meanes how to vphold the Chriſtians eſtate in Paleſtina, or the holy Land: then of the rights of Patronage and reception of fruites and reuenewes of Churches by lay men. The Archbiſhoppe Don *Roderigo* preached with the Popes leaue, in the aſſembly, very learnedly in Latin, according vnto thoſe times: and for that that language was not well vnderſtood by all that were there preſent, he expounded the ſubſtance of his Sermon in Italian, Germaine, French, Engliſh, Caſtillan, and Biſcain, or Nauarrois which was his naturall tongue, for the which he was much commended and eſteemed, as *Garybay* ſaith, next to Doctor *Blaz Ortiz*, which done, and the Councell freed of the affaires which touched the generall of Chriſtendome: the Arch-biſhop D. *Roderigo* complayned of the contumacie and diſobedience of the Arch-biſhops of Narbone, Tarragone, Braga, and Saint Iames, who would not acknowledge the Primacie of Toledo: to proue the which he produced many priuiledges of the holy Apoſtolike ſea, eſpecially of theſe Popes, *Vrbain*, *Gelaſius*, and *Honorius* the 2. *Lucius* the 3. *Adrian* the 4. and *Innocent* the 2. granted to the Church of Toledo, and the Prelates therof, as Primates of Spaine. He alledged many ancient Councels celebrated in Spaine, and iuſtified the equitie of his cauſe, by many ancient Hiſtories and authenticall Records. The Pope deſired to heare the parties interreſſed: wherefore the Archbiſhop of Braga beeing preſent, anſwered for himſelfe: for him of Tarragone who was abſent, the Biſhop of Vic, one of his Suffragans preſented himſelfe, both which denyed the Primacie. They of Narbonne and Saint Iames were excuſed, beeing abſent. And for that the Archbiſhop D. *Roderigo Ximenes* was preſt to returne into Spaine, the proceſſe remained for that time vndecided, yet he obtained from the Pope many great prouiſions, which were both profitable and honorable, as to be Legate of Spaine for ten yeares, with power to make legitimate to the number of three hundred, with other ample faculties: right to chooſe and eſtabliſh Biſhops in all the townes which ſhould come into the Chriſtians power, and that the Church of Seuile in that caſe ſhould acknowledge the Primacie of Toledo, without any ſute: and that the Arch-biſhop thereof ſhould diſpoſe of all other Eccleſiaſticall dignities, in places conquered, or to be conquered. This Archbiſhop D. *Roderigo Ximenes*, hath written the Hiſtorie of Spaine in Latine vnto his time, and in like manner that of the Moores or Arabians ſince *Mahumet*.

Proceſſe for the Primacie of Spaine.

The end of the tenth Booke

The

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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Caſtile and Leon.	*Portugal.*	*Nauarre.*	*Granado and the beginning vnder*
9. *D. Fernand.* 3--30. *vnited the* 2. *Realmes.*	4. *D. Sancho. Capello* 2.	22 *Thibauld* 1.	1. *Mahumet Aben Alhamar.*

THE Arch-biſhop D. *Roderigo Ximenes* beeing returned into Caſtile, found the affaires wonderfully troubled by the practiſes of D. *Fernand Nugnes de Lara*, D. *Aluar Nugnes*, and D. *Gonçalo Nugnes*, his breethren, ſonnes to the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara*, who (as their fathers and Vncles had done during the Nonnage of the king D. *Alphonſo* the Noble) would haue the perſon of the young king *Henry* in their cuſtodie, by which meanes they ſhould haue all authoritie and prerogatiue in the gouernement of the ſtate. Theſe Noblemen, who were great and mightie, wrought ſo, as they had what they pretended, by the meanes of *Garcia Laurens*, who had the gouernement of the Prince, and in whom the Queene Regent did rely much. They corrupted him by gifts and promiſes, ſo as hee counſelled the Queene D. *Berenguela*, and cauſed the Prelates, and other Noblemen of the Realme to allow thereof, that the king ſhould be put into the hands of theſe Noblemen of the houſe of Lara: whereunto Don *Roderigo Ximenes* the Arch-biſhop did alſo conſent, ſo as they did homage, and did ſweare faith and loyaltie in the hands of the Q. Regent, not to attempt nor change any thing in matter of State, were it in peace or war, without her counſell and conſent, whom they ſhould honor and reſpect, as it was fit: they ſhould defend her, her eſtates and goods in all occaſions, vpon paine to be held guiltie of high treaſon. Theſe promiſes beeing made by the Lords of Lara, the king D. *Henry* was deliuered into the hands of the Earle D. *Aluar Nugnes*: but they did not performe what they had promiſed, for as ſoone as they ſaw themſelues ſeazed of the Kings perſon, and therefore reuerenced and feared, they began to purſue many great perſonages and rich men with all violence, ſo as ſome were forced to flie. Moreouer, falling vppon the liberties, goods, and reuenues of the Clergie, they made their profit of them: whereuppon they were excommunicated by Don *Roderigo* Deane of Toledo, Vice-gerent or Subſtitute to the Arch-biſhop, the which did reclaime them from theſe inſolencies, eſpecially againſt the Clergie and Churches, whereof they promiſed to become Protectors.

Troubles during the minority of D. Henry king of Caſtile.

The young king deliuered into the hands of them of Lara.

But

A But for that it is a hard matter to reſtraine great men, when they are once giuen to tyranny, theſe Earles of Lara turned againſt lay-men, which enioyed ſpirituall liuings, whom they did vexe and ſpoile of their reuenues, ſo as they grew odious to all ſorts of men, and they began to be mooued, and to repine much at their exceſſe. D. *Aluar* who had beene newly made Earle of Auila, called an aſſembly of the Eſtates in the Kings name at Vailledolit, whither came certaine of his confederates, great men of Caſtile: but D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, ſonne to D. *Diego* Lord of Biſcay, D. *Gonçal Ruis Giron*, and his breethren, D. *Roderigo Ruis*, D. *Aluar Diaz de los Cameros*, and Don *Alphonſo Teles de los Meneſes*, with many other Noblemen of the Kingdome, deteſting this tyrannie, exhorted the Queene to complaine of the extorſions, miſeries and calamities, which the peo- B ple and whole Realme ſuffered by their meanes: according to which aduice, ſhe did write to the Earle Don *Aluar Nugnes*, putting him in mind of the faith and homage which hee had ſworne to her, and admoniſhing him to gouerne better: wherewith D. *Aluar* beeing incenſed, he did all the wrong he could vnto the Queene, and in the end diſpoſſeſt her of all that the King her father had left her for her portion, yea he grew ſo inſolent, as he commanded her to depart the Court; the which this poore Princeſſe was forced to do, retiring with her ſiſter D. *Elenor*, who was yet a mayd, to Oteilla, where they remayned vntill the death of D. *Henry* their brother. This violent contempt was not concealed from the young King, who began to complaine, demanding to be deliuered againe vnto the Queene D. *Berenguela* his ſiſter, but it was in vaine: for he himſelfe beeing forced and reſiſting all he could, was led from place to place, as it pleaſed the Earle Don *Aluaro*: and C which was more, he was forced by him to marry D. *Malfada* Infanta of Portugal, daughter to the King D. *Sancho*, without imparting it to the Prince, nor to the Princeſſes of the bloud; not to any but to his owne faction: which marriage hee beganne to broach at Palencia, where they were made ſure; and ſuddenly beeing come to Medina del campo, hee cauſed them to lye together: whereat the Queene D. *Berenguela* was ſo mooued (beeing not made acquainted with this treaty) as ſhe wrote vnto Pope *Innocent* the third, aduertiſing him that the married couple were ſo neere akin, as according to the ordonances of the Church, they could not be ioyned together without ſcandall, by whoſe meanes the Pope did ſeparate them: whereupon D. *Malfada* (who was a very faire Princeſſe) returned D into Portugal very much diſcontented, as well for the breach of the marriage, as for that Don *Aluaro* would preſume to marrie her, the king D. *Henry* being an infant. They were couſins in the fourth degree by an vnequall line, wherof the Infanta had the better. Some Authors report it after this manner, that the Queene D. *Berenguela* hauing ſent one to Maqueda, where the king was, to carry him newes of his Eſtate, the Earles of Lara hauing intelligence thereof, cauſed him to be apprehended and put in priſon, and hauing counterfeitted letters, to ſome priuate men of baſe condition, from the Queene, as if ſhe would haue procured them to poyſon the king, they cauſed this priſoners proceſſe to bee made, who was for that cauſe hanged: yet not any one did beleeue, that euer the Queene D. *Berenguela*, would practiſe ſuch a trecherie; but held it to be a fraud, deuiſed by the Earle D. E *Nugno*, and D. *Aluar* his ſonne. Wherefore the Inhabitants of Maqueda beganne to mutine, which made the King and his Gouernors to go to Hueté: where beeing arriued, a Knight called *Roderigo Gonçales* of Valuerdé, who had charge from the Queene D. *Berenguela*, to ſteale away the king. Don *Fernand de Lara* layed hold of him, and carryed him priſoner to Alarcon.

Factions in Caſtile.

D. Aluar de Lara ſpoyles D. Berenguela the Queene Regent of her authority and eſtate.

Marriage forced of the K. D. Henry.

This made the Earles of Lara to keepe a more ſtreight guard about the King, whome they conducted to Vailledolit, and there beganne the warre againſt them, which held the Queenes partie. Montalegre in the which Don *Suer Teles Giron* remayned, was beſeeged and taken: and then ouer running and ſpoyling the country, Don *Aluaro de Lara*, chiefe of this warre, came to Carrion, then to Villana of Alcor, who hauing ſud- F denly ſurprized Don *Alphonſo Teles de Meneſes*, without the fort, beeing ill accompanied, his men vnhorſed and diſarmed ſome of Don *Alphonſos* troupe, and thought to take him priſoner, but he fled into the fort beeing wounded, where hee was beſeeged by the King in perſon, and the Earle Don *Aluaro*, but not able to take it, they retired to Palencia, where the king was lodged in the biſhops Pallace.

Ciuill warre in Caſtile.

All things (ſay they) paſt before the marriage, which was then concluded in Palence. A
It beeing accompanied, the king would go againſt D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and paſſing by
Burgos, whereas his ſiſter the Queene D. *Berenguela* was, he went on, and did not ſee her,
and ſo came to Calaorra, which fort was taken by *Garcia Zapata*, from *Ruis Diaz de los*
Cameros, and his brother *Aluaro Diaz*. The king beeing afterwards returned to Burgos,
the Queene his ſiſter began to write, and to ſollicite the Pope to diſſolue this marriage,
which was the cauſe why D. *Aluaro* diſpoſſeſt her of her lands & reuenues, vnder the kings
name and authoritie, which ſhe could not reſiſt. Moreouer, the Hiſtorians ſay, that Don
Aluaro did purſue a ſecond marriage for the King D. *Henry*, with Donna *Sancha* Infanta
of Leon, daughter to Don *Alphonſo* by his firſt wife D. *Thereſa*, by the which it was agreed
that after the death of the king D. *Alphonſo*, the king D. *Henry* ſhould ſucceed him in the B
Realme of Leon, and in the meane time he ſhould giue vnto his father-in law, the vſe and
poſſeſſion of Saint *Iohn de la Mota*, whereof a Knight called *Sancho Fernandes* ſhould bee
Gouernor, and anſwerable for it: the Earle D. *Aluaro* thinking to fortifie himſelfe with
the ſupport and fauour of the king Don *Alphonſo*, by the granting of this place, al-
though he repented him afterwards, giuing him in exchange Tiedra in ſtead of S. *Iohn*,
and aboue 10000. Marauidis of gold, all to annoy the Queene D. *Berenguela*, and to diſ-
inherit the Infant D. *Fernand* of Leon his ſonne and heire to the Realme, who was with
her: for Tiedra did belong vnto the Queene, who was conſtrained to giue the place vnto
the king Don *Henry* her brother, who demanded it. And then ſhe ſent the Infant D. *Fer-*
nand vnto the king of Leon his father, : which done, ſhe retired to Oteilla, and the king to
Palence, from whence D. *Gonçalo Nugnes de Lara*, brother to the Earle D. *Aluaro*, was C
ſent with good troupes of horſe and foot, againſt D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, who was towards
Miranda of Ebro well accompanied: but as they were readie to fight, certaine religious
men came betwixt them and parted them: ſo as the Earle D. *Gonçalo* returned to the king
and D. *Lope* vnto the Queene; who was ſoone after beſeeged by the king her brother, and
the Earle of Lara in Oteilla, but not able to take it, they left it to go to Frechilla, where
they razed the houſes of D. *Roderigo Gonçales Giron*, and then they returned to Palence.
The Queene had in the meane time ſent to demand ſuccors, from the king of Leon, ſom-
times her husband, the which he granted, but the ſeege beeing raiſed, there was no neede
to ſend any. Theſe things are written by many Authors very doubtfully and diuerſly: how
ſoeuer it were, the realmes of Caſtile and Toledo did indure much miſerie by the wicked D
and tyrannous gouernement of the Earles of Lara, the which had an end by the ſuddaine
and miſerable death of the king D. *Henry*, whom they held in their power, and whoſe au-
thoritie they did abuſe impudently. This young Prince beeing at Palença, lodged in the
biſhops pallace, as they ſuffered him to play with certain young children of Noble hou-
ſes, who ſerued him and were about the ſame age, ſporting with them freely, and more
inconſideratly then was fit for one of his quality: one of them whom they hold to bee of
the houſe of Mendoça, caſt a tyle from the top of a tower, which falling vpon the cou-
ering of an houſe, beat downe another, the which fell vpon the kings head, wherewith hee
Death of D. Henry king of Caſtile. was ſo grieuouſly hurt, as he dyed the eleuenth day after, in the yeare 1217 hauing raig- E
ned two yeares, nine moneths, and 15. daies, in great trouble: his bodie carryed to Burgos
and layed in the Monaſterie of las Huelgas, neere to his brother D. *Fernand*, where they
do euery yeare vnto this day, make an aniuerſarie for his ſoule. Such was the end of D.
Henry, by the which D. *Berenguela* recouered her authoritie, and raigned with her ſonne
D. *Fernand*, the which ſhe had by Don *Alphonſo* king of Leon, by the diligence and fore-
ſight of the Noblemen of Caſtile, fearing leſt the French ſhould ſeaze vpon the Realme,
Intereſt of the king of France to the crowne of Caſtile. by reaſon of the pretenſions of the Infanta D. *Blanche*, the eldeſt daughter of Caſtile, ma-
ried into France, to *Lewis* ſonne to *Philip Auguſtus*, who was mother to the king Saint
Lewis.

D. Fernand F

A

D. Fernand called the Holy, the ninth king of Caſtile, and third of that name.

3 THe death of the King Don *Henry*, was very grieuous to the Earles of Lara, who ſought to keepe it ſecret for ſome dayes, but it was in vaine: for the Queene D. *Berenguela* was preſently aduertiſed, who inſtantly diſpatched D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, and D.
B *Gonçalo Rais*, to Toro in the countrie of Leon, to bring the Infant Don *Fernand*, who was there with the King his father. And for that ſhe feared leſt the King Don *Alphonſo* of Leon, beeing aduertiſed of this death, ſhould attempt ſomething vppon the Realme of Caſtile, the Ambaſſadors had charge to conceale it, and to faine that the Queene was ſtil moleſted, and readie to be beſeeged by her enemies, vpon which pretext they ſhould demaund the Infant her ſonne with ſome ſuccors of ſouldiers, the which the Ambaſſadours did wiſely effect, bringing D. *Fernand* to Oteilla, where hee was proclaimed king of Caſtile, Toledo, and Nagera in the open field, vnder an Elme, by the Noblemen which were there preſent: and preſently marched towards Palencia, where as the King, the Queen his mother, with their whole traine, were receiued with great honour by Don *Tello* the Bi-
C ſhop. From thence they came to Duegnas, which place they were conſtrained to force, ſo as the warre began to grow hote: which the Prelates and Noble-men of the countrie laboured to preuent, but in vaine: the Earle D. *Aluar* refuſing to quit his authoritie, and to lay downe armes, vntill he had the perſon of the new King Don *Fernand* in his power, as he had had that of D. *Henry*: but the memorie of his bad gouernment diſtaſted euery man: ſo as they were ſo farre from ſatisfying his deſire, as they were all aſhamed to haue beene ſo ill aduiſed, to giue the authoritie and gouernement of the Realme, to ſuch violent perſons as them of Lara: wherefore they ſought how to haue the king obeyed by Armes, to the great ruine of the countrey. The King and Queene-mother paſt on with their troupes to Vailledolit, and ſo to the riuer of Duero: from thence they went to Co-
D ca, where they ſhut the gates againſt them: wherefore they came to Saint Iuſt, where they receiued two aduertiſements: the one was, that they ſhould not go to Auila nor Segouia: the other, that the Infant Don *Sancho Fernandes*, brother to Don *Alphonſo* king of Leon, borne of D. *Vrraca Lopes* was comming againſt them with a mightie army: whereupon they turned backe towards Vailledolit, where they found ſome alterations againſt the Queene and her ſonne, practiſed by them of Lara, whom by her wiſedome ſhe pacified. There hauing aſſembled the Noblemen which had charges and dignities within the Realme, ſhe intreated them to aduiſe what was fit for the peace and publike quiet, offering to do any thing which they ſhould councell her. They who knew her to be a wiſe
E and diſcreet woman, were of opinion, that ſhe ſhould raigne as lawfull heire of Caſtile: but ſhe deſiring more the good and greatneſſe of her ſonne, then her owne, renounced the royaltie, in the preſence of them all, & reſigned it wholly vnto her ſon Don *Fernand*, the which was a worthy act, and commended of all men. Whereupon the King was conducted vnto the Church of Saint Mary the great, and there with a generall applauſe and conſent was confirmed King, and the oath taken of either ſide, the King being ſcarce ſeuenteene yeares, whoſe raigne was happie and full of all good.

Fernand the third proclaimed king of Caſtile.

4 The Moores of Spaine, ſubiect to *Aben Mahomad*, Miralmumin of Affricke, ſeeing themſelues deſtitute of his ayde and ſupport, after the loſſe of the Battaile of Muradal, (as it doth often happen after ſuch inconueniences and loſſes) grew to haue a bad conceite of their King *Mahomad*, and did beleeue, or made ſhew to beleeue, that the battaile was
F loſt by his fault: wherefore all ſuch as had any charges and gouernements reuolted and erected many petty Kingdomes in Spaine. Among them, the firſt and chiefe was the Miralmumims owne brother called *Zeit Aben-Zeit*, who by others is called *Zeita Buzeit*, who ſeazed vpon the towne of Valencia, & the Iuriſdictions therof. A couſin of his called *Aben Mahomad*, when as the Chriſtians army, infected with the plague, returned into

Moores.

The Arabians in Spain reiect the Miralmumins of Africk.

Caſtile, ſeazed vpon Baeça, who had the cittie of Cordoua alſo at his deuotion, with many other places in Andaluſia, and on the confines of Toledo; whom many Moores followed, for that he was deſcended by maſculine line from *Abdelmon*, the firſt king of the Almohades, and came of *Abdalla* one of his ſonnes: theſe two had yet ſome colour to hold that which their grandfather had conquered in Spaine. But at Seuille there did riſe a mightie Moore, called *Aben Lalle*, vnder whoſe power the townes of Eccia, Carmona, Xeres, and others of Andaluſia did ſubiect themſelues. In Murcia and Granado, there was one named *Aben Hut*, made himſelfe King, beeing of the race of thoſe Moores which had raigned in Sarragoſſa. In this ſort the other Moores made themſelues maſters of townes and Prouinces in Spaine, where they had beene ſet for Gouernors, all which did enter into league with the aboue-named as the mightieſt, giuing an end in Spaine to the Empire of the Almohades, and Kings of Maroc, two and fiftie yeares after the paſſage of king *Abdelmon*. This was the laſt diuiſion betwixt the Moores of Spaine and Affricke, the which were neuer more vnited vnder one Crowne, notwithſtanding that there haue many times troupes and armies paſt out of Affricke into Spaine againſt the Chriſtians, to ſuccor thoſe pettie Kings of the Moores which raigned there, whereas the Kings of Maroc might hold ſome ſea-townes and forts giuen them by the Kings of Granado, to fauour their deſcents: yet they neuer after had any great power nor Empire there. From theſe new erected eſtates, which were not yet very well vnited, the King of Caſtile (as we haue ſayd) had taken the ſtrong citty of Alcaraz, and he of Leon, that of Alcantara, in the yeare 1213. Since a truce beeing made betwixt the Chriſtians and Moores for ſome yeares, theſe Infidels had leyſure to ſettle themſelues, and to fortifie their places.

Gouernours Moores make themſelues Lords of their gouernements.

1217. In the yeare 1217. Don *Mathew* Biſhop of Lisbone, beeing leader of the armie of Portugal, tooke from them Alcaçar de Sal, beeing aſſiſted by ſtrangers, which were going into Syria, and by the Prior of the Templers, and Prior of Saint *Iohn*. Theſe ſtrangers were Engliſh, French, and Flemings, hauing a fleet of an hundred ſayle, beeing mooued thereunto by the admonitions and decrees of the Councell of Saint *Iohn de Latran*, held by Pope *Innocent* the third, which was the fifth expedition made by publike decree and Councell, by the which *Andrew* king of Hungarie was named Generall of the Chriſtians armie in the Weſt, notwithſtanding *Iohn* Earle of Brenne went in his place.

Caſtile. 5 Returning to Caſtile, the young king Don *Fernand*, his mother, and and all the Caſtillans, were much troubled after they had choſen him, for that the King D. *Alphonſo* his father, beeing diſcontented that D. *Berenguela* had by policy gorten away his ſonne, and ſeemed to diſtruſt him, and withall being deſirous to vnite that realme to his of Leon and to be called Emperour of Spaine, he came into Spaine with a mightie armie: whereupon they ſent Don *Maurice* Biſhop of Burgos, and Don *Domingo* biſhop of Auila to beſeech the King not to diſquiet his ſonnes Realme, of whoſe good he ſhould bee rather glad then ſorrie: but he was thereby incenſed the more. King Don *Alphonſo* marching on as farre as Burgos, ſpoyling all where he paſt, found the citty well garded by Don *Lope Diaz de Haro* and other Noblemen, who were well accompanied: wherefore ſeeing there was no meanes to enter, he returned, doing all the harme he could. About this time the Queene D. *Berenguela*, parting from Vailledolit, came to Palencia, whereas the Noblemen about Segobia and Auila came to offer her their ſeruice. The Caſtillans beeing freed from the feare of King Don *Alphonſo*, the new Kings army was ledde to Mugron, where the battery was begun: during the which the Queen returned to Burgos, to the funerals of her brother Don *Henry*, the which by her Order were very ſtately. Mugnon beeing taken, and the Queene come to the campe, with the ſouldiers which were at Burgos, they marched againſt Lerma and Lara, which places were taken by force. Beeing returned to Burgos, the army was led along the riuer of Oja, whereas the townes of Villorado, Nagera, and Nauarret yeelded vnto the King, but not their caſtels. In the meane time the Lords of Lara, laboured to make a generall rebellion againſt the king, ſo as the Princeſſe being forced to return to Palencia, there was an incounter vpon the way, where D. *Aluaro* was taken and led priſoner to Burgos, who was afterwards deliuered vpon condition that he ſhould yeeld vnto the King, all the places and garriſons which were held and maintained by his men at arms, belonging to the Crowne, eſpecially Amaya, Tariego, Cerezo

The King of Leon enters with an armie into Caſtile againſt his ſon D. Fernand.

D. Aluaro de Lara taken whereof followed a peace in Caſtile.

A Cerezo, Villafranca of the Mountaines of Oca, the tower of Vilhorado, with the caſtles of Nauarret, Nagera and Pancoruo, the which was done: D. *Fernand* his brother did alſo yeeld Caſtroxeris, and Orcejon. By this meanes there was a peace betwixt the king and the Noblemen his ſubiects whom hee receiued into fauour, ſuffring them to hold their Offices and Gouernments: but it was a peace of ſixe monthes onely, for ſeeing themſelues out of credit, they rebelled againe, againſt whom the king ſent ſome troupes, which forced them to retire to Leon. By reaſon whereof the warre reuiued betwixt Caſtille and Leon, but not too hotly: for there was preſently a truce made, the Earle D. *Aluaro* falling ſicke, whereof hee died at Toro, hauing firſt made a vow to take vpon him the habit and order of Saint *Iames*; wherefore they buried him at Veles. Preſent-

Death of D. Aluar and D. Fernand de Lara.

B ly after D. *Fernand de Lara* his brother retired into Affrike, where hee was well entertained in the court of the King of Maroc; but hee died ſoone after, hauing cauſed himſelfe to be carried to a Bourge inhabited by Chriſtians, called Elbora, neere vnto the city of Maroc. Drawing neere his end, he tooke vpon him the habit of the Order of Hoſpitaliers, thinking it would ſerue to mitigate his offence, in which habit his bodie was carried into Caſtille, and buried in the Commanderie of Pont de Hitero, in the Biſhoprike of Palencia, by the care of *Donna Major* his wife, D. *Fernand* and D. *Aluar* his ſonnes.

6 This age brought forth new Orders of religion, contrary to the precedent Orders of Monkes; for whereas theſe could not bee ſatisfied with temporal wealth, which was

Order of preaching friars.

C giuen them by Kings and Noblemen, as it were in emulation one of an other, thoſe reiected all riches, making profeſſion to be poore, and not to poſſeſſe any thing. The firſt was that of the preaching friars, which are called Iacobins in France, the Author whereof was that Chanoine of Oſma, which came out of Spaine into France, with his Biſhop, to maintaine the authority of the church of Rome, againſt the Albigeois and their adherents, beeing pronounced heretikes by Pope *Innocent* the third, as wee haue ſayd: the vow and profeſſion of this Order was, to preach againſt thoſe which ſhould ſtray from the faith. The Order was allowed and confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the third. *Dominike* was borne at Calaruega, and not at Calaroga, nor Calahorra; it is a Bourg in

D the Dioceſe of Oſma, betwixt Aranda of Dueto, and Saint Domingo of Silos, and is at this day a Monaſtery of Nunnes of that Order, the which was built by King D. *Alphonſo* the eleuenth, or laſt of that name, where they doe ſhew his fathers houſe and the font where he was baptized.

The confirmation of his Order was preſented by him, in the yeere 1218. vnto the King D. *Fernand*, hee himſelfe hauing obtained it at Rome; and in truth the ſea of Rome is much bound to theſe preaching friers, who haue beene one of the chiefe ſupporters thereof, the King D. *Fernand* as an obedient ſonne to the Pope, receiued the Order and the Author with great reuerence, and cauſed the Monaſteries of Saint Croix of Segobia, and of Saint Domingo the royal at Madrid, to bee built. *Dominike* dying ſome time

An. 1218.

Conuents of the Order of Saint Dominike built by the King D. Fernand the 3.

E after at Bolonia, Pope *Gregory* the ninth, did canonize him, in the yeere 1223. there were other friars of this Order Canonized by Popes, as one *Manes*, *Gil*, *Anſelme*, *Pelagius* and *Michel*.

7 At the ſame time the Knights of the Order of Alcantara were diuided from that of Calatraua, beeing alike, and ſubiect vnto it, from which time they had their diſtinct maiſters. D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, who had inſtituted this order, was a meanes that Alcantara, with all that this order did hold in the realme of Leon, was giuen to Saint *Iulian del Pereiro* of Portugal, which was of the ſame order of Ciſteaux, vpon condition that the maiſter and Order of *Pereiro* and his ſucceſſors ſhould remaine vnder the obedience, and be ſubiect to the v ſite of the Maiſters of Calatraua. So in the yeere of our Lord 1219. this order had it's beginning and diſtinct maiſters. Their habit was firſt a

An. 1219.

F hood, and the Nouices at this day carry a hood of white ſerge or ſtamine, and when as they receiue the communion, euery one weares a white cloake. Since they haue taken a greene croſſe, in fauour and at the inſtance of D. *Fernand* Infant of Caſtille, ſonne to *Iohn* the firſt, who was afterwards King of Arragon, in the yeere 1411. as ſhalbe ſayd. Such was the deuotion of that age, fertil of ſuch things.

Habit of the Knights of Alcantara.

D. *Fernand*

D. *Fernand* King of Castille, beeing freed from D. *Aluaro*, and D. *Fernand Nugnes de* A
Lara, which did trouble his realme, he began to raigne in peace; and beeing now of age fit to be married, the Queene D. *Berenguela* his mother, with the aduice of such as shee knew to be faithful, began to treat a marriage in Germany, with *Beatrix*, daughter to the Emperour *Philip*, and cousin to the Emperour *Frederic* the second King of Naples and Sicile. The Germains say, that she had beene married to *Otton* Duke of Saxony, who was Emperor after *Philip*; so as she must of necessity haue beene a widow. To this effect D. *Maurice* Bishop of Burgos, and D. *Pedro* Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Arlança, with the Prior of the Order of Saint Iohn were sent Ambassadors wel attended, who concluded this marriage, notwithstanding that they held them foure monthes without any resolution: this Princesse was sent into Spaine through France, B
whereas *Philip Augustus*, then raigning, did her much honour throughout his whole realme, causing her to bee conducted vnto Guipuscoa, from whence the Noblemen of Spaine which were deputed to receiue her, conducted her to Victoria, whereas the Queene D. *Berenguela* met her, and did accompany her to Burgos: this Princesse did please D. *Fernand*, for she was exceeding faire. Three daies after her arriual, the King was made Knight, and did arme himselfe in the Monastery of Las Huelgas, and then he married D. *Beatrix* the last of December 1220. Of this marriage issued many children, whereof the eldest was *Alphonso*, who succeeded in the two Realmes of Castille and Leon: the second was D. *Frederic*, the third D. *Fernand*, the fourth D. *Henry*, the fifth D. *Philip* the sixth D. *Sancho*, the seuenth and last D. *Manuel*. Hee had also two C
daughters, D. *Elenor*, who died and Infant, an D. *Berenguela* a Nunne in the Monastery of Las Huelgas.

D. Ferdinand King of Castille marries the Emperor of Germanies daughter.

An. 1220.

The yeere following 1221. the marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Elenor*, the King of Castilles aunt, and D. *Iames* King of Arragon, who was then but thirteene yeeres old, which argues falshood in some which haue written that this King before hee married this Princesse, had contracted a secret marriage with D. *Theresa Gil* of Bidaura, daughter of D. *Iohn* of Bidaura, of whom hee begot two sonnes, the one called D. *Pedro*, who was Lord of Aierbe, and the other D. *Iaime* Lord of Xerica, the which hath no great ground in nature, considering the King was very yong, and we must beleeue that the acquaintance he had with this Lady, either as a spouse or a friend, was ten yeeres after, when he was diuorced from D. *Elenor*. He was in a manner constrained to make this D
alliance with Castille, hauing need of D. *Fernands* assistance, by reason of the troubles he had in his country, which grew through the bad and tyranous gouernment and ambition of his vncles: the which wee must relate and fetch farther off. This Prince had beene drawne, as wee haue sayd, out of the hands of *Symon* Earle of Montfort, and conducted into his realme of Arragon, where there was great contention betwixt the Estates, and the Earles of Roussillon, the father, and sonne to D. *Fernand*, and the Abbot of Montarragon, the Kings vncles, who in stead of gouerning the realme, would haue wrested it from him: notwithstanding by the fidelity of the Estates and their authority, E
together with the dilligence of the Cardinal of Beneuent the Legat, right preuailed, and the Infant D. *Iames* was acknowledged for lawfull King at Lerida, as I haue sayd, where the Princes contending did not appeere. There were three Gouernors appointed, two in Arragon, which were D. *Pedro d' Ahones*, and D. *Pedro Fernandes d' Açagra*, whose Gouernments were distinct by the riuer of Ebro, and the third in Cattelogne. Ouer all the which D. *Sancho*, Earle of Roussillon, was appointed superintendent. There it was also concluded, that D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prouence, a young Prince of nine yeeres of age, sonne to D. *Alphonso*, should be with the King, vnder the same tutors aboue mentioned, the which was put in execution: but the Earle soone after, about the yeere of our Lord 1216. escaped from them, and retired into Prouence, where hee married the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of Morienne, named *Beatrix*, who was mother of F
fiue Queenes.

Arragon.

Contentions in Arragon.

Raymond Berenger Earle of Prouence father to fiue Queenes.

To preuent the continual practises of the Earles of Roussillon, and of D. *Fernand*, vncles to the young King, it was resolued, about the yeere 1217. that hee should bee declared of full age, being then but tenne yeeres old, according vnto some, the which the

A Earle of Rouſilllon did wonderfully contradict: yet after great contention, he quit the Regency, in the yeere 1218. by the authority of the Eſtates aſſembled to that end at Tarragone, whereas the Earle receiued certaine places in fee of the King. At this time the authority of the Magiſtrate (called the Iuſtice of Arragon) was great, for the defence of the publike liberty.

The yeere following 1219. all the continent of Spaine was afflicted with a great drought (whereunto it is very much ſubiect) as well through want of raine, as for that the ſprings were dried vp; ſo as there followed a great dearth, and peſtilent diſeaſes. Theſe calamities were accompanied with troubles and ciuill ſeditions, by the rebellion of D. *Roderigo Lizana*, a man of great authority and power, who being incenſed for ſome pre-
B tended wrongs againſt *Lope a' Albero*, hee ſurprized him in his houſe, and ſhut him vp in a fort of his, from whence the King deliuered him by force; his commandements, nor the decrees of his councel preuailing nothing. D. *Roderigo* deſpayring to finde grace with the King, retired to Albarrazin, to D. *Pedro Fernanaes de Açagra*, whether they ſent troupes of ſouldiers to beſiege them, who could not force the place, beeing ſtrong both by nature and art: notwithſtanding D. *Roderigo* and D. *Pedro Fernandes*, acknowledging their fault, obtained pardon of the King. In theſe ſieges they vſed an Engine of battery made at Hueſca, which did caſt great ſtones, making one hundred and fifty ſhot in a day and a night, with great ruine.

Theſe things happened in the yeere 1221. whileſt they treated of the marriage of the ſayd King D. *Iames*, with D. *Elenor* of Caſtille, the Mediators whereof were D. *Symon*
C *Corne*l, *William Cerucra*, and *William Raymond* of Moncade, hee which married *Garſinde*, the heire of the country of Berne: for the accompliſhing whereof, the parties met at Agreda, where they were made ſure, and the contract of marriage drawne, greatly to the Queenes aduantage, from whence they went to marry in the city of Tarraſſone. Of this marriage D. *Alphonſo* was borne, who died before the father: This marriage was not firme, for being made without a diſpenſation from the Pope, being couſins in a prohibited degree, it was diſſolued by Pope *Honorius* the ſecond after ſome yeeres, and the Infanta ſent home into Caſtille; yet ſome ſay that ſhee profeſſed herſelfe in the Monaſtery of Saint Mary de la Vega.

D 9 A little before this, King D. *Iaime*, had inſtituted the Order which they call our La- *Order of Merced.*
dy of the redemption of priſoners, otherwiſe *de la Merced*, by the councel of his confeſſor friar *Raymond* of Pegnafort, or Rochefort, who ſet downe the rules for the religious of this Order, vnder that of Saint *Auguſtine*. Their profeſſion and chiefe vow was to goe into the Moores country, to redeeme Chriſtians that were priſoners, and if any one for want of money could not redeeme a Chriſtian ſlaue out of the hands of an Infidel, and did ſee him by ill vſage in deſpaire or otherwiſe in danger to renounce the Chriſtian faith, they were bound to put themſelues in the ſlaues place, and to ſerue for him vntill they had paied his Maiſter the price agreed vpon, which was a rare charity.
E The firſt brother of this Order, was *Peter Nolaſco* of Barcelona, or *Francis* according vnto ſome; who receiued the habit in the chiefe church of that towne, with great ſolemnity, in the yeere 1218. by the hands of friar *Raymond* the maiſter thereof, the King D. *Iames* being preſent. This habit was white, as they carry it at this day, with the armes of Arragon and Cattelogne, which are, a croſſe argent, and foure bends gueules in a field Or. The Order was ſince confirmed, in the yeere 1230. at the requeſt of the King D. *Iaime* and purſute of the maſter, D. *Raymond* of Rochfort, by Pope *Gregory* the ninth, he who confirmed the Order of the friars Mineurs, inſtituted after that of the preaching friers, by the Seraphicall father Saint *Francis* vnder the Order of Saint *Auguſtin*, but *Order of the Cal. of S. Francis.*
ſomewhat changed: the Author of this Order was wonderfully perſecuted by the ene-
my of mankinde, enuious (ſay the Spaniſh Authors) of the great good which ſhould 10
F come vnto the Catholike church of Rome, by the erudition and piety of the religious of that Order. This father of Franciſcan friars, came into Spaine, during the raigne of D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille, of whom wee write, who receiued him with great reuerence, and did build many goodly conuents of that Order, and by his example other Kings did the like.

11 Fiue

Portugal.

11 Fiue of the Brethren of this Order, not yet allowed nor confirmed by the Pope (the which notwithſtanding floriſhed in Portugal, in the latter time of king D. *Alphonſo* the groſſe) were deſirous to paſſe to Maroc, there to preach the faith of Chriſt, but they proſpered not; for the King of the Arabians, offended with the habit, countenances, and importunity of theſe friars, ſlue them all with his owne hand, by reaſon whereof they were put in the ranke of bleſſed Martires, according to their Legend. Of this cruel execution was an eye witneſſe D. *Pedro* of Portugal, brother to the King, who cauſed their bodies to bee brought to Coimbra, where they were buried in the Monaſtery of Saint Croix.

They ſay that theſe Monkes partting from Portugal, had prophecied to the Queene D. *Vrraca*, that ſhee ſhould die in the yeere of our Lord 1220. as it happened. In the time of the ſame King D. *Alphonſo* floriſhed that religious man whom they call Saint *Anthony* of Padoua, who notwithſtanding was borne at Lisbone; and for his great knowledge, according to the time, was called the arke of the holy Scripture. Hee being a Chanoine of Saint Croix at Coimbra, had ſo great a feruency to ſerue God, as he became a friar of the Order of Saint Francis, changing his name, which was *Fernand* into that of *Anthony*; hee was a Doctor and a profeſſor in diuinity, and did read in the vniuerſities of Tolouſa, Bolonia and Padoua, where he died; of whom Portugal and all Spaine glory much. As for King D. *Alphonſo* ſurnamed the groſſe, hee hath not miniſtred much matter to write of his actions: for his raigne was ſhort, and himſelfe in diſpoſed of his perſon. Hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1223. beeing but eight and thirty yeeres old, whereof hee raigned eleuen. His body lies in Alcouaça, neere vnto that of the Queene his wife.

D. Sancho Capello the ſecond of that name, the fourth King of Portugal.

Surname of Capello.

12 D. *Sancho* his ſonne, called *Capello*, raigned after him. He was ſixteene yeeres old when he began to raigne, & was crowned in the city of Coimbra. His ſurname of *Capello* came by reaſon of the habits which hee ware wide and long, like a Clergy man. It may bee hee ware ſome great cap or hat, as the Portugals doe at this day, who will haue all their apparel very wide and eaſie, euen their buskins of Spaniſh leather, which are ruffled downe to their heeles, ſaying that it doth not become a gentleman to carry them ſtraight and ſmooth.

This Prince was more courteous, affable, and a louer of peace then was fit for a commander that will keepe his ſubiects in awe. Wherefore hee was contemned by his ſubiects, and held for a couard and baſe minded, ſo as they attempted many things inſolently and audatiouſly, againſt all right or reaſon, without reſpect of Prince, or Iuſtice, the which was ill adminiſtred in his time, his baſeneſſe yeelding to the malice of his ſubiects. Hee married with D. *Mencia Lope de Haro* daughter to the Earle D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay the fourth of that name: a Lady of great beauty and an excellent ſpirit, but not much pleaſing to the Portugals, for the King tooke her, beeing a widow againſt their likings, and beſides ſhee bare him no children: wherefore they vſed great meanes in the court of Rome to diſſolue this marriage.

Marriage of the King D. Sancho.

Amongſt all the Kings of Portugal, as well thoſe which went before, as which followed, hee onely was childleſſe, for hee neither had lawfull children, nor baſtards. D. *Mencia Lopes* did gouerne him in ſuch ſort, as no reſpect of the publike good of the Realme, nor the exhortations, intreaties, nor admonitions, made vnto him by the Noblemen, and religious perſons, who were then much reſpected, neither yet any other meanes whatſoeuer, could mooue him to bee diuorced from her, wherefore they ſpake it publikely, that ſhee had bewitch'd him, what happened you ſhall vnderſtand hereafter.

Returning

A Returning to the affaires of Caſtille, the King D. *Fernand* hauing ſolemnized his ounts marriage, after all the feaſts and ſports he found himſelfe ingaged in new troubles, procured by D. *Fernand Ruiz Diaz de los Cameros*, who had newly croſt himſelfe to paſſe into Syria, to the holy warre; for the performing of which voiage, it may bee his purſe was not very well furniſhed, wherefore hee beganne to taxe and ſpoile the Kings country, which was vnder his command, for theſe concuſſions hee was cited to appeere in court, at Vailledolit, where he did in ſome ſort iuſtifie himſelfe.

Fernand Ruiz Diaz de las Cameros, a concuſsionar and a rebel.

Afterwards being pricked in conſcience for theſe outrages, beeing alſo by nature inconſtant, feareful, and with all ill aduiſed, hee abſented himſelfe, wherefore the King ſeized vpon all his goods. D. *Fernand Ruiz* ſeeing that they proceeded againſt him with
B all rigour, fortefied himſelfe in certaine caſtles, from the which hee did much trouble the Kings affaires, ſo as in the end hee was forced to compound with him and to giue him money.

By this accord, hee yeelded vp the places which hee held, and receiued fourteene thouſand peeces of gold. After him *Gonçalo Peres*, Lord of Molina did rebel, beeing mooued therevnto by D. *Gonçalo Nugnes de Lara*, who beganne to ouerrunne and ſpoile thoſe parts which lay neere his houſes, like an enemy; not ceaſing, for any admonitions or threats made vnto him in the Kings name, vntill that hee was forced to goe and beſiege him in Molina; notwithſtanding by the means of D. *Berenguela* the Queene mother, hee was reſtored to the Kings fauor, and the ſouldiers were drawne from before
C Molina. But D. *Gonçalo Nugnes de Lara*, who for feare of puniſhment was retired into the Moores country, demanding pardon alſo could not obtaine it: wherefore hee liued the remainder of his daies, which were but ſhort, at Baeça in Andaluſia, where hee died miſerably, as his brethren D. *Aluaro* and D. *Fernand* had done, worthy in truth of great puniſhments, for their raſh and ſeditious enterpriſes, beeing greater and more eminent then all the other Noblemen of the realme. The King beeing freed from this care, and the realme in ſome quiet, D. *Maurice* Biſhop of Burgos, an Engliſh man borne, beganne in the yeere of our Lord 1222. to ſet his hand to the building of the great church of that city, according to the faſhion wee ſee it at this day, the which was finiſhed in his time. The Epiſcopal ſeat was before at Saint Laurence. The
D Archbiſhip D. *Roderigo* cauſed them alſo this yeere to worke about the building of the chiefe Church of Talauera, the which was indowed with foure dignities, and twelue Chanoins, and at the ſame time the Churches of Vailledolit and Oſma were built by a Biſhop of Oſma, who had beene Secretary to the King D. *Fernand*. The church of Padron, the Biſhops lodging, and the bridge which is vpon Minio were alſo then built, by the care and charge of D. *Laurence* Biſhop of that place.

D. *Gonſalo Peres Lord of Molina, and D Gonſal Nugnes de Lara rebel in Caſtille.*

An. 1222

It was alſo about the beginning of this yeere 1222. that D. *Ramir* Infant of Nauarre, brother to the King D. *Sancho* the retired, was made Biſhop of Pampelone, of whoſe charity Authors write with admiration, that hee gaue all he had vnto the poore, and the
E more his riches did abound, the more he gaue.

Nauarre.

In all the time after the marriage of the King D. *Iames*, and D. *Elenor* of Caſtille, vnto the yeere 1228. when as the warre of Majorca was attempted, the realme of Arragon was troubled with continual ſeditions, procured by the Infant D. *Fernand*, the Kings vncle, beeing exceeding ambitious, who hauing entred into League, with D. *Nugno* of Arragon his couſin, ſonne to D. *Sancho* Earle of Roſillon, D. *William* of Moncada (a little before enemies, but now growne friends, vpon this occaſion) *Pedro d' Ahones* and others, tooke vpon him againe the Regency of the realme, by force, in the yeere 1223. and diſtributed amongſt his fauourers and confederats the chiefe dignities of the realme, holding the King and Queene, in his power: but a while after the King eſcaped from Tortoſa, and retired to Huetra or Horta, where hauing conferred with the Nobi-
F lity, hee raiſed an armie, with the which hee entred the territories of the Moores of Valencia and Murcia beeing tired with ciuill tumults, ſo as hee forced *Azebut* or *Zeit* King of Valencia to promiſe him tribut, and in like manner him of Murcia, which was the fifth penny of their impoſts. In this warre many commaunders of the League, intermedled, contrarie to the Kings liking. Amongſt others, D. *Pedro d' Ahones*

Arragon.

diſcontented

discontented that the King had made a truce with the Moores, sought to breake it, and did often lead troupes of souldiars into the territory of Valencia, spoyling all he found: so as the King hauing often aduised and intreated him to conteine himselfe, but in vaine hee commanded they should take him prisoner, but D. *Pedro* seeking to defend himselfe, being pursued by the King and others, was slaine by D. *Sancho Martines de Luna*, with a lance: the which did put all the townes of Arragon (beeing already infected) into open rebellion against the King: who marched presently with his army into the countries of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorça, whereas the houses, lands and subiects of D. *Pedro* were, the which he wasted al he could.

D. Pedro de Ahones slaine.

The townes of Saragossa, Huesca and all the rest, except Calatajub, followed the Infant D. *Fernand*, and the Noblemen of his faction, as defenders (sayd they) of the publike liberty, the chiefe of the Saragossans, was their Bishop D. *Sancho d' Ahones*: brother to D. *Pedro*, that was slaine. On the other side the Kings army was led by D. *Blasco Alagon*, and *Artal de Luna*, who did much annoy them of Saragossa and others. In the end, the mildnesse, patience and dissimulation of the King D. *Iames*, surmounted al these alterations and mutinies, who could so winne the Princes and Noblemen, beeing much troubled to maintaine this warre, as they all submitted themselues vnto him; by whose example the townes were quiet, yet the citties of Saragossa, Huesca and Iacca made a league amongst themselues, for the defence of their lands and iurisdictions against theeues and robbers, and remainders of ciuil dissentions, and erected a Magistrate, holding a forme of Iustice, like vnto that which they call Hermandades in Castille, yet without any preiudice to the Kings royal prerogatiue.

Moores.

13 In Castille whilest that the King D. *Fernand* was busie to suppresse his owne subiects, and to dispose of the affaires of old Castille, the Inhabitants of Cuenca, Huete, Alarcon and Moja, beeing gathered together, made a roade into the territories of Valencia, from whence they brought a great booty. This was an aduice giuen by D. *Berenguela* the Queene mother, and the prelats of Castille, to the end they might breake the truce which was betwixt her sonne and the petty Kings of the Moores, thinking it high time the King should goe to the warre, and that it was the dutie of a Catholike Prince to pursue these Infidels, with what right soeuer. Wherefore the King animated by this councel, gathered his army together, and marched into Andalusia, where at his first entry, *Aben Mahomad*, King of Baeça, made himselfe his vassal, sending to meet the Christians army, when it was at the passage of the mountaine called Puerto del Muradal. Afterwards they came to Quesada, whereas many Moores were slaine, and many taken, the townes of Lacra, Teua and Palhes were abandoned by the Moores, the castles of Esnader, Escamel and Espulei were razed, whereof the two last were yeelded by composition. From thence D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, was sent with D. *Fernand Ceci*, Maister of the Order of Saint *Iames*, and D. *Gonçal Tuannes*, maister of Calatraua, to Biuoras, whereas there were certaine bands of Arabians of Affrike, whom they defeated, bringing away many prisoners. D. *Roderigo Ximenes* the Archbishop and Primat did accompany the King in this expedition, who after these happy exploits, returned to Toledo, whereas the Queenes attended him.

Fernand King of Castille enters Andalusia.

Arragon.

In the meane time D. *Iames* King of Arragon, being discontented that the Castillans had attempted to inuade the Moores vpon the marches of his conquest, according to the diuision which had beene made by the Popes order, entred into Castille by his fronter, where he did some spoile towards Soria, and therefore the peace was like to breake betwixt these two Kingdomes: yet the King D. *Fernand* beeing come to Cuenca, the two Kings were reconciled, and had a friendly enterview there, yet the King of Castille, to the preiudice of Arragon, had receiued *Zeit Abenzit* King of Valencia to fealty and homage, as his vassal, who beeing terrified with the great power of the Christians, and mooued by the example of the King of Baeça was come to the King D. *Fernand* to Cuenca.

Moores. An. 1224.

In the yeere 1224. there was a new army raised, and led into Andalusia, which committed great spoiles, and tooke Andujar and Martos, with many forts and castles of smal fame, finding no resistance in field.

And

A And in the yeere 1225. the Chriſtians army was lead againe into the Marches of Andaluſia, being drawn thether by their good ſucceſſe, the King affecting nothing more then this Mooriſh warre, wherein he tooke exceeding delight. In which expedition *Xadar* was taken, and other ineſtimable harmes done vnto the Infidels. Of the fruits of this war the Knights of Calatraua, had Martos, for them and their ſucceſſors: then was there in Spaine, Legat for Pope *Honorius* the third, *Iohn Abbatis Villa*, Biſhop, Cardinal *Sabina* who perſwaded the King of Caſtille, not to ſuffer the Moores in quiet, but to preſſe them whilſt they were wauering: wherefore in the yeere 1226. the army of Caſtille aſſembled at Toledo, was lead into Andaluſia, where they tooke from the Moores Saint Eſteuan, Exnatoraphe, and the Tower of Albep, or Albezo, and beſieged Iaen, which *An. 1226.*

B they could not take, for the towne was great, and well fortified with men, and all things neceſſary for the warre. In it was D. *Aluar Perez de Caſtro*, a baniſhed man of Caſtille, with 160. horſe Chriſtians. *Chriſtians in pay with the Moores againſt the King of Caſtile.*

Wherfore the king D. *Fernand*, rayſing his ſiege went to Priego, where there were many knights of the Almohades lodged, who were very rich; the town was taken by aſſault, & ſoone after the caſtle yeelded by cõpoſition. After which, the Chriſtians tooke Loxa, & hauing taken great ſpoiles, and many priſoners in thoſe places, they came and camped at Alhambra, which was a ſtrong place, ſeated vpon a ſteepe rocke: but the Moores were ſo amazed, as without any reſiſtance they abandoned their goods and fled to Granado: whereby it ſeemes, that that part of the fort of Granado, which is called Alham- *Exploits of the Chriſtians againſt the Moores.*

C bra was built and peopled by theſe Moores; for after that time the towne of Granado, began to be wonderfully peopled with Moores, which were chaſed from ſuch towns & places as the Chriſtians did win in Andaluſia. The fort of Alhambra being ſpoiled, the Chriſtian army did ouerrun the champian country of Granado, burning and deſtroying al they found, with great ſlaughter of the Moores, amongſt the which there died a famous captaine, called *Harippus*, a great enemy to the Chriſtians, & who had done them much harme the yeeres before. The Chriſtians approched ſo neere vnto the city of Granado, as the Moores fearing to be beſieged, or that they wold ſpoile their goodly building there abouts, compounded and did homage to the King D. *Fernand*, deliuering him 1300. Chriſtian captiues, which they held. This compoſition was treated by *Aluaro* *Granada and Albambra.*

D *Peres de Caſtro*, aboue mentioned, whom the King D. *Fernand* receiued then into grace. And thinking he had done ynough, he returned with this victorious army to Toledo. D. *Roderigo Ximenes* did not willingly looſe any one of theſe voiages, yet he could not bee preſent at this laſt, by reaſon of a ſickneſſe, which ſurprized him at Guadalfajar, ſo as hee gaue his troupes to D. *Dominike* Biſhop of Plaiſance, with power to execute his Epiſcopal charge in the campe. So did the Prelats in thoſe daies labour in the Lords vineyard, as many doe alſo in this age. The Garriſons left by the King at Martos, Andujar, and other places of the fronter, among the which was D. *Aluar Peres* the commander, & the maiſter of the Order of Calatraua beganne to ſpoile the territories of Seuile, whereas there raigned a mighty Moore, called *Abullalle* or *Aben Lalle*, who hauing drawne a

E great number of ſoldiars out of Seuile, Xeres, Carmona and Eccia, came and charged theſe Chriſtians, who were neither amazed nor weake; wherefore they did not onely withſtand the Moores valiantly, but did wholy defeat them, ſo as there were 20000. ſlaine vpon the place, yet the Moores hauing repaired their forces, beſieged the caſtle of Garces, and notwithſtanding that the Chriſtians, which were nere, did attempt to ſuccor it and that the King D. *Fernand* with D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, with many other knights, did aduance to raiſe the ſiege, yet the place was taken: wherefore the King D. *Fernand* came to Exaldalulla, whether the King of Baeça came vnto him, being accompanied with 3000. horſe Almohades, and Alarabes, and a great number of foote, offring both himſelfe and his men to doe him ſeruice. He was welcome to the King, and entertained *Moores of Seuile defeated.*

F with al ſignes of friendſhip. Theſe Princes being together, they made an accord, by the which the King of Baeça promiſed to deliuer vnto the King of Caſtille, the caſtles of Saluatierra, Burgalhimar, & Capilla; vpon condition the King of Caſtille ſhould take him & his country into his protection, & defend him againſt al men: for aſſurance of the deliuery of which places, it was agreed that the caſtle of Baeça ſhold be preſently giuen in

14 *Aben Mahomad King of Baeça puts himſelfe vnder the protection of the king of Caſtille.*

pawne to the King of Caſtille, the which he ſhould yeeld vp againe, when hee ſhould be A
in poſſeſſion of the ſayd three caſtles. Burgalhimar was preſently deliuered; and 15. daies
after Saluatierra (yet with ſome difficulty) receiued a garriſon of Caſtille: but Capilla, a
place in the Archbiſhoprike of Toledo, ſtrong by nature, beeing built vpon a rocke,
would not obay, wherfore three months being ſpent in treaties and parlees, and nothing
concluded, the King returned to Toledo, leauing the fronter well manned; and winter
being paſt, he came and laied ſiege to Capilla, being ſtil ſeized of the caſtle of Baeça: this
place was obſtinatly defended by the Moores which were rebels to *Aben Mahomad*, who
furniſhed the campe with victuals from Cordoua, whether he was retired, ſhewing him
ſelfe faithful in al things to the King D. *Fernand*. In the end Capilla was yeelded, vpon
condition they ſhould depart with ther baggage, and then the King returned to Tole B
do, ſixe weekes after his departure. Soone after hee had newes that the Moores, ſub-
iects to *Aben Mahomad*, incenſed at the ſubmiſſion which hee had made vnto the King
of Caſtille, and that hee had ſent victuals vnto the campe before Capilla, were rebelled
againſt him, and had forced him to flie to the caſtle of Almodauar del Rio, whereas
thinking to enter, he was preuented and ſlaine by two Moores, who had carried his head
Traytors iuſtly punished. to *Aben Lalle*, King of Seuille. Theſe murtherers thinking to haue done an act very
pleaſing to this Mooriſh King, and expecting ſome good recompence, were deceiued,
for the King of Seuile cauſed both their heads to bee cut off, and caſt vnto the dogges.

An. 1227. This happened in the yeere 1227. at that time died *Lewis* the eight, the French King,
father to Saint *Lewis*, and hnsband to the Queene D. *Blanche* of Caſtille. This Lady
by the will of the King her husband, was left Regent of the realme of France, during the C
minority of the King her ſonne, who was but twelue yeeres old: wherewith many No-
blemen of France being diſcontented, banded againſt her, to diſpoſſeſſe her of the go-
uernment; thinking it vnworthy the name of the French, and ominous for their E-
ſtate, to be gouerned by a woman, eſpecially a ſtranger. The chiefe of the conſpirators
were *Philip* Earle of Bologne the Kings vncle, *Peter* Duke of Brittan, *Hugh de la March*,
Troubles in France for the Gouernment. *Robert d' Eureux*, *Raymond* of Tolouſa, and *Thybauld* of Champagne, who was King of
Nauarre: but the Queene, who it may bee found they had more regard to their priuate
intereſts, then to the publike good, reſiſted them courragiouſly, beeing ſupported by o-
ther Noblemen of France, ſo as from words they fell to armes. Vpon this occaſion
the King D. *Fernand* was ſollicited to ſuccor the Queene D. *Blanche* his aunt, againſt the D
Rebels, whereof he excuſed himſelfe; although hee ſeemed to be much greeued for her
diſtreſſe: But hee was then ſo ingaged in warre againſt the Moore, as it was impoſſible
for him to deuide his forces: but you muſt obſerue that by the right of ſucceſſion the
realme of Caſtille did belong vnto her, the which D. *Fernand* did hold, ſo as there was
little loue betwixt them. Afterwards all ſucceeded to the Queenes deſire in France, who
made fruſtrate her enemies deſeignes, as the French Hiſtories report, gouerning the
realme, and breeding vp her ſonne vnder the diſcipline of the religious of Saint Domi-
nike and S^t. Francis, who were then in great credit. The King of Baeça being ſlaine as we
haue ſayd, new difficulties did arriſe for the King of Caſtille, for the Moores of Baeça
Baeça Caſtle beſieged by the Moores. being aduertiſed thereof, they preſently put themſelues in armes, and began to aſſault E
the caſtle, the which was garded by the maiſter of the Knights of the Calatraua: who
whilſt hee defended himſelfe valiantly, aduertiſed the King of his diſtreſſe, who poaſted
thither, hauing in his company. D. *Aluaro Peres de Caſtro*, & other knights. The brute of
his comming did ſtrike ſuch a terror into theſe mutinous Moores, as they diſlodged be-
fore they ſaw him, and fled to Grenado, as they alſo of Martos did: they coniecture that
theſe did people the Albaycin of Grenado: the King put D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Lord of
Great church of Toledo built by the Archbiſhop D. Roderigo. Biſcay, in garriſon into Baeça, & into Martos D. *Aluaro Peres de Caſtro*, and D. *Tello Al-
phonſo de Meneſes* and others in other places, and ſo returned to Toledo, whereas that
yeer the Archbiſhop D. *Roderigo Ximenes*, began to build the great church, as it is at this
preſent, different frō that form it was of before, when it was a Moſquee for the Moores. F

Arragon. 15 In Arragon the expedition of Majorca was decreed 1228. this Iſland was held by
An. 1228. the Moores, and their King *Abohibe*, whom others call, *Retaboſmhe*, who did inceſſantly
ſpoile the ſea, and the coaſt of Spaine, without any pretext, and did impudently mocke

at

A at the King of Arragon when hee complained of the theſts and robberies committed by him or his men. For this cauſe, at the Eſtates aſſembled at Barcelona, & they conſenting and requiring it, according to the cuſtomes and preuiledges of the Arragonois & Cattelans, a war was reſolued againſt this King of the Moores, and the Majorkins: for the which there were 155. veſſels of al ſorts prepared, the which tranſported the army to Palombara: the chiefe commanders were, D. *Berengaire Palonx*, Biſhop of Barcelona, D. *Nugno* of Arragon, Earle of Roſſillon, *William* of Moncade, Lord of Berne, *William Raymond* of Moncade his couſin, *Geoffry* of Roccabertin, *Oliuer Thermes*, *William* of Saint Martin, *Gerard Ceruillon*, *Raymond Allemand*, *William* of Clermont, *Hugues Mataplane*, *William* of Saint Vincent, *Raymond Belloc*, *Bernard Centillas*, *William Palafogio*, *Berengaire*

Eſtates of Arragon make warre and peace and al Leagues, Author. H. Surite

B of Saint Eugene, and other great and valiant Noblemen of Arragon and Cattelogne: the firſt which leaped to land, was one named *Bernard Argentone*. At their firſt aboard the Arragonois were incountred, and ſharply repulſed by the Moores, with the loſſe of the Lord of Bearny, of D. *Raymond* his couſin, *Hugues* of Mataplane, and many other knights and good ſouldiars which were ſlaine vpon the place: but when as the whole army was landed, and had better meanes to diſcouer both the enemies and the country, the Moores were beaten backe into their towne, and beſieged: the which was with great dilligence and fury battered & aſſaulted; notwithſtanding the ſiege was long and difficult; for it continued fifteene monthes, til in the end after much toile and loſſe, the city of Majorca came into the power of the Arragonois, hauing beene valiantly and

C obſtinatly defended by the Moores: the King *Abohibe*, & a ſon of his, and many Moores were ſlaine in this warre, and the city of Majorca forced: the ſpoile thereof was diuided by the Biſhops of Barcelona and Lerida, by the Earles D. *Nugno* of Roſſillon, D. *Ponce Hugues* of Empurias, D. *Pedro Cornel*, and *Symon Vrrea*: but whether they ſhewed themſelues partial in this diuiſion, or for ſome other occaſion, the ſoldiars mutined, and ſpoiled the tents and baggage of theſe Biſhops and Noblemen: al the Iſland being won, except ſome mountaines and foreſts, whether the remainder of the Moores which had eſcaped were retired, Majorca was made ſubiect for the ſpiritualty, to the Biſhop of Barcelona, but in ſuch ſort as it ſhould haue a particular biſhop, which was then named by

Maiorca taken from the Moores.

Nomination of the Biſhop of Maiorca.

D the King: which biſhop beeing dead, the nomination ſhould belong to the biſhop and Chapter of Barcelona, who ſayd this right had beene long due vnto them. The firſt that was named to this dignity, was D. *Raymond Torelia*: an other ſon of the King of Majorcas, was a while after baptized, and was named *Iames*; he married a lady of the family of *Alagon*, daughter to D. *Martin Rouland Alagon*: from him is deſcended the houſe of *Gottorio*, ſo called of the place which was giuen in fee to this Prince of the Moores, by the King D. *Iames*; his ſonne was *Blaſco Gottorio*, and of him was begotten *Michel Peres Gottorio*. They of Minorca being terrefied, by the taking of Majorca, offred tribut to the King of Arragon; and not long after D. *William Mongers* conquered the Iſland of Yuiſa, ſometimes called Ebuſus and the Iſlands of Fromentaria and Cabrera, yeelded alſo

E through feare. They hold that there were in armes in theſe Iſlands, during this warre, about 40000. Moores footemen, and 50000 horſe. The Earldome of Vrgel hauing beene long in ſute, betwixt *William* of Moncade, Lord of Bearn, togither with *Ponce Cabrera*, & *Arembiaxis*, daughter to *Armingol* the laſt Earle of Vrgel, in the end, ſentence was giuē of her ſide, who was married to D. *Pedro* of Portugal, ſon to the King D. *Sancho* the firſt, to which married couple, the King D. *Iames* did afterwards giue in exchange of the Earldome of Vrgel, the Iſlands of Majorca and Yuiſa, to hold them during their liues, and many places in Cattelogne in propriety. Notwithſtanding the county of Vrgel returned ſometime after to D. *Ponce de Cabrera*, and the Iſlands Pyticuſes, Yuiſa and Fromentaria, were giuen in fee to the Archbiſhop of Tarragone.

In the ſame yeere 1228. D. *Tello Alphonſo de Meneſes*, and other captaines Caſtillans,

Moores.

F commanders of the garriſons vpon the Moores frontiers, went to field, and ouerran the territory of Seuile about Baena, Lucena & Caſtro del Rio: and *Aben Lalle*, King of Seuile, aſſailed the Chriſtians, towards Biuoras, Baeça and Martos, ſeeking to diuert them which forraged his country: the King D. *Fernand* arriuing, the Moore fainted, and made himſelf his tributary, promiſing to pay him three hundred thouſand Marauidis of gold.

King of Seuile a Moore, tributary to the King of Caſtil.

The death of *Aben Mahomad* King of Baeça, gaue way to the raigne of *Aben Hut* A who was of the race of the Kings of Saragoſſa, and enemy to the faction of the Almohades: this King ſeized vpon the fort of Ricot, in the realme of Murcia, and tooke occaſion of their religion, publiſhing that that which the Almohades had brought in, was falſe, and inuented by wicked, turbulent and mutinous perſons, whoſe raſh impiety the ſoueraigne God had ſhewed was diſpleaſing vnto him, by their vnfortunate euents in the late warres of Spaine: wherefore they muſt returne to the ſimple beliefe of their aunceſtors, and reiect that prophane *Almohade*, with his King *Abdelmon*, and their followers. Vpon this quarrel hee intitled himſelfe King of Murcia, and beganne to perſecute the ſect of the Almohades, ſo as all hee could get into his hands, he put to a miſerable death; hee cauſed the Meſquites or Meſgides to bee purified, and waſhed, with B exorciſmes and ſuperſtitious ceremonies, as hauing beene poluted and violated, in ſeruing the new ſect of the Almohades.

Aben Hut King of Murcia aboliſheth the ſect of Almohades in Spaine.

So vnder collour of reſtoring the ancient beliefe and knowledge of the law of *Mahomet*, hee was wonderfully followed, and was reſpected, feared and honoured, as King in the realme of Murcia and part of Andaluſia, the country of Granado, Almery, Cordoua and Eccia: yet hee found *Zael* who made head againſt him, a Moore who had newly vſurped the realme of Valencia, and chaſed away *Zeit Aben Zeit*, for that they ſayd hee had laied a plot with the Pope, and the King of Arragon, to become a Chriſtian, and that hee had had conference to that end with the King D. *Iames* at Calatajub, whither C hee had alſo carried his ſonne. This *Zael* was ſonne to *Modef* and Nephew to King *Lobo*: *Aben Lalle* King of Seuile made the like reſiſtance, yet *Aben Hut* troubled them all, and tooke from them a part of their countries, ſo as hee became the moſt powerfull of all the Kings of the Moores in Spaine, beeing otherwiſe a bountifull Prince, and a good Iuſticer. The new ſect of the Almohades was thus rooted out by him, and the ancient interpretation of their Alphurcan reſtored in Spaine, eighty and one yeeres after that *Almohad*, had paſt.

Yet the firſt attempt he made againſt the Chriſtians, ſucceeded but il; for D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, being in the country of Extremadura, where he had made warre, whilſt that D. *Fernand* his ſonne did ouerrunne Andaluſia and their tooke the townes of Badajos, Caceres and others, this King of the Moores preſumed to diſlodge him from D Merida, before the which hee was camped, to which end hee came towards him with a mighty army: King D. *Alphonſo* notwithſtanding that hee was very old, gaue him battaile, and defeated this King of the Moores, forcing him to ſaue himſelfe by flight: and returning to the ſiege, he tooke the towne of Merida, in the yeere 1229. which was the laſt of his exploits: for being now very old, and much broken, he died ſoone after, in the yeere 1230. at Villanoua of Sarrio, hauing raigned forty and foure yeeres in Leon Galicia and the Aſturies: whoſe body was interred at Saint *Iames*.

Leon.

16 The King D. *Fernand* who was then in Andaluſia, at the ſiege of Daralferza, being aduertized of his fathers death, tooke councell of the Noblemen which were with E him in the army; who were all of opinion, that hee ſhould goe with all ſpeed into the realme of Leon, which by hereditary right did belong vnto him, before his ſiſters children did ſeize thereon, who pretended an equall right with him: for ſo had the King D. *Alphonſo* ordained by his will, to preiudice his ſonne D. *Fernand*, whom hee had alwaies hated and purſued to the death; yea a little before hee died, hee ſought to marry his daughter Donna *Sancha* to D. *Iames* King of Arragon, who by the decree of Pope *Honorius* the third, had put away D. *Elenor* of Caſtille his wife. Don *Alphonſo* offring to giue in dowry with the Infanta the Realmes of Leon, Galicia and the Aſturies, after his deceaſe, to depriue the King of Caſtille his ſonne, but his death preuented the effect: wherefore the king D. *Fernand* following this good councel, came to Toledo, to paſſe from thence into Leon; vpon the way, hee met with the Queene F D. *Berenguela*, his mother, at Orgaz, who came to haſten him, and returned with him to Toledo: from thence hee went with ſpeed into the territories of Leon, where hee was receiued and acknowledged in all places where hee paſt for their lawfull King, vnto the city of Toro, which did him all the honour hee could deſire, hauing ſent their

Caſtille and Leon vnited.

D Fernand King of Caſtille takes poſſeſſion of the realme of Leon.

Depu-

A Deputies to meete him vpon the way, in the which hee was proclaimed King of Leon.

In the beginning the other towns and caſtles did not allow of this election of them of Toro, by reaſon of the Infants D. *Sancha* and D. *Dulce* or *Douce*, who would in the confidence which they had in their cauſe, diſpute their intereſt and put it to the triall of law: but all well conſidered D. *Alphonſos* will tooke no effect; for D. *Fernand* was ſonne and right heire to theſe realmes before the daughters, who were forced to agree with their brother, and had 30000. doublons euery yeere during their liues. This accord betwixt the King Don *Fernand* and the Infantes of Leon his Siſters, was wrought and concluded betwixt the Queenes D. *Berenguela* the Kings mother,
B and D. *Thereſa*, mother to the Infants: after that the King had beene crowned in Leon, the chiefe city of the Kingdome, in the preſence of the Biſhops D. *Iohn* of Oueydo, D. *Roderigo* of Leon, D. *Nugno* of Aſtorga, D. *Martin* of Salamanca, D. *Michel* of Cité *Roderigo* and D. *Sancho* of Coria. By this accord the King D. *Fernand* did peaceably enioy the Realmes of Leon, Galicia, & the Aſturiaes, hauing raigned thirteene yeeres in Caſtille, the re-union of which Eſtates made this yeere, 1230. 73. yeeres after their laſt diuiſion, hath remained firme euer ſince, without any further ſeperation. From Leon, the King came to Beneuent, whereas the Infantaes his ſiſters met him, and there did ratifie the accord made by the two Queenes, renouncing all pretenſions to the ſayd Realmes, and to the teſtament made by the King D. *Alphonſo* their father. Then the King went to viſit the Prouinces, Townes and Forts of his Kingdomes, where without
C any contradiction he was receiued & intertained with great ioy and acclamation of the people, as it was fit.

This death of the King of Leon, fell out happely for D. *Fernand*, to couer his retreat from Daralferza, with ſome honourable pretext. In the meane time they made light skirmiſhes, with the taking and recouering of caſtles, vpon the fronters of Toledo and Andaluſia.

In the yeere of our Lord 1231. Queſada was recouered by the Chriſtians, and *An.* 1231.
for a reward of their valour, in recouering thereof, was giuen to the church of Toledo, but it was afterwards loſt and recouered againe diuers times. The King of Caſtil-
D le continuing his warre, there was eſtabliſhed vpon that fronter, that which they call *Adelantamiento of Caſorla giuen to the Church of Toledo.*
Adelantamiento of Caſorla, by the taking of Pilos, Toya, Lacra, Agozino, Font Iulian, Tour de Lago, Higuera, Maulula, Arcola, Dos Hermanas, Villa Montin, Niebla, Caſorla, Concha and Chelis, all which places were by prodigality and inconſiderate zeale (altogether vſed in thoſe religious times) giuen (in a religious acknowledgement to the Apoſtolike Sea) by the King D. *Fernand* to the Archbiſhops of Toledo, the which the haue enioyed vnto the aſſumption of the Cardinall D. *Iohn Tauera* to the Arch-biſhoprike, who gaue this country to the Marquis of Camaraça, whoſe ſucceſſour Don *Iohn Martines Sileſio* Cardinal, had by reaſon thereof great and earneſt ſute againſt the Church of Toledo; but
E notwithſtanding that the Church had diuers ſentences (by reaſon of the great ſway the Church of Rome bore at that ſame time) in its fauour, yet could they neuer gette poſſeſſion of any of thoſe places, for certaine ſpeciall reaſons which are not ſpecified.

17 At that time the realmes of Naples and Sicile were held by the Emperour *Frederic* the ſecond, who married *Yoland*, the onely daughter of *Iohn de Brenne*, who called himſelfe king of Ieruſalem (which is the reaſon why the Kings of Naples and Sicile haue euer ſince intitled themſelues Kings of Ieruſalem) by which alliance they vnited the titles of Naples, Sicile and Ieruſalem, which the deſcendentes of this Noble Princeſſe haue carried.

F This *Iohn* of *Brenne* beeing choſen chiefe Generall of the Weſterne ſuecours, which by the procurement of the councell of *Latran* went into the Country of Syria, and obtained amongſt them the firſt and ſoueraigne degree, and was called King of Acre or Ptolemaide: yet hee did neuer hold the city of Ieruſalem: but hauing neede of greater forces to reſiſt the Turkes and enemies of our faith, hee was forced

to returne againe into Europe to ſollicit the Chriſtian Princes to aſſiſt him. Bee- A
ing arriued into Italie, hee married his daughter as wee haue ſayd, and then paſſed into Sapine, in the yeere of our Lord 1232. to viſit the ſepulcher of Saint *Iames*, which was a pilgrimage of greateſt merit after that of Ieruſalem. Paſſing through Caſtille, hee was receiued with great honour by the King D. *Fernand*, who in confirmation of their friendſhip, gaue him D. *Berenguela*, his ſiſter by father and mother in marriage.

Nauarre. The Realme of Nauarre was at that time but ill gouerned by reaſon of the Kings ſollitary life, who was retired and did not ſpeake with any man, but his houſhold ſeruants, and would not heare of any affaires. This miſchiefe was increaſed by the death of D. *Ramir* his brother, Biſhop of Pampelone, who by his authority and re- B
ſpect might ſomething haue reſtrained them that would haue troubled the ſtate, were they home-bred or ſtrangers: wherefore about the yeere of our Lord 1231. D. *Lope Diaz*. Lord of Biſcay, who had ſome lands in the ſoueraignty of Nauarre, prouoked and ſupported by D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille, hee found an occaſion to commit ſome ſpoiles in the Kingdome.

Impatiency of Cont Thybauld of Champaigne to raigne. 18 On the other ſide *Thybauld* Earle of Champagne, pretending right to the ſayd realme by his mother D. *Blanche*, daughter to the King D. *Sancho* the wiſe, had ſecret practiſes and Intelligences in Nauarre, to bee admitted to the Regency of the realme, during the life of King D. *Sancho* the retired: whereof hee being aduertiſed, after great negligence, in the end hee beganne to diſcouer it, to his great preiudice, where- C
fore beeing much diſcontented at theſe attempts, both of the King of Caſtille, and of the Earle of Champaigne, he reſolued to fruſtrat both of their pretentions, and to bee reuenged, eſpecially of the King of Caſtille; he therefore gaue D. *Iames* King of Arragon to vnderſtand, that hee had ſome matters to impart vnto him, which would redound greatly to his proffit: and therefore he intreated him to come to Tudele, excuſing himſelfe that hee had not come vnto him, by reaſon of the indiſpoſition of his perſon: The King of Arragon fayled not to come to Tudele: and for that the King of Nauarre could not ſtirre out of his chamber, hee entred into the caſtle, where they conferred together.

The King D. *Sancho* complayning much of D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille, that not D
content to hold the Lands which his predeceſſors had wreſted from him, had againe inuaded and ſpoiled his country, hee demanded his aduice and helpe to bee reuenged: and hauing in like manner diſcourſed of the diſobedience and little reſpect of *Thybauld* Earle of Champagne, who had attempted to play the King in Nauarre in his life time, hee concluded, that if hee would make a firme alliance with him, and betwixt Nauarre and Arragon, to inuade the realme of Caſtille, and not to ceaſe vntill they had forced the King D. *Fernand* to reſtore the Lands of the riuer of Oja, Bureua, Alaua, and Guipuſcoa, or beeing conquered, to yeeld him the fruits and reuenues thereof, and to pay the charges of the warre, hee ſhould bee content to harken to a mutuall donation of both realmes, very profitable for the King of Arragon, and his ſonne D. *Al-* E
Vniuſt accord betwixt the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon. *phonſo*: which was, that the ſuruiuor ſhould inherit both Kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon. The King D. *Iaime* liked well heereof, for hee was in the floure of his age, and his ſonne alſo likely to liue, whereas the King D. *Sancho* was aboue threeſcore and eight yeeres old, and moreouer hee was ſo fat, and full of humors, and ſo tormented with a canker, as hee expected hourely to leaue this world. This Accord beeing made betwixt them, they concluded that the troupes of both Realmes ſhould bee ready againſt the next yeere, and ſhould meet at the Rendezuous in May. The King D. *Sancho* deſired nothing more then to recouer the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, imagining that ſince the ſeparation thereof, the realme of Nauarre had loſt one of the chiefe commodities which a country may haue that lies vpon the ſea.

Theſea a chief commodity to a country.

The Noblemen and chiefe of the King D. *Sanchos* councell at this accord were F
D. *Garcia Almoranid*, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montague, D. *William Baudouin*, and D. *William Iuſtice* of Tudele, which is a principall dignitie. Theſe and other Noblemen, with the Deputies of the Townes of Nauarre, ſigned the

conuen-

A conuention and accord betwixt theſe two kings: the which the Noblemen of Arragon, which held the chiefe charges, did in like manner: among the which are named D. *Pedro Fernandes d'Açagra* Lord of Albarazin, *Athon de Foces* L. Steward, *William de Moncade*, *Roderigo Lizines*, *Artal de Lune*, *Simon Vrrea*, *Blaſco Maza*, *Pedro Peres* Iuſtice Maior of Arragon, and *Pedro Sanches* Secretarie of State in Arragon. For the defraying of this warre, D. *Sancho* was forced to imploy his treaſure, which was very great: for hauing liued long in this ſolitarie life, hee might eaſily gather together, hauing no cauſe of expence. He therefore deliuered to the king of Arragon, an hundred thouſand ſolz of gold, that is to ſay, Crownes or Ducats, in loane, and aduance, and had in pawne, Herreta, Pegnaretonda, Ferrelon, and Faxine: and as he was wiſe and very iudicious in matters of war,
B he diſpoſed what ſhould be done in the beginning: but the loue of his treaſure ſpoiled all: beſides at ſuch time as the army was to march againſt Caſtile, newes came vnto the king of Arragon, that the Iland of Maiorca had rebelled: wherefore beeing more carefull to keepe his owne, then to take from another, he made vſe of thoſe ſouldiers which hee had leauied for the warre of Caſtile, and led them into Majorca, ſo as the king of Nauarre found himſelf too weake to attempt any thing againſt Caſtile, whereas the Earle D. *Lope d' Haro* was in armes to fight with him at the paſſage. He was of opinion that the King D. *Iames* had mocked him, ſo as falling into a great rage, he wold breake the accord which they had made. King *Iames* was aduertized of all that he ſayd and did, by ſome Knights of Nauarre, which were falſe vnto their Prince, and diſcontented with this ſtrange and diſdainfull manner of liuing, of the which D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Valtierra was one. The warre
C of Majorca beeing ſoone ended, the king Don *Iames* returned to Tudele to excuſe himſelfe, and to offer ſatisfaction hereafter, yea to furniſh 2000. horſe, with other forces for the warre of Caſtile, but the King Don *Sancho* would by no meanes enter into conference with him. Moreouer, Don *Garcia* Almorauid and Don *Iohn Peres de Barzan*, captaines of the armie, which was vppon the frontiers of Caſtile, beeing in ſight of the enemie, were reduced to that extremitie by Don *Lope Diaz de Haro*, as they feared euery day they ſhould be forced to fight, he neglected both them and all they did: and they write, that a Gentleman beeing ſent from them to acquaint the king with the eſtate of their affaires, and to demand two hundred horſe of Supply, with the which they ſhould be able
D to giue battell vnto the Caſtillans, he attended foure dayes, and could neither haue entry nor audience. This ſtrange and diſdainfull behauiour cauſed the king Don *Iames* to returne into Arragon much diſcontented, whereupon the Caſtillans ſpoyled Nauarre, the which he might eaſily haue preuented, whereuppon he grew wayward, and inſupportable euen to his houſhold ſeruants, who could not pleaſe him. This waywardneſſe and diſtemperature, together with the burthen of a repleate and ill-diſpoſed bodie, his long incurable diſeaſe, together with his many yeares, brought him to his graue, in the yeare 1234. hauing raigned nine and thirty yeares, nine moneths, and ten dayes. He was buried in the royall Monaſterie of the Chanoins of Saint *Mary* of Ronceuaux, the which hee himſelfe had cauſed to be built.
E

Spies in the Kings Councell

Strange behauior of Don Sancho the Groſſe in his age.

1234.

D. Thibault firſt of that name, the 22. King of Nauarre.

1) THe Nauarrois ſent into France to *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, the ſonne of D. *Blanche*, ſiſter to the deceaſed king, to aduertiſe him of this ſucceſſion, and to aduiſe him to make haſt, before that Don *Iames* King of Arragon ſhould ſeaze thereon, in vertue of the pretended rights, by reaſon of the mutuall donation paſt betwixt the two kings
F at Tudele, and alſo by meanes of the intelligences which he had within the Countrey: wherein the Earle was nothing ſlouthfull, for hauing many partizans in Nauarre, who had aduertiſed him of all that had paſt betwixt the two kings, and in the end of the death of his vncle. The Ambaſſadors found him alreadie in order, and readie to march towards Nauarre, where he arriued happily, for the well effecting of his deſſeigne, by reaſon of

ſome

ſome lets which reſtrained the King Don *Iames*, the which were more fitting for him to care for, then to purſue the donation made vnto him in preiudice of the right heire of that Crowne, without any reaſon or proportion, by a king troubled with violent paſſions both of body and mind. But it is very certaine, that the king of Arragon did little reſpect it: yea ſome haue written, that without any difficulty, he diſcharged the Nauarrois (they requiring it) of the oath, fealty and homage, which they had ſworne, when as the contract betwixt him and the deceaſed king D. *Sancho*, was paſt at Tudele: others ſay, that afterwards he gaue all his pretenſions and right to D. *Pedro* his ſonne, to purſue it when opportunitie did ſerue, as a matter whereof there was but ſmall hope. Thus D. *Thibault* Earl of Champagne, was receiued, proclaimed, and crowned King of Nauarre, to the great ioy and content of all good Nauarrois.

Thibault Earle of Champaine obtaines the Realme of Nauarre.

Arragon.

The king of Arragon was then by the aduice of all his faithfull Councellers, entred into the conqueſt of the Realme of Valencia, hauing a fit oportunity offered, by reaſon of the diuiſions which were in the kingdome, betwixt the factions of *Zeit Aben Zeit*, and *Zael* or *Zaen*, which were both ſtrong. This *Zeit Aben Zeit* ſeeing himſelfe purſued, hee made open declaration of that which he had long before deſſeigned, and making himſelf vaſſal to the king Don *Iames*, he became a Chriſtian, and was called D. *Vincent de Belluis*. He afterwards married a Lady called *Dominick Lopes* of Sarragoſſa, of which mariage was borne a daughter called *Alda Fernandes*, who was married to *Blaiçe Ximenes d'Arenos*.

Zeit King of Valence baptized.

21 The warre of Valentia beeing reſolued, the Generall of the army vnder the king was D. *Blaſco Alagon*, by whoſe valour and diligence Morelia was taken; a place which was held impregnable: Buriane was alſo beſeeged, and with great difficulty taken: Peniſcola, Chiuert, Ceruera, Polpes, Alcalatena, Albufera, Almenara, Vxo, Noles, Caſtro, Alfandecho, Paterna, Bulla and other places, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, and partly by the meanes and intelligences which king *Zeit* had, and by the fauour of ſuch as held his partie, came into the power of the king D. *Iames*, ſo as by degrees hee enuironed the citty it ſelfe, cutting off their victuals and all other commodities. In theſe expugnations they did then vſe rammes, mooving towers with many ſtages, and other ſorts of engins. The reſiſtance of the Moores which held *Zaens* partie was very great: neither were they abandoned of their friends, nor of the kings raigning in Affricke, for twelue gallies, and ſixe veſſels called *Zabres* of Tunez, ſhewed themſelues often, as if they would land, or aſſayle the places held by the Arragonois along the coaſt, but without any effect. The Eſtates of Arragon and Cattelogne were aſſembled at Monçon in the yeare 1236. for the continuance of this warre, and the conqueſt of Valencia; without the which it was not lawfull for the king to vndertake any matter of importance. The Preſident at theſe eſtates was *Pedro Perez* Iuſtice maior of Arragon, where there aſſiſted D. *William* of Montgrin, co-adiutor to the Arch-biſhop of Tarragone, the Biſhops of Barcelona, Saragoſſa, Vic, and Tortoſa, the Maſter and Prior of the Templers and Hoſpitaliers, Friar *Raymond* of Pegnafort, a moſt famous Iacobin, *Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix, and Don *Fernand* the kings vncle, D. *Ponce Cabrera* Earle tutelarie of Vrgel, D. *Pedro Vgo* Earle of Ampurias, D. *Nugno Sanches* Earle of Roſſillon, D. *Gerard* Vicount of Cabrera, D. *William* of Cardona, D. *William*, and *Pedro* of Moncada, *Berenger Puçuert*, *William* and *Berenger Angleſol*, *Bernard Portella*, *Hugues Mataplan*, ſonne to *Hugues*, *Galſerand Pinos*, *William* of Laquila, *Raymond* of Peralta, *Peter* Vicount of Villemuir, *Raymond VVilliam Odena*, *Berenger Erille*, and *William Ceruera*, all Knights and Noblemen of Cattelogne. And of the realme of Arragon, D. *Pedro Cornel* Lord Steward, *Bernard William*, *Garci Romeo*, *Symon Vrrea*, *Artorella*, *Artal de Lune*, *Blaſco Alagon*, *Roderigo Lizana*, *Blaſco Maza Berenger*, *Gombald Entenza*, *Symon de Foces*, *Aſſalit Gudalis*, *Fortun Verga*, *Simon Lueza* and others. The meanes to defray this warre, beſides the Croiſados, pardons and indulgences, were ordayned to be leuied vpon the people, by the Impoſition of a cuſtome called *Morabetine* and the exaction of the Impoſt for cattell. In this aſſembly it was decreed, that all peeces of gold and ſiluer coyned, ſhould be of one goodnes and weight, in Arragon and Cattelogne: to the obſeruation of which Edict for coynes, all were bound to ſweare, that were aboue 14. yeares old. During the ſeege of Valencia many Noblemen, and common ſouldiers ſtrangers, French and Engliſh came to D. *Iames* his campe.

V Warre in Valence againſt the Moores.

An. 1236. Eſtates at Monſon for the warre of Valence.

The

A The Authors of the Arragon Hiſtorie write, that the Kings army, at the hotteſt of the ſiege, might bee 60000. foot, and a thouſand horſe, (meaning Knights and Maſters) followed according vnto the Order and Diſcipline of warre in thoſe dayes, by their vaſſalls, beſides the forces at ſea. This warre was long, and the ſeege troubleſome: yet it was attempted, battered and aſſaulted, and the Moores within it brought to ſo great extremity, as *Zaen* the Vſurper of that Principalitie, beeing not yet well ſetled nor aſſured of the peoples wils, abandoned it, and retired to Denia. The cittie was yeelded the 28. of September, 1238. *Valencia taken by the Arragonois.*

The King Don *Iames* had in the yeare 1232. beene diuorced from D. *Elenor* of Caſtile his wife, and yet had declared D. *Alphonſo* their ſon, the lawfull heire of the realmes
B of Arragon and Maiorca, the lands of Cattelogne, Vrgeil, Montpellier, and others: appointing for Gouernors of his youth, the Biſhop of Tarragone, the Maſters or Priors of the Templers and Hoſpitaliers, and *William Ceruera*: ordayning, that he ſhould be bredde vp at Monçon: and if he ſhould chance to die, then did he ſubſtitute vnto his Realmes and Seigneuries, Don *Fernand* of Arragon his vncle, and Don *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Prouence his couſin. Notwithſtanding the king Don *Pedro* during this warre of Valencia contracted a new marriage with the daughter of *Andrew* king of Hungary, named *Violant*, by whom he had a ſonne called D. *Pedro*, who was king, after him, of Arragon and Valencia, and Prince of Cattelogne: he had moreouer the Infant Don *Iaime*, who was king of Maiorca and Minorca, and Earle of Roſſillon and Montpellier, and a third called
C Don *Sancho*, who was Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine. Hee had alſo fiue daughters by her: D. *Iſabell* married to *Philip* the third King of France, ſonne to Saint *Lewis*: D. *Violant* who was Queene of Caſtile and Leon, wife to D. *Alphonſo* the ninth: D. *Conſtance* married to Don *Manuell* brother to the ſayd D. *Alphonſo*, King of Caſtile, D. *Mary* and D. *Elenor* who dyed young. The dowrie of Queene *Yolant* or *Violant*, as *Surites* writes, was ten thouſand Markes of ſiluer, and two hundred of gold, for her mothers rights, for the which the Duke of Auſtria became anſwerable. Moreouer, a portion of the County of Namur in Flanders, and the lands and rights which her Predeceſſors had enioyed in France, with certaine places which ſhe did then poſſeſſe in Hongarie, and o-
D thers that were fallen to her in Bourgogne, by her mothers right and ſucceſſion. This Princeſſe was conducted to Barcelona in the yeare 1235. by the Biſhop of the fiue Churches, and a kinſman of his called Cont *Denis*, who remained in Arragon, and was the Author of the noble family of *Denis*, which is vnited to that of Vrrez, hee had two ſonnes *Amour* and *Gabriel Denis*. Don *Pedro* the eldeſt ſon of Queene *Yolant*, was married young to *Conſtance*, daughter to *Manfroy*, baſtard to the Emperour *Frederick* the ſecond, whom they called Prince of Tarentum, which was a degree to attaine vnto the ſucceſſion of the Realmes of Naples and Sicily, and by the marriage of his daughter *Iſabel* with *Philip* the Hardy, ſonne to Saint *Lewis* the French king, the Kings of Arragon obtayned (as the hi-
E ſtories of Spain report) a full freedome of the Principalitie of Cattelogne, and Earldome of Barcelona, to enioy it from that time in full proprietie and Soueraignty, without acknowledging themſelues any more vaſſals to the Kings of France: the which was done at Clermont in Auuergne, whereas both Kings met in the yeare 1260. In recompence the King of Arragon did alſo quit for his part the rights of Soueraigntie which he pretended to Carcaſſone, Rhodes, Beziers, Locate, Albi, Amillaire, Niſmes, Saint Giles, and other lands in France, the which he aſſigned in dowrie to his daughter D. *Iſabel*, with the reuenues of Carcaſſone and Beziers: and moreouer, he quit all right which he could pretend to the Earledome of Prouence, Folquaquier, Arles, Auignon and Marſeilles, in fauour of Queene *Marguerite* of France.

Dowry of Q. Yolant.

22. *Cattelogne freed from the Soueraignty of France.*

Dowry of Q. Iſabell.

The death of D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre, the beginning of the warre of Valencia, and the ſecond marriage of D. *Iames* King of Arragon, happened all in the yeare 1234. by rea-
F ſon whereof, and to giue order for the affaires of the Infanta D. *Elenor*, whom he had put away, by reaſon of the ſtrict allyance which was betwixt them, according to the Popes decree, there was an interview of this King of Arragon, and of Don *Fernand* king of Caſtile, in the Monaſterie of Huerta, vpon the confines of Caſtile; where it was accorded, that the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, whom Don *Iames* had by Donna *Elenor*, named King of Arragon,

Genealogie of Arragon.

Accord betwixt the kings of Caſtile and Arragon for the diuorce of Q. Elenor.

Arragon, if he had liued, ſhould remaine in the cuſtodie of the Queene his mother, to whom for an increaſe of her dowrie, the towne of Hariza was giuen, to enioy it during her life, but in caſe ſhee ſhould marry againe, then ſhould it returne to Arragon. Theſe and other things being friendly accorded betwixt the two kings, they parted with great loue, to make warre againſt the Moores, euery one apart. Some haue left in writing, that D. *Thereſa* of Bidaure, with whom the King D. *Iames* had had familiar acquaintance, before he married the Queene D. *Yolant*, and had children by her, ſued him vppon a promiſe of marriage before the Pope, where ſhe loſt it for want of prooſes, and D. *Yolant* was declared his lawfull wife. There the Biſhop of Girone then the kings Confeſſor (hauing vnderſtood by his confeſſion of this matrimoniall promiſe) had reuealed it vnto Pope *Innocent* the fourth, but to what end he did it, it is vncertaine: but his teſtimonie alone was not allowed. The king beeing wonderfully incenſed againſt the Biſhop, hauing ſent for him into his chamber, cauſed his toung to be cut out. For this outrage committed vpon the Biſhop, notwithſtanding that he were faultie, hauing reuealed the Kings confeſſion, the Pope made great complaints, being at the Councell of Lyons, and in the end did interdict all the Realme of Arragon, and excommunicate the king D. *Iames*. To free them from this interdiction, and to get abſolution, the king ſent the Biſhop of Valencia vnto the Pope to carry his excuſe, and to make an humble petition, wherewith the Pope beeing ſomewhat pacified, he yeelded to ſend two Legates into Arragon with full power. Hauing aſſembled a Synode of Biſhops at Lerida, they cauſed the king to come thither, who confeſſed his fault vppon his knees before theſe Fathers, with great ſubmiſſion and teares: who gaue him abſolution, vpon condition, that he ſhould cauſe the Monaſtery of *Benface*, neere vnto Tortoſa to be built, (the which hath beene ſince a Conuent of Chartrous Monkes) and to indow it with an hundred and forty pounds of ſiluer of annuall rent. And moreouer, that he ſhould endow the hoſpitall of Saint *Vincent* of Valencia, with foure hundred pounds waight of ſiluer by the yeare for the nouriſhment of the poore: and that he ſhould giue a Prebendarie to the great Church of Girone, for the maintenance of a Maſſe-prieſt: Then fell he to the loue of this ladie againe, and entertayned her during the life of his Queene D. *Violant*.

The King of Arragon asketh pardon of the Pope.

Caſtile and Moores.

23 As for the king D. *Fernand*, he was affronted with the power of king *Aben-Hut*, who was mightie: but ſeeing his forces increaſed by the ſucceſſion of the Realmes of Leon, which were fallen vnto him, he was in hope to effect his deſſeignes. Wherefore he aſſayled him towards Baeça which he held, and went and layed ſeege to Vbeda, a neere towne, ſtrong, and well fortified, yet he preſt them in ſuch ſort, as the Garriſon compounded to depart with their liues: into the which the king D. *Fernand* entred the ſame yeare 1234. in the which his fortunes were ſeaſoned with ſome bitterneſſe, according to the condition of humane things: for he loſt the Queene D. *Beatrix* his wife, who died in Toro in the kingdome of Leon: her body was carryed to the Monaſterie of las Huelgas of Burgos, and buried neere vnto the king D. *Henry*. Vpon this ſubiect the king D. *Fernand* came into the territories of Leon: during his abſence the garriſons vppon the fronter tooke certaine Moores Almogaueres (for ſo they call their Mortepaiez) of the cittie of Cordoua: and for that they were in quarrell with the Inhabitants thereof, they were eaſily corrupted, promiſing to giue entry to the Chriſtians into the cittie of Cordoua. The plot beeing layd, and all things diſpoſed accordingly, there came a good troupe of Chriſtians in the night with ladders, the which they planted vnto the wall neere vnto the tower and Bourg, called Axarquia, where by the helpe and fauor of thoſe Moores whom they had wonne, *Aluaro*, *Colodro*, and *Benoiſt* of Bagnos entred firſt, beeing well followed by their companions, without any diſcouerie of them of the towne, who ſlept without feare or apprehenſion vntill the morning, when as they ſaw the Chriſtians had ſeazed vpon the tower, and there did fortifie themſelues, attending ſuccors from Don *Aluar Perez*, whom they had ſent vnto beeing at Martos, vppon their entry: and as men expecting ſome great reſiſtance, they had alſo ſent to aduertiſe the King Don *Fernand* of their enterprize and happie ſucceſſe, to the end he ſhould approch neere to fauour them. The Moores of Cordoua ſeeing themſelues ſurprized, went to armes, and beſeeged the Chriſtians in this tower, where they defended themſelues: the combate was furious, and often

Cordoua ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

A often renewed, euery one doing his beſt indeauour, wherein they ſpent ſome dayes, yet could they not chaſe the Chriſtians out of the tower, which they had intrenched from the reſt of the towne. In the meane time, the king D. *Fernand* aduanced with all ſpeed, giuing order for the reſt of his forces to follow, and paſſing by Extremadura, neere vnto Bienguerencia, the Gouernor a Moore, furniſhed the kings armie with victuals as it paſt, yet beeing ſummoned to deliuer the fort vnto the king, he made anſwer, that when he had taken Cordoua, it ſhould be at his commandement, and in the meane time he would keep it: Wherefore the king of Caſtile paſſed on, and arriuing at Cordoua, hee found that D. *Aluaro Perez de Caſtro*, and other Captaines and ſouldiers in great numbers, were already come to ſuccour his men. King *Aben Hut* beeing aduertiſed of all theſe things, and
B of D. *Fernands* arriuall with ſmall forces, although there came great troupes afterwards, thought it fit to preuent him, if he could, or at the leaſt to ſtrike ſome terror into the Chriſtians, and force them to retire from this ſeege. He had in his armie which lay about Eccia, a Chriſtian Knight, a baniſhed man called D. *Laurens Suares*. Hauing imparted his deſſeigne vnto him, he reſolued to ſend him one night vnto the campe, vnder colour of ſeeking to recouer the kings fauour: but it was to eſpie, and to diſcouer vnto him the true eſtate of the Chriſtians armie. This Knight hauing obtained a paſport, came vnto the campe, and ſpake vnto the king, doing the contrarie to that which he had in charge: for he diſcouered vnto the King D. *Fernand*, all the Moores deſſeignes, and what forces hee had: wherefore beeing aſſured from the king, of his grace and fauour, he retired to *Aben Hut*, to whom he concealed what he had ſeene and vnderſtood, telling him that the Chri-
C ſtians army was much ſtronger then it was indeed. Wherefore king *Aben Hut* durſt not attempt that which he had reſolued, and thinking that they of Cordoua wold hold good for a time, he reſolued to employ his forces to ſuccour king *Zaen*, who was preſt by the king of Arragon towards Valencia, thinking after that he had repulſed the Arragonois, to returne fortified with *Zaens* forces, and cauſe the Chriſtians to retire from before Cordoua. Beeing arriued at Almery, to imbarke his army, a vaſſall of his, whom hee did much eſteeme, called *Aben Arramin*, inuited him to ſupper, where he ſo feaſted him, as beeing drunke, he caſt him into a great veſſell full of water, and there drowned him: wherupon the army disbanded, and D. *Laurence Suarez* whom king *Aben Hut* had ledde with
D him, retired to the king of Caſtile, who receiued him graciouſly, notwithſtanding that he had betrayed him who had entertayned him during his exile. This death of this Mooriſh king, beeing generally knowne, eſpecially at Cordoua, the beſeeged deſpayred of ſuccors, ſo as they yeelded the cittie vnto the king of Caſtile, the ſixt moneth of the ſeege, in the yeare 1236, which was 522. yeares after that it had beene firſt taken by the Moores. The king Don *Fernand* cauſed a croſſe to be ſet vppon the tower of the great Meſquide, in token of our redemption, and neere vnto it the ſtandard of Caſtile, which Meſquide was purified (beeing one of the goodlieſt buildings in Spaine) and made the Cathedrall Church, of the which Don *Lope de Hitero* of Piçuerga was made biſhop. The king did
E indow it with rents and reuenues like the reſt, and ſo did the Arch-biſhop Don *Roderigo* in his returne from Rome, where he had beene during the ſeege, and was not at the taking thereof, to his great griefe, but affaires of greater Importance had kept him abſent: in the meane time Don *Iohn* Biſhop of Oſma was his Vice-gerent and Chancelor to the King. There the bells of Saint *Iames* were found, which the Alhagib Almançor had taken away in the yeare 975. and placed them in this great Moſqueé, making them to ſerue for lampes, which the king Don *Fernand* cauſed to be tranſported to their auncient manſion. The affaires of this great cittie, which had beene the chiefe of the Moores eſtate, were ordered by the king, both for religion and Iuſtice, and for the guard and ſafety thereof, with great care. Don *Tello Alphonſo de Meneſes*, was made Gouernor of the citty, and
F Don *Aluar Perez de Caſtro* of the whole fronter.

D. Laurence Suarez betrays king Aben Hut who had entertained him in his exile.

Cordoua yelded 1236.

D. Lope de Hitero firſt Biſhop of Cordoua.

The

The kingdome of Granado.

BY the loſſe of Cordoua and the death of king *Aben Hut*, the Moores were wonderfully diſmayed and voyd of Councell: wherefore they returned to their old courſe euery one reſpecting his priuate intereſt: ſo as the Infidels eſtate was diſmembred into many parts. *Aben Hudiel* among others, ſeazed vpon the Realme of Murcia, *Zeit* and *Zaen* being yet in warre, and contending for the realme of Valencia. In the country of Algarbe, whereof Niebla was the chiefe citty, *Aben Iafon* raigned, who had for his ſucceſſor *Aben Amarin*, and then another called *Aben Moſad*. Thoſe of Seuile would haue no king, but onely a Gouernor: where one *Axataf* was in great authoritie, and it was he which loſt it.

24. *Beginning of Granado.* But aboue all the power of *Mahomad Alzenalagmar* or *Aben Alamar* was great; ſo called for that he had a red face: who from a ſhepheard hauing followed armes, had attained to the chiefe places of honour, and was in ſuch credit by reaſon of his valour, force, and ſtature, as in theſe tumults, the Inhabitants of Arjona, where he was borne, choſe him for their king, and then other people ſubmitted themſelues vnder him, eſpecially the townes of Iaen, Baeça, which was ill garded, and Guadix, and in the end the citty of Granado, which he afterwards made his royall ſeate, and the chiefe of all his country and Seigneuries. This was the firſt king of Granado, whereas vntill that time there was no kingdome: it was erected at ſuch time as Cordoua the chiefe cittie of all the Moores Eſtate in Spain was made ſubiect vnto the Chriſtians.

Nauarre. 25 Whileſt that the king Don *Fernand* is buſie at this honorable enterprize of Cordoua, and D. *Iaime* or *Iames* king of Arragon, at that of Valencia, which was nothing inferior, *Thibaud* the new king of Nauarre had meanes to ſettle his affaires without any difficultie, for he found all the Eſtates of the Kingdome willing to obey him. At his reception he did ſweare and confirme the liberties and priuiledges of the country, the which he did alſo augment. This was the beginning of the ſecond maſculine line of the Kings of Nauarre, the firſt ending in D. *Sancho*, the which ſince D. *Garcia Ximenes* had continued 518. yeares. Succeſſions of States and Soueraignties falling to women againſt all lawe and preſidents of well ordered kingdomes, in the firſt ages, is the cauſe that ſtrange and vnknowne Princes, of diuers humors, come to raigne ouer Nations, which ſometimes haue ſucceeded well, but very often great troubles and inconueniences haue followed. At this time the Nauarrois were not vnfortunate, to haue a king of the French nation, who was a meanes to augment the power and dignitie of that Crowne, by many acceſſories from France: his mother D. *Blanche* daughter to the king D. *Sancho* the Wiſe, and ſiſter to the laſt *Sancho*, was the firſt which brought the ſucceſſion of women into Nauarre, although ſhe did not raigne, beeing dead before the king Don *Sancho* the Strong her brother. D. *Pedro Ramires* of Pedrola, Biſhop of Pampelone, among others did faithfully maintaine the rights of this king *Thibaud*, who was called the Elder, to diſtinguiſh him from his ſonne and ſucceſſor, being alſo of the ſame name: of whoſe deedes wee haue no great inſtructions out of hiſtories, onely we haue gathered out of ſome writings and records tending to other ends, that which we ſhall relate of him. He was thrice married, as the Spaniards write. Firſt, he had to wife a Lady of Lorraine, daughter to an Earle of Metz, frō whom he was diuorced by the Popes authoritie hauing no children. His ſecond wife was daughter to *Guichard* Lord of Beaujeu, who it may be was the 3. of that name: from which marriage iſſued *Blanche*, who was married to *Iohn* Duke of Brittanie, ſurnamed the red. Thirdly, he married *Marguerite* daughter to *Archembaud* one of the Earles of Foix (it may be there is ſome error in the name, for there is no mention made in the Hiſtories of that time, of any *Archembaud* of Foix) of whom he begot *Thibaud* and *Henry*, who ſucceeded one after another in the Realme of Nauarre, and one daughter called Donna *Leonora*, and Don *Pedro* Lord of the houſe of Muruçabal (which is now ruined) neere vnto Mendegerria, ſo called in the Biſcaine tongue, which ſignifies a redde mountaine.

Second race of the kings of Nauarre.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

All

A All theſe marriages, or at the leaſt the two firſt, were before his comming to the crowne of Nauarre, which was in the 33. yeare of his age. The manners of this Prince are commended by the Spaniards, ſaying, That he was liberal, modeſt, a great builder, louing muſicke, curious of matters belonging to tillage, by reaſon whereof he planted his country of Nauarre with many ſorts of vnknowne frutes, the which he cauſed to bee brought out of France: ſo as there is yet a kind of Peare of Nauarre, which they call Thibuatinas, or Thibaudines: he was a great catholike, and zealous of the Romiſh Religion: the caſtell of Treuas was of his building. *Diſpoſition of King Thibaud.*

In his time there was a great ſute ended betwixt the blacke Monkes Benedictines, and thoſe of Ciſteaux, for that the deceaſed king D. *Sancho*, would haue changed the ancient
B Monkes of Saint *Sauueur* of Leyre, and placed them of the Order of Ciſteaux there, the which he could not effect, being violently oppugned by the Benedictins: who during the raigne of king *Thibaud* loſt their cauſe: but notwithſtanding that they were condemned and diſpoſſeſſed, yet they gaue it not ouer, vntill they were reſtored to their auncient poſſeſſion: the which was after the death of *Thibaud* the ſecond, *Henry* his brother raigning, to whom they bound themſelues to pay 600. charges of corne yearely, vntill they had deliuered the ſumme of 8500. Marauidis of gold. Finally, to end the new inſtances which were daily made by the one or the other, D. *Sancho* Archb. of Toledo, Infant of Arragon, and he of Tarragone, hauing authority from the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome, commanded the Monkes of S. *Benet* to perpetuall ſilence, and reſtored them of Ciſteaux to the poſſeſ-
C ſion: and after the death of the king D. *Henry*, the Gouernor of Nauarre freed the Monks of this tribute, for the diſcharge of the Kings conſcience, as an exceſſiue & vniuſt Impoſt. Thus the Ciſtercian Monkes of S. *Bernard*, remained in quiet poſſeſſion of the Monaſtery of S. *Sauueur* of Leyre. By reaſon of the contentions of theſe Monks, there were many letters, remembrances, and records of this Monaſterie loſt, the which did ſerue much in thoſe times for the illuſtrating of matters of Nauarre. The Chriſtian affaires in Syria being ill managed, and their eſtate in thoſe parts declining much, Pope *Gregory* the 9. cauſed *Thibaud* the 1. king of Nauarre goes into Syria.
a Croyſado to be preached throughout all Chriſtendome, by the Monkes of the Orders of S. *Dominick* and S. *Francis*: wherefore many Princes and great Perſonages of France
D and other countries inrolled themſelues, of which expedition *Thibaud* king of Nauarre was the chiefe. The Noblemen and Knights Chriſtians, deſiring to paſſe their troupes by ſea, could not be accommodated by the Commonweales of Genoa and Piſa, who were then very ſtrong in ſhipping, by reaſon of the mutuall warre they had together, to the great preiudice of Chriſtendome. The Venetians in like manner troubled with the affairs of the Empire of Greece, gaue them no meanes to performe this voyage. Wherfore king *Thibaud* and his troupe were forced to take their way by land into Syria, where beeing arriued at Antioch, after infinit toyle, hauing to incounter with hunger, diſeaſes, and want of all things, beſides the enemy, who had ſeazed vpon the paſſages in the ſtreights of Mount Taurus, he found that two parts of his ſouldiers which had come out of France,
E Nauarre, and the fronters of Germany, were wanting, beeing either dead by the way, or ſlaine by the Turks: the remainders of theſe poore Chriſtians arriued at Acre, which is the ancient Ptolemaide, where they began to make war againſt the Turks with ſmall ſucceſſe.
A litle before this expedition, the Emperor *Frederick* the 2. had bin in Paleſtina: and as if *Vanity of the Emperor Frederick the 2.*
he had had no other occaſion to make this voyage, but ambitiouſly to ſeeke to ioyne the vaine tide of king of Ieruſalem, to the reſt which he carried of many kingdomes, he entred the citty of Ieruſalem without any reſiſtance, hauing purchaſed the fauor of *Corradin* Sultan of Egypt: and hauing cauſed himſelfe to be crowned there, he returned preſently into Italy, hauing made a truce with the Infidels. He left ſome Germane ſouldiers in thoſe contries to ſupply the garriſons, who had no good correſpondency with the king of Nauarre nor his men, neither could they euer draw any ſuccors from them, for that they held
F the French to be affected to the Pope, with whom their Emperor had had great quarrels: wherfore they were forced to make war alone. And the more to croſſe K. *Thibauds* good fortune, it fell out that many Noblemen which came in his company disbanded, and returned home, among the which was the Duke of Brittany: ſo as the king D. *Thibaud*, after many vnfortunate Incounters, was forced to returne by ſea into the weſt.

Beeing arriued in France, he made ſome abode there to viſit his lands, and then he paſt into Nauarre. Don *Thibaud* king of Nauarre made not this voyage in the company of Saint *Lewis* the French king, as ſome write: but ſome yeares before, beeing in the yeere 1238. where as that of S. *Lewis* was ten yeares after, or twelue, as ſome affirme, as it appeares by the hiſtories of France. A

1238. *Arragon.* 26 In the ſame yeare 1238. the citty of Valencia, hauing beene long beſeeged by Don *Iaime* King of Arragon, and reduced to great neceſſitie, was yeelded vnto him by *Zaen* the Moore, who had vſurped that Principalitie, who retiring to Denia, left it without men or goods, leading with him aboue 50000. Moores, who carried with them (according to the compoſition) their gold, ſiluer, armes and all their mooueables: ſo as that citie which was held one of the richeſt and moſt ſtately of all Spaine, was to be peopled anew, if they would keepe it: wherefore there were chiefe men appointed by the king D. *Iames*, to diſtribute the houſes and buildings, lands, and poſſeſſions to the new Colonie, which was ſent out of the countries of Cattelogne and Arragon. Theſe were D. *Berenger Palatiol* Biſhop of Barcelone, D. *Vidal Canelia* Biſhop of Hueſca, Don *Pedro Fernandes d'Açagra*, and Don *Symon d'Vrraca*, knights: who diſpoſed of the places vnto thoſe that ſhould people this great citty, according vnto euery mans ranke, dignity, and merit. *Valence taken* *Peopling of Valence.* B

There were 380. heads of families, among other men of marke, or old ſouldiers, (hauing faithfully and valiantly carried armes, as well at this ſeege, as in former warres) then to this effect inrolled, to hold the firſt place and prerogatiue among the Inhabitants thereof, and there were priuate lawes made for them of Valencia: yet the Gentlemen of Arragon, who were appointed for this new Colony, did inſiſt, that they and their inheritors might enioy the priuiledges of Arragon, the which did afterwards breed trobles and diſſentions betwixt them and the reſt of the people. The Epiſcopall ſea was reſtored to this citty, and D. *Ferrier* of S Martin was the firſt biſhop, being made ſubiect to the Arch biſhop of Tarragone: notwithſtanding that in the Goths time, that church did acknowledge the Metropolitan of Toledo. D. *Roderigo Lizana* was made the firſt Viceroy of Valencia, by the king D. *Iames*: there were many Chriſtian families found in it, who did exerciſe their religion in the church of S. Sepulcher, called at this day S Bartholomew. It was then of a round forme, and but weakly walled, at this day it is enlarged and made ſquare, and hath 12. gates, where as it had but 4. The chiefe citty of this realme beeing now in the power of the king of Arragon, he ſoone recouered all the other places and forts, which was a goodly conqueſt, and a great increaſe to his other Eſtates. The other places continued peopled with the ancient inhabitants, who were contented to liue vnder the king of Arragon, enioying their religion. C D

Caſtile. The affaires of Spain being in this eſtate, D. *Fernand* king of Caſtile, after the death of D. *Beatrix* his wife, married a French Lady called *Ieanne*, daughter to *Symon* Earle of Ponthieu, who was ſomewhat allyed to the houſe of Caſtile, by the mothers ſide; for that her mother, wife to Cont *Symon*, called *Mary*, was daughter to *Adella* Counteſſe of Ponthieu, grand-child to king *Lewis* the 7. and D. *Iſabella* of Caſtile, daughter to the Emperor D. *Alphonſo*. This Lady was very mild, and greatly beloued and honored of the Spaniards. *Genealogie of Caſtile.* The king had by her the Infant D. *Fernand*, ſurnamed of Ponthieu, one daughter called D. *Leonora*, and another ſon, whoſe name was D. *Louis*. The marriage being conſumated, the king led his new ſpouſe through the townes of Caſtile and Leon, whereas great honours were done vnto her. In the meane time he diſpoſed of all neceſſarie prouiſions vpon the Mores fronters, where they were continually annoyed by their incurſions, to preuent the which, the Gouernor D. *Aluaro Perez de Caſtro*, a wiſe and politick Captaine, omitted not any thing that might concerne the duty of his charge. The Mores were ſo inſolent vnder their new king *Mahomad Aben-Alhamar*, as D. *Aluaro Perez* was forced to come in perſon to confer with the king at Aillon, and to acquaint him with the affaires of that fronter: where the Mores were the ſtronger, and had a little before his departure, beſeeged Martos, the which (without the ſuccors which D. *Tello Alphonſo de Meneſes* brought had bin taken, and in it his wife, whom he had left there. Wherupon the king commanded he ſhould be ſupplyed with all things that were needfull: but as this knight returned into Andaluſia, he dyed at Orgas, in the yeare 1239. whoſe loſſe was great: and at the ſame time E F

there

A there dyed alſo D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, another valiant and wiſe knight, leauing one ſonne, heire of the ſeigneurie of Biſcay and other lands, called D. *Diego Lopes* the 3. of that name. The good ſucceſſe which the kings of Spaine had in their conqueſts, made them and their ſubiects the more ſuperſtitious. They of Arragon ſhewed great deuotion at that time, to an image which was found during the war of Valence, to the which there was a Monaſtery built at Puig, and it recommended to the Monks, called *de la Merced*. Then was the Epiſcopall ſeate of Calaorra remoued to S. *Dominick* de la Calçada, by the procurement of D. *Iohn Perez* the biſhop, who ſpared not his paines to go to Rome, where he obtained what he pretended from Pope *Gregory* the 9. the holy Father prouiding, and giuing power vnto the Biſhop to taxe his Dioceſſes, for the defraying of his charges. If this touB ched the glory of God, or the edification of his church, let the wiſe iudge: but this did not hold, for ſome yeares after the church of Calaorra was reſtored to her former dignitie, and yet that of S. Dominick remained a Cathedral, being in former time but a Collegial, yet one biſhop holding both vnto ourtime. At that time there liued a Doctor called *Hugues Candido* a Iacobin, of whom Spaine makes great account. After the death of D. *Aluaro de Caſtro*, the king of Caſtile, hauing led an army in perſon into Andaluſia, and giuen order for the ſafe keeping of the citty of Cordoua, he tooke partly by force, partly by feare, and partly by accord, the citty of Eccia, and the townes of Eſtepa, Almodoual del *Townes and caſtels taken frõ the Moores.* Rio, Siettefilla, Lucena, Luque, Porcuna, Core, Moron, Caſtellar, Marchena, Coeros, Cabra, Oſuna, Baena, Montaquilar, Tenexir, Ballar, Bute Morgu, Pardal, Caſra, Ornachuelos, Mirabel, Fuenteçumel, Moratilla, and S. Ella, moſt of which places the knights of Cala-C traua, they of S. Iames, and the Prelates obtained from the king, and was giuen to the Noblemen and knights. The kings affairs were much aduanced by the taking of a Moore Almohade, who had paſt out of Affrick into Spaine, to challenge that which the kings of his race had enioyed there. *Caid Arrax* then raigned at Maroc, beeing grand child to *Aben-Mahomad* the Greene, borne at Bufax, who dyed while his father liued.

In the yeare 1240. a truce was made betwixt the king of Caſtile, and *Mahomad Aben-Alamar* of Arjona, who raigned in Granado. Vntill this time Don *Roderigo* the Archbiſhop and Primate hath written the hiſtorie or Chronicle of Spaine. The title which Don *Fernand* king of Caſtile gaue himſelfe at that time, was, king of Caſtile, Toledo, Leon, GaD licia, Cordoua, and Baeça, leauing that of Nagera, and other ſmall places, for the which he tooke thoſe of the great townes which he had conquered from the Moores. Hee gaue the like titles to the Queenes his mother and wife, as it appeares by that which was written of him in Latin the ſame yeare, as the cuſtome was then: where particular mention is made of the infants D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Frederick*, D. *Martin Gonçales* of Mijancas, beeing *Vniuerſitie of Salamanca.* Merino Maior of Caſtile. Beſides the Art of warre, wherein the king was very expert, he was alſo very careful to maintaine Iuſtice in his kingdomes, with all other good gouern- 27. ment, by reaſon whereof, he tranſported vnto Salamanca the Vniuerſity which D. *Alphonſo* his grandfather had inſtituted at Palença, as a place more commodious for the good of all Spaine, and in a country more fertill, and abounding with all things neceſſaE ry, to which Vniuerſity this king, his ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, and others their ſucceſſors, haue giuen great reuenues, priuiledges, and exemptions, ſo as it is thought there is no Vniuerſitie in the world where as the profeſſors haue greater penſions.

Whileſt that he buſied himſelfe in theſe good and honorable actions, hee had ſome troubles by the meanes of D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, who was retired into his country of Biſcay, diſcontented with the King, yet after ſome little warre attempted againſt him, by the Infant D. *Alphonſo*, the king was aduiſed not to eſtrange from his ſeruice a Nobleman of ſo good a race, frõ whom the kings of Caſtile had receiued ſo good ſeruices in their wars againſt the Moores: wherefore D. *Diego Lope* was receiued into more fauor then before.

The truce made with *Mahomad Aben-Alamar*, expired in the yeare 1241. wherefore the *An.* 1241. F Infant Don *Alphonſo* was ſent vnto the fronters of Andaluſia: beeing arriued at Toledo, hee found the Ambaſſadours of *Alboaquis*, or according vnto ſome, of *Aben Hudel* King of Murcia, who went vnto the King Don *Fernand*, to offer him the Realme of Murcia, whome hee cauſed to returne backe, marching himſelfe with them to receiue this realme, which was voluntarily offered vnto him, hauing in his company Don *Pelayo*

Perez Correa, Maſter of the Knights of Saint *Iames*. The conditions were, that the king *Alboaquis* ſhould remaine vaſſall to the king of Caſtile, and that the reuenues of the Realme of Murcia ſhould be equally diuided betwixt the two Kings,, and that the fort of Murcia ſhould be deliuered into the hands of the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, and they ſhould compound with the Captaines which held the other places, the which was put in execution, with them of Alicant, Elche, Orihuela, Ceruillan, Alhama, Aledo, Ros and Cieca: but they of Lorca, Carthagena, and Mula, would not hearken to this compoſition, whereunto they were afterwards forced. Thus this Realme was vnited to Caſtile without any paine or danger, whither the king came in perſon, and was receiued with great ioy and honour. A

Murcia deliuered to the king of Caſtile.

At that time Don *Roderigo* Arch-biſhop of Toledo was excommunicated by Don *Pedro* of Albalate, Arch-biſhop of Tarragone, for that he had paſt by the Iuriſdiction of his Arch-biſhoppricke, carrying his croſſe, as Primate of Spaine, for which dignity he of Tarragone did contend with him. The cauſe beeing pleaded at Rome before Pope *Gregory* the ninth, he declared by a decree giuen at Saint Iohn de Latran, in the yeare 1242. the ſentence of the Excommunication againſt the Arch-biſhop D. *Roderigo* to be void. B

Arch-biſhops in quarrell for the primacie.

An. 1242.

By reaſon of ſome loſſe which Don *Roderigo Alphonſo* of Leon the kings baſtard brother had vppon the marches of Andaluſia, the king D. *Fernand*, and the Infant D. *Alphonſo* marched towards the fronter, where diuiding their forces, the king remained in Andaluſia, and the Infant tooke the way to Murcia. The king began to ouer-runne the countrie from Andujar towards Arjona and Iaen: he tooke Arjona, Pegalier, Montijar, and Cartejar, he cauſed his brother Don *Alphonſo*, Lord of Molina, to enter into the Realme of Granado, who ſpoyled the champion countrie: and approching neere vnto the cittie, he made a ſhew as if hee would beſeege it, entertayning his troupes about it vntill the king came in perſon to ioyne with him: where he had an incounter with King *Mahomad Alen-Alhamar*, who made a ſally with aboue eight hundred horſe, and great numbers of foote Moores, who were defeated; But after that the King reſolued to retire to Cordoua, beeing not ſtrong enough for ſuch an enterprize. Towards Murcia the Infant Don *Alphonſo* went to beſeege Mula, which was his firſt exploit, for hee had not yet beſeeged any place, the which hee tooke, and did much annoy Carthagena and Lorca. King *Fernand* beeing aduertiſed that the Moores came to put victuals into Iaen, and to fortifie it, he ſent his brother Don *Alphonſo* to meet them, who not onely repelled them and hindred the victualling, but alſo ſpoyled the whole countrie round about. In the meane time the King was come to Pozuelo, betwixt Toledo and Cordoua, to ſee the Queenes D. *Berenguela* his mother, and D. *Ieanne* his wife, which was the laſt ſight betwixt the ſonne and the mother. Hauing ſpent ſome dayes there in feaſting and pleaſure, the Queene-mother returned to Toledo, and the king came to Andujar with the Queene his wife, whom he led to Cordoua, and there left her, whileſt that he cared for the warre, eſpecially for the ſeege which he meant to lay to Iaen, ſpoyling the countrie about it, as he alſo did about *Alcala* of Benſaide and Illora, running euen vnto the gates of Granado, from whence he returned a victor to Martos. There he found Don *Pelayo Perez Correa*, Maſter of the knights of Saint *Iames*, who counſelled him to inueſt Iaen without any further delay: the which he did, and preſt it with ſuch fury, as the king of Granado had no time to ſuccour it: who to preuent greater dangers, which he feared to fall vppon him by this warre, reſolued to let the king Don *Fernand* vnderſtand, that hee deſired to make ſome good accord with him, if he would grant a ſafe-conduct to come vnto him, the which was granted: whereupon he came vnto the campe to kiſſe the king of Caſtiles hand, who entertained him courteouſly, ſo as they were good friends, and made an accord, that the citty of Iaen ſhould be deliuered into the king D. *Fernands* hands, whome the king of Granado ſhould acknowledge for his ſuperior, and come to all aſſemblies in Caſtile, and moreouer ſhould pay him 150000. Marauidis of gold for a tribute: others ſay 300000. beeing the moity of the reuenues of the Realme of Granado in thoſe daies, which was eſteemed to be 600000. Marauidis of gold, accounting euery Marauidis for 108. deniers, and euery denier for a Marauadis at this day: ſo as the reuenues of Granado did amount to 64800000 Marauidis, which make 172800. of gold, at 375. Marauidis a-peece. C D E F

Iaen deliuered to the king of Caſtile.

King

A King *Fernand* did promiſe him for his part ayde and ſuccor againſt a mighty family of the Moores, his capitall enemies, called the Oyſemels. Theſe conditions were faithfully performed of either part, and by this meanes *Mahomad Aben Alomar* remained peaceable king of Granado. The king Don *Fernand* hauing thus compounded with him, he turned his forces againſt the king of Seuile. The citty of Iaen (as ſome ſearchers of Antiquities do beleeue) is the ancient Mentiça, an Epiſcopal ſeate in the Goths time. The ſame dignitie was reſtored, and the Meſquide made a Cathedrall church by the king D. *Fernand*, in the yeare 1243. who continued there eight moneths, for that it had beene taken in Winter, and for that it did behooue him to giue order for many things, for the preſeruation of his new conqueſts in that countrie, as alſo for the diſtruſt hee might haue of the King
B of Granado, his new ally, whom notwithſtanding he had no cauſe to doubt, beeing very faithfull. From Iaen he came to Cordoua, where he was aduiſed to aſſayle Carmona, whither king *Mahomad* came to ſerue him with fiue hundred Genets. Hauing ſpoyled the countrie, the two Kings came againſt Alcala of Guadajaira, which place by the king of Granados meanes, yeelded: from thence certaine fore-runners were ſent to a place called Axarafe of Seuile, beeing led by the Maſter of the Knights of Saint *Iames*: and others vnder the conduct of the King of Granado, and the Maſter of the Knights of Calatraua, were ſent towards Xeres. The King beeing in the mean time at Guadajaira, he had newes of the death of D. *Berenguela* his mother, whereat he was much grieued, ſo as the warre of Seuile grew ſomewhat cold, yet he was ſo farre imbarked, as he durſt not abandon the
C fronter to come into Caſtile. The king of Granado had leaue to returne into his country, the King Don *Fernand* remaining very well ſatiſfied of him.

Portugal. Whileſt matters paſſed thus in Caſtile, all was in combuſtion in Portugal, by the negligence and baſeneſſe of the king Don *Sancho Capello*, who was wholly giuen to his wiues humors, beeing hated of the Portugals, and he himſelfe diſliked for her ſake: for many malefactors and inſolent perſons were ſupported by her, who grew daily more audacious in their exceſſe, without any feare of Iuſtice, which was troden vnder foote, for their reſpect. For theſe conſiderations (the Queene beeing alſo barren) all the Noblemen of the kingdome deſired to haue this woman ſeparated, and ſent out of Portugall: for the effecting whereof they made great inſtance at Rome: but neither exhortation, admoni-
D tion, commandement nor cenſure could preuaile: for the King did ſo doat of D. *Alencia Lopes*, as hee would not leaue her; which the Portugals perceiuing, ſome of them preſumed to ſeaze on her in the citty of Coimbra, & conducted her into Gallicia, from whence ſhe neuer returned more into Portugall. Not content herewith (as exceſſe and inſolencies were familiar and ordinarie among them) laying aſide all reſpect and reuerence which they ought vnto their Prince, they ſought to depoſe him from the royall dignitie: whereby it appeared that the whole ſubiect of the troubles did not conſiſt in the Queene Donna *Mencia*, but in their ambition and priuate deſſeignes: for their chiefe deſire was, to haue Don *Alphonſo* the Kings brother, who was married to *Matilda* Counteſſe of Bo-
E logne, and liued in Picardy, aduanced to the royall throne in his place.

Queene of Portugal expelled by her ſubiects for her inſolencies.

The newes of theſe tumults beeing publiſhed in Arragon, Don *Pedro* Infant of Portugal, who was Earle of Vrgel, and Lord of Segorue, intreated the King Don *Iaime* to ſend Ambaſſadours into Portugall to perſwade the Noblemen and States of the Countrie to receiue him for Gouernour, as a Prince of Portugall, who beeing affected to the good and quiet of the Countrey, would order the affaires, to euery mans liking and content: The which the king Don *Iaime* did, but it was in vaine, for moſt of the Portugalls were ſo affected to the Earle of Bologne, as the Ambaſſadours of Arragon were forced to returne ſuddenly.

It was therefore reſolued that the Earle Don *Alphonſo* ſhould be called: and to the end that matters might paſſe with ſome colour of Iuſtice and lawfull Order, they ſent
F the Arch-biſhop of Braga, the Biſhop of Coimbra, with ſome Noble-men of the Countrey, to Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who had begunne a Councell at Lions, who did authorize this fact of the Eſtates by his Apoſtolicke power, and named Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Bologne, Regent of Portugall, leauing the title of King to his brother Don *Sancho Capello*.

D. Alphonſo called to be Regent in Portugal.

D. Sancho king of Portugal abandons his realme and retires into Caſtile.

Some write, that the Earle came to Lions, to kiſſe the Popes foote, and accepted from his hands the charge of Gouernor of Portugal, and afterwards at Paris he ſware the Articles and capitulations which were made in that behalfe: from whence he went into Portugall with the Popes Briefes, where he was receiued by the ſubiects but not by D. *Sancho*, who would not obey the Popes commandement, but retired into Caſtile. The Authors do not agree well about the time of this retreate: ſome ſaying, that it was during the raigne of Don *Fernand*: others attribute it to the time of D. *Alphonſo* his ſonne, which is the moſt likely: wherefore continuing to treate of the affaires of Caſtile in D. *Fernands* time, we will afterwards returne to the Eſtate of Portugal. A

Caſtile. 1245.

The yeare 1245. was the laſt of the life of Don *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, a Prelate of great eſteeme among the Spaniards. He dyed in his returne of a voyage from Rome, vppon the confines of Caſtile and Arragon, in the Monaſterie called Our Lady of Huerta or Horta, where he was interred: famous for his doctrine, good life, great experience, and rare eloquence, according to the time, and eſpecially for his hatred againſt the name of the Mahumetiſts and Moores, to whom hee made warre with all his power, ſpirit, body, and wealth: he was a fauourer of the rents and priuiledges of the Clergie, the which he did much augment in Spaine, eſpecially in his owne Sea, and built and peopled many places which had beene ruined. Don *Iohn* the ſecond ſucceeded him in the Arch-biſhopricke of Toledo, Primacie of Spaine, and Chancelorſhip of Caſtile. B

Rocke found in Spaine.

About the end of Don *Roderigo Ximenes* dayes, mention is made of a Booke found by a Iew in a ſtone, in the which it was contained, without any ſhew of ioyning together: it was written in three languages, Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin, the which made mention of three worlds from *Adam* vnto Antichriſt, ſhewing the nature and diſpoſition of the men of either world: and in the beginning of the diſcourſe of the third world, it contained, that the Sonne of God ſhould be borne of a Virgin, and ſuffer for the ſaluation of mankind: and (the which ſeemed more then wonderfull) it was written in this booke, that it ſhould be found during the raigne of Don *Fernand*. Whether this were a thing done of purpoſe, or accidentall, by this ſtrange inuention, rather then for that which the Booke contained, this Iew was mooued to become a Chriſtian at Toledo: for hee might haue learned the comming of the Sonne of God in *Iſay*, and other bookes of the old Teſtament, and in the Goſpell, if he would haue read them. C D

In Segobia there was a ſtranger accident of a woman Iew, who had a great deuotion to the Virgin *Mary* in ſecret, who beeing wrongfully accuſed by her husband of adultery, as by the order of law ſhe was ready to be caſt downe from a high rocke neere the town, ſhe recommended herſelfe to the bleſſed Virgin, who preſeruing her in the fal, layd her at the foot of the rocke without any harme. This Iew beeing ill inſtructed in her religion, and worſe in that of the Chriſtians, publiſhed this miracle vnto the people, and was ledde with great admiration vnto the church of S. *Mary* the great in Segobia, where beeing baptiſed, ſhe was named *Mary* that leaped from the rocke: theſe are the tales of Friar *Alphonſo d'Eſpina* in his booke called *Fortalitium fidei*.

An. 1246.

The King Don *Fernand* hauing a great deſire to chaſe the Moores of Seuille, about the yeare 1246. prepared an armie at ſea in Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, whether hee ſent a Captaine of great experience, called *Raymond Boniface*, borne at Burgos, inioyning him to be at a prefixt time vppon the coaſt of Andaluſia, that he might at one inſtant beſeege the cittie both by ſea and land. In the meane time he ſo annoyed the towne of Carmona, as he forced them to ſome ſubmiſſion: hee tooke Conſtantine, the which he gaue to the citty of Cordoua, and to the towne of Reyna, wherewith he endowed the knights of the Order of Saint *Iames*, the which is at this day a goodly Commanderie. The towne of Lora hauing yeelded for feare of a ſeege, the king gaue it to the Order of Saint *Iohn* of Hieruſalem: he afterwards tooke Cantillana by force, where there were aboue ſeuen hundred Moores ſlaine: Guillena yeelded by compoſition, ſo as they ſped well for that time, but rebelling afterwards, it was razed. Hereupon the king fell ſicke, which ſtayed the courſe of his victories, for that he could not be in perſon in the army, the which is of great importance: yet Alcala del Rio was taken after a long ſeege, and a great reſiſtance. E F

Arragon.

The king hauing recouered his health, they treated a marriage betwixt the Infant Don

Alphonſo,

A *Alphonſo* and D. *Violant* Infanta of Arragon, daughter to the King D. *Iaime*, and the Queene D. *Violant* his ſecond wife, the which was conſummated in the towne of Vailledolit, whether the Princeſſe was brought this yeere 1246. By this marriage all quarrels betwixt theſe two Kings were reconciled: for the King D. *Iames* held himſelfe wronged by him of Caſtille for many reſpects, but eſpecially for that hee had aſſiſted and ſupported his ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, who had conſpired againſt him ſome yeeres before, with the Nobility of Arragon and Valencia, for that the King D. *Iames*, hauing in the yeere 1243. propounded vnto the Eſtates, aſſembled at Daroca, to allot portions vnto his children which he had by diuers ventures, that he might leaue them in peace after his death: he had aſſigned vnto D. *Alphonſo* the eldeſt, the crowne of Arragon, and to D. *Pedro*, which
B he had by Queene *Violant*, the Principality of Cattelogne: which Pronince notwithſtanding he would reſtraine by the riuer of Sigro, leauing by that meanes the towne of Lerida, in Arragon, whereat the Cattelans ſeemed to be much diſcontented, and the Infant D. *Alphonſo* more, who would not haue this principality diſmembred from the crowne; this buſineſſe being referred vnto the Eſtates which were held ſometime after at Barcelona, the limits and iuriſdiction of Cattelogne were extended vnto the riuer Singa, ſo as Ribagorçe and Pallars were conteined in Cattelogne: notwithſtanding the King perſiſting to leaue D. *Pedro* his younger ſonne heire of that Prouince, the Infant D. *Alphonſo* conſpired with D. *Fernand* his great vncle, D. *Pedro* of Portugal, D. *Pedro Fernandes d' Aragra*, D. *Iohn Gonçal* of Heredia, and drawing vnto him all the Nobility
C of Arragon and Valencia, he had taken armes, and being aided and fauored by D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille, he had cauſed great troubles in Arragon, the which the King hauing by good councel ſomewhat pacefied, hee was this yeere reconciled to the King of Caſtille, by meanes of this marriage, many Noblemen of both Kingdomes hauing beene mediators therein, yea and ſome learned men, whereof there were many in Caſtille, for this King D. *Fernand* was the firſt of the Kings of Caſtille, which did honour his councell of Eſtate with learned men, chooſing twelue, which were well read in the law, who did alwaies accompany him, the which was imitated by many Kings his ſucceſſors.

Marriage of the Infant of Caſtile with D. Violant of Arragon.

30

Learned men firſt admitted into the councel of caſtille.

D By theſe graue and learned men, was then begun, by the Kings commandement, the bookes of the lawes of the realme, called *Las Siete partidas*, the which was finiſhed in the time of D. *Alphonſo* his ſonne: a worthy worke, copious and ful of variety: this aſſembly of learned men was continued for a time, and then changed, mingling ſometimes church-men amongſt them, and knights that were not learned, for the affaires of the Eſtate. In the end they did conuert it into a Chancery, whereas ſuites were decided, the which was as a court of Parliament following the King, and afterwards it was diuided into two Courts or Chanceries, one ſetled at Grenado, and the other at Vailledolit, as we ſee in our time. In like manner D. *Iames* King of Arragon, cauſed the lawes and cuſtomes of Arragon, to be reduced into writing; as it were in one body, hauing til that
E time beene obſerued by tradition, which volume was confirmed by the Eſtates held at Hueſca, in the yeere. 1247.

caſtille.

Las Siete partidas conteyning the lawes of caſtille.

The King being at Alcala del Rio, he was aduertiſed that his Admiral *Raymond Boniface*, was come into the mouth of the riuer of Guadalquiuir, with thriteene ſhips of warre, which had beene ſet vpon by twenty Moores ſhips of Seuile, Ceuta and Tanger, whom the Chriſtians had vanquiſhed, taken three ſhips, broken and diſarmed the ſecond, and ſonke one, the reſt hauing recouered the ſea. Of which danger the King hauing intelligence before, and that there was a fleet of Moores at ſea, which attended his army, hee had ſent ſome troupes of horſe and foote vnto the ſea coaſt to fauour them, if they ſhould bee forced to run on ſhoare: but they arriued after the victory: theſe thirteene veſſels keeping the month of the riuer, the land army came and camped about the
F city of Seuile, in the mouth of Auguſt 1247. not without great and bloudy skirmiſhes againſt the Moores, who ſallied out vpon them which made the approches, eſpecially towards the ſea, vſing withall many politike ſtratagems to fire the ſhips which lay at anchor within the riuer, which attempts the Admiral *Raymond Boniface* did valiantly withſtand, and repulſed the Moores, to their great loſſe and ſhame.

Seuile beſieged. An. 1247.

31

The

The beginning of this ſiege was ſo proſperous for the Chriſtians, as the garriſon and A
Inhabitants of Carmona, being but ſixe leagues from Seuile, reſolued to yeeld themſelues to King *Fernand*, ſuppoſing that if they did protract it any longer, they were vndone. The city being enuironed, and al paſſages ſtopt, ſo as there could no victuals enter, they were daily in fight both by land, and ſea, where the Moores were moſt annoyed, and therefore they had a great deſire to burne the nauy, but they found good reſiſtance. Hee amongſt the commanders which did moſt feats of armes, was D. *Pelayo, Perez Correa*, maiſter of the Order of Saint *Iames*, and of the Knights *Garcia Perez de Vargas*, of Toledo.

Whilſt they were buſie about this ſiege of Seuile, the Infant D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille B
was in the realme of Murcia, where he ſought to take the towne of Xatiua, which is not farre from Valencia, hauing already ſeized vpon Enguerra; but the King D. *Iaime*, his father in law, croſſed his conqueſts, ſaying that he attempted vpon his right, for that Xatiua and other neighbour places belonged vnto him, according to the laſt lymitation. And for that the Infant D. *Alphonſo* did not retire his forces, the King of Arragon tooke Villena and Saix in the country of Caſtille, the which were held by the knights of Calatraua; and from the Moores he tooke Capdetes and Burgarra, places belonging to the conqueſt of Caſtille. Theſe differences being like to cauſe greater troubles, ſome great perſonages interpoſed themſelues, procuring the father in law and the ſonne to meet at Almizra, where they reconciled them: yet the King of Arragon ſhewed himſelfe very C
ſtrict againſt D. *Alphonſo*, refuſing to giue him leaue to conquer Xatiua, the which hee promiſed to hold in doury of his wife *Yolant*. There they did aſſigne the lands which ſhould belong to either Realme, appointing for the fronter to Murcia againſt Valencia, Almança, Sarazul, and the riuer Cabriuol: and to Valencia, Caſtralla, Biar, Saxona, Alarch, Fineſtrat, Torres, Polop, La Meule lez d' Aquas, and Altea, with their confines. The mediators of this accord were the maiſter of Saint *Iames*, the Prior of the Templers, and D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, who returned with the Infant D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, and all their troupes, to the campe before Seuile, where the King of Granado arriued alſo, wel, accompanied, and there were ſome ſuccors ſent from the King of Arragon; at this ſiege there were great and dayly skyrmiſhes, eſpecially about a bridge of boates which was D
betwixt the city, and the Bourg of Triana, vpon the riuer of Guadalquibir, the which in the end was broken by the Chriſtians, hauing taken the oportunity of a great and violent winde, in the which they let ſlippe two great boates, the which came with ſuch violence as they brake the bonds wherewith the bridge was tied: the which did wonderfully amaze the Moores.

Confines of Murcia and Valence.

This great city was ſo ſtraightly beſieged as they began to want victuals, and therefore doubting they ſhould not be able to defend it long, they demanded a compoſition, the which was granted them vpon theſe conditions. That the city ſhould be deliuered vnto the King D. *Fernand*, and that all the Moores that would ſhould depart, with their goods, to whom there was left for a retreat the townes of Saint Lucar, Aznalfarache and Niebla: and for that they ſhould haue time to depart, the King nor his E
garriſons ſhould not enter but a month after the making of this accord, and in the mean time the fort or caſtle of the city ſhould be deliuered vnto the King. According to theſe Articles there went out of Seuile aboue a 100000. Moores of all ages and ſexes, which paſt into Affrike, beſides ſuch as remained in Andaluſia and Granado. Thus the King D. *Fernand* got this goodly great city in the yeere 1248. hauing continued his ſiege
An. 1248. ſixteene monthes: it was not commanded by any King, but only by a Gouernor called *Axataf*.

Seuile yeelded to King Fernand.

The firſt thing the King did was to prouide for matters of religion. He went in a ſollemne proceſſion to the great Meſquide, the which was cleanſed and hallowed, and a Maſſe ſong by D. *Guttiere* elect Archbiſhop of Toledo, ſucceſſor to D. *Iohn* deceaſed F
D. *Raymond Lozana* was choſen Archbiſhop of that church, the king reſoluing to enrich it with great reuenues like vnto the reſt. The greateſt perſonages which were at this ſiege with the king D. *Fernand*, were his children, D. *Alphonſo*, D. *Frederic*, and D. *Henry*, D. *Guttiere* Archbiſhop of Toledo, hee of Saint *Iames*, called D. *Iohn Arias*,

D. *Garcia*

A D.*Garcia* Biſhop of Cordoua, D.*Sancho* biſhop of Coria, with other Prelats and Clergy men, as D.*Pelayo Peres Correa* the foureteenthmaiſter of the Knights of Saint Iames, D.*Gonçalo Ibanes* of Quintana, the fifteenth maiſter of Calatraua, the maiſter of the Alcantara, the Priors of the Templers and of Saint Iohn, with a great number of their Knights. Of ſecular Noblemen, there were D.*Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, D.*Pedro Nugnes de Guſman*, D.*Gonçalo Gonçales* of Galicia, D.*Pedro Ponce* of Leon, D.*Ruy Gonçales Giron*, *Arias Gonçales Quixada*, D.*Alphonſo Telles de Meneſes*, D.*Gomes Rais de Mançanedo*, D.*Roderigo Aluares* of Toledo; D.*Roderigo Froles*, D.*Fernand Yanes*, *Ruy Gonçales*, firſt *Alcayde* or captaine of Carmona, *Garcia Peres de Vargas*, of Toledo, D.*Laurence Suarez*, and *Diego Martines Adalia*: all theſe were in the Land army. In that
B at ſea was *Raymond Boniface* Admiral, with many knights and Squiers of Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, with whom there ioyned many marriners and ſouldiers Baſques, from about Bayonne in France: al that had done the King any ſeruice in this warre, were rewarded according to their merits and callings, much land, and many houſes were giuen to the Nobility, wherein the Clergy was not forgotten. And for that the city was vnpeopled, the King inuited people from all parts, with guifts, preuiledges, and great immunities; ſo as it was ſoone full of inhabitants.

Soone after this prize, the King ſent part of his victorious army againſt ſome places of ſtrength thereabouts, the which were made ſubiect vnto him, ſome by force, and ſome by a voluntary compoſition, as *Medina Sidonia*, *Alcala*, *Bejel*, *Alpechin*, *Aznalfarache*, *Arcos* & *Lebrixa* and others towards the ſea. By this conqueſt the King D.*Fernand*
C was free from all warre behinde the limits of his Prouince, for hee ment to entertaine peace and friendſhip with King *Mahomad* of Granado, who had alwaies carried himſelfe faithfully towards him: wherefore he began now to conceiue in his imagination the conqueſt of all Affrike, and reſolued to paſſe the Straights in the ſpring, with a great army, againſt *Caid Arrax*, *Miralmumin* of Maroc, but death preuented him, in the city of Seuile, newly conquered, in the yeere 1252. hauing raigned in Caſtille about fiue and thirtie yeeres, and in Leon one and twenty. There were preſent at his death, his ſons, D.*Alphonſo*, D. *Frederic* and D. *Henry*, D. *Alphonſo* Lord of Molina, the deceaſed Kings brother, and the Archbiſhop D.*Raymond*. Hee gaue many admonitions to his ſonnes,
D touching concord and the publike peace, recommending the Queene Donna *Ieanne* very ſtraightly vnto them.

Death of D. Fernand King of Caſtille.

This King was reputed a Saint among the Spaniards, but he is not canonized by the Popes, yet he was a great fauorer of the Sea of Rome, and of all the Clergy in General, whom he aduanced to honour and riches, as much as any of his predeceſſors. He did wonderfully perſecute the Albigeois, who deſcouered themſelues in his countries, burning them aliue, and he himſelfe ſetting fire to them. In his raigne and during the life of D.*Iohn* Archbiſhop of Toledo, Saint *Lewis* King of France imparted vnto the church of Toledo, ſome of the ſingularities which he and others had brought from the holy land, from Egipt and other places; as, of the wood of the true croſſe, one of the thornes
E of our Sauiours crowne; of the Virgin *Maries* milke: a peece of the purple roabe wherewith Chriſt was couered, ſome of the towel wherewith he wiped the Apoſtles feet, of the ſheet wherein he was buried, and of the toyes wherewith he plaied when he was little, with other ſuch relikes, whereof the Princes, Arabians and Turkes, yea and they of Conſtantinople, made rare preſents vnto the French, who (aboue all other Chriſtians) did reuerence theſe things, and did afterwards diſtribute them to other nations. Theſe goodly Iewels were receiued by the Spaniards with great deuotion, and of this ſubiect there is a letter found written by that King Saint *Lewis*, in Latin, to the Chapter of Toledo, with a ſeale of gold, giuen at Eſtampes in the yeere 1248. The death of the King D.*Fernand* was much lamented by the Chriſtians, and by the Moores alſo
F of Granado, who did mourne with great teares and lamentations after their manner.

32 Soone after the deceaſe of D.*Fernand*, died *Thybauld* King of Nauarre, the firſt of that name, in Iuly, in the yeere 1253. in the towne of Pampelone, leauing the realme to his ſonne *Thybaud* the ſecond. After his returne from Syria, he had great troubles and difficulties with the Nobility and commons of his Realme, or that held in fee of him, whom

Nauarre.

whom he deſired (as it was needfull, beeing new come and a ſtranger) to content, the A
which he did by his wiſdome great patience and dexterity. Thoſe which croſt him moſt were D. *William Vicont* of Sola, D. *Raymond Arnaud Vicont* of Tartax, and D. *Gaſton* of Moncade, Lord of Bearn, who made great complaints of the King; but he gaue them the beſt ſatisfaction he could. To the Vicont of Tartax, he gaue *Ville-neuue*, with all the land of Miexa, and Hoſtauares, and to the reſt he gaue other things, ſo as he pacified them all.

The King had great controuerſie with D. *Pedro de Gaçolas* Biſhop of Pampelone, for the rights and immunities of his church, the which proceeded ſo farre, as the Biſhop preſumed to excommunicate the King, and did not onely interdict his owne Dioceſe of Pampelone, but the whole realme of Nauar, where by reaſon of his pretenſions and B
controuerſies, there was no Maſſe nor Mattins ſayd, but whereas the King did force them, from the which they did appeale: and in the meane time the Biſhop kept at Nauardun in Arragon: from whence going ſometimes forth, the King cauſed him to bee taken and put in priſon as a traitor, but it was too hardy an attempt, the people could not endure it, ſo as he was forced to ſet him free. Theſe ſtormes continued three yeeres, whereas the Spaniards lay all the blame vpon the King. In the end by the mediation of Noblemen, Knights, Prelats and ſome good religious men, the King and the Biſhop were reconciled. The King acknowledged his fault, and the interdiction was taken away, and ſome affirme that he went in perſon to Rome to demand abſolution, the which he obtained of Pope *Innocent* the fourth. As we haue ſayd, this King died in the yeere 1253. and was buried in the great church at Pampelone. About the ſame yeere there C
died alſo D. *Blanche* of Caſtille, Queene mother to Saint *Lewis* King of France, leauing vnto her ſonne a good title to Caſtille (if he would haue followed it) and to his deſcendants: ſhe was buried at Saint Denis neere Paris.

The end of the eleuenth Booke.

THE

THE TVVELFTH BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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25 *Enterpriſes of Caſtillans and Arragenois againſt Navarre.*
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28 *Conſpiracy in Arragon called the vnion againſt the king* D. Pedro, *for the defence of their preuiledges, and the authority of the Magiſtrate, called the Iuſtice Major of Arragon.*
29 *Cenſures againſt the Infant* D. Sancho *of Caſtille, and his rebellion againſt the Pope. The fathers curſe vpon him and his poſterity, not vaine, the death of* D. Alphonſo *his wife.*

Continuance of the royall houſes of Spaine mentioned in this twelfth Booke.

CASTILLE.	LEON.	NAVARRE.	PORTVGAL.	ARRAGON.
11. *D. Alphonſo.* 10. 30.	23 D. *Thybaud.* 2. 24. D. *Henry.* 1. 25. D. *Ieanne,* and in reſpect of her *Philip* the faire.	5. *D. Alphonſo.* 3. 6. D. *Denis.* 1.	9. *D. Pedro.* 3.	

D. Alphonſo the eleuenth of that name, the tenth King of Caſtille and thirty one of Leon.

Caſtille.

THe Moores of Spaine were reduced to that extremity, as they did all obey the Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, as their vaſſals, euery one in their iuriſdiction, the yeere that D. *Alphonſo* the eleuenth came vnto the crowne: but they continued not long in this Eſtate, for as liberty is the moſt pleaſing of all things, when as they found any ſubiect of alteration they imbraced it. Yet in the beginning they kept themſelues quier, ſeeking to confirme the alliances which they had made with the King D. *Fernand* deceaſed: and for that King *Mahomad* of Granado ſhewed himſelfe ready to doe this homage, the King D. *Alphonſo*, who was alwaies bountifull, abated him 50000. Marauidis of gold of his yeerely tribute, beeing in the city of Seuile, where hee was proclaimed and crowned King of Caſtille, Leon &c.

The firſt Ordonance he made, was to decry the money which was then currant, called Pipions, in place whereof he cauſed an other peece to be coyned, which they named Burgaleſes,

A Burgaleſes, euery one being ninety deniers, ſix deniers making a ſolz, and fifteene ſolz a marauidis of gold, ſo as the Burgalois and the marauidis in gold were all one in value. This change of money made all things deere in Spaine, wherevpon the King did much augment the Eſtates fees and ordinary penſions of his followers. The firſt alteration which happened in the Moores countries, was in Tareda, but they were eaſily ſuppreſt, for the petty King of that place, called *Amet*, was ſo amazed, as hee quit the place vnto the Chriſtians, and fled into Affrike.

We haue ſayd before that King D. *Alphonſo* had married D. *Violant* daughter to D. *Iaime* or *Iames* King of Arragon, by whom hauing no children in ſix yeeres they had liued together, he intended to leaue her: wherevpon hee ſent into Denmarke, to treat a
B marriage betwixt him and *Chriſtienne*, the Kings daughter, attending the returne of his Ambaſſadors at Toledo, where he was againe viſited by King *Mahomad* of Granado. The King of Arragon hauing ſome intelligence of this diuorce, which D. *Alphonſo* pretended to make, was much diſcontented, and in a maner ready to proclaime war againſt Caſtille, if he had not bin diuerted by ſome noblemen and great perſonages of his realm, notwithſtanding their ſubiects, vpon the frontiers, did for a long time ſpoile one an other, & their was a league alſo made betwixt Arragon and Nauarre, which did incenſe them more.

Thibaud the ſecond of that name, and three and twentith King of Nauarre.

C

2 THis league was to defend the realme of the young *Thybaud* the ſecond, who had ſucceeded his father in the yeere 1253. being not yet 15. yeeres old, whoſe gouernment, and the Regency of the realme was in the hands of *Marguerite* of Foix his mother. The Hiſtories of Nauarre ſay, that the King of Arragon came in perſon to Tudele to viſit the Queene widow, and King *Thibaud* her ſonne, whereas they made an offenſiue and defenciue league: the King D. *Iaime* offring vnto the widow and to this Pupil, whatſoeuer hee could doe, or they demand, alwaies reſeruing the rights which he pretended in
D Nauarre, the which he would end friendly, when as King *Thibaud* ſhould be come to age, and in the meane time it was agreed that being of full yeeres, he ſhould marry D. *Conſtance* or D. *Sancha*, daughters to the King of Arragon, and if King *Thibaud* died, then ſhould D. *Henry* his brother marry one of them: the King of Arragon promiſing moreouer not to marry his daughters into the houſe of Caſtille, without the conſent of Queen *Marguerite*: ſhe promiſed alſo for her parr, to do her beſt endeauor that the King her ſon ſhould not marry with any of the daughters of Caſtille, lawful, nor baſtards eſpecially of King *Fernands* ſecond marriage. In this league was comprehended the French King, and the Emperour, by Queene *Marguerite*: and the King of Arragon would inſert a condition, that this preſent league ſhould be allowed and confirmed by the Popes
E authority, within a certaine time, and great penalties and cenſures ſet downe by him, for them that ſhould breake it. The Queene mother was aſſiſted by D. *Garcia Almoranid*, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montagu, D. *Garcia Gomes* of Agoncillo, D. *Gonçalo Yuanes* of Batzan, D. *Corbaran* of Leet, D. *Martin Garces* of Euſa, D. *Pero Gonçales* of Morentiu, D. *Martin Gonçales* of Morentia, D. *Guerero Siere*, *Symon Giros*, D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Valtierra, and D. *Lope Arcez*, Deane of the Collegiall church of Tudele, who did all ſollemnly ſweare to obſerue the Articles of this league. The company beeing gone from Tudele, the King of Caſtille was preſently aduertiſed of the league which they had made; wherevpon hee ſent many companies of horſe and foote vnto the frontiers of Nauarre, pretending that the realme did belong to him, and that hee would purſue his
F right by armes. On the other ſide Queen *Marguerite* the Regent, manned the townes & forts ioyning vpon Caſtille with good garriſons, being alſo ſuccored by the King of Arragon; ſo as the Caſtillans paſſed no farther at that time. In the meane time King *Thibaud* grew to be ful 25. yeers old, wherfore they thought it fit to declare him of age, & to crown him, the which was done in the yeere 1254. in the great church of Pampelone, where

Nauarre.

League betwixt the king of Arragon and the Queene widow of Nauarre.

Thybaud crowned king of Nauarre. An. 1254.

where he did ſweare to obſerue and augment the preuiledges of the country. Being in A poſſeſſion of the gouernment, he would haue the alliance and league which his mother had made with the King of Arragon newly confirmed, for the effecting whereof, the two Kings met in the church called our Lady of Montagu, where they did capitulate: and it was ſayd that the King D. *Iaime* ſhould defend the realme of Nauarre againſt al, and that not any one of the two Kings ſhould make any peace or truce without the conſent of the other, for aſſurance whereof, eſpecially of the aboue mentioned marriages, there was deliuered in pawne, for King *Thibaud*, the forts of Gallipienço, Arguedas & Monreal: and for Arragon, the caſtles of Rueda, Sos and Vncaſtillo: which places ſhould remaine in the hands of certaine knights of Nauarre, who notwithſtanding ſhould be diſcharged by the King of Nauar of the oth which they did owe him, and with his conſent ſhould take B an oth to the King of Arragon, with a reſeruation and promiſe to yeeld the places to him againſt whom the other had made the offence: all this was promiſed and ſworne by both Kings, and the chiefe of their ſubiects; for the King of Nauarre, by D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montagu, Seneſhal of the realme, D. *Garcia Almoranid*, D. *Gil* of Rada, D. *Gonçalo Tuanes* of Batzan, D. *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar, *Fernand* of Leet, *Ramir Perez* of Arronis, D. *Corbaran* of Leet, D. *Artal* of Luna, D. *Pedro* of Varillas, and other knights, with ſix Bourgeſes of Tudele: and for the King of Arragon, D. *Alphonſo* Infant of Arragon, D. *Garcia* Biſhop of Tarraſſone, D. *Garcia Romeo*, D. *Pedro Cornel*, D. *Symon de Foſſes*, D. *Frederic Lizana*, D. *Pedro Martines de Luna*, D. *Sancho d' Antilla* and others. In this league were comprehended and named by the King of Nauar, the King of France and his brethren, and by the King D. *Iaime*, *Charles* Earle of Prouence, brother to the C French King. This being concluded betwixt theſe Kings, the warre grew hot and furious vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Caſtille; where the King of Arragon did more willingly aſſiſt, for that the ſame yeer the Moores of the country of Valencia being rebelled to the number of 60000. vnder one *Alardrac* their leader and captaine, the King of Caſtille did ſupport and aide them vnder-hand, vpon a ſecret hatred which hee bare vnto the King D. *Iames*: yet by the diligent endeauors of ſome great perſonages, there was a truce made for ſome months, during the which the King D. *Iaime* being come into Nauarre, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay came vnto him, and made himſelf his vaſſal, being diſcontented with the King of Caſtille, which was no ſmal aduantage for the affaires of this league againſt Caſtille: for D. *Diego* was a braue & valiant captaine. King D *Alphonſo* pretended the realme of Nauarre by ancient right from his predeceſſors, or at the leaſt that D. *Thibaud* ſhould doe him homage, as the king D. *Garcia Ramires*, and the kings D. *Sanchos*, his ſonne and Grandchild had done to King D. *Alphonſo* the eight, Emperor of Spaines, and to other Kings of Caſtille; the which King *Thibaud* refuſed, alleadging that it was a forced acknowledgment, without any reaſon, and that he was ſo far from ſubmitting himſelfe to the Kings of Caſtille, as he pretended to recouer the territories of Bureua, Rioja, Alaua, Guipuſcoa, and other lands in old Caſtille which the predeceſſors of D. *Alphonſo* had vſurped of the crowne of Nauarre: theſe were the cauſes which made theſe Kings enter into warre, who (the truce being expired) went to field E with their forces: the Nauarrois and Arragonois aſſembling the body of their army about Tudele; and the Caſtillans towards Alfaro and Calaorra.

League confirmed betwixt Nauar and Arragon.

Caſtillans in armes againſt the Nauarrois and Arragonois.

The Kings of Caſtille and Arragon lead the contrary armies, and were ſo nere one vnto the other, as they expected the houre when they ſhould ioyne: but there were many good men which laboured to preuent this diſorder, amongſt Chriſtian Princes, ſo neere allied: The King D. *Alphonſo* gaue him of Arragon to vnderſtand, that it was an vnworthy thing, and beyond all expectation, to ſee him that was his father in law, carry armes againſt him, hauing done him no wrong; wherefore he intreated him not to hinder him in his iuſt purſute of the right which he had to the realme of Nauar, which the Earle *Thibaud* detained from him. The King D. *Iaime* anſwered, that he could not in conſcience, nor duty, abandon the defence of a yong Prince, which was recommended vnto him, whoſe F affaires he eſteemed as his owne. Many Prelats and men of great authority hauing imployed themſelues in vaine to make a peace betwixt theſe Princes, a ſimple gentleman of Cattelogne, borne at Beſalu, of the houſe of D. *Violant* Queene of Caſtille, preuailed

A preuailed more then al the reſt. This gentleman came to the King of Arragon, and perſwaded him with ſuch liuely reaſons, as he yeelded to a peace. Hauing done this good office with him, he did the like to the King of Caſtille, and was ſo happy in his negotiation, as they promiſed to confer perſonally together of their diſputes and quarrels: wherefore certaine Tents being pitched in a plaine betwixt both armies, the three Kings met, and imbraced one an other louingly, where they feaſted each other, and made a good accord before they parted. Yet notwithſtanding the league made betwixt the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and the courage which the yong King *Thybaud* did ſhew, he yeelded to doe homage to the Kings of Caſtille, as his predeceſſors had done for the realme of Nauarre, for the King of Caſtille thinking that he had won the King of Arragon, his

Enterview of the Kings of Caſtille Arragon and Nauarre.

3

King of Nauarre confeſſeth himſelfe vaſſal to him of Caſtille.

B father in law, by this enterview, the which in truth did auaile him much, for that the Queene Donna *Violant* his wife was there preſent, he demanded of King *Thybaud* the hardeſt conditions he could, deſyring nothing leſſe then to make an accord with him: but nothing being refuſed, they compounded, King *Thybaud* remayning vaſſal to the King D. *Alphonſo*: and it was ſayd that he ſhould entertaine a Lieutennt in the court of Caſtille, and that whenſoeuer the King of Nauarre ſhould bee called vpon any occaſion of warre, he ſhould be bound to come and ſerue himſelfe in perſon, or by his ſayd Lieutenant with two hundred horſe. The young King yeelded to all theſe conditions, either for that he was not able to reſiſt his aduerſary, or elſe doubting that the King of Arragon was wonne, or it may be in conſideration of the publike quiet; beſides hee

C did no new thing, but what his predeceſſors had done before him: yet D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Calcante, and other knights of Nauarre diſſwaded him from it, the like did the Inhabitants of the Bourg of S^t. Sernin of Pampelone, who after that all the Prelats, knights and commonalties of the realme had approued this peace, they ſtill diſallowed it, and would not ſubſcribe, wherevpon the King did puniſh them by fines, as mutines, yet his choller being paſt, ſome few daies after he conſidered that thoſe of Pampelone were good and faithfull ſubiects, louing his honour and greatneſſe, and that they had reſiſted his will by a true zeale, and loue, which they bare vnto the crowne of Nauarre, ſo as he cauſed their money to be reſtored vnto them againe, wherevpon there

Inhabitants of Pampelone refuſe the homage which their King did to him of Caſtille.

D grew a cuſtome which continued, that in matters concerning Caſtille, this Bourg did not ſet to their ſeale.

Caſtille.

4 The diuorce which D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille pretended to make, as we haue ſayd, from the Queen D. *Violant*, could not take effect, for that the cauſe of ſterility, which he obiected againſt her, did ceaſe, being the wil of God ſhe ſhould be with child, in the yeere 1254. and yet the Ambaſſadors which were ſent into Denmarke, had wrought ſo, as they brought the Princeſſe *Chriſtienne* to Toledo, wherewith the king D. *Alphonſo* was wonderfully troubled, ſo as not knowing how to couer this fault, D. *Philip* his brother preſented himſelfe vnto him (being Abbot of Vailledolit, and *Cueua* Rubia, and deſigned Archbiſhop of Seuile, for which cauſe he had beene brought vp in ſtudie, and

D. Alphonſos ſecond marriage pretended, diuinely broken.

E had remained ſometime in the Vniuerſity of Paris) and demanded this Princeſſe in marriage. It greeued the King much to giue D. *Philippe* a portion, yet finding no better meanes to ſalue this diſorder, hee cauſed him to marry her, and in fauour of this marriage allotted him great rents and reuenewes, but it was ſhort and vnfortunate; for this Princeſſe *Chriſtienne* thinking her ſelfe contemned and ſcorned, was ſo oppreſt with griefe as ſhee pined away and died. Thus the marriage of D. *Violant* of Arragon with the King D. *Alphonſo* remayned firme; to whom afterwards ſhee gaue an ample off ſpring. Her firſt child was D. *Berenguela*, then D. *Beatrix*, D. *Fernand*, ſurnamed *de la Cerde*, D. *Santho*, who was King after the father, D. *Pedro*, D. *Iohn*, D. *Iaime* or *Iames*, of all which wee will hereafter make ample mention, and in the end ſhee had Donna *Iſabell*, and Donna *Leonora*: Beſides theſe lawfull children,

Genealogie of Caſtille.

F the King had D. *Alphonſo Fernandes*, whoſe mother is vnknowne, and D. *Beatriz*, begotten of D. *Maior Guillen* of Guzman, daughter to Don *Perez* of Guzman, in which familie the Kings of Caſtille haue often found Ladies for their ſeruice. This daughter D. *Beatrix* was Queene of Portugal. The ſame yeere of our Lord 1254. there came vnto the Archipiſcopal dignity of Toledo, and Primacy of Spaine, one called

D. *Sancho*, whom the Spaniards hold to bee an Infant of Caſtille, ſonne to the King D. *Fernand* deceaſed, and brother to this *Alphonſo*, but it is not verie certaine. D. *Paſcal* ſucceſſor to D. *Guttiere*, had beene Archbiſhop before him. The ſame yeere there arriued at the Court of Caſtille, *Edward*, ſonne and heire to *Henry* the third, King of England, who according to the cuſtome of thoſe times, was armed and made knight, by the King D. *Alphonſo*. A

Moores. As for the Moores, they were, as wee haue ſayd, diuided into petty States, except Granado: all which had done homage to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille. In Algarbe there raigned in this quality *Aben Mofad*, who held Niebla and Xeres: a Lady a Moore ruled at Lebrixa, or Nebriſſa, and Arcos: Murcia was held by *Mahumet Aben Hudiel*, and other places by other captaines and Lords, which did al hold of the King of Caſtille, to whom notwithſtanding, when occaſion ſerued, they ſhewed no great loyaltie: wherefore in the yeere 1256. King D. *Alphonſo* diſpoſſeſſed al theſe petty Kings, & he receiued *Xeres* of the fronter, by a voluntary yeelding, where D. *Nugno de Lara* was made Gouernor, and *Garcia Gomes Carillo*, a hardy knight, his Lieutenant. *Arcos* and *Lebrixa*, following the example of *Xeres*, yeelded alſo to D. *Henry* the Kings brother, who was ſent thether from *Xeres*. The yeere following 1257. the King came into Algarbe, where he tooke the towne of Niebla, and appointed lands about Seuile for King *Aben Mofad*, and many rents in that city, ſo as by this meanes he had al the reſt of the country of Algarbe: that is, the townes of Gibraleon, Huelma, Serpa, Mora, Alcabin, Caſtro, Martin, Tauira, Faro and Laule, al held by Moores, who did not in any ſort acknowledge the King of Granado, with whom D. *Alphonſo* entertained firme friendſhip, ſo as hauing ordained an Aniuerſary in the city of Seuile, for the King D. *Fernand* deceaſed, the which was celebrated yeerely in the Cathedral church, King *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*, ſent many of his chiefe Moores thether, with a hundred footmen, carrying ſo many great torches of white waxe, the which they ſet about the dead kings tombe. B C

An. 1256. 5 *Petty Kings of the Moores diſpoſſeſſed and chaſed out of Spaine.* *An.* 1257.

All matters betwixt Nauarre and Caſtille, were in outward apparence quiet, but the effects ſhewed this yeere 1257. that peace betwixt Princes, is moſt commonly entertained by no other bond, but their pleaſures and commodities, without any reſpect of accords, othes or promiſes: for the king of Caſtille hauing rayſed a mighty army, vnder collour of ſome doubt he had of the Moores, cauſed it to turne head towards the frontiers of Nauarre, to make ſome notable breach there, before they ſuſpected him. Wherefore the two Kings, D. *Iames* of Arragon and D. *Thybaud* of Nauarre, went ſodainely to armes, and ſoone after D. *Henry* Infant of Caſtille, the Kings brother, and D. *Diego Lopes Dias de Haro*, ſonne to D. *Diego Lopes Dias*, who was dead a little before, at the bathes of Bagnerets, came vnto the King of Arragon, being at Eſtelle, with whom they made a league againſt Caſtille, the Infant making great complaints againſt the King D. *Alphonſo*. With the young Lord of *Haro*, there came D. *Diego Lopes de Mendoça*, *Michel Inigues de Suaçu*, *Inigo Ximenes* of Nanclares, *Sancho Gonçales* of Heredia, *Ruy Sanches* of Landa, which were all principal Noblemen of the Prouince of *Alaua*: *Lopes* of Velaſco, *Gonçalo Gomes* of Aguero, *Lopes Garcia* of Salezar, *Lopes Inigues* of Orozco, *Sancho Garcia* of Salzedo, D. *Gonçales* of Cauallos, great Noblemen in the Mountaines, who came al with D. *Diego Lope Dias* their Lord, & did there homage to the King D. *Iaime*, promiſing to follow him againſt all Princes whereſoeuer he would lead them. The affaires ſtanding vpō theſe termes, likely to breake out into an open combuſtion, thoſe which loued peace labored in ſuch ſort, as the Kings of Caſtille & Arragon had an enterview at Soria, where a new accord was made. D E

Nauarre. And for that the Eſtates which king *Thibaud* had in France, that is to ſay, Champagne & Brie, required his preſence, or of ſome great perſonage, Queene D. *Marguerite* went thether, but ſhe died in the towne of Prouince, from whence ſhe was carried to the Monaſtery of Cleruaux, and there buried: for this cauſe the king was forced to go himſelfe, wherefore he recommended his country of Nauarre to the king of Arragon, and left a French knight for Seneſhal and Gouernor thereof, his name was *Ieoffry* of Beaumont, of whom the Nauarrois made no great account, and leſſe of the king of Arragon, to whom they would yeeld no obedience, ſo as there began to be a breach of friendſhip betwixt F

A twixt the Nauarrois and Arragonois, in the yeere 1257. at which time D. *Gil de Rada*, a knight of Nauar, did homage to the King D. *Iaime* for his caſtle of Rada, for him and D. *Maria de Leet* his wife. The Seneſchal ſeeing the coũtry, which was committed vnto him, ready to fal into a combuſtion, came vnto the king D. *Iaime*, who was at Barcelona, and obtained of him an aſſurance of peace, for a certaine time betwixt the two Eſtates.

The King of Caſtille finding himſelfe in peace with all his neighbors, both Chriſtians and Moores, he tooke care for the good gouernment of his ſubiects, who at that time made great complaints, for that by reaſon of the altering of the value of coines, al things were growne exceeding deere, which thinking to preuent, by ſetting a certaine price vpon al wares that were ſold, he wrought a contrary effect, ſo as the dearth increaſed, B wherefore he diſanulled that law, and gaue them free liberty to ſel their victuals & wares at their pleaſures. About that time there was great trouble in the Empire of Germany, betwixt *Conrade* ſonne to *Frederic* the 2. King of Naples and Sicile, and *William* Earle of Holland, both which carried themſelues as Emperors. The death of *Conrade* happened, who (as the Italians write) was poyſoned by *Manfroy* his Lieutenant and baſtard brother, who vſurped the realmes of Naples and Sicile, which the Popes would draw vnto them ſince *Frederiks* time, and exclude the houſe of Soaue: notwithſtanding that *Conrade* left *Conradin* his ſon and heire, in whoſe preiudice *Manfroy* made himſelf king, ſugieſting that he had newes of his death in Germany, hauing in the meane time corrupted ſome to poiſon him, as he had done the father, but they failed him their vowed ſeruice. *William* Earle of Holland had bin choſen Emperor by the practiſes of Popes againſt *Frederic* who held C that title vnto his death, which was ſoone after that of *Conrad*: for hauing war againſt the Friſons his rebels, he was defeated by them and drowned in a Mariſh. He being dead, the Electors of Germany were diuided, ſome ſtriuing to haue a Prince of Germany choſen, according to the lawes of the Empire; and the others (it may be corrupted with money) ſought to haue ſome forraine Prince placed in the Emperiall dignity, that he might paceſie the troubles and tumults which did afflict Germany, and Italy. Two Princes were then vpon the file: *Richard* ſonne to *Iohn* King of England, and brother to *Henry* the third, then raigning: and D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille. *Conrad* Archbiſhop of Cologne and *Lewis* Cont *Palatin* of Rhin Electors, practiſed by the Engliſh man who was preſent, D did choſe him King of the Romains, where vnto the Archbiſhop of Mentz conſented: But *Adolph* duke of Saxony, the Archbiſhop of Treues, and the Marquis of Brandeburg, diſallowing of this Election, they named the king of Caſtille, who was abſent, who being aduertized of this Electiõ by a ſollemn Ambaſſage, yet would he not go into Germany, hearing that *Richard* would force obedience by armes, & that the war was hotter among the Germains then before, wherefore attending the euent, he kept himſelf within the city of Toledo.

Caſtile.

6 *Factions in Germany for the Empire.*

Impiety of Manfroy Frederiks baſtard.

Richard of England choſen Emperor.

7 The ſame yeere of our Lord 1257. D. *Sancho Capello* King of Portugal, whom they had depriued of the gouernment of the realme, to giue it to his brother D. *Alphonſo* of Bologne, came into Caſtille, to King D. *Alphonſo* the wiſe (according to the moſt certain E Authors) intreating him to aide him in the recouery of his dignity, and to puniſh his rebelious ſubiects, who had made his brother their King in his life time: wherevnto the King of Caſtille was well affected: but a priuat reſpect made him to abandon the cauſe of the afflicted, for the Earle of Bologne, Regent of Portugal, knowing that his brother made this purſute, intreated King D. *Alphonſo* by his letters, not to trouble him in the charge wherevnto he had beene called by the Eſtates of the realm, for lawful conſiderations, the which had alſo bin allowed and confirmed by the authority of the Romain ſea. That if he would forbeare to annoy him, he promiſed to marry D. *Beatrix* his baſtard daughter, which was then of age to be maried, & would be diuorced from the Counteſſe *Mahaut* his wife, & moreouer did reuiue the ancient homage which Portugal did to Le- F on. Theſe offers made king D. *Alphonſo* to open his eares, who entertayning the king D. *Sancho* with good words, concluded the marriage of D. *Beatrix*, with the Regent his brother, to whom he gaue in doury the country of Algarbe, newly taken from the Moores. this vnion of the realm of Algarbe to that of Portugal, was the cauſe that from that time the kings of Portugal carriedin their armes, a border gueules ſemeè with caſtles or,

Portugal.

D. Alphonſo of Portugal leaues his lawful wife the Counteſſe of Bologne, to marry with Beatrix of Caſtille.

without number, the which were ſince reduced to the number of ſeuen. The King D. A
D. Sancho Capello ſpoiled of the realme of Portugal. *Sancho Capello* being out of al hope to raigne in Portugall, died ſoone after in Caſtille, where for that ſhort time he was entertained in a royal Eſtate, by D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, whoſe caſe was like vnto his ſome few yeeres after; for he was diſpoſſeſſed by his owne ſonne D. *Sancho*, where it was happy for him to haue preſerued the friendſhip of the Moores: for there was not any Chriſtian Prince, that did either fauor him or aide him. Whilſt that the King D. *Sancho* of Portugal liued, the city of Coimbra reſiſted D. *Alphonſo* his brother, and would neuer acknowledge him for Regent, and much leſſe for King. And the writers of Portugal ſay, that the newes of the Kings death being publiſhed; he which commanded within the towne, whom ſome cal Fleet, demanded a paſport to goe vnto Toledo, to informe himſelfe, of the Kings death, and that the tombe B wherein he had beene laied, being opened, he began to ſigth, and to lament the aduenture of this Prince, and to proteſt of his loyaltie vnto him, and of the affection of the citizens of Coimbra, and laying the keyes of the city vpon his hands, he ſayd, that ſeeing he had receiued them from him, with the charge and gouernment thereof, he deliuered it vp vnto him againe: and then reſoluing to acknowledge King D. *Alphonſo* for his lawfull Prince, and to draw the citizens therevnto, he returned into Portugal.

D. Alphonſo the third of that name, the fifth King of Portugal. C

Nauarre. BY the death of King D. *Sancho Capello*, which was the fifth yeere of his age, hauing raigned foure and thirty yeeres, leauing no children, the realme of Portugal fel to D. *Alphonſo* his brother, without any diſpute, who was crowned King in the city of Liſbone, in the yeere 1257. and being married to two wiues, hauing no lawfull cauſe of diuorce from the firſt, he was the cauſe of many troubles and miſeries to the realme of Portugal, for the preuenting whereof he had beene called. He had children by the Counteſſe *Mahault*: *Fernand*, who accompanied his mother into Portugal and there remained, and *Robert* who ſucceeded his mother in the county of Bologne. *Fernand*, D whom ſome call *Peter*, lies in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike of Lisbone which this King built.

The Counteſſe his mother led him with her, when as being aduertiſed of this ſecond marriage ſhe came into Portugal, to know the cauſe why ſhe was thus abandoned. She landed at Caſcais, a ſea towne at the mouth of the riuer of Tayo, fiue leagues from Liſbone, and from thence ſent to intreat, exhort, and to ſummon the King her husband of his duty: for want whereof ſhe made the proteſtations ordayned by the Canons in that cauſe: but ſhe could haue no other reaſon nor anſwere from the King, but if it were lawful to breake the lawes, it was for a kingdome; and that if he thought to augment his dominions by marrying againe, he would euery day take a new wife. Theſe were E the fruits of her voyage, and D. *Alphonſo* ſhewed himſelfe ſo rigorous vnto her, as hee would not vouchſafe to ſee her, nor to heare any councel that was giuen him by his ſeruants, who had a regard to Iuſtice, & feared God more then him; wherefore this poore Counteſſe returned, and left this ſonne in Portugal: being in France, ſhe made her complaints of the diſloyalty of her husband to the King Saint *Lewis*, and ſent ſome to doe the like to Pope *Alexander* the fourth, that by his Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, D. *Alphonſo* might be forced to leaue D. *Beatrix*, and take the Counteſſe his lawful wife againe. The Pope did what he could, exhorting, commanding, yea and excommunicating the King, and interdicting his realme, but D. *Alphonſo* was ſo obſtinate as he ſuffred the realme of Portugal to remaine interdict ten or twelue yeeres, as long as the Counteſſe liued. Dur-
Contumacy of D. Alphonſo King of Portugal. ing the which time the Portugals had leiſure to forget that which they had learned F in religion, when as the King finding himſelfe free, he was abſolued by Pope *Clement* the fourth, retayning D. *Beatrix* without any let, who in the meane time brought him foure children, the Infant D. *Denis*, ſo called for that hee was borne on Saint *Denis* day,

in

A in the yeare 1261. who was king of Portugal and Algarbe: the Infant D. *Alphonſo* who was Lord of Portalegre, Ronches, Murban, Caſtile de Vide, and other lands, and had to wife D. *Violant* daughter to D. *Manuel* of Caſtile, ſonne to D. *Fernand* the third, and two daughters D. *Blanche*, who was a Nunne in the Monaſterie of Lorban, and afterwards Abbeſſe of Saint *Mary* de las Huelgas of Burgos, and D. *Conſtance*. Beſides theſe lawfull children, this king D. *Alphonſo* had one baſtard ſonne called *Fernand Alphonſo* of Portugall, and one daughter whoſe name was D. *Leonora* of Portugall, married to an Earle called D. *Gonçalo*. Whileſt he ſtood excommunicated, he made warre againſt the Moores which remained in Algarbe, in the yeare 1260. and chaſed them out of Faro, Laule, Algezir, and Albofera, and augmented his dominions therewith. Hee built the towne of

Genealogie of Portugal.

1260.

B Caſtro of Portalegre and Extremos: he repayred Veja, and other places which had beene ruined by the Moores. He did not leaue to build Monaſteries and religious houſes during the Interdiction: for he finiſhed that of the preaching Friars of Saint Dominicke at Liſbone, and did build that of Saint Clara, of Saint Iren, and others: he gaue great almes, and did many charitable deeds, to expiate the ſinne which he intended, by the taking of a ſecond wife, not beeing ſeparated from the firſt. Moreouer, to eaſe the people, and to haue greater ſtore of fruites in the country, he cauſed certaine barren and waſte ground to bee tilled: neither did he forget to maintaine Iuſtice, puniſhing theeues and malefactours, whome his brothers careleſneſſe had made inſolent. To conclude, although he were defectiue and blemiſhed in his marriages, yet was hee a profitable Prince for his country.

Religious houſes built by D. Alphonſo during the Interdict.

C Whileſt theſe things paſſed in Portugall, and that the warre continued in Germany againſt the fauourers of *Richard* elect king of the Romanes, D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile ſent an Ambaſſage of certaine Cleargi-men to Pope *Alexander* the fourth, the which were D. *Dominicke* biſhop of Auila, D. *Garcia* biſhop of Sylues, and *Iohn Alphonſo* Archdeacon of the church of Saint Iames, learned men, and of great authoritie, who demanded aſſignation of the time of his Coronation, and alſo to contradict the election of *Richard*, who did not care to proſecute his right by iuſtice, but by force and armes. Attending the euent of theſe troubles, and the returne of his Ambaſſadours, D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile ordered ſome things touching the policie of his Realm, he decryed thoſe ſorts of money which he had coyned, called Bourgalois, and cauſed others to be made, which

Caſtile.

D they called blacke pence, and in old Spaniſh, Prietos, fifteene of which were worth a Maraudis of gold: and he made other lawes which were profitable to the Common-weale. Whileſt he was buſie about theſe things, and irreſolute of his voyage into Germany, hee had another croſſe which ſtayed him more: for his brother D. *Henry* a turbulent Prince, and an enemy to all quiet, committed many inſolencies at Lebrixa, where he did remain, tending to open rebellion: wherefore he ſent D. *Nugno de Lara* from Seuile to ſuppreſſe him, by whom he was vanquiſhed, and forced to fly to Valencia, from whence the king Don *Iaime* cauſed him to diſlodge, for that he would not diſcontent his ſonne in lawe: wherupon he paſt into Affrick to the King of Tunes. This Prince foure yeares after croſt

E into Italy, and was made Senator of Rome (which is the chiefe dignity of that citty) and grew to haue great authority and credit in the eſtate of Italy, in the time of Pope *Clement* the fourth, who was ſucceſſor to *Vrbain* the fourth.

8 The king of Nauarre, who was come into France, finding his affaires in great diſorder, ſought to ſettle them, & to maintain his rights in the Counties of Brie and Champagne, beeing in controuerſie, the which he preſerued by the fauour and authority of the King Saint *Lewis*: and moreouer a marriage was made betwixt him and *Iſabel* of France, the kings daughter, at Melun, whom he led into Nauarre. D. *Iaime* king of Arragon was the mediator of this marriage, who in a manner at the ſame time gaue his daughter *Izabel* in marriage to *Philip* the Hardy, ſonne to the king Saint *Lewis*, and heire to the crown of France, promiſed vnto him long before. King *Thibaud* had not any children by this

Nauarre.

F Princeſſe, wherefore his brother *Henry* ſucceeded him in the Realme of Nauarre. He had one baſtard-daughter called D. *Marquiſe*, whoſe mothers name was D. *Marquiſe Lope de Rada*, who we may coniecture was allyed to that *Gil de Rada*, who it may be for this iniurie left Nauarre, and retired into Arragon, where he did homage to the King D. *Iaime* for his caſtell of Rada. This daughter was afterwards married vnto Don *Pero Fernandes*

Children of king Thibaud the 2.

Lord

Lord of Ixar, ſonne to the King D. *Iaime*, and to D. *Thereſa Gil* of Bedaura, whom he had A
ſecretly married, as we haue ſayd.

Caſtile. 9 It was at that time that by the commandement of D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, many learned men laboured to reduce into one body, the booke of the lawes of Caſtile, commonly called *las ſiete partidas*, which the King D. *Fernand* had cauſed them to begin, and which ſince hath beene augmented by the ſucceeding kings, with many ordonances, the which was reviewed againe by *Pero Lopes Alcocer*, Doctor *Eſcudero*, *Pero Lopes Arrieta*, and in the end by *Bartholomew* of Ariença, Lawyers: theſe are the lawes by the which the Realmes of Caſtille and Arragon are gouerned, and the adminiſtration and practiſe of Iuſtice in thoſe countries.

Compiler of the lawes of Spaine.

Tables aſtronomicall of Don Alphonſo. This King Don. *Alphonſo* giuen to ſtudy, it may be more then was fit for a Prince B
which had ſo great a kingdome to gouerne, cauſed alſo thoſe famous Aſtronomicall tables to be made, which carry his name, hauing drawne into the citty of Toledo a great number of men learned in the Mathematickes and Phyſickes, as well of his owne countries, as out of Affricke and other parts, both Chriſtians and Arabians, where he comprehends a certaine ſupputation of the heauenly motion of the ſtarres, and planets, and of their aſpects and incounters, ſetting downe for a rule and fundamentall point of all aſtronomicall account, the ſituation of Toledo, where he conſumed an infinit treaſure. Hee did beautifie theſe goodly Sciences of Phyſicke and Philoſophie, cauſing the writings of the Arabians, and other Ancients to be put into more familiar tongues: whereby he deſerues, that thankefull poſteritie ſhould maintaine a commendable memorie of his vertue: yet he is to be blamed, for that theſe honeſt exerciſes did ſo rauiſh his ſpirits, and hin- C
dred the care he ought to haue had of the affaires of State, that hee ſhewed himſelfe ſo ſlacke and negligent, as thinking to be Emperor, he found himſelfe not onely excluded from that dignity, but alſo diſpoſſeſt of his owne Realme; hauing reaped no other fruites of his ſtudies, but the vaine ſurname of Wiſe and Learned. Which doth admoniſh Princes to preferre action before contemplation, yet ioyning the one to the other with moderation. He left ſome markes of him in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, in the town of Mondragon, the which was ſo called by him for certaine cauſes, whereas the auncient name was Arraçate: and did indow it with great priuiledges, whereof the letters are to be ſeene at this day, Giuen in the towne of Exnatorafe, called at this day, as the Spaniards ſay, A-
delantamiento of Caçorla, which are the moſt ancient letters which are to bee found in D
the Caſtillan tongue in all Spaine: for vntill this Kings raigne, all records, inſtruments, and publike writings were made in Latin: but he brought in the Caſtillan ſtyle, in all ſorts of writings, cauſing many bookes, yea of the holy Scripture, to bee tranſlated into that tongue, whereby it was much beautified. In this priuiledge there are many aſſiſtants or witneſſes named, as well of his owne Realmes, as ſtrangers: which ſhewes, that his Court was frequented (as if hee had beene peaceable Emperour) by Princes and Noblemen of the Empire, which are there named his Vaſſalls: as *Hugh* Duke of Bourgongne, *Guy* Earle of Flanders, *Henry* Duke of Lorraine, *Lewis* Earle of Beaumont, and other Princes holding their Lands and reuenewes in fee of the Empire: Many E
Princes of the Moores are there alſo named as Vaſſalls to this King. In the ſame qualitie are named in this priuiledge, *Gaſton* Lord of Bearne, *Guy* Vicount of Limoges, who (it may bee) had ſome fees in Spaine, or depending of the Empire. Many alſo are named in this priuiledge as Benefactours: Queene *Violant*, his children Don *Fernand*, and Don *Sancho*, according to the cuſtome of the Kings of Spaine: and of witneſſes a great number.

This king Don *Alphonſo* did alſo cauſe a collection of the Hiſtories of Spaine to bee made, the which is read at this day, called a generall Chronicle. Beeing by reaſon of theſe things in great reputation, and eſteemed among ſtrangers, by the report (as it is likely) of learned men, whome he did cheriſh in all countries. The Sultan of Egypt, a Turke which raigned then, called *Aluandexauer*, ſent him preſents of cloth, and beaſtes F
of Egypt, Lybia, Æthiopia, and other neighbor Countries ſtrange vnto the Spaniards, the which were requited by him with other gifts.

Beeing thus reſpected by Barbarians afarre off, hee was contemned by them which

A which held their lands, dignities and liues of his bountie: for in the yeare 1261. there beeing an assembly at Granado, of all the Princes Moores, which held any lands in Spaine, they made a league together, and conspired all against him, and without any long delay, beeing long before prepared, they went to field and forced the townes of Xeres, Arcos, Bejar, Lebrixa, Medina Sidonia, Rota and Saint Lucar, king *Mahumet Aben-Alhamar* of Granado beeing the chiefe, against whome *Garcia Gomes* Gouernour of Xeres defended himselfe valiantly, but it auayled not. This reuolt did much annoy the elect Emperor Don *Alphonso*, yet hauing sent some troupes of horse and foote, the Moores which were dispersed in the Christans countrie, were soone suppresst. *An. 1261. Moores.*

The Realme of Valencia had beene subdued by the king of Arragon, so as that time D. *Arragon.*
B *Simon de Fosses* beeing Vice-roy, there was no alteration in those parts by the Moores: yet this Prince was neuer in good quiet with his subiects, by reason of the importunitie and contumacie of his eldest sonne Don *Alphonso*, who did continually stirre vp new tumults, vppon colour of portions betwixt him and his brethren: a question which had bin handled, but not decided in many Assemblies of the Estates, and by Iudges appointed by them during D. *Alphonso's* life-time. He died about the yeare 1260. soone after his marriage with *Constance* daughter to *Gaston* Lord of Bearne. In the yeare 1261. the marriage of the Infant D. *Pedro* was consummated (who then tooke the degree of the eldest) with *Constance* daughter to *Manfrey* Prince of Tarentum, soone after the celebration of the marriage of his sister D. *Izabel* with *Philip* of France, at Clermont in Auuergne. After
C which solemnities the question for the Infants portions was reuiued, with as bad successe as it had beene when Don *Alphonso* liued: for Don *Pedro* could not indure that any thing should be dismembred from the Crowne, nor that any lands or titles should bee assigned to his brethren, but would haue them to depend wholly vppon him, the which the King their father did not hold fit for the quiet and rranquility of the Realme, knowing wel the rough disposition of Don *Pedro*, who was cruell and inexorable: wherefore notwithstanding the protestations of Don Pedro, which were ordinarie, refusing to allow of Order in that respect, but by constraint, and to obey the king his father. It was decreed, that after the decease of the king Don *Iaime*, the Infant D. *Pedro* should succeed in the realme
D of Arragon and Valencia, and should haue by the same right the Principalitie of Cattelogne, limited from the riuer of Singa vnto Cap de Crux. That Don *Iames* the younger should haue, with the title of a King, the Ilands of Majorca, Minorca, and the Pityuses, and moreouer the Counties of Rossillon, Collibre, Conflans, Cerdagne and Vallespire, with the rights of Montpellier, with charge to acknowledge the Soueraigntie of Arragon for these Segneuries vpon the maine land: but Don *Pedro* did complaine wonderfully at this portion which was assigned to his brother D. *Iames*. There were other quarrels pretended by the Nobility of Arragon, complaining that the king D. *Iaime* did breake their priuiledges and liberties: by reason whereof they made many leagues and factions. The matter beeing debated in the Estate of Sarragossa, and then at Exea, in the yeare 1265.
E there were orders made for the pacifying of those troubles: As not to giue any honors or militarie fees to any but to Gentlemen of race, and borne in the country. That no Gentleman should be subiect to the tribute of cattell, nor to any other. That in all controuersies which the Nobility might haue against the king, or among themselues, the Magistrate, called the Iustice Maior of Arragon, should be Iudge, beeing assisted by the Councell. That the King should not giue the fees and military rewards, affected to them that do him seruice, as a recompence of their vertue and valor, to any of his lawfull children, who by right haue their portions in the realme. In this assembly of the Estates the King was sollicited by the Pope to roote the Moores out of his Dominions, the which was hard to effect, neither was it done. *Death of D. Alphonso Infant of Arragon.*

The warre in Germany began to grow cold by the absence of *Richard*, who for want of *Castile.*
F money was forced to dissolue his army, and to go into England, to make a supply, whereas he found his brother *Henry* ingaged in ciuill warres, whereby he stayed there, and neuer returned into the territories of the Empire: so as Don *Alphonso* by his delayes lost many good occasions to effect his desseignes. Approching neare vnto the Moores fronters with a great army, he built a castell in the territorie of Alarcos, which hee named

Villa

Villa Reall, and ſince called citty Reall by the king D. *Iohn* the ſecond. The place where it was built, was before called Pozuello of Saint *Gil.* Leauing all care of the Empire for a time, he made violent warre againſt the Moores of Granado, Murcia, and other confederates, ſo as *Mahumet Aben-Alhamar* was forced to flie to *Aben Ioſeph* Miralmumin of Maroc for ſuccors, who ſent a thouſand geners or light horſe Arabians into Spain, in the yeare one thouſand, two hundred, ſixty three, which was the firſt ſuccors which paſt into *An.* 1263. Spaine ſince that the kings of Maroc had abandoned and loſt it, one and fifty yeares after the rout in the fields of Tolouſa, or Muradal in Andaluſia. The towne of Xeres was recouered by the Chriſtians, and manned with a great garriſon: Bejar, Medina, Sidonia, Rota, and S. Lucar were in like manner taken, as alſo Arcos and Lebrixa, from whence the king chaſed the Moores and planted Chriſtians. Port S. Mary was built, and other ſmall exploits of warre done whileſt the good time laſted. Winter comming on, the king diſſolued his army, the which was exceeding great: for he had called all ſuch as had in former times beene at the warre, and had horſe and armes, exempting them of the village of Martiniega, from the Cuſtome of cattel, and other Tributes and Impoſitions, beſides their ordinary pay. The king with ſome Noblemen ſtayed at Seuile: during this warre 1264. which was in the yeare 1264. his father-in-law D. *Iaime* of Arragon met with him in Alcarras, with good troupes of ſouldiers, to ſecond him againſt the Moores of Murcia, the which with their king was reduced vnder the obedience of the king of Caſtille, the yeare *An.* 1265. following 1265.

Moores. The king of Granado was ſo ioyfull of theſe ſuccors which were come vnto him out of Affricke, and gaue ſuch great intertainment to theſe Arabians, at his ſubiects charge, as many began to murmure againſt him, in ſomuch as the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, of friends became his enemies, and many of his followers holding themſelues leſſe eſteemed then theſe new come, conceiued a great hatred againſt him, ſo as hee began to feare a reuolt of his ſubiects. And for that he would not be ingaged in two wars at once, one ciuill, another forraine, he laboured to make his peace with king D. *Alphonſo*, coming vpon aſſurance vnto him to Alcala of Bencaide, and there ſware his fealty and homage anew, in the preſence of *Mahomet Alamir* his ſon, promiſing to pay him 250000. Maraуidis of gold for a yearely tribute, and renounced the allyance of *Aben Hudiel* king of Murcia. Wherefore king D. *Alphonſo* did more eaſily ſubdue him, who yeelded with all his townes, demanding pardon for his offence, the which he obtained by the interceſſion of the king of Granado newly reconciled: his life was ſaued, and ſome rents aſſigned him, but his royal dignity was taken from him, in the which the king of Caſtile placed another Moore, called alſo *Mahomet*, brother to *Aben-Hut*, who had beene ſlaine in Almerie, to whome he gaue the third part of the reuenues of that Realme. As for the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, D. *Alphonſo* had promiſed vnto the king of Granado by this laſt accord, not to fauor them againſt him, the which he kept at that time, & did procure a truce betwixt them for a ſeaſon. During the which *Mahomet Aben Alhamar* came vnto D. *Alphonſo* at Murcia, to intreate him againe (the truce being expired) not to ſupport theſe two Captaines, which had rebelled againſt him: wherein the king of Caſtile diſſembled, refuſing to promiſe him directly, for he had an intent to bridle him by this meanes, and in the end to ruine him. Whereupon the king of Granado returned diſcontented: being in his country, he ſought to corrupt the captaines of the king of Caſtiles forts, which were neere vnto him: namely, Don *Nugno Gonçales* ſonne to the Earle Don *Nugno de Lara*, who was diſcontented for the wrongs and grieuances which his father Don *Nugno de Lara*, and his Vncle Don *Iohn Nugnes* had receiued from the king, perſwading him to rebell againſt his Prince, with aſſurance that he would fauour him, and would giue him ſuccors vpon all occaſions.

Accord betwixt Caſtile and Granado.

Caſtile. During theſe actions king D. *Alphonſo*, Emperor elect, had newes of the death of *Richard* his competitor, who had bin ſlaine in England, at the ſeege of a towne of ſmal conſequence, being greatly ſollicited by his partiſans and fauorers to go into Germany, aſſuring him that he ſhould be receiued without any contradiction: but he excuſed himſelfe, either for that he wanted courage or mony, or elſe being ſtayed by the aduertiſements he had of the king of Granados practiſes: yet he called a Court in the city of Burgos, to conferre

A ſerre of this voyage with the Eſtates of his countries, who did exhort him to march, yea offering him money, whereof he had then need, but there was no meanes at that time.

He had ſent Ambaſſadors into France, for the marriage of his ſon D. *Fernand* ſurnamed *de la Cerda*, with the eldeſt daughter of the king S. *Lewis*, called *Blanche*, as her grand-mother, in the end of the yeare 1267. this Princeſſe being not ful ten yeares old, according to *An.* 1267. ſome Spaniards, and the ſupputation of *Garrybay* himſelfe, who makes profeſſion to be a great obſeruer of times. By this marriage was decided a great controuerſie betwixt the houſe of France, and that of Caſtile, for the ſucceſſion of the Realms of Caſtile and Toledo; the which by right, and the cuſtome receiued of the ſucceſſion of the elder, did be- *Marriage of D. Fernand with Blanche daughter of France.*
B long vnto the king S. *Lewis*: for that after the deceaſe of the king D. *Henry* the firſt, who dyed without children, being ſlain with a tyle which fel vpon his head, the ſucceſſion came to his eldeſt ſiſter D. *Blanche*, mother to this S. *Lewis*, and not to D. *Berenguela* the yonger mother to king *Fernand* the 3. whom ſhe had by the king of Leon. But the Spaniards diſdaining to be gouerned by a ſtranger, did eaſily fruſtrate this right, through the careleſnes of the king S. *Lewis*, choſing D. *Fernand* his couſin germaine for their King. In fauor therfore of this marriage made betwixt D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, ſon to D. *Alphonſo* the wiſe, K. of Caſtile, and D. *Blanche* daughter to the king S. *Lewis*, he did quite renounce al the right and intereſt which he and his ſucceſſors kings of France might pretend to the crowne of Caſtile and Toledo, tranſferring it to Don. *Fernand* and to D. *Blanche* his ſpouſe, and to *S. Lewis quits the right he pretented.*
their heires. This accord was made in France betwixt the king S. *Lewis* his councell, and confirmed by him, and the ambaſſadors of Spaine, with whom the Princeſſe was ſent tho-
C rough the country of D. *Thibaud*, who had married *Iſabel* her ſiſter ſome ten yeres before.

The Princeſſe and her conductors were honourably intertained by the Nauarrois, al- *Nauarre.*
though that they and the Caſtillans were no great friends: yet for that ſhee was their Queenes ſiſter, they ſpared not any thing that belonged to duty and honeſty. D. *Thibaud* was then in France, during his abſence there were many things done in Nauarre by exceſſe, or through the error of Gouernors, or the policy of neighbor Princes. One of the principall knights of Nauarre called *Gonçalo Yuines* of Batzan, retired to the king of Arragon, and made a fort vpon the fronters betwixt Arragon and Nauarre, which hee called Boeta, from whence he made great ſpoyles in the country of Nauarre. Notwithſtanding
D the friendſhip which was betwixt the kings of Arragon and Nauarre, yet there wanted no grieuances and ſubiect of quarrels betwixt them. One of the moſt apparent pretenſions, which the king D. *Iaime* had, was, that he ſayd, that to ſuccor the king D. *Thibaud* hee had made great expences, whereof he would be rembourſed: making alwaies vſe therof when there happened any diſorder. The ſumme which he demanded was ſo great, as neither K. *Thibaud* nor his brother *Henry*, who raigned after him could euer acquit it. About that time, or ſoone after was the paſſage of the Princeſſe *Blanche* into Caſtile, whom the king D. *Alphonſo* her father-in-law receiued at Logrogno: the king D. *Thibaud* arriued in Nauarre, where he labored to ſet ſome good order in his affairs, and to prepare all things ne-
E ceſſary for his voyage beyond the ſea, which he pretended to make with the king S. *Lewis* his father-in-law. He did ſomwhat repaire the breach of friendſhip which had bin betwixt the K. of Arragon and him, and renewed the accord with him of Caſtile: and hauing left his brother *Henry* Erle of Ronay, for Gouernor in Nauarre, he came into France, leading with him D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, eldeſt ſon to D. *Nugno Gonçales de Lara*, and many other knights of Nauarre and Caſtile. He alſo led Q. *Elizabeth* or *Iſabel* with him, whom he left gouerneſſe of his Counties of Champagne and Brie, and then he parted with the king S. *Lewis* his father-in-law, who imbarked at Marſeilles, with his whole army in May, 1269. to *An.* 1269.
go into Syria: but he was forced by foule weather to land in Sicily, from whence hee paſt into Affricke, tooke Carthage, and beſeeged Tunes: but the iſſue of this expedition was vnfortunate, as we may read in the Hiſtories of France.

F Some moneths before D. *Iaime*, or *Iames* K. of Arragon, mooued with the like zeale to *Arragon.*
make war againſt the Infidels in the Eaſt, and to free himſelfe of a vow which he had made, had imbarked himſelfe, but he was driuen back by a ſtorme to Aigueſmortes. Hee had by reaſon of theſe enterpriſes, familiaritie, and treaties with the great *Cham* or Emperor of Tartaria, ſending a Bourger of Perpignan, called *Alain*, Ambaſſadour vnto him. He conſulted

ſulted of the voyage at Toledo in an aſſembly of Princes: where hee did proteſt to go in perſon, although he were very old. King D. *Alphonſo* promiſed money, *Michel Paleologue* Emperor of Conſtantinople offered ſhips and victuals by his Ambaſſadors, but he could not put it in execution. Yet his children D. *Pedro*, and D. *Fernand* proceeded in their voiage, and arriued in Paleſtina, where they ſtayed not long. At their returne they landed in the Iland of Sicily, then enioyed by king *Charles* the firſt brother to S. *Lewis*, from whome they receiued great honour and good vſage: there the infant D. *Fernand* was made knight by the hands of king *Charles*, whereat D. *Pedro* his brother took occaſion to hate him, and neuer after loued him. As ſoone as K. *Thibaud* was gone out of Nauarre, whether hee neuer more returned, the king D. *Iaime* forgetting not the right he pretended to this realme, made donation and tranſport thereof to D. *Pedro*, reſigning all his intereſt to him, by vertue of the mutuall donation made betwixt him and the laſt king D. *Sancho* the Strong. A B

Caſtile. In Caſtile there was nothing but feaſting, for the new marriage of the Infant D. *Fernand*, at the which (being as ſtately as any had beene ſeene in Spaine) there were preſent D. *Iaime* of Arragon, *Philip* eldeſt ſon to S. *Lewis* king of France, *Edward* eldeſt ſon to the king of England, who had beene armed knight by the king D. *Alphonſo*: D. *Pedro* Infant and heire of Arragon, and *Mahomet* king of Granado, not yet proclaimed an enemy with other Princes Moores: the king D. *Alphonſo* himſelf, Emperor elect, his brethren and children, with his vncle D. *Alphonſo de Molina*, and a great number of Prelats and Noblemen of his countries, and of France, Ingland, Italy and other places: whither alſo came the Lords of Lara, D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and other mal-contents, who did then conferre with the king of Granado, and concluded a dangerous league with him. Of this marriage were C born the Infants D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, of whom we will make mention in the diſcourſe of this Hiſtorie.

The feaſt being ended, D. *Alphonſo* Emperor Elect, began to thinke afreſh of his paſſage into Germany, whither they called him by ordinary meſſages: but whether feare or neceſſity did hinder him, he could not begin it. It may be the quarrels of Germany ſeemed too dangerous vnto him, beeing alſo loth to charge his ſubiects with the expences, for the conducting of an army into Italy and Germany: for that his prodigality had exhauſted his treaſure, and emptied his coffers. For beſides the great expences which hee had made in ſearching out the Mathematickes and other commendable things, which amounted to ſo great ſummes of mony, as a Spaniard writes, that for the compiling of the work D which they call *Tabulas Regis Caſtillæ*, hee ſpent more then the reuenues of S. *Peters* patrimony could amount vnto in ten yeares. He gaue at one time an hundred and fifty Kintals of ſiluer to the Empreſſe of Conſtantinople; who came vnto him to Victoria, to beſeech him to ayde her, to redeeme the Emperor *Bauldwin* her husband, priſoner among the Turkes, from whom *Michel Paleologue* detained the Empire. And withall it is likely, that he ſpared not any mony to practiſe the Germaine Electors, by whom hee had beene choſen: together with the feaſts, triumphs, gifts and preſents of his ſons marriage: and the prouiſion for war which it behooued him to make, to defend himſelfe againſt the trecherie of the Moores, and of thoſe that were vnited vnto them. All which things kept him ſo E low, as he had neither meanes nor courage to purſue that which he had ambitiouſly affected. The rebellion of D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, the fiſt of that name, who had beene made king during the fore-ſayd marriage, and of D. *Nugno de Lara*, and others, may in ſome ſort excuſe him. Theſe with other their confederates were entred into a ſecret league with *Mahomet Aben-Alhamar* king of Granado, who for his part had openly broken the truce with the captaines of Malaga and Guadix, vaſſals to the king of Caſtile, annoying them all he could by open force: wherefore king D. *Alphonſo* came to Seuile to oppoſe himſelfe againſt this king of the Moores, and to preuent the deſſeignes of theſe conſpirators, calling an aſſembly there of all his knights and other his faithfull ſubiects. Hauing a great army readie, and an occaſion beeing offered, hee did aſſaile and ſuddenly take the town of Cadiz ill garded, and the Iland which was vnder the protection of the K. F of Maroc, where the ſouldiers got great ſpoiles: but for that there wanted people, he left it ſtill in the Moores hands. This was in the yeare 1269.

Portugal. The King being at Seuile, D. *Denis* infant of Portugal came vnto him, beeing well accompanied

companied by the Noblemen and Knights of the country, who beſought his grandfather to make him Knight, and moreouer, that he would diſcharge the Realme of Portugall, of the homage and vaſſalage it ought to the king of Leon. King D. *Alphonſo* was deſirous to gratifie this young Prince, ſonne to his daughter D. *Beatrix*: but thinking it would bee taken ill by the Noblemen his ſubiects, hee aduiſed the Infant to propound it in an open aſſembly, the which he called to that end. The demaund being made in the name of Don *Denis*, who was yet a child of eight yeares old, by a Knight of Portugall, the opinion of D. *Nugno de Lara* (who had not yet declared himſelfe) was, that by no meanes he ſhould diminiſh the authority and greatneſſe of his Crown, the which he ſhould do, if he did quit this homage to the king of Portugall, and that in any other thing he was of opinion, the king ſhould gratifie his grand-child D. *Denis*: whereuith the king ſeemed diſcontented againſt the Earle D. *Nugno*: wherefore the reſt ſeeing that he would haue it ſo, they aduiſed him to do it. Whereupon the Realme of Portugal was freed from all homage and obedience due to the kings of Leon and Caſtile, this yeare 1269. And D. *Denis* being made Knight by the king, he returned ioyfull to his father, who about the ſame time was abſolued, and the generall Interdict, in the which the Realm had beene for twelue yeres ſpace, taken away by Pope *Clement* the fourth.

VViſe aduiſe of D. Nugno de Lara. II.

This prodigality with ſome other reaſons, did much diſcontent the Noblemen of Caſtile: and made the Earle D. *Nugno* to run into open rebellion, for that the king had taken it ill, for deliuering his opinion freely in open Councell. After theſe things audience was giuen to the Ambaſſadors of the Miralmumin *Aben Ioſeph*, who were come to complaine in their Maſters name, for the taking and ſacke of Cadiz, and to demand reparation: but they were ſent home with good words. King D. *Alphonſo* being parted from Seuile to come into Murcia, being at Villa Reall, he was abandoned by his brother D. *Philip*, the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara*, D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and other Noblemen & Knights which came into Caſtile, to put the League in execution which they had made with the king of Granado againſt their king, and to ſeeke to draw others vnto them, making the ground thereof to be the diſmembring of Portugal from the Crowne of Leon: which league was renewed in Lerma. Many other Noblemen and knights ioyned with them, the chiefe whereof, beſides the Infant D. *Philip*, the Earles D. *Nugno de Lara*, and *Lope Diaz de Haro*, were D. *Eſteuan Fernandes*, D. *Fernand Ruis de Caſtro*, D. *Ximen Ruis de los Cameros*, D. *Iean Nugnes*, and D. *Nugno Gonçales de Lara*, children to the Erle D. *Nugno*, D. *Aluar Diaz* D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, brother to D. *Lope Diaz*, D. *Lope de Mendoça*, D. *Gil Ruis de Roa*, D. *Aluar Diaz de las Aſturias*, and D. *Roderigo Rodrigues de Saldagne*, all diſcontented with K. D. *Alphonſo*: ſome for one cauſe, ſome for another. *Caſtile.*

The firſt thing they did, after they had ſworne the League, was to ſend the Infant D. *Philip* into Nauarre, to ſee if he could draw D. *Henry* the Regent of that Realme to ioyne with them, for the intereſt he had to pull downe D. *Alphonſo*, who detained ſo many Prouinces belonging to the Crowne of Nauarre, the Confederats promiſing him (yet without any ſuch intent) to ayde him in the recouery thereof. If hee would fauour them with the forces of the Realme which he had vnder his command, where they pretended to ſtay, and there aſſembled all forces, friends and meanes. The Regent Don *Henry* hauing duly conſidered of the conſequence of this enterpriſe, beeing wiſe and well aduiſed, excuſed himſelfe, that he was but Lieutenant to his brother, to whom hee muſt yeeld an account of his gouernement, and that he deſired nothing more, then to reſtore him his Realme in the ſame eſtate that he had deliuered it him, without attempting to trouble his Eſtate by any new enterpriſes, vpon a vaine hope of bettering it. Don *Philip* returned into Caſtile with this anſwer, being fruſtrate of his expectation. Soone after D. *Henry* had newes of the death of his brother K. *Thibaud*, which hapned in the town of Trapani in Sicile, in his returne from the voyage of Tunes, whereas the king S. *Lewis* was alſo dead, and the army forced by peſtilence, and other diſcommodities, to returne, hauing done nothing of conſequence. *Nauarre.*

VViſe anſwer of D. Henry of Nauarre to the Conſiuators of Caſtile.

D. Henry the Groſſe, firſt of that name, 24. King of Nauarre.

DOn *Thibaud* hauing held the Crowne of Nauarre 17. yeares and about foure moneths, and dying without any lawfull children, Don *Henry* his brother ſucceeded him in the yeare 1271. he was ſurnamed the Groſſe, for that he was exceeding fatte. And although the common opinion be, that fat men are moſt commonly of a ſoft and mild diſpoſition, yet this was of a ſower and froward conuerſation; the which he did eſpecially ſhew to Don *Armingol* Biſhop of Pampelone, whom he did afflict much. D. *Iſabel* the Queene Dowager who was in France, when as D. *Thibaud* her husband dyed, receiued his bodie (the which was carried with that of the King S. *Lewis*) and cauſed it to be buried in the Church of Prouins: and whether it were for the griefe of her husbands death, or ſome other infirmity, ſhe liued not long after him. The Confederates of Caſtile, ſeeing Don *Henry* receiued king of Nauarre, ſent to Don *Philip* againe, to ſollicite him to ioyne with them in league. The new king Don *Henry* made anſwer, that ſeeing he was now abſolute, and was not to make accompt of his actions to any one, hee was very willing to receiue the Confederates into his Realme, and to aſſiſt them with all his power: but vpon condition, that they ſhould in like manner come with all their forces and friends, to put him in full poſſeſſion of the lands of Bureua, Rioje, Alaua, Guipuſcoa, and others, the which king D. *Alphonſo* had vniuſtly vſurped and detained, belonging to the crowne of Nauarre.

An. 1271.

Anſwer of the king of Nauar to the Confederates of Caſtile.

This demand ſeemed great and difficult to the Infant Don *Philip*; and as one which had not reiected all loue of Brother or Country, he refuſed this allyance which would be ſo deare and burthenſome, and therefore he made anſwer, that neither he nor his companions had any ſuch power, as to accompliſh that which he demanded, confeſſing freely that he would not do ſo great wrong vnto the King his Lord, as to diſpoſſeſſe him of ſo great a country. The king Don *Henry* hearing this anſwer, would not enter into their League, beeing loth to breake the accords which Nauarre had with Caſtile, but vppon great aduantage: wherein he did wiſely not to incenſe ſo mighty an enemie againſt him. Don *Philip* returning into Caſtile, met with his Confederates, to whom he related what he had done, the which they allowed.

Caſtile.

King D. *Alphonſo* was wonderfully perplexed, during theſe practiſes, imploying al his friends to pacifie and to diuert theſe conſpirators from their enterpriſe. Firſt he ſent Don *Henry Perez* of Arana with letters of credit vnto them: the king went in perſon to Valencia with Queene D. *Violant* his wife, to intreate the king D. *Iaime* her father to mediat an accord for him, or to keepe him from ioyning with the Confederates: with whom Don *Henry Perez* labored in vaine, aduertiſing the king of all that paſt, as many of the Councell of Caſtile did in like manner: wherefore after many meſſages of either ſide, and many fruitleſſe negotiations, which did rather kindle the fire then quench it, king D. *Alphonſo* was forced to come to Burgos. The Confederats did not onely ſollicit the king of Portugall to enter into their league, but alſo *Aben Ioſeph* k. of Maroc, promiſing a ſafe acceſſe and all fauor againſt this Prince: the which was diſcouered by a letter written by this Moriſh king in the Arabian tong to the confederats: Iu the meane time the king of Granado began to make open war againſt Caſtile, ouer-running the country of Andaluſia with the horſemen which he had out of Affrick: againſt whom he ſent the Infant D. *Fernand de la Cerde*. D. *Alphonſo* being come to Burgos ſome of the rebels came vnto him vppon paſport, where there were diuers conferences, the king ſhewing himſelfe tractable in many things, for the deſire he had to go into Germany: but all preuailed not, notwithſtanding that there was an aſſembly of the Eſtates at Burgos for this pacification, the which was held without the towne, for the ſafety of the Conſpirators, who reiecting all treaties of peace, retired to Granado, their troupes committing infinit ſpoiles where they paſt without any reſpect, loue, and charity of their country, yea in the country of Guadix, whereas the Captaine a Moore was enemy to *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*: and they ſay, they entred into Granado with aboue 5000 cattel, and many carts laden with ſpoile which they had taken.

Mahomad

A

Mohomad Mir, the ſecond King of Granado.

WHileſt theſe fugitiue Knights were at Granado, the king there dyed, which was in the yeare 1273. hauing raigned 36. yeares, and ſome moneths. By their ſupport and aſſiſtance his ſonne obtained the Crowne, beeing alſo called *Mahomad* as his father, but ſurnamed *Mir Almus-Lemin*, otherwiſe *Abedialle* & *Aboabdicke*, and *Alamir Aben-Azar*: for after the death of *Aben-Alhamar* there were great diuiſions vpon the election of a new king: ſome demanding a younger brother to this *Mahomad Mir*, who was called *Ioſeph Aben Alhamar*, others would haue one of the Captaines of Malaga or Guadix, deſiring thereby to make them leaue the allyance of the king of Caſtile, to the end they might vnite all the Moores of Spaine. For the fauour which the Chriſtians did herein to *Mahomad Mir*, he cauſed a pallace to be built, which was called the pallace of D. *Nugno*. Such as had held the party of *Ioſeph Aben-Alhamar* eſcaped, and retired with him to Malaga, from whence he went & ſpoiled the country of Granado; But the knights which were with king *Mahomad*, hauing aſſembled ſome forces, went againſt them, and defeated them neere vnto Antequera. *Moores. An. 1273.*

B

C King D. *Alphonſo* was come neere vnto Toledo, alwaies negotiating a peace, for the which they aſſembled the Eſtates againe at Auila, whither came D. *Fernand Ruis de Caſtro* and *Roderigo Rodrigues de Saldaigne*, who abandoned their companions. Nothing being concluded, the King reſolued to make war with all violence: he came to Requegna, whereas D. *Iaime* king of Arragon ſhold meet him. During his aboad there, he had intelligence from his Agents in Germany, that the Electors, tyred with his delayes, and deſiring to ſettle a good peace in Germany, had proceeded to a new election in the perſon of *Rodolphus* Erle of Habsburg and Holſacia, againſt the which his ſaid Agents had obiected many things, and proteſted in his name of nullity. Theſe newes did much trouble king D. *Alphonſo*, who was ingaged in theſe ciuill diſſentions, the which he then reſolued to compound, at what price ſoeuer, to the end he might go into Germany to recouer his imperiall authority by armes, the which he had let ſlip by negligence. Wherefore hee ſent the Queene D. *Violant* his wife to Cordoua, with ſome of his Councell, to treat a peace with the king of Granado, and with his owne rebellious ſubiects, and likewiſe with the Miralmumin *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, who threatened to paſſe into Spaine. He intreated and coniured the king of Arragon to ayde him to ſubdue them, if they wold not yeeld to reaſon, the which he promiſed, and he ſent Ambaſſadors preſently into Italy to Pope *Gregory* the 10 to make new proteſtations againſt the Election of *Rodolphus*, and to lay open vnto the Pope his pretenſions and reaſons. The Ambaſſadors were Friar *Aymar* a Iacobin, & *Fernand* of Zamora, Chancelor to the king, and Chanoine of Auila, who deliuered their charge in open Conſiſtorie: yet the negligence and little regard which the king their maſter ſeemed to haue of the Empire, did make good the election of *Rodolphus*, ſo as they returned into Caſtile, without any effect. *Caſtile.* 13.

D

E

Pope *Gregorie* hauing afterwards called a Councell at Lyons, whether he came in perſon for the reformation of Chriſtendome, eſpecially for the reconciling of the Greeke Church with the Romaine or Latin, and in like manner to releeue them in the Eaſt, who went to ruine. He aduiſed king D. *Alphonſo*, and admoniſhed him by the Biſhop of Aſtorga, to deſiſt from his pretenſion of the Empire, where hee ſhould do nothing but ſpend, and thruſt himſelfe and his kingdomes into open danger, without any hope of benefite: which aduice could not pleaſe the King, who being aduertiſed that the Queene, who was at Cordoua, had brought the king of Granado, and the Noblemen Confederats to ſome reaſonable conditions, he came to Seuile, whither all the Noblemen came with the Queene, and the Infant D. *Fernand*, where as an accord was made. The Noblemen and Knights were reſtored to the kings fauour, and to their goods and honours. *Councel at Lyons vnder Pope Gregory the tenth.*

F

Accord betwixt D. Alphonſo and his rebellious ſubiects.

The King of Granado promiſed to pay a yearely tribute of 300000. Maraudis of gold to him of Caſtile, and did pay him a great ſumme of ready money: the which D. *Alphonſo* demanded to make his voyage into Germany, whereof he ſtill dreamed. There was great diſpute touching the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, for king *Mahomad* would haue D. *Alphonſo* wholly to abandon them. but in the end the Queene D. *Violant* procured a truce for them for a yeare. Thus the conſpiracie made againſt D. *Alphonſo* was diſſolued in the yeare, 1274. the which had continued almoſt fiue yeares. Hee that wrought beſt effects in this negotiation of peace, and that tooke moſt paines was *Gonçal Ruis* of Atiença, a gallant Knight, and a faithfull ſeruant to the king D. *Alphonſo*. There is no doubt, but this Prince, by his inconſiderate bountie, his negligence in great affaires, and contempt of his ſubiects and Councellors, was the cauſe of great troubles and diuiſions, which were both preiudicial and diſhonorable vnto him, although that conſpiracies can not be excuſed.

An. 1274.

Many Princes came to the Councell of Lyons, and many ſent their Ambaſſadours: namely, *Michel Paleologue* Emperour of Conſtantinople ſent *Germain* Patriarke of Conſtantinople, *George Acropolite*, and *Theophanes* Metropolitane of Nicea in Bithynia, with charge to make a ſhew to deſire an Accord betwixt the Greeke and the Latine Churches: but in effect it was to diuert, by this goodly pretext, the Armes of *Bauldwin* his aduerſarie, and of *Charles* King of Naples and Sicily, who preſſed him, and to aſſure his Eſtate which hee had gotten by vniuſt and violent meanes.

Arragon.

Thither went Don *Iames* king of Arragon in perſon, who came to do his filiall ſubmiſſion vnto the Pope: yet the king beeing deſirous to be crowned in this Councell, by the hands of Pope *Gregorie*, (a Ceremonie whereof he made great account) he refuſed him, vnleſſe he would acknowledge himſelfe Vaſſall to the Church of Rome, and pay the arrerages of the Rent which the deceaſed King Don *Pedro* his father had promiſed: the which the King Don *Iames* would not do, holding it an vnworthy thing, ſo to debaſe the greatneſſe of his Crowne, and reſtraine the libertie of his Realme in any ſort. Wherefore ſeeming to haue ſome feeling thereof by his words, and making his merits knowne vnto the Church, by ſo many victories gotten againſt the Moores, in regard whereof, they ſhould do him honour, hee returned very much diſcontented to Montpellier.

Troubles in Arragon.

Both this yeare 1274. and ſome others before, the Realme of Arragon and Cattelogne had beene in continuall tumults and rebellions, the Nobilitie oppoſing themſelues againſt the king, vppon colour of breach of their priuiledges and liberties, beſides the continuall practiſes of the Infant Don *Pedro* againſt his brother Don *Fernand*, who drew the Nobilitie and Townes of Arragon into pernicious factions: Don *Pedro* proceeding ſo maliciouſly, as the king Don *Iames* their father was forced to take the gouernement of the Realme, and the managing of affaires from him: the which hee did in an open aſſembly of the Eſtates called to that end at Exea, in the which were condemned for contumacie, Don *Artal* of Luna, *Lopes* Ortis Sentia, *Symon* of Ahones, *Diego Gurrea*, and *Pedro Ortis*, by the ſentence of *Roderigo Caſtelliuol*, holding then the Magiſtracie of Iuſtice Maior of Arragon: by reaſon whereof, and of theſe ſeditions and quarrells, hee was afterwards ſlaine by *Bertrand Canelia*, and Don *Willyam Raymond Odena* ſmoothered in the water, by the commandement of the Infant Don *Pedro*, who accuſed his brother Don *Fernand* of treaſon, and practiſes againſt the life of their father: whereof diligent information was made, and Don *Raymond Foulques*, Vicount of Cardonne, Don *Pedro Verga*, *Galſerand de Pinos*, and other Noblemen were purſued, both by reaſon thereof, and for that they refuſed to do their due ſeruices and obedience vnto the king, in his warres, voyages, and expeditions, as feudataries are bound, whereuppon they were depriued of their fees and military honours, according to the cuſtome of Spaine, by the which Places and States were giuen to be held in fee, vnder the Soueraigntie of the Crowne, vppon condition to yeeld them vp vnto the king beeing demanded.

It did auaile them nothing to obiect the priuiledges of Cattelogne, which were

That

A That the Nobility might quit the kings obedience in caſe of controuerſies and ſutes, eſpecially if there were queſtion of their liberties, and to proteſt it publikely. To compound which troubles the Eſtates were aſſembled againe that yeare 1274. at Lerida, and Iudges appointed by them: but the diſorder was ſo great, as the king incenſed with a raſh and inhumane fury againſt his ſon D. *Fernand* and his confederates, he gaue him ouer in prey to his brother D. *Pedro*, who beſeeged him in the Caſtell of Pomar, took him, and cauſed him to be drowned in the riuer of Singa, and obtained his goods and ſpoile, for the execution of this cruell act. D. *Fernand* had married Donna *Aldoncia* of Vrrea, by whom he left a ſonne called Don *Philip Fernandes*, which was the ſtemme of the noble houſe of Caſtro in Arragon. *Don Pedro of Arragon drowneth his brother.*

B 14 Theſe diſorders were ſeconded by the proceedings of the Inquiſitors Monkes, againſt them that were ſuſpected to fauour the opinion of the Albigeois, condemned by the Popes. This Commiſſion was affected by Friar *Raymond* of Begnafort a Iacobine abouementioned, and giuen to Friar *Pedro Cadreta*, and *William Colonico* of the ſame Order, who inquiring of this crime with great vehemency, did many exploits in Cattelogne, namely, in the Dioceſſe of Vrgel, where they tooke out of the graue the bones of *Arnaud* of Caſtelbon, and of *Ermeſinde*, or *Brunicende* his daughter, Grandmother to *Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix, deceaſed a little before, and cauſed them to be publikely burnt, condemning their memorie. Such was the eſtate of Arragon after the returne of the king D. *Iames* from the Councel of Lyons.

C D. *Henry* king of Nauarre newly come to the Crowne, was to diſpute with D. *Pedro* infant of Arragon, for the right which he pretended, to the Realme of Nauarre, as Ceſſionarie to D. *Iaime* his father: but it fell out happily for him, that there grew ſo great diuiſion betwixt the father and the ſonne: by reaſon whereof the Infant D. *Pedro* entred into familiarity with the king of Nauarre, that he might be fauoured by him in his enterpriſes: and the better to incourage him, he ſent a knight vnto him called D. *William* of Cruillas, to make an accord betwixt them for this pretended right, wherof the king D. *Henry* made no great account, yet he gaue him good words, and intertained this young Prince, ſtill keeping Don *Iaime* in feare, that they would agree to his preiudice, which was a good meanes for the king of Nauarre to be aſſured of him: for D. *Iaime* fearing this league D ſhould take effect, preuented his ſonne, and ſought D. *Henries* friendſhip, making a truce for many yeares with him, during the which they ſhould not talke of right, pretenſions, nor of any reall nor perſonall actions. So King *Henry* the Groſſe inioyed his Realme quietly, by the diſcord of others. *Nauarre.*

This king was married before he came to the Crowne, beeing but Earle of Ronay, to *Ieanne* daughter to *Robert* Earle of Arthois, Brother to Saint *Lewis*: ſo as ſhee was allyed to the Royall houſes of France and Spaine. The king had Don *Thibaud* by this marriage, whome the nurce let fall out of a Gallerie, in the towne of Eſtella, and ſlue him: ſome ſay, it was his Gouernour, who let him fall vnaduiſedly, and was ſo grieued, E as hee caſt himſelfe headlong after the child, and ſlue himſelfe: Hee had no other ſonne, Wherefore the maſculine line of the Earles of Champagne in Nauarre, ended in this king, hauing continued but forty yeares. Hee had beſides one daughter by his wife called Donna *Ieanne* by her mothers name, who came to inherit the Realme of Nauarre with the Counties of Brie, Champagne, and other Eſtates of her Father. The Spaniſh Authours write, that the King and Queene, her father and mother, cauſed her to bee receiued and declared Queene in the Eſtates of Nauarre beeing but two yeares and ſeuen moneths old, which was a meanes to vnite Nauarre to France for ſome yeares. This King Don *Henry* beeing Lieutenant in Nauarre for Don *Thibaud* his brother, being yet vnmarried, had the company of a Lady, the heire of the houſe of Lacarra, of whom hee begatte a ſonne, whome he named *Henry* as himſelfe. Beeing growne, he was much fa- F uoured by the kings which ſucceeded his father, and obtained the dignitie of Marſhall, or chiefe Commander of armes in Nauarre: They hold, that the noble family of *Henriques* in Nauarre, Lords of Ablitas, is deſcended from him. D. *Henry* the Groſſe raigned only three yeares, 7. moneths, and 17. dayes. He died in the citty of Pampelone in the Biſhops pallace this yeare 1274. and was interred in the Cathedrall church. *Genealogy of Nauarre.* *Family of Henriques of Nauarre Lords of Ablitas.*

There is no particular mention of his deedes, nor of his gouernement in Nauarre, but A
that he brake an vnion made in the time of the king D. *Sancho*, betwixt the Bourgers and inhabitants of Pampelone, from that time diuided in Nauarriere, a Bourg, the reaſon that mooued him thereunto, is not ſet downe, but that it it was preiudiciall to the Cittie.

D. Ieanne heire of Nauarre. 15.

Donna *Ieanne* the onely daughter and heire to the king D. *Henry*, remained in the power of the Eſtates of Nauarre, beeing onely three yeares old: preſently there grew great troubles among the Nauarrois, as well for the gouernement of the Realme, as for the bringing vp of the Infanta. The gouernement of the Realme was in the hands of *Pero Sanches de Montagu*, Lord of Caſcant: but for the bringing vp of the Infanta D. *Ieanne*, B
who was then in the cuſtodie of the Queene her mother, there was great diſpute in an aſſembly called to that end in the citty of Pampelone. Some would haue her deliuered to the king D. *Alphonſo*: and of this number was Don *Garcia* Almorauid: againſt theſe Don *Pero Sanches* of Montagu, Don *Armingol* Biſhop of Pampelone, with many others, were of opinion, that ſhe ſhould be put into the hands of D. *Iames* king of Arragon: but the Queene her mother deſired ſhe might come into the hands of the French, demanding *Philip* king of France to be tutor to her daughter and Realme. In theſe debates which were neither gouerned by modeſtie nor reaſon, the Queene (fearing leſt ſome inconuenience ſhould fall vpon her daughter and her ſelfe, beeing aſſiſted by the Noblemen and Knights which were of her faction) ſtole away in the night, and carried the Infanta (who C
was the cauſe of all the quarrell) with her into France, where ſhee was courteouſly intertained by King *Philip* the third then raigning, her couſin germaine. The Nauarrois hearing of her departure, diſputed no more for the daughter, but applyed themſelues wholy to the ſeeking of ſome reconciliations which were made betwixt the kings of Arragon and Caſtile, either of them ſeeking to be receiued King of Nauarre, vppon fauour of the rights which they pretended to haue.

D. Pero Sanches de Montagu Regent in Nauarre.

The heire of Nauarre tranſported into France by her mother.

Don *Iaime* of Arragon was firſt aduertiſed of the death of the King Don *Henry*: wherefore hee ſent Ambaſſadours preſently vnto the Eſtates, intreating them not to hinder him in the poſſeſſion of the Realme which did of right belong vnto him, not only by reaſon of the adoption and donation which the king D. *Sancho* the ſtrong had made vnto him, but by a more ancient title: for that (ſayd they) the kings which had held the D
Realme ſince D. *Alphonſo* the Warrior, had vſurped it by force, and were intruders without any lawfull title, to the preiudice of the Kings of Arragon. Moreouer, he let them vnderſtand, that there was due vnto him by the deceaſed kings of Nauarre, 60000. markes of ſiluer, which did augment and better his pretenſion to the ſayd Realme: for which conſiderations the Ambaſſadors required them to receiue the king D. *Iaime*, or D. *Pedro* for their king, which they ſhould beſt like of, promiſing them all good vſage. On the other ſide, king D. *Alphonſo* deſiring that his ſonne D. *Fernand de la Cerde* ſhould obtaine this realme, renouncing the ancient rights which he pretended thereunto, and without any other requeſt, he gaue him an army to ſeaze thereon. It fell out that theſe two pretendants demanded ayde and ſupport one of another, to recouer that which they both deE
ſired.

Realme of Nauarre affected by the kings of Caſtile and Arragon.

The Noblemen and Deputies of the Eſtates, ſeeing the great danger which did threaten the Realme by theſe diuiſions, reſolued to ſend the Biſhop of Pampelone, and the gouernour, to Sos, to accommodate their affaires in ſome ſort with D. *Pedro* of Arragon, who came thither, where they agreed, that in regard of 60000. markes of ſiluer, they ſhould ſtand to that which ſhould be ſet downe by Don *Sancho* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and brother to Don *Pedro*, who was held to be a Prelate of a good conſcience, and as for the reſt, they ſhould vſe no force of either ſide, but all peaceable meanes: whereuppon they made truce for a certaine time. The Ambaſſadors beeing returned, the place of the Nauarrois aſſembly was changed to Puente la Reyna, whether came the chiefe PreF
lates, Noblemen, and knights of the Realme, and the Deputies of the Townes of Pampelone, Tudele, Eſtella, Olite, Sangueſſa, Puente la Reyna and others of the ſame iuriſdiction.

There in the preſence of this honourable Aſſembly Don *Garcia Ortis* of Açagra, one of

A of the Agents for the Infant of Arragon, required to haue the King D. *Iaime* receiued for King of Nauarre, making a large relation of his rights, with promiſes and aſſeuerations that it ſhould redound to the great good of the Realme: whilſt they are thus buſied, D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, Infant of Caſtille, entred the country in armes, where he had many knights of his party: Comming therefore by the country of Oja hee paſt Ebro, and beſieged the towne of Viana, but finding it wel garded, hee left it, and came to Mendauia, the which he tooke, and afterwards won the tower of Moreda, and committed great ſpoiles finding no reſiſtance in field. This force offred by the Caſtillan, made them incline more to Arragon, and to the end they might preuent the danger which did threaten them, they ſent the Biſhop D. *Armingol* againe to the Infant D. *Pedro*, being at Tar-
B raſſone, who although he were a Caſtillan; yet was hee not of D. *Fernands* faction, and with him were the Gouernor D. *Gonçalo Yuanes* of Batzan, and his ſonne D. *Iohn Gonçales* of Batzan, D. *Gil Balduin* Gouernor of Tudele and D. *Martin Garces* of Vnça. Theſe Deputies gaue him to vnderſtand from the Eſtates, that they ſhould bee very glad if hee had any good intereſt to the realme of Nauar, and that they deſired much to know from him, what good alliance they might now treat together. To whom D. *Pedro* made anſwere that he deſired there ſhould bee a promiſe of a marriage betwixt the Infanta D. *Ieanne*, and his eldeſt ſonne D. *Alphonſo*: and if that he ſhould die before ſhe came to ful age, then ſhee ſhould marry with D. *Iaime* his ſecond ſonne, and if the marriage could not be accompliſhed with the Infanta, that it ſhould then be with ſome one of her coſin
C germains, iſſued from the daughters of King *Thibaud* the firſt, eſpecially of the Ducheſſe of Brittan. He offred to giue them his ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, to aſſiſt them in the gouernment of the realme: he did withall lay open vnto them the right which his father D. *Iaime* had to the realme of Nauarre, and the ceſſion which had beene made vnto him, concluding, if theſe things were not pleaſing vnto them, that they ſhould aduiſe to receiue him for their King within a yeere, deliuering the whole realme freely vnto him.

Accord betwixt the Eſtates of Nauarre and D. Pedro of Arragon.

The Ambaſſadors being returned with this anſwere, the aſſembly was put off to Olite, where hauing conſulted of their affaires, they made an accord with the Infant of Ar-
D ragon, according to the Articles which follow. That the marriage betwixt D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon his eldeſt ſonne, and the Infanta D. *Ieanne* ſhould take effect: and if ſhee ſhould die before the conſummation, the Eſtates ſhould ſeeke to marry him to one of her couſin germains, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine; and in caſe D. *Alphonſo* ſhould die before the conſummation of the marriage, the Infanta, or one of her couſins, ſhould bee giuen to him of D. *Pedros* ſonnes which ſhould bee next heire to the crowne of Arragon. And whereas the Eſtates of Nauarre, could not for ſome lawfull let accompliſh it, then they ſhould pay vnto D. *Pedro*, a hundred and forty thouſand Markes of ſiluer, for the expences hee had beene at in the defence of the realme of Nauarre, and that out of the reuenues of the crowne, beſides the 60000. markes which
E were already due, making in all the ſum of 200000. markes, as it was currant at that time, payable within one yeere after the ſayd let, accounting from Eaſter day: which accords ſhould not bee any preiudice to the rights and pretenſions which his father D. *Iaime* and he had to the realme of Nauarre, wherein the Eſtates promiſed to bee fauourable vnto them, and to aide them all they could. Theſe promiſes were made and ſworne by moſt of the Noblemen and Deputies aſſembled in the yeere 1274. vpon paine of high treaſon if they failed, except in regard of the marriages, for that the Princeſſes were not in their power.

But D *Garcia Almorauid* and others, who were otherwiſe affected, did not allow of theſe accords, neither would they conſent, nor ſweare them, which cauſed great troubles and diuiſions within the realme, neither did any of theſe Articles take effect, for that *Phi-*
F *lip* King of France, tooke the realme of Nauarre into his protection, and made his ſonne King, to whom hee married the Infant D. *Ieanne*, fruſtrating the King of Arragon; for the Queene D. *Ieanne* widow to D. *Henry*, beeing retired into France, with the Infanta her daughter, heire to that crowne, and being aduertiſed of all that had paſt in the aſſembly of the Eſtates at Olité, was ſo incenſed, as ſhee deliuered her daughter into the hands of

King

King *Philip*, who receiued both her and the realme of Nauarre into his protection, and A
Nauarre vnder the protection of the French. cauſed her to be brought vp with his two daughters, *Marguerite* and *Blanche*, whom he had had by his ſecond wife, *Mary* of Brabant, beeing alſo very young. This Infanta D. *Ieanne* was tall, beautifull, and of as good a grace as any Princeſſe of her time, wherefore King *Philip* married her very yong, by a future promiſe, to his ſonne *Philip*, ſurnamed the faire, who ſucceeded in the realme of France.

16 The Eſtate of Nauarre ſtanding vpon theſe termes D. *Garcia Almorauid*, a great enemy to the Gouernment of D. *Pedro Sanches* of Montagu, Lord of Caſcante, and a fauourer of the Caſtillan faction, tooke occaſion to enter into quarrell and to trouble the realme, vpon certaine iarres which were betwixt the Inhabitants of Pampelone, who B had beene long diuided and in mutiny one againſt the other. Thoſe of the quarter, called Nauarriere would haue made certaine fortifications againſt the Bourg, but they were hindred by the Gouernor, who thought that ſuch barres betwixt the Inhabitants of one towne would be the very nurſes of hatred and ſedition: Wherefore D. *Garcia* taking vpon him to ſupport the Inhabitants of Nauarriere, the realme grew into ſuch factions, as there was nothing but Inſolences, murther, thefts and ſuch like diſorders committed; to remedy the which the Eſtates were againe aſſembled at Pampelone, whereas diſagreeing who ſhould gouerne the country, they reſolued to ſend into France, to beſeech
Euſtache of Bellemarche Gouernor of Nauarre. King *Philip* to ſend them a Nobleman to ſupply the place of Viceroy, for their Princeſſe, who was vnder his Gouernment. King *Philip* ſent them a knight, who was wiſe and very vertuous, called *Euſtache Beaumar*, or *Bellemarche*, who was receiued and reſpected, C in whoſe hands the Eſtates did ſweare fealty vnto their Queene, whoſe perſon he did repreſent.

This knight by his wiſdome and milde courſes did ſoone reduce the realme to a quiet peace, D. *Iaime* King of Arragon, being iealous that the French did thus ſet footing into Nauarre, and being out of hope of the marriages which were concluded with his ſonne D. *Pedro* at Olite, he beganne to demaund the other point of the Capitulation, which was to deliuer him the Realme, and that the Eſtates ſhould aſſiſt him with their forces to recouer his rights, the which being not accompliſhed, a warre began betwixt Nauarre and Arragon. The pacification made within the realme by the French viceroy, continued not long, for ſome knights, enemies of all reſt, began vnder hand to accuſe, and to D ſpeake ſeditious words againſt their Gouernor, ſaying, that it was an ignominious thing for the Nauarrois to be gouerned by a ſtranger, ſeeking to draw the people of Pampelone into a muteny. Moreouer hauing practiſed ſome gentlemen of Caſtille, neere vnto the frontiers of Nauarre, making them to enter the country in hoſtile manner, to the end they might draw the Gouernor into armes, and to haue meanes in ſome incounter or charge, to diſpatch him. The French Gouernor ſeeing the affaires troubled towards Caſtille, came to Eſtella, hauing giuen commandement to all knights and ſouldiars to come thether with their armes and horſes, where he was aduertiſed of the treaſon which was plotted againſt him: wherefore in the night time he returned to Pampelone, where hauing complained in open councel of this treachery and rebellion, he did wonderfully amaze the confederars, but eſpecially the chiefe actors, ſeeing their mallice diſcouered: wherefore as it often happens that the wicked, being reproched of their wickedneſſe, grow more impudent and mad, theſe conſpirators were ſo raſh, as they commanded him to retire into France, ſaying, there were men ynough in Nauarre, better able to gouerne then he: to whom the Gouernor anſwered, that he doubted not of the ſufficiency of the Noblemen of Nauarre, and that for his part hee had not affected that charge, but it had beene impoſed vpon him by King *Philip* his Lord; who was Tutor and Protector of their Queene and her realme; wherein they (who were priuat perſons) ſhould not hinder him, neither was he reſolued to obey them: notwithſtanding hee would aſſemble the Eſtates, and if it were ſayd by a common conſent that he ſhould re- F tire into France, he would obey, ſo as they gaue him a diſcharge, and teſtimony of his adminiſtration, otherwiſe he could not with his honour ſhew himſelfe before his King, the which he eſteemed more then his life.

The aſſembly being called at Pampelone, there was nothing concluded, for they found

found not any iuſt cauſe why they ſhould refuſe the Gouernment of this French knight: wherefore after many diſputes, and ſeditious ſpeeches vſed by the confederats of D. *Garcia Almorauid*, the chiefe Author of this diſorder, they departed, and preſently went to armes: ſo as the Gouernor was conſtrained to fortefie himſelfe in the Bourg of Saint Sernin: the Inhabitants whereof promiſed to aſſiſt him, and to die at his feet, rather then to ſuffer him, who was Lieutenant to their Soueraigne Princeſſe, to take any wrong, whether alſo D. *Corbaran* of Bidaure retired. Againſt this Bourg, they of Nauarriere banded for the other faction, D. *Garcia Almorauid* beeing their head: committing all acts of hoſtility, one againſt the other, which choller and the fury of a barbarous multitude could inuent; ſo as neither the authority, admonitions nor intreaties of Prelats, and other great perſonages, which ſeemed Neuters and Meadiators of peace, preuailed any thing, but did rather adde oyle to this fire.

D. Garcia Almorauid chiefe of a faction.

Pampelone diuided into two factions.

They did labour much to make a truce for forty daies, which did but giue them means to fortefie themſelues, to commit all the cruelties which enſued, for the mutines of Nauarriere during the truce drew in, by the meanes of the Biſhop Pampelone, great ſupplies of ſtrangers, with the which the truce being expired they attempted the Bourg: but ſeeing they could not force it, they went into the Vignes of the aduerſe partie, the which they cut and pulled vp by the rootes; and not ſatisfied therewith, they murthered all the little Infants which they of the Bourg had put forth to nurce in thoſe villages, beating out their braines (with a moſt barbarous inhumanity) againſt the ſtones and walles, adding to theſe impieties, many iniurious words againſt their aduerſaries, to the diſhonour of their Queene.

Biſhop of Pampelone a fauorer of the ſeditious.

Moreouer this brutiſh people hauing intelligence that D. *Pedro Sanches* of Montagu, who in this laſt tumult had beene oppoſite to the Gouernor *Euſtache Bellemarche*, would reconcile himſelfe vnto him, they came in the night into his lodging, and murthered him cruelly. Such inſolencies did the Inhabitants of Nauarriere commit againſt the Maieſty of God and their Queene: wherefore they drew a heauy Iudgement vpon them: for the French King beeing aduertiſed of their rebelious actions, vpon the diſcouery of their conſpiracy, was wonderfully offended: wherefore he raiſed a great army, meaning to puniſh thoſe which had carried ſo little reſpect vnto his greatneſſe, and had beene the cauſe of the enſuing miſeries, which army he himſelfe would lead into Nauarre, in the yeere 1276. but being arriued at Saluaterre in Bearn, and forced to ſtay there ſome time, by reaſon of the aboundance of ſnow which had fallne, and ſtopt the paſſages of the mountaines, he was ſo ſollicited by them that were not well pleaſed with this voyage, as he reſolued to returne, giuing the floure of his army to *Charles* (the Hiſtories of France call him *Robert* the ſecond) Earle of Artois, to conduct it into Nauarre, who croſſing the mountaines by Iacca, came by Sangueſſa to Pampelona, refuſing to paſſe by the Valley of Roncal, for that the Inhabitants held the party of them of Nauarriere: To whoſe ſuccors there were certaine bands of Caſtillans entred into the realme, who would haue retired, when as they heard of the comming of the French, but beeing charged in the reereward, they loſt ſome men, and as they retired ſlowly, the French and Nauarrois of their party charged them againe, wherevpon they turned head, but they were defeated and put to flight, with great loſſe. And for that during the fight the Nauarrois cried often vnto the Caſtillans, *A qui tornais?* that is to ſay, doe you returne? and that this demaund was often heard; they ſay that the hoſpital which was built to bury them that were ſlaine in this incounter, was for this cauſed named *Aqui tornais*, and ſo continues vnto this day. The Earle of Artois beſieged Nauarriere, the which he preſt in ſuch ſorrt, as D. *Garcia Almorauid*, who was within it with many of his confederates, fearing they ſhould not bee able to defend it, got out in the night, abandoning thoſe miſerable wretches to the puniſhment which they had deſerued. Theſe comanders retired to the caſtle of Sar, from whence the French diſlodged them, forcing them to flie into the Iſland of Sardaigne.

D. Pero Sanches de Montagu murthered.

An. 1276.

Earle of Artois ſent into Nauarre to puniſh the rebels of Pampelone.

D. Garcia Almorauid abandons the rebels.

The Inhabitants of Nauarriere finding themſelues in the morning without captaines, were much troubled, and like men which were better theeues and mutines then ſoldiars, they beganne to cry out for mercy, and to craue pardon of the Earle of Artois, who ſeeming

Nauarriere of Pampelone taken.

ſeeming to pitty them much, whilſt he entertained them with words on the one ſide, hee A
cauſed the walles and forts which were vnmanned to be aſſailed on the other, ſo as the
ſouldiars entred ſodainely, and made a cruell butchery of this wretched people, neuer
ceaſing to kil whilſt that day laſted, and when night came they fel to the ſpoile, commit-
ting ſuch exceſſe and violences, as victory, hatred and fury doth ſugieſt to inſolent ſoul-
diars: and not content to haue ſlaine the men, and taken their goods, without reſpect
of holy or prophane, they extended their rage euen vnto the houſes and buildings,
which they did ruine and burne: wherewith the other quarters of the towne were indo-
maged, the fire flying from one to the other, doing great harme to them that had not
offended. The Chamber of accounts was fired, where there were many titles, letters
and ancient Records of the realme of Nauarre burned: the reſt which could bee ſaued, B
was carried to the caſtle of Tiebas, whereas the Treaſor and Chamber of accounts of
Seuere puniſhed. Nauarre hath continued long. The fury beeing ended, thoſe which had eſcaped the
ſword, were condemned, and publikely executed as traitors: not any one eſcaping the
ſeuerity of that ſentence, but ſuch as the innocency of their age excuſed, and all their
goods were confiſcated.

Thus Nauarriere of Pampelone was ruined by a iuſt iudgement of God, in reuenge of
the bruti ſh cruelties, which theſe mutines did vſe againſt innocent age, in the villages, a-
gainſt the city, and other their inſolencies and rebellions. For the murther committed
vpon the perſon of D. *Pedro Sanches* of Montagu, Lord of Caſcante, and other their in-
ſolencies, there were called in queſtion and accuſed before the Eſtates of Nauarre which
were called to that end, D. *Gonçal Inigo*, *Iohn Inçalbiz* and his ſonne, *Symon* of *Varriz*, *Mi-* C
chel Garces of Varriz, *Garcia Perez* of Liçoani, *Pedro Ximenes* of Sabalça, *Symon Perez* of
Opaco, *Inego Gil* of Vrdauiz, *Sancho Inigues* of Vrdaniz, *Gonçaluo* of Arbiçu, and *Ruy Gon-*
çales his brother, *Sancho Perez* of Aguerre, & *Ochoa Perez* his brother, *Iohn* of Armenda-
riz, *Iohn* and *Sanches* the Biſcain, al which appeering not, their cauſe was more hainous,
hauing for their aduerſe parties, *Ruy Peres* of Echales, *Fernand Perez* of Echales, *Michel*
Perez of Subica, and *Pedro* of Aybar. By theſe proceedings and excutions, the reſt of
mutines were terrefied, and the realme remained in peace.

Caſtille. 17 During theſe actions in Nauarre, D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, made prepara-
tion to march, with an intent to deſpoſſeſſe the Emperor *Rodolphus*, who had beene choſen
to his preiudice, notwithſtanding that he had beene perſwaded by many of his friends D
not to make any more account of the Empire, ſeeing the occaſions which might haue
fauored him were loſt: yea Pope *Gregory* being come to the councel of Lyons, conſider-
ing the miſeries which might come to Chriſtendome, if D. *Alphonſo* ſhould wilfully
purſue his pretended right, hee ſent one vnto him, called *Fredul* Abbot of Lunel, after-
wards Biſhoppe of Ouiedo, to perſwade him to reſt ſatisfied with his royall Eſtate,
and not to trouble himſelfe any more with the affaires of the Empire, ſeeing that by
the conſent of all the Electors, *Rodolphus* had beene crowned in the towne of Aix La
Chappelle. And to make him beleeue that hee gaue him fatherly councell, he diſpen-
ſed with him to take the tenth of all the reuenues of the Clergy, for fixe yeeres to make
warre againſt the Moores. But D. *Alphonſo*, being obſtinate, hee thought that if hee E
went to ſee the Pope, he might draw him to ſet downe ſome order betwixt him and *Ro-*
dolphus, ſo as both might intitle themſelues Kings of the Romains: wherefore he told
the Abbot of Lunel, that he deſired to paſſe into France, and to conferre perſonally
with his Holineſſe, in ſome commodious towne, either Montpellier, or where hee
pleaſed.

Pope ratefies the election of Rodolphus. The Pope hearing this anſwer, perſwaded, himſelfe that D. *Alphonſo* had no great de-
ſire to be Emperor, whereupon without further deliberation, he ratefied the Election of
Rodolphus, with the conſent of the whole conſiſtory, in a conuocation at Lyons, calling
him King of Romains, and commanding all the Princes and Prouinces of the Empire,
to obay him: aduiſing *Rodolphus* to paſſe ſpeedily into Italy, to receiue the crowne of the F
Empire. It may be he had regard to the diuerſity of humors betwixt the Germains and
Spaniards.

D. *Alphonſo* hauing in the meane time ſetled his affaires, with his Nobility, and

giuen

giuen order for the gouernment thereof(not caring to ſeeke any truce with *Aben Ioſeph* King of Maroc, holding it would be diſhonorable, which notwithſtanding was the cauſe of great miſchiefe, as we ſhall ſee) he went from Toledo, to goe into France, to the Pope, yet was he aduertiſed, that he had proceeded to the confirmation of *Rodolphus*. He was accompanied by D. *Manuel* his brother, the Queene D. *Violant* the Infants D. *Sancho*, D. *Iohn*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Iaime* his children, with many Noblemen and Knights of Marke, of Caſtille, Leon, and his other dominions. He left the gouernment of the realme to his eldeſt ſonne D. *Fernand*, and the Moores frontier, to the Earle D. *Nugno* of Lara. Hee had giuen order to haue a fleet prepared of many ſhips, in the ports of Aſturia, Gallicia, and Andaluſia, the which coaſting along Spaine, Languedoc and Prouence, ſhould attend him at Marſeilles, being furniſhed with many ſouldiers, and great ſtore of victuals; ſending with it the ſuperfluous horſes and baggage of his traine. D. *Alphonſo* marching through the country of his father in law D. *Iaime*, he came to Tarragone where he was honourably entertained by him, then they arriued at Barcelona, about Chriſtmas, in the yeere 1275. D. *Alphonſo* ſtayed there with his traine ſix weekes, being often aduiſed by the King of Arragon, not to proceed, giuing him many great and conſiderable reaſons: but there was no meanes to diuert him from this voyage, beeing ſo farre aduanced. *An.* 1275.

Being come to Perpignan, hee ſtayed ſome time to conclude of the time and place of their enterview; the towne of Beaucaire was choſen, and the Archbiſhop of Narbonne had commandement to goe and meet him, and to conduct him. Hee left the Queene his wife and his children at Perpignan, except D. *Sancho* whom he ſent into Caſtille, by the aduiſe of the King of Arragon; and croſſing Languedoc hauing the Archbiſhop for his guide, he arriued at Beaucaire, whereas the Pope met him with ſome of the chiefe Cardinals, the councel of Lyons being ended. D. *Alphonſo* treated of many matters with the Pope, but he could not obtaine any thing that hee propounded. He ſhewed him the nullity of *Rodolphus* election by many reaſons, complayning greatly of his confirmation, making a great inſtance vpon that point in vaine; but the Pope wanted no excuſes. Then he laied open to the Pope the reaſons he had to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Suabe* after the death of *Conradin* King of Naples and Sicile, and Duke of Suabe, who was inhumainly beheaded by the French at Naples, in the yeere 1269. who hauing left no lawfull children, the ſucceſſion of the houſe belonged to him, in the right of his mother D. *Beatrix*, who was the right heire of that Dutchy, whereon *Rodolphus* had to his preiudice ſeized: beſides he complayned of the French King, who had intruded, and ſeized vpon the realme of Nauarre, which by ancient rights belonged to the houſe of Caſtille, whereof he produced ſome reaſons to iuſtifie his ſaying, but all was in vaine: finally he beſought the Pope to be a mediator for the deliuery of D. *Henry* his brother, who ſince the battaile, and defeat of *Conradin*, was priſoner in the hands of *Charles* King of Naples and Sicile. D. *Alphonſo* propounded many other things vnto the Pope, but without any effect: So as he ſpent the whole ſpring and part of the Sommer in this negotiation, vntill that the Pope leauing him much diſcontented, returned to Rome, yet hee ſtill vſed the title and armes of the Empire, vntill that he was forced by cenſures to leaue them, the Archbiſhop of Seuile hauing charge to intimate them vnto him.

Pope and D. Alphonſo King of Caſtille meet at Beaucaire.

Complaints & requeſts of D. Alphonſo to the Pope, but in vaine.

18. King D. *Alphonſo* being buſied in this vaine purſute, the Moores his confederats and vaſſals of Spaine, called in *Aben Ioſeph Miralmumin* of Affrike, thinking they might not onely ſhake off the Chriſtians yoake, but make ſome notable breach in the Eſtates of Leon and Caſtille, the King being abſent, or at the leaſt they ſhould ſeize vpon Andaluſia; and for that wee haue often made mention of this King *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, it is needful we ſhould relate what he was, and treate ſome thing of the Moores Eſtate in Affrike, for that thoſe of Spaine haue had their ſupport from them. The *Miralmumin Aben Mahomad* the old, of the race of the Almohades, beeing dead, after he had loſt the battaile of Muradal, we made mention that his Grand-child called *Caid Arrax*, raigned, who was the ſonne of Buxaf, dead before his father *Mahumet*. This *Caid Arrax* was the fifth King of Affrike, of the race of the *Almohades*, whoſe Empire extended from the

Moors.

Weſt

Weſt Ocean vnto Egipt. There were many Admirals, or Gouernors vnder him, ruling the Prouinces; among the which *Gomoranҫa Aben Zeiη*, of the Linage of *Abdalues*, held that of Tremeſſen, who behauing himſelfe couetouſly and violently in his gouernment, fell in diſgrace with his King *Caid Arrax*, ſo as carrying himſelfe rebelliouſly, the King came and beſieged him in a caſtle called Tremezezir, whereas a Moore, couſin to *Gomaranҫa*, going out of the fort ſlue the *Miralmumin*, ſeeming to yeeld vnto him, and ſhewing him a place whereby the caſtle might be taken. The army amazed at the death of their King, was inſtantly ſet vpon by the garriſon of Tremezezir, being led by *Gomaranҫa*, and put to flight, by which victory the Moore did appropriat that Prouince vnto himſelfe, cauſing himſelfe to be called King of Tremeſſen, and this was the beginning of that Kingdome. *Kingdome of Tremeſſen.*

At the ſame time there was in the city of Fez, a family of Moores, called the *Benaotazes* and *Merines*, which deſcended from a famous Moore, called *Merin*, who had beene a Chriſtian and became a Mahometiſt. The chiefe of this houſe at that time, was called *Bucar Aben Merin*, and gouerned the city of Fez, vnder the Miralmumin *Caid Arrax*; after whoſe death, and the defeat of his army by *Gomaranҫa*, before Tremezezir, this *Bucar Aben Merin* fell vpon the Almohades, which had eſcaped, and gathered themſelues together about Fez, whom hauing put to rout, he carried himſelfe for King of Fez, imitating that which his companion *Gomaranҫa Aben Zeiη* had done in Tremeſſen, and giuing a beginning to this new Kingdome. A brother of his called *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, vſurped (in the ſame troubles) the Principality in Ribat: ſo as the Eſtate of the Almohades raigning in Maroc, was then much decaied. Theſe being aduertiſed of the death of *Caid Arrax*, and of the tyranies aboue named, did preſently aduance a kinſman of his, to the royall ſeat, his name was *Almorcada*, who was the ſixth Miralmumin of the race of the *Almohades*. He was no ſooner crowned King, but he went to field with an army, to puniſh theſe rebels which had intitled themſelues Kings in their gouernments: Firſt he came and aſſailed *Bucar Aben Merin*, the new King of Fez, but he was repulſt, and vanquiſhed by him; ſo as the race of the *Merins* kept the poſſeſſion of Fez, and of the territory, in the plaine country, or Algarue, as the Moores call it. So as *Bucar* dying a peceable King, his ſonne *Hiaja* raigned after him, vnder the tutelage of *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, his vncle, for that he was then very young, but he liued not long; wherefore *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* remained heire of the realme of Fez, and was much eſteemed and feared amongſt the Moores, being called (as an honour) the old or elder of the *Merins*. This Moores good fortune was not ſo bounded for *Budebuz* nephew to *Almorcada* king of Maroc, being rebelled againſt him, and retired to Fez, he gaue him an occaſion to get the realme of Maroc, and to ioyne it vnto Fez. *Budebuz* intreated *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, to aide him againſt his vncle, promiſing to giue him all that he held of the realme of Fez, vnto the riuer Natab. *Realme of Fez.* *Almorcada the ſixt Miralmumin of Maroc.*

Iacob Aben Ioſeph gaue him ſuch ſuccors, as *Almorcada* being amazed, durſt not attend him within Maroc, but fled, being purſued by certaine horſemen which *Budebuz* ſent after him, whom they ouertooke and ſlue, carrying his head to the King of Fez: wherefore *Budebuz* was peaceable King of Maroc, the ſeuenth and laſt of the *Almohades*. Finding himſelfe ſetled in his Kingdome, he would haue mocked *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, who had helpt him to attaine this dignity, not caring to performe any promiſe, but threatned to take Fez from him, by reaſon of which Ingratitude, there beganne a cruell warre betwixt them, the which hauing continued three yeeres, at the laſt it was ended, by the defeat and death of King *Budebuz*, being ſlaine in battaile, of whoſe Eſtate *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* ſeized, giuing an end to the raigne of the *Almohades*, and a beginning to that of the family of *Merin* in Affrike, about the yeere of our Lord 1270. It is this *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, which we haue ſayd, had ſent one thouſand light horſes Arabians into Spaine to *Mahumet Alhamar* King of Granado, vnder the conduct of a captaine with one eye, of great authority: with whom D. *Alphonſo* the wiſe, King of Caſtille, hauing not vouchſafed to treate of a truce, when as he went in France to court the Pope, *Mir Almuz* who had ſucceeded in Granado, and hee conſpired together, to the preiudice of Caſtille, and all the Chriſtians in Spaine: for this King of Granado beeing diſcontented with the *Budebuz the ſeuenth King of Maroc.* *Iacob Aben Ioſeph firſt King Merin at Maroc.*

Accords

A accords which he had made at his firſt entrance, in the which he could not procure King *Alphonſo* to abandon the captaines of Malaga and Guadix his enemies, he feared that theſe Moores which had beene enemies to his father and him, would attempt ſome thing againſt his realme, and therefore he reſolued, at what price ſoeuer, to ruine them. And for that it was a meanes to imbarke him in a warre with the King of Caſtille, hee did ſolicit *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* to vndertake the enterpriſe of Spaine, as his predeceſſors Kings of Arabia had done, offring him the townes and ports of Algezire and Tariffe, for his deſcent, whereof the Miralmumin did willingly accept, finding himſelfe aſſured in his Eſtate, and mighty in men and armes: but it happened that they of Malaga and Guadix, ſeeing that the truce, which they had with the King of Granado, was nere ex-
B pired, and doubting they ſhould haue warre, and not be releeued by the forces of Caſtille, by reaſon of the Kings abſence, they held it the beſt courſe to reconcile themſelues to the King of Granado, as in like manner the captaine of Comares did, who was of the ſame league.

Notwithſtanding the Miralmumin hauing leauied great forces to paſſe into Spaine, ſent ſome troupes of Moores to receiue the townes of Algezire and Tariffe, according to the accord, the which were deliuered vnto them: ſo as he ſtayed not long to come himſelfe in perſon to Algezire, whereas afterwards he paſt his troupes to the number of ſeuenteene thouſand horſe: The two Kings met in the country of Malaga, whereas they concluded to make warre againſt the Chriſtians; the African King towards Eccia, and he of Granado by *Iaen*. This paſſage was contrary to the expectation of the
C Chriſtian Princes, for the Miralmumin, who could not make ſo great a leauy of horſe, without knowledge, made a ſhew as if he would goe againſt one of his ſubiects which was rebelled, and had by ſtealth taken the towne of Ceuta; and the better to diſſemble his deſeigne, hee had ſent to intreat the King of Arragon to aſſiſt him in this warre with tenne Gallies, and ſome ſhips of burthen, and with fiue hundred horſe, to whom hee promiſed good entertainement. Don *Fernand de la Cerde* Viceroy and Lieutenant generall in Spaine for his father, did not deſcouer that theſe forces were prepared for Caſtille, vntill they had paſt the ſtraight, being then at Burgos, hee was aduertiſed of the League betwixt theſe Mooriſh Kings, and of the reconciliati-
D on of them of Malaga and Guadix with the King of Granado, all which inconueniences grew by the Kings abſence, wherefore, both of himſelfe, and at the inſtance of Don *Nugno de Lara*, who was at Cordoua, hee made the ſpeedieſt preparation hee could, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the violence of theſe Infidels.

The King of Maroc paſſeth into Spaine.

Don *Nugno* knowing that the Miralmumin tooke the way of Eccia, drew neere vnto that quarter, with ſuch forces as he could gather together: but finding the paſſage ſtopt, hee was forced for to fight with the Moores, where after a long fight hee was defeated and ſlaine, yet moſt of his men which eſcaped entred by night into Eccia.

E The victorious Moores hauing found the body of Don *Nugno*, cut off his head and ſent it to *Mahumet* King of Granado, who was glad of this victory, but very much diſcontented for the death of the Earle Don *Nugno*, who had beene the cauſe that hee raigned, wherefore hee ſent his head to Cordoua, to bee buried with his body. The like misfortune happened to Don *Sancho* of Arragon Archbiſhop of Toledo, who hauing gathered together all the ſouldiars of Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid and Talauera, preſented himſelfe vpon the frontier, where hee incountred the King of Granados army, inuading the Dioceſſe of Iaen, where hee was ſlaine and his army put to route. His body, head and hand, where he ware the Pontifical Ring, beeing ſeperated, were recouered from the Moores, and brought to Toledo, where they were bu-
F ried with great ſorrow of all the people, taking it for a mournfull preſage for the affaires of Spaine: D. *Gonçalo*, Biſhop of Burgos ſucceded him in this dignity, and was afterwards made Cardinal, the firſt amongſt all the Biſhops of the Church.

D. Nugno de Lara vanquiſhed by the Moores and ſlaine.

Rout and death of D. Sancho of Arragon Archbiſhop of Toledo by the Moores.

They write that the Archbiſhop Don *Sancho* did not die fighting, in the charge, but that beeing taken, there grewe debate betwixt ſome captaines Moores, ſome ſtriuing to lead him to the Miralmumin *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, and others to King *Mahumet*, and

that the Gouernor of Malaga, called *Aben Atar* arriuing; foreſeeing that by the contention for this priſoner, there might happen ſome great ſlaughter amongſt the captaines Moores, he caſt an Azagaye, or Mooriſh dart at the Archbiſhop, and peerced his belly through, ſaying, God forbid ſo many braue men ſhould kil one an other for a dogge. The day of this defeat, there arriued D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, with a great number of ſouldiars, horſe and foote, which he had ſodainely leuied, and lead by great iourneies towards the frontier, by fauour whereof many which had remained at the battaile, ioyntly with his troupes, and without any delay went all ioyntly together to incounter the Moores, who receiued them couragiouſly, ſo as neither party could vant of the victory, when as the night parted them. The greateſt deeds of armes in theſe incounters, were done about the Archbiſhop D. *Sanchos* croſſe, the which he cauſed to be carried before him, as primat, and had fallne into the Moores hands: but the Chriſtians recouered it againe, which made them hope for better.

Caſtille.

19 Theſe loſſes were augmented by the death of the Infant D. *Fernand*, the Viceroy, being in villa Real, ſince named city Royal, where he attended the reſt of his forces which were leauied in all the countries ſubiect vnto Caſtille, to goe himſelfe in perſon to this warre. This Prince finding himſelfe neere his end, he recommended his eldeſt ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, being but an Infant, to D. *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle D. *Nugno*, coniuring him to take the charge and gard of him, and of his right vnto the realme, wherein he ſhould by right ſucceed his grand-father Don *Alphonſo* the wiſe; the which Don *Iohn Nugnes* promiſed him, and being dead, he cauſed his body to bee carried to Burgos, where it was buried in the Monaſtery of Las Huelgas. The miſeries which enſued brought the realme into great trouble, and if God had not ſtayed the enterpriſes of the Infidels, by ſome admirable and vnknowne meanes, they were likely to haue giuen a great and mortall wound to the Chriſtians Eſtate in Spaine, but he ſpared them. The Infant D. *Sancho* who had beene ſent backe by King *Alphonſo*, from Perpignan being aduertiſed of his brothers death, went with al ſpeed to Villa Real, where he was receiued by the army, as Lieutenant to the King his father. The Myralmumin not able to take Eccia, and finding the Chriſtians forces to be much augmented, he retired to Algezire and Tariffe: and ſeeming to himſelfe that he had done ynough, and likewiſe the King of Granado, they reſolued to make a truce for two yeeres with the Chriſtians a the which being concluded and ſworne, *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* retired into Affrike, holding ſtill the townes of Tariffe and Algezire, where he left good garriſons: this was the ſucceſſe of the Arabians warre, King D. *Alphonſo* being abſent.

Death of the Infant D. Fernand de la Cerde.

Truce betwixt the Chriſtians and Moores.

An. 1276. Being returned into Spaine about the end of the yeere 1276. he found the ſtate in great diſorder, whereof he had beene alwaies aduertiſed during his aboad in France. That which moſt grieued him, was the death of his eldeſt ſonne D. *Fernand*, & not without cauſe, for his other ſonne D. *Sancho* made ſhew that he had ſome diſordred enterpriſe in his conceit, the which he put in execution, to the diſhonor and preiudice of his father, and elder brothers children, wherein D. *Lope Dias* de Haro, Lord of Biſcay, did animate, councel and conduct him: for as ſoone as the Infant D. *Sancho* arriued at Villa Real, where his brother died, D. *Lope Dias* came vnto him: whereas D. *Sancho* knowing that he was ill affected to the King D. *Alphonſo*, and the deceaſed D. *Fernand*, and his familiar friend, he did freely acquaint him with the deſire he had to reigne, ſaying, it was fit that he who was a knight, and had learned to gouerne a realme, were it in warre or peace, ſhould reigne after his father, rather then his Nephews, the ſons of his brother D. *Fernand*, who were yet very yong, hauing need of Regents & Gouernors, charges which were effected by great perſonages, who by reaſon therof, grew into quarrel one with the other, to the oppreſſion of the people, and hazard of the Eſtate, the which was chiefly to be feared in theſe reuolts & tumults of the Moores; who could imbrace ſuch an occaſiõ, to augment their Eſtate with the preiudice of the Chriſtians: intreating him to aſſiſt him to effect his deſeigne, adding therewithal great promiſes: wherevnto D. *Lope Diaz* anſwered, according to the Infants deſire, incorraging him to proceed in his enterpriſe, with aſſurance to aide him: with this reſolution they paſt with the army by Cordoua, and repulſt the Moores in ſuch ſort, as the Miralmumins retreat, & the abouementioned truce followed.

D. Sanchos reſolution to diſpoſſeſſe his Nephewes of the Kingdome.

Here-

A Hereupon the King D. *Alphonſo*, did ſomewhat ſtay his ſonnes enterpriſe, but not quite ouerthrow it: for not long after D. *Sancho* not only aſſured himſelfe to ſucceed his father in the Kingdome, but would alſo raigne in his life time.

Arragon. D. *Iaime* King of Arragon, being intreated by the Caſtillans, had inuaded the Moores by *Murcia* during this warre, but with as bad ſucceſſe, as the reſt, for his men were put to rout nere to Xatiua, wheras D. *Garcia Ortis* of Açagra with many others were ſlaine. The King reſoluing to goe in perſon in his army, being old and broken, he fell ſicke, and died at Valencia, whether he cauſed himſelfe to be carried, hauing raigned threeſcore yeeres and ten monthes. A Prince whom Spaine, and eſpecially his realme of Arragon, ought much to commend, for his great, pollitike, and millitary vertues, and his great zeale to

Death of D. Iaime of Arragon. *His vertues.*

B the religion of his age. They write of three notable precepts which hee gaue vnto D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, being with him at Toledo. That hee ſhould make the townes and common people his friends, againſt the Inſolencies of great men. That he ſhould neuer puniſh offenders ſecretly; and that hee ſhould neuer ſeeme fearefull in doing well. The Authors of Arragon write, that in his time hee built aboue two thouſand Churches and Chapells, and that he fought thirtie times in battaile againſt the Moores; Hee left his ſonne Don *Pedro* ſucceſſor in his realme of Arragon, Valencia and Cattelogne. To D. *Iames* his ſecond ſonne, he left the Iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, with the title of a Kingdome, and the right of Soueraignty, but it continued not long. He gaue by teſtament to the children of D. *Thereſa Gil* of Bedaure, that is,

His buildings and valour.

C to D. *Iames*, *Xirica*, *Toro*, *Eſlida*, *Beho* and *Ahin*: and to D. *Pedro*, *Ayerbio*, *Luſia*, *Ahuero*, *Liſo*, *Artaſſon*, *Caſtillon*, *Suſtico*, *Borota*, *Azuere*, *Cabatraios* and *Beninuena*. It is credible that he did marry this Lady ſecretly, yet after the death of Queene *Iolant*, which was about the yeere 1251. hauing accompanied with her before, it may be betwixt theſe two marriages, and not as ſome haue written, before his firſt marriage with D. *Leonor* of Caſtille. Theſe two ſonnes D. *Iames* and D. *Pedro*, borne of D. *Thereſa*, were the Authors of the families of *Xerica* and *Ayerbio*. He alſo gaue by teſtament to D. *Pedro Fernandes*, whom hee had by D. *Berenguela Fernandes*, *Ixar*: and did ſubſtitute vnto his lawfull ſonnes, the children of his daughters D. *Iſabel*, *Conſtance* and *Iolant*: hee was interred in

D the habit of a Monke of Ciſteaux, in the royal Monaſtery of Poblet.

D. Pedro the third of that name, and the ninth King of Arragon.

DOn *Pedro* his eldeſt ſonne, was King in the yeere 1276. being ſurnamed the great, by reaſon of his great exploits, ſome good, ſome bad. His ſonne D. *Alphonſo* had the yeere before, by the care of D. *Iames* his Grandfather, beene ſworne King of Arragon and Valencia, after D. *Pedro* his father, by the Eſtates aſſembled to that end at Leride. He had him by D. *Conſtance*, daughter to *Manfroy*, baſtard to the Emperor Fre-

Genealogy of Arragon.

E *deric* the ſecond King of Sicile and Naples, of whom hee alſo begat D. *Iames*, who was King of Sicile; whoſe elder brother dying without children, he came to ſucceed in the Realme of Arragon. Beſides theſe, he had D. *Fadrique*, or *Frederic*, to whom was giuen the realme of Sicile, and D. *Pedro*, who alone of all the brethren was no King, and two daughters. D. *Iſabel*, who was married to Don *Denis* King of Portugal, and *Conſtance* or *Violant*, wife to *Robert* King Naples. In the right of his wife *Conſtance*, daughter to *Manfroy* the vſurping King of Naples and Sicile, hee challenged theſe realmes for him and his ſucceſſours, who in the end enioyed them, and thus the Hiſtorie records it.

William the ſecond of that name King of Naples and Sicile, being dead, being of the

Sicile and Naples held by the Normans.

F Normans race, about the yeere 1189. Pope *Clement* the 3. then raigning, pretended that theſe realmes were fallne to the church of Rome. But the noblemen and barons of the realm, for diuers conſiderations, did make *Tancred* baſtard ſon to *Roger* the 3. their King, who firſt intitled himſelfe King of Naples and Sicile, whereat Pope *Celeſtine* the 3. ſucceſſor to *Clement*, being diſcontented, he would haue diſpoſſeſſed *Tancred*, to inueſt the

Emperor *Henry* the ſixth ſonne to *Frederic Barbaroſſa* Duke of Suabe, in the realmes of Naples and Sicile. And the better to aſſure him the royall title, he cauſed him to marry *Conſtance* Neece or lawfull daughter of *Roger*, who was a profeſſed Nunne in the Monaſtery of Saint Mary, or as ſome write at Saint Peters of Palermo, diſpenſing with her vow and profeſſion, by his papal authority, by whom the Emperor *Henry* had *Frederic*, who was afterwards Emperor, the ſecond of that name. *Henry* ſought long to diſpoſſeſſe *Tancred*, but it was in vaine. He beeing dead, his ſonne *Roger* raigned little, after whoſe deceaſe, Queene *Sibille* cauſed an other ſonne called *William*, to be preſently crowned, being very yong, whom the Emperor *Henry* found meanes to circumuent, vpon collour of making ſome good accord with him: and hauing by policy drawne him to Palermo, without entring into any conference, he cauſed him to be gelt, and ſent him into Germany, with his three ſiſters. By this meanes the Normands command in Naples and Sicile, fell into the hands of the houſe of Suabe. After the death of *Henry*, *Frederic* his ſonne being Emperour, and duke of Suabe, ſucceeded in theſe realmes, the which hee enioyed, notwithſtanding many croſſes which the Popes gaue him, againſt whom *Gautier* of Brene, husband to Queene Sybille, who had eſcaped out of priſon, led an army, but hee was taken and ſlue himſelfe in priſon. *Frederic* had by many wiues many children: by *Conſtance* of Arragon, *Henry* the elder, duke of Suabe, and King of Romains: by *Iolant* of Brenne, daughter to the King of Ieruſalem, *Conrad*, alſo duke of Suabe, and King of Romains, after the deceaſe of his brother, and moreouer by teſtament King of Naples. By *Mahaut*, or *Iſabel*, according vnto ſome, daughter to *Iohn* King of England, he had *Henry* the yonger, who was King of Sicile by Teſtament, and by a concubine *Manfroy*, *Conrad* and *Henry* ſucceeded after their father *Frederic*, reſpectiuely, in the realmes of Naples and Sicile. And for that they were young and abſent, *Manfroy* was appointed to be Gouernor of theſe Eſtates by the Emperor, in his brothers names. Againſt whom Pope *Innocent* did choſe the King of Englands brother to bee King of Naples and Sicile, but he neuer paſt into Italy. By the practiſes of Popes, theſe realmes were in great combuſtion, ſo as *Manfroy* was obeyed but by the leſſer part. Wherefore *Conrad* King of Romains was forced to paſſe into Italy, with a great army, by meanes whereof he reduced theſe realmes vnder his obedience, who was afterwards ſo tranſported with a deſire of raigne, as he cauſed his brother, *Henry* the younger, to bee ſlaine at Saint Felix, in Baſilicata, and *Frederic* his Nephew, ſonne to the elder *Henry*, to bee poyſoned, hauing inuited him to ſupper: for which parricide God ſuffered that hee himſelfe ſhould die of poyſon, which *Manfroy* his baſtard brother gaue him.

Sicile and Naples in the houſe of Suabe.

Parricids committed by Conrad.

By theſe deathes the realmes of Naples and Sicile came by lawfull ſucceſſion to *Conradin*, brother to *Frederic* that was poyſoned, ſonne to *Henry* the elder. But *Manfroy* who had gouerned in an others name, and taſted the ſweet of command, reſolued then to keepe theſe realmes for himſelfe, ſending men into Germany to diſpatch *Conradin*, if it were poſſible, were it by poiſon or otherwiſe: in the meane time he held his authority of Lieutenant or Viceroy, againſt the Popes attempts: and after a while faigning that *Conradin* was dead, he clad himſelfe in mourning, and making a great ſpeech in an aſſembly of the Noblemen and States of the realme, ſeeming to bee very ſorrowfull for the death of his Nephew, he perſwaded them to chooſe him King of Naples and Sicile by a generall conſent, where he raigned thirteene yeeres: and the better to maintaine himſelfe, he made a league with the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy: Againſt whom Pope *Vrbain* the fourth, called out of France *Charles* brother to Saint *Lewis*, Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Prouence, who had married D. *Beatrix* of Arragon, Proprietary of that Earldome, according to the Arragonois, who was inueſted by him in the realmes of Naples and Sicile, in the yeere 1262. with charge that hee ſhould expel *Manfroy*, and pay a rent vnto the Church as feudatarie. *Charles*, by the perſwaſion of D. *Beatrix* his wife, who was iealous to ſee her two ſiſter Queenes, the one of France, the other of England, vndertooke the voiage of Italy, where his inueſtiture was confirmed, and he crowned with his wife, at Rome, at Saint *Iohn* of Latran, by Pope *Clement* the fourth. Then paſſing on againſt *Manfroy*, who came to incounter him, both armies met about

Manfroys parricide.

Charles of Anjou made king of Naples and Sicile.

A about at Benеuent, in the yeere 1266. whereas *Manfroy* was ſlaine in battaile, and his men vanquiſhed; ſo as *Charles* remained peaceble King of Naples and Sicile. The body of *Manfroy* was not buried in holy ground, for that he ſtood excommunicate, but in a field nere vnto Beneuent, from whence he was afterwards tranſported vnto the confines of Campania, his wife and children, being taken by the French, died in priſon. Some yeeres after *Conradin* (the right heire of theſe realms) paſt into Italy, being perſwaded by many Italians of the Gibeline faction, who hauing incountred the French army neere vnto Arezzo, vanquiſhed it: wherefore marching boldly on, hee had a ſecond incounter with King *Charles* his army, neere vnto Alba, the which was vnfortunate for him; for his army was not onely defeated, but himſelfe taken priſoner (thinking to ſaue himſelfe, B in a diſguiſed habit) and carried to Naples, whereas King *Charles* by a deteſtable inhumanity (thruſt on by Pope *Clement*) in the yeere 1269. cut off his head, with that of his couſin *Frederic* Duke of Auſtria, and of many Noblemen of Naples and Sicile, which had followed *Conradins* party. By theſe meanes the Popes gaue theſe realmes vnto the French, and called them the two Sicilles, the one on this ſide, the other beyond the Far. *Henry* brother to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, Lieutenant of Rome, was partiſan to *Conradin* in this warre, and was taken, as hath beene ſayd.

Manfroy vanquiſhed and ſlaine by the French.

If the Sultan of Egipt, a barbarous Prince, hauing the King Saint *Lewis*, and his brother *Charles* priſoners, had intreated them in like manner, the French would haue held it very ſtrang. But God powred forth his vengeance vpon the French ſome yeeres after, in the Iſland of Sicile, whether they called D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, who had ſucceeded D. *Iaime* his father, in the yeere 1276. who without delay cauſed himſelfe to be crowned in Saragoſſa, by D. *Bernard Oliuelia* Archbiſhop of Tarragone: but before he receiued the crowne, he made proteſtation, that he would not be bound to any ſubmiſſion, nor promiſe, which D. *Pedro* his Grandfather had made vnto the Pope, or the church of Rome, to the preiudice of the liberty of his realme, to the end they ſhould not pretend that hee was their Leege-man, or vaſſal.

C

In the ſame aſſembly of Eſtates of Sarragoſſa, he cauſed the oth to be confirmed to his ſon D. *Alphonſo*, to raigne after him, as heire preſumptiue, and for that at his comming to the crowne, he had not aſſembled the Eſtates of Cattelogne at Barcelona, ac- D cording to the ancient cuſtomes, there to promiſe and ſweare the obſeruation of the rights, lawes and preuiledges of the country, the Noblemen of Cattelogne, being long inured to tumults, they made a league and conſpired with the townes, for the preſeruation of their liberties: the chiefe of which conſpiracy, were D. *Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix holding many fees, and much land in Cattelogne, *Arnold Roger* Earle of Pallars, *Ermengaud* Earle of Vrgel, and *Aznar* his brother, *Raymond Foulques* Vicont of Cardone, *Bernard Roger Eril*, *Raymond Angleſol*, and *William Raymond Ioſſe*, whereof we will hereafter make mention: But wee muſt returne into Caſtille, where we haue left King D. *Alphonſo* the wife much troubled, for the diſorders which had happened during his abſence.

E 21 Being arriued at Toledo, euery man repaired thether, and eſpecially the Infant D. *Sancho*, who had made truce for two yeeres with the Moores. Thether came alſo D. *Lope* Diaz of Haro, who was ſo hardy, as to deliuer a meſſage for them all, that it would pleaſe him to declare his ſonne D. *Sancho* his ſucceſſor in the realmes of Caſtille, Toledo, Leon and other places, ſeeing hee had already giuen ſome proofes of his vertue and valour againſt the Moores, and that he was the eldeſt of his ſons lyuing: to whom the King made but a cold anſwere in the beginning, but hauing afterwards aſſembled the Eſtates in the towne of Segobia, by the councel of the Infant D. *Manuel* his brother, he reſolued to gratefie D. *Sancho*, whom he made heire of the crowne after his deceaſe, and in this qua- lity hee was receiued by them all. Thus D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Fernand*, the children of F Don *Fernand de la Cerde*, were put from the royall ſucceſſion, which did belong vnto them by right, although that ſome excuſe this fact of D. *Alphonſo*, ſaying that there was no law at that time which did binde him to leaue the realme more to one then to an other; as ſince there was made and receiued in the time of D. *Fernand* the fifth, in the city of Toro, where it was decreed vpon this difficultie that the children of the elder brother

Caſtille.

An audacious ſpeech of D. Lope Diaz de Haro.

D Alphonſo reiects the children of D. Fernand his eldeſt ſonne from the ſucceſſion, and giues it to D. Sancho.

deceaſed, ſhould in that reſpect be preferred before the vncle, repreſenting their fathers A perſon.

The Queene D. *Violant*, and D. *Blanche* widow to D. *Fernand*, were ſo diſcontented with this reſolution of the Eſtates of Segobia, as taking his young children with them, they went out of the country of Caſtille, to D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, brother to the Queene D. *Violant*. Many Noblemen and townes of the Realme did alſo hold it to bee very vniuſt, foreſeeing many great miſeries which would enſue, if the children did liue. King D. *Alphonſo* finding this diſcontentment, came to Burgos, where tranſported with choller, he cauſed his brother D. *Fadrique*, or *Frederic*, to bee ſmothered, without any forme of iuſtice, and commanded that D. *Symon Ruis* of Haro, Lord of Los Cameros, ſhould be burned in the towne of Treuigno, for that they had aſſiſted the Ladies in their B retreat into Arragon, the which terrefied euery man. He ſent alſo to D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, to complaine that he had receiued theſe Princeſſes, and the children; whereof he excuſed himſelfe with good words.

Cruelty of King D. Alphonſo.

An. 1278. Going from Burgos, he paſt through the country of Leon, and then tooke the way to Seuile, being reſolued to make warre againſt the Moores, ſo as in the yeeere 1278. hee laied ſiege to Algezire, where there was a ſmall garriſon of the Miralmumins of Affrike; D. *Pedro* his ſonne was chiefe at this ſiege; but notwithſtanding they preſt it both by ſea and land, yet the Chriſtians loſt their labour.

The Queene D. Violant vnchaſt.

During this enterpriſe the Infant D. *Sancho* cauſed the Queene his mother to returne into Caſtille, to whom it was tedious to liue out of that Realme, where ſhee had ſome Mignons, as Hiſtories report, who tax her of adultery: and he procured D. *Pedro* King of C Arragon, to detaine the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, his Nephewes, priſoners in the caſtle of Xatiua, to the end they ſhould not carry them into France, to King *Philip* the 3. their mothers brother: who after ſhe had done her vttermoſt endeauor for the deliuery of her children, in the end ſhe came to the King her brother, to implore his aide and protection. The ſiege of Algezire was vnfortunate, for the army at ſea was in a manner all loſt, by the ambuſhes of the Miralmumin, who victualed the place; and as for that at land, there died ſo great a number of men as they were forced to riſe, for the King of Maroc was vpon the paſſage, and came to Algezire, where the truce was renued not

Alhambra of Granado comprehending the King of Granado, who fortefied the city of Granado that yeere, and there made that famous fort, which is called Alhambra, as ſtately a building as any D

22 is in Spaine. The captaine of Malaga being againe reuolted, and come vnder the protection of the King of Caſtille, began two forts which defend that city, called Alcaçaua and Gebralfaro.

In the yeere 1279. the Infant D. *Sancho* and the King D. *Pedro* had an enterview betwixt

An. 1279. Requena and Bunol, whereas they made a league, from whence the Infant returned to his father being at Badajos, whether alſo the reſt of his children came, and there they reſolued to make warre againſt the King of Granado: and therefore he ſent away D. *Sancho* to aſſemble his forces in Caſtille, hauing in the meane time a deſire to ſee D. *Denis* ſonne to his baſtard daughter, to whom he ſent to intreat him to come to Badajos.

Portugal. He was a very gallant Prince, whoſe Eſtate King D. *Alphonſo* his father had begun to E ſet vp the yeere before, giuing him 40000. pounds of currant money yeerely: but this yeere 1279. he had the whole realme, by the deceaſe of King D. *Alphonſo* his father, who was buried in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike of Lisbone, which he himſelfe had built. This King *Alphonſo* had raigned two and twenty yeeres, and died ſeuenty yeeres old. Ten yeere after his body was tranſported to the Monaſtery of Alcouaça.

D. Denis the firſt of that name, and the ſixth King of Portugal. F

23 THe King D. *Denis* his ſonne was ſeuenteene yeeres old when he began to raigne, and was ſurnamed the builder, for that he made many goodly buildings in his realme,

A Realme, as well holy, as prophane, Churches, Monaſteries, Towers, Ports of the ſea, and whole townes, wherof mention is made, that he did build and re-edifie, to the number of foure and fortie. At his comming to the Crowne, and before, there had beene ſome diſcontentment betwixt him and his mother D. *Beatrix*, daughter to D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, the which (it may be) did ſtay him from going to him to Badajos: for being come to Yelbes vpon the confines of Portugal, three ſmall leagues from Badajos, he fell into a ſudden diſtruſt, and turned head, wherewith the King his Grandfather was much diſcontented.

King Don *Alphonſo* thereupon parted from Badajos, and came to Seuile, where he had *Caſtille.*
newes that the Infant D. *Sancho* came towards the citty of Iaen, with great troups of ſol-
B diers from Caſtile, Leon and Toledo. Wherefore he ſent him thoſe men he had, where there were certaine skirmiſhes rather to the Chriſtians loſſe then the Moores. Beeing at Seuile, there came certaine meſſengers vnto him from *Philip* of France, to bee a meanes for the deliuerie of the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, who were detained at Xatiua, and for other affaires. There it was concluded, that the two kings ſhould meet at Bayone in December, in the yeare 1280. The king of Caſtile came thither with his children, and *An.* 1280.
Philip the French king came to Salueterre in Bearne, where by Mediators it was concluded, that the realme of Iaen ſhould be giuen to the children of *la Cerde*, the which they ſhould hold in fee, and do homage to the king of Caſtile, and the Infant D. *Sancho*: but he being aduertiſed of that which his father had concluded, would not conſent thereunto, ſo as by his meanes they returned without any effect, euen touching the warre againſt the
C Moores, for the which there had an vnion bene propounded betwixt the kings of France and Caſtile, to inuade and conquer Affricke with their vnited forces, but it was left vnreſolued. Beeing returned, D. *Sancho* made an enterprize vpon the king of Granado, but his men were charged by the Moores neere vnto Moclin, who ſlue aboue 2800. whereas *Gonçalo Ruis Giron* maſter of S. *Iames*, was ſore hurt, and died within few daies after, to the great griefe of D. *Sancho*, and many others: whereupon he entred into the territories of Granado, where he made a wonderfull ſpoile, euen to the citty gates.

The yeare following 1281. there was an interview betwixt the king D. *Alphonſo*, the *An.* 1281.
infant D. *Sancho*, and D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, at a place called Campillo, about Agre- *League betwixt the king of Caſtile and Arragon.*
D da, where there was a League ſworne betwixt them againſt all Princes, and there were townes and caſtels deliuered for aſſurance of either ſide: yea they concluded to make war againſt Nauarre, and to diuide the conqueſt betwixt Caſtile and Arragon: it was at ſuch time as the king D. *Pedro* plotted the warre of Sicily, whereof wee ſhall make mention. King D. *Alphonſo* being afterwards come to Burgos, he married his two ſonnes, D. *Pedro* to the daughter of the Earle of Narbone, and D. *Iohn* to the daughter of his ſonne-in-law, *William* of Montferrat, to whome he gaue two millions of Marauidis of the money of thoſe times. The Infant D. *Sancho* did afterwards meet with D. *Pedro* at Tarraſſone, where they renued their contract, but it tooke no great effect. The Realme of Caſtile beeing in great want, there was a decree to make copper money, and ſome peeces of ſiluer.

E 24 About the end of the yeare 1281. the king being importuned to releaſe the children of his ſonne D. *Fernand*, did ſomewhat relent, ſending D. *Fredulo* Biſhop of Ouiedo to the French king, vnder colour to ſend him vnto the Pope to procure a Croyſado againſt the Moores: but the Infant D. *Sancho* was aduertiſed of all, and beeing diſcontented, that his father had diſguiſed this buſineſſe, he came to Cordoua, and made a league againſt his father with *Mahomad Mir* k. of Granado, who promiſed to pay him the third of the reuenues of his Realme for a tribute. Then did D. *Sancho* begin a miſerable purſute, the which he neuer ceaſed, vntill he had driuen his aged father, with griefe and heauineſſe, into the graue: who indeed had worthily deſerued all the miſeries which fell vpon him: for he ſhewed himſelfe wilfull in his conceptions, and many times without iudgement in his
F prodigality without reaſon, and tractable to his owne loſſe: ſharpe and very ſeuere vnto thoſe which did not applaud his actions, but ſought to perſwade him to the contrarie. And he was ſo vniuſt in his iudgements (as appeared by his grand-children, the ſonnes of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*) as it was an admirable thing, ſo many imperfections ſhould bee found in a king ſo ſtudious: yet it did not befit a ſon to be the ſcourge of his fathers vices.

D. Sancho of Caſtile makes a league with the Moores to diſpoſſeſſe his father.

The

Portugal.

The new King of Portugall, who would not truſt king D. *Alphonſo* his Grandfather, A
was now in quarrell with his brother, called alſo D. *Alphonſo*, whome he pourſued with
Armes, but aſwell this controuerſie, as that he had with his mother, were pacified by the
meanes of Don *Sancho* of Caſtile, and of Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, to whoſe daugh-
ter called Don *Iſabel*, borne of the Queene Don *Conſtance*, daughter to *Manfroy* King
of Naples this Prince was married, which marriage was celebrated at Tron-
coſo, in the yeare 1282. with royall pompe, about that time Don *Sancho* burſt forth into
open rebellion againſt his father. This King Don *Denis* did afterwards enter into league
with Don *Sancho*, who drew vnto his ſeruice D. *Iohn* his brother, beſides D. *Lope* Diaz *de*
Haro, *Diego Lopes* his brother, *Ramir* Diaz, D. *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Pedro Aluares* of the
Aſturies, *Fernand Roderigo* of Cabrera, and many others, which were out of the coun- B
trie ſince the death of the Infant Don *Fredericke*, and of *Symon Ruis de los Cameros*.

Caſtille.

The Infant Don *Sancho* was ſo well beloued, as in a ſhort time all men followed him,
leauing the king D. *Alphonſo* poore and miſerable. The conſpirators beeing aſſembled at
Vailledolit, they were all of opinion, that D. *Sancho* ſhould intitle himſelfe king of Ca-
ſtile, and of the other dominions which his father had enioyed: but hee ſhewed himſelfe
D. Sancho takes vpon him the regency, and refuſeth the title of king. ſo newhat modeſt, ſaying, that he would not do his father that wrong, to intitle himſelfe
King during his life time: but would reſt ſatisfied to be tearmed Infant of Caſtile, the el-
deſt and heire of thoſe Realmes. So D. *Sancho* carried great reſpect vnto the king his fa-
ther, in words and vaine titles, but he made himſelfe king in effect, ordayning lawes both
for peace and warre, diſpoſing of Captaines and Gouernors, and of the treaſure at his
owne will: the king D. *Alphonſo* beeing driuen to that extremity as hee was forced to C
ſend his royall Crowne, with Iewels of ineſtimable value, in pawne for 70000. doublons
to *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* Miralmumin of Maroc, complaining vnto this Infidell king, of the
wrongs he had receiued from his ſonne and ſubiects who were Chriſtians. They ſay,
that king *Iacob* beeing a Barbarian, did heare of D. *Alphonſos* afflictions with teares in
his eyes, and ſhewing this royall Crowne vnto his Knights, he ſayd, That he did willing-
ly imbrace this occaſion, to ſuccour a King of an ancient race, with his perſon and goods
againſt the impietie of a wicked ſonne: giuing ſo good an anſwer vnto the King D. *Al-*
phonſo, as he was much eſteemed and commended of all men. Neceſſitie and indignitie
did ſo tranſport D. *Alphonſo*, as he accepted the Moores offer, intreating him to paſſe the
ſtreights with his forces, the which he did: In the meane time D. *Sancho* married D. *Mary* D
daughter to D. *Alphonſo*, Lord of Molina, his great vncle, brother to the king D. *Fernand*
the third, who ſeeing himſelfe ſupported by the kings of Arragon and Portugal, came to
Cordoua, where by the aduice of the Noblemen and Knights of Caſtile that were pre-
ſent, and by a decree pronounced by the mouth of D. *Manuel*, in the name of the whole
Nobilitie, the king D. *Alphonſo* was depriued of all his Realmes: the cauſes they preten-
ded, were the death of D. *Fredericke* and of *Symon Ruis*, obſeruing no forme of Iuſtice,
nor any orderly proceeding: the breach of the rights and priuiledges of the Nobility, and
the waſting of the treaſor. D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, nor D. *Iohn* Nugnes, and *Nugno Gon-*
çales his children, D. *Aluaro* Nugnes, D. *Fernand Perez Ponce*, with many others, would E
not aſſiſt at this aſſembly, nor conſent vnto this act of ſo pernicious a conſequence.

The Miralmumin *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* paſt at Algezire, with great troupes of horſe, and
the two kings had an enterview at Zahara in Granado, whereas he of Maroc arriued firſt.
The manner of this interview is worthy obſeruation, for the humanitie and courteſie
which this mightie Mooriſh King vſed to a Prince of a contrarie Religion, ſometimes
his enemie, and deiected from his dignitie. Hee cauſed a great and rich Pauillion to bee
ſet vp in the open field, in the which were two ſeates made like throanes, the one beeing
higher and more eminent then the other: and hauing placed the chiefe Noblemen of the
family of the Merins (from whence he was deſcended) at the entry, he commanded them
all to kiſſe k. D. *Alphonſos* feet, and that they ſhould not ſuffer him to light from his horſe
before he were neere vnto the Pauillion, where beeing arriued, King *Aben Ioſeph* and hee F
imbraced one another like breethren, and ſo entred into the Pauillion holding hands.
The royall and magnificent ceremonies which they vſed in their ſitting downe, were
great and long, either ſtriuing to giue the more honorable place vnto the other: but in
the

A the end the king of Caſtile was forced to ſit in the higheſt, the king of Maroc ſaying: It was reaſonable that D. *Alphonſo*, a king deſcended of kings, and borne of a king, ſhould be ſet aboue rather then himſelfe, whom God by his mercy had aduanced to that dignitie of late time. *Humanity and modeſtie of the Moriſh king.*

Theſe Monarkes beeing ſet, they conferred of their affaires, and hauing reſolued, king D. *Alphonſo* returned to Seuile, to gather together thoſe ſmall forces which were faithfull vnto him. The Moore marched with his army towards Oſuna and Eſtepa, and then came to Eccia, where the two kings ioyned, and hauing taken Caſtro, they preſented themſelues before Cordoua: but the Infant Don *Sancho* had entred into it the night before with great troupes of horſe, where as they ſpent twenty dayes in vaine, without any me-

B morable act done by either ſide. Riſing from thence, the king of Maroc, with the conſent of D. *Alphonſo*, did ouer-runne the champian country, and going through the pace of Muradal, he entred into the fields of Montiel, deſtroying all he incountred, and finding no reſiſtance. Returning towards Eccia, D. *Alphonſo* parted from Seuile to go and meet him, according to the king of Marocs deſire. Beeing come vnto the campe, king Don *Alphonſo* grew into ſo great a diſtruſt, vppon reports, or ſome other vaine imagination, that the king of the Moores would ſtay him, as he parted by night in great haſt, and returned to Seuile. The Miralmumin beeing much diſcontented at this iealouſie, ſent vnto him to excuſe himſelfe, and to aſſure him that he neuer had any ſuch thought, intreating him to ſend him his troupes, the which he would entertaine, and ſo enter into the coun-

C trie of Granado againſt king *Mahomad* his enemy, hauing conſpired with Don *Sancho* his ſonne: whereunto D. *Alphonſo* yeelded, and ſent him a thouſand horſe, who preſently receiued pay: but growing ſuddenly into a iealouſie that they would leade them into Affricke, they abandoned the Miralmumin, and ſent him the remainder of his money. The King of Maroc ſeeing theſe proceedings, grew diſcontented, and returned into Affricke, yet nothing eſtranged in his affection to pleaſure D. *Alphonſo*. D. *Fernand Perez Ponce* of Leon, Commander of theſe thouſand horſe, durſt not returne to king D. *Alphonſo*, hauing no lawfull excuſe to haue abandoned king *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*: but whileſt he intertained himſelfe about Cordoua, there was an oportunitie offered which did deface this ble-

D miſh. *D. Alphonſo diſtruſts the King of Maroc*

It was ſtrange, that theſe thouſand horſe did charge ten thouſand which ſallyed out of the citty, the which were aſſembled from all the parts of Spaine for Don *Sancho*, and defeated them. Wherefore returning to Seuile they were well receiued: D. *Sancho* (who was then abſent from Cordoua) was much diſcontented at this route, and did ſo ſharpely rebuke his men for their raſhneſſe, daring to preſent themſelues againſt his fathers Standard royall, the which he did euer greatly reuerence. Thus Don *Sancho* did honour the Images and royall enſignes, but not the king his father: who beeing much incenſed with the continuall vexation of his ſonnes rebellion, who had vſurped his Realmes, hee pronounced in the preſence of many men of marke, both Clergie and Secular, in the Cittie

E of Seuile, about the end of that yeare 1282. the curſe of God and his vppon D. *Sancho*, a ſonne, ſayd he, diſobedient, rebellious, and a parricide, declaring him incapable and vnworthy to raigne; depriuing him of his ſucceſſion and inheritance, and diſcharging the ſubiects, as much as in him lay, from all oath and homage which they had done vnto him. This act was done with great ſolemnitie and maieſtie, but they were but words, which D. *Sancho* did not much eſteeme; who at the ſame time returned to Cordoua, and conferred with the king of Granado at Priego, to whome hee reſtored Arenas, and renewed their League. *Hypocriſie of the Infant D. Sancho.* *An.* 1282. *Curſe of the father vpon D. Sancho.*

In the yeare 1283. D *Sancho* beeing come to Carceres, to Pont d'Alcantara, and to Ledeſma, he forced the Infant D. *Pedro* his brother to hold his party, who notwithſtanding had a great deſire to follow his fathers, who intended to giue him the countrie of 1283.

F Murcia, with the title of a king. He did the like to the Infant D. *Iohn*, who aſpired to haue the kingdome of Leon for himſelfe, all which was forced. Many knights which followed theſe Princes, and which were well affected to king D. *Alphonſo*, eſcaped, and paſſing thorough Portugal came to Seuile. The towne of Agreda reuolted and followed the kings partie, the Infant D. *Sancho* beeing come againſt it, he had newes that *Martin d'Arbar*, Gouernour

Gouernor of Treuigno, was alſo reuolted, and had receiued Don *Iohn* Nugnes *de Lara*, with a great bootie which he had taken in the territories of Burgos, into Treuigno, from whence he made roads, and did annoy his people. D. *Sancho* ſent D. *Lope* Diaz *de Haro* againſt them, who made them to keepe within their fort. Thus was the warre mannaged betwixt the father and the ſonne in Caſtile and other places depending. A

Nauarre. 25 During the which D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, had giuen libertie to his ſoldiers vpon the fronter, who were daily in skirmiſh againſt the Nauarrois, eſpecially they of Sos and Filera, againſt the Inhabitants of Sangueſſa; and they were ſo incenſed one againſt another, as they could not be pacified: yet the diligence of *Euſtache Bellemarche* Gouernor of Nauarre, made them to lay aſide armes, and to conclude a truce for a time. *Bellemarche* returned into France, and in his place a Knight called *Guerin* of Amplepuis, gouerned the Realme of Nauarre. *Philip* the third King of France, beeing Protector of this Realme for his Neece Queene *Iane*, had alſo occaſion to thinke of the affaires of Spaine, for that the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, borne of his ſiſter D. *Blanche*, had not only beene deiected by the King D. *Alphonſo* from the right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne of Caſtile, which did belong vnto them, as children to the eldeſt ſonne, but alſo theſe two young Princes, D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, were kept priſoners in the caſtell of Xatiua by the king of Arragon: and moreouer beeing aduertiſed, that beſides the Arragonois attempts in former times, their king had made a new accord at Campillo with D. *Sancho* of Caſtile, where among other things it was concluded, that they ſhould inuade the Realme of Nauarre at their common charges, and diuide the conqueſt equally. Moreouer, that at another enterview betwixt D. *Sancho* of Caſtile, and D. *Pedro* of Arragon, the Infant had reſigned vnto D. *Pedro* all the right he pretended to Nauarre, promiſing neuer to make warre there without his liking, to the end he might bee the more freely aſſiſted with the forces of Arragon, to diſpoſſeſſe his father. King *Philip* was wiſe, and of power to preuent all theſe practiſes, all which he made fruſtrate in regard of Nauarre. Yet he did in vaine ſollicite the kings of Caſtile and Arragon for the deliuerance of his Nephewes, who were at Xatiua. He ſent good troupes of horſemen into Nauarre, for the guard of the countrie, and to be readie vpon all occaſions. B C

Practiſes of the Caſtillans and Arragonois againſt Nauar.

The factions betwixt the Nobilitie of Caſtile (ſome holding the partie of King Don *Alphonſo*, others that of Don *Sancho* his ſonne) fell out happily for the French and Nauarrois in many things: for Nauarre ſerued for a retreat to all thoſe that were in diſgrace with Don *Sancho*. Many of the chiefe of Caſtile, and other places depending, came and ioyned with the troupes of France and Nauarre, and making roades into Caſtile, did alwaies keepe the Realme of Nauarre in reputation, and made the forces to be redoubted, the which changed many Gouernors in a ſhort time: for after *Euſtache Bellemarche* and *Guerin* of Amplepuis, *William* of Broede was ſent thither, and then *Iohn* of Conflans L. of Dompierre, Marſhall of Champagne, in the yeare 1283. when as among other Noblemen of Caſtile, there fled into Nauarre Don *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Pero Aluarez* of the Aſturies, Don *Ramir Diaz*, Don *Fernand Ruis de Cabrera*, and Don *Fernand Ruis de Saldaugne*, who ioyned with others which made themſelues ſtrong in the Countrie, which were the Infant Don *Iaime* of Caſtile, Don *Iohn Nugnes*, Don *Aluar Nugnes* and others, all beeing aſſiſted by the troupes of France and Nauarre, they made roades as far as Toledo, with great ruine of the country and people, for the French King hated Don *Sancho*, as an vſurper of his Nephewes right, neither was he leſſe enemie to Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, as well for the detention of his nephewes, and his practiſes with Caſtile, as for that which had happened in the Realme of Naples, betwixt the Arragonois and the French, as you ſhall heare. D E

Theſe ſpoilers being a competent armie of foure thouſand horſe, and great numbers of foot, returning towards Toledo, had a deſſeigne to enter into Arragon, and to aſſaile Tarraſſone, whereof Don *Pedro* being aduertiſed, who kept a garriſon of three hundred horſe at Logrogno, for the defence of Caſtile, he ſent to intreat the Infant Don *Sancho* to march thither, and to ſuccour him againſt the French and Nauarrois, who came to deſtroy his Realme of Arragon, the which he did preſently: ſo as beeing ioyned with the king Don *Pedro* they ſaued Tarraſſone: yet the Arragonois loſt the caſtell of Vl, the F

which

A which was wel defended by *Ximeno* of Artieda: they alſo loſt Lerida and Filera, the which were giuen in gard to them of Sangueſſa: Baylo and Arbuis were ruined, and the French and Nauarrois paſt vnto Verdun. Vpon their retutne, the army of D. *Pedro* and D. *Sancho* attended them, where as they could not auoyd the battaile, which the French preſented them: but the Knights of Caſtile which did accompany them, told them that they had willingly ouer-runne the country, and done their indeauors in all aſſaults, but to charge their lances againſt Don *Sancho*, it was not their intention: that is to ſay, to ſpoile towns, & to ruine poore innocents, who had no intereſt in great mens quarrels, they did it willingly, yet wold they not attempt any thing againſt the heads, who might giue them impunity for all their inſolencies, and could take reuenge of them, if they ſhewed themB ſelues too eager enemies. So the troupes of France and Nauarre returned towards Pampelone, from whence ſome of the Noblemen of Caſtile went to D. *Sancho*, hauing made their peace.

Arragon.

26 The King D. *Pedro* finding himſelfe in this danger, it made him to ſeeke a peace with Nauarre for ſome moneths: for he had many queſtions to decide with his Noblemen and Knights of Arragon and Cattelogne, who complained much of his ſower diſpoſition, and his tyrannous manner of gouernement, inſulting ouer the greateſt, yea againſt his owne bloud, contrarie to all lawe and nature. For wee reade, that there were ſcarce two yeares expired, after the deceaſe of his father, when as hee forced his brother Don *Iames*, to whom the Ilands of Maiorca and Minorca, with other places adiacent, had beene giuen by teſtament, with the title of a king, to hold them of him, as fees depenC ding of the Crowne of Arragon, and therefore he cauſed him to take an oath and do homage, as alſo for the Counties of Roſſillon, Cerdagne, Conflans, Valleſpierre, Colibre, Omelades, Carlades, and for the rights of Montpellier: with promiſe for himſelfe and his deſcendants Kings of Maiorca, to come to the Eſtates of Barcelona beeing called, and to deliuer the citty of Maiorca, the towne of Perpignan, and the caſtell of Cerdagne, vnto the Kings of Arragon, whenſoeuer they ſhold demand them, in regard of which ſubmiſſions and promiſes, the king Don *Pedro* did confirme theſe lands and portions to the king Don *Iames* his brother: for the which he would haue the Earles of Foix and Empurias, D. *Dalmas* of Rocabertin Vicount of Caſtelnau, *Raymond* of Vrgio, *William Canet*, D *Bernard Hugo Serralongue*, *Dalmais* of Caſtelnau, *Ponce Zagardia*, *Arnaud Corſaccio*, *William Sous*, with the Deputies of the Ilands of Maiorca and Minorca to become cautions. Sometime after picking a quarrell againſt the Nobilitie of Cattelogne, and their priuiledges, this king Don *Pedro* did ſo furiouſly aſſaile the Earles of Foix, Vrgel, and Palliars, with the Vicount of Cardona, who were the moſt apparent, as hauing beſeeged and taken them in Balaguer, he detained them long in a miſerable priſon, eſpecially the Earle of Foix, whom he intreated vnworthily in the caſtell of Siurana. Moreouer, a little before this laſt warre of Nauarre, hee had attempted and executed great matters againſt the French, raigning in Italy, hauing employed the men and meanes of Arragon and Cattelogne, to the great diſcontentment and oppreſſion of all his ſubiects, and hee was newly E returned out of France, whether the warre of Naples and Sicily had drawne him, vppon the occaſion which followeth.

Iniuſtice of D. Pedro againſt his bro-

Inſolencies of the French in Sicily.

27 The French hauing conquered Naples and Sicily, vnder *Charles* the firſt brother to Saint *Louis*, they committed many vnaccuſtomed inſolencies among theſe nations, againſt the honor of women, with other exactions and ſpoiles vnder colour of Iuſtice: by reaſon whereof (as alſo by the iuſt iudgement of God, to whom without doubt the cruel deaths of *Conradin*, and of the Duke of Auſtria, whoſe heads King *Charles* had cauſed to be cut off, by the pernitious counſell of Pope *Clement*) the Sicilians did ſollicite D. *Pedro* King of Arragon to purſue the right which he had vnto theſe Realmes, as husband to Q. *Conſtance* heire thereof, beeing daughter to king *Manfroy*, promiſing to ayde and aſſiſt F him with their perſons and goods: he which did moſt labour in this pourſute was called *Iohn de Procula* or *Prochida*, borne at Salerne, Phiſition to the deceaſed King *Manfroy*, who by his perſwaſions induced the king Don *Pedro* to affect this conqueſt: for the effecting whereof, he firſt made a ſecret league with Pope *Nicholas* the third, and with *Michel Paleologue* Emperour of Conſtantinople, obtayning from the Pope a promiſe of

Inueſtiture

Inueſtiture of the Realmes of Naples and Sicily. *Martin* the 4. beeing Pope after the de- A
ceaſe of *Nicholas*, the king ſent *Hugh Mataplana* a Catelan to Rome, to ſound his diſpo-
ſition, touching the confirmation or renewing of this League, and to intertaine him (for
Martin was friend to *Charles* King of Naples) and to diſguiſe the cauſe of his Ambaſſa-
dors voyage, he had charge to mooue the Pope and the Conſiſtorie, to canonize Don
Friar *Raymond* of Pegnafort according to the aduice of a Prouinciall Councell held a li-
tle before at Barcelona, by the Prelates of Arragon and Cattelogne. In the meane time
D. *Pedro* did arme forty galleys with many ſhips, the which he cauſed to paſſe along the
coaſt of Affricke vnder a colour of reſtoring *Bouqueron* king of Conſtatine in Africke,
who was expelled by his brother: and the better to couer his enterpriſe, the Ambaſſador
beſought the Pope to take the Realme of Arragon into the protection of the Church, B
whileſt that the king D. *Pedro* ſhould be abſent in the warre of Affricke, and to demaund
leaue to exact a tenth of his Cleargie. The king was demanded by the Ambaſſadours of
France, the reaſon of this great preparation, with offers, that if it were againſt the Infi-
dels, King *Philip* their maſter would ayde him with all his forces, and withall proteſting,
that if it were to preiudice *Charles* king of Naples, he would take it ill: to whom he made
no other anſwer, but that he had meanes ſufficient to end the warre which hee had vnder-
taken, without employing any others. To *Arnaud Roger* Earle of Palliars, who deman-
ded of him, in the name of the whole Nobilitie, whether he meant to leade them, he made
a ſharpe anſwer, that if his left hand preſumed to inquire too curiouſly of that which the
right intended to do, he would cut it off. So the army parted from Tortoſa, beeing ſolli-
cited by *Nicholas Copula* and *Raymond Portella*. C

Sicilian euen-ſong. In the meane time the French were ſlaine thorough out all the townes of Sicily, with
ſuch rage and hatred againſt the nation, as whereas they knew any women to be gotten
with child by the French, they opened their wombes, and ſlue both mothers and chil-
dren, for that they would not leaue any of their ſeed in the countrie. Onely one French-
man called *William Porcelot* Gouernor of Galataphimia was let go vntouched, for the
good opinion they had of his modeſtie and temperance. And then D. *Pedro* arriuing at
Palermo, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned King, in the yeare 1281. King *Charles* being
deſirous to be reuenged of this iniurie, he led an army againſt *Meſſina*, but he was repul-
ſed into Calabria, without any effect. The king of Arragon left Queene *Conſtance* his wife
in Sicily with three children: D. *James* who was king of Sicily, D. *Frederick* and D. *Yolant*, D
eſtabliſhing a Councell of Eſtate, whereof the chiefe were *Willyam Galſeran* a Cattelan,
Alain Leontine, holding the place of chiefe Iuſtice of Sicily, and chiefe author of their re-
bellion againſt the French, *John Prochida*, and *Roger de Loria* his Admiral, to whom hee
appointed an army of 25. gallies: but he wold haue in either of them two Captains, one a
Cattelan, the other an Italian, the marriners ſhould be part Cattelans, and part Italians,
but the rowers ſhould be all Italians. Hauing thus ſetled the affaires of this Realme, hee
returned into Spaine, where he had many matters to attend: for beſides open force, there
paſt many ſcandalous books betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and D. *Pedro* king of Arra-
gon, ſo as not able to decide their quarrels neither by law nor armes, they challenged E
one another with a certaine number of Knights of either part: and this combate was al-
lowed by the Pope; an vnworthy thing for a Chriſtian Prelate. The place beeing appoin-
ted at Bourdeaux, in the king of Englands country, a neuter-Prince in this cauſe. King
Charles came at the day appointed, but he found not his aduerſarie. Wherefore hauing
attended moſt part of the day in the place appointed for the combat, and ſeeing no man
appeare, he returned. The King of Arragon who had onely an intent to circumuent his
enemy by the expectation of a combate, and in the meane time diuert him from the war
of Sicily, had ſtayed in a ſafe place, from whence he came vnknowne to Bourdeaux with
great ſpeed, where attending vntill king *Charles* were parted, when he thought he was far
enough off, he ſhewed himſelfe in the place of battel, as if hee had had a great deſire to
fight, complaining that he had fayled, where after he had made the proteſtations requiſit F
in the like caſe, he tooke an act of his preſence from *John Graille* Seneſhall of Guien (to
whom he left his helmet, his target, his lance, and his ſword in witneſſe of his appearance,
and that he had kept his faith and promiſe) he returned with the like ſpeed into Spaine:

and a little before the French and Nauarrois forraged Caſtile, he arriued at Logrogno, where he intertained a garriſon in fauour of D. *Sancho*, as we haue ſayd. For theſe ſubtilties, Pope *Martin* (who had ſucceeded *Nicholas* the 3.) beeing a French man borne, did excommunicate the king D. *Pedro*, giuing his Realme of Arragon to *Charles* of Valois ſecond ſonne to *Philip* King of France, who with the Popes diſpenſation married *Conſtance* daughter to *Charles* Prince of Salerne, the onely ſonne to this *Charles* King of Naples, cauſing a Croyſado to be preached againſt this king D. *Pedro*. Whilſt that *Charles* King of Naples was in Gaſcony, the king of Arragons Admirall called *Roger de Loria* a Calabrois a very expert man in ſea-fights, came running along the coaſt of Italy, with 45. galleys, and many other veſſels, doing much harme: ſo as this army being diſcouered at Naples, approching ſo neere the citty, as the ſouldiers might be heard, prouoking the garriſon by iniuries and caſting of darts into the towne, *Charles* Prince of Salerne iſſued foorth with 36. gallies, and ſome other veſſels againſt his enemies, where there was a furious fight, but the Admirall of Arragon was victor, who tooke and carried away nine galleys, with a great number of priſoners of note: and amongſt the reſt *Charles* who would needes go foorth againſt the will of the Popes Legat, and contrary to the commandement which his father had giuen him at his going into France, not to depart out of Naples, nor to hazard a battell, either by ſea or land in any ſort whatſoeuer. The deſire of glorie prouoked it, and brought him to this miſery, which coſt many Noblemen their liues, for the priſoners beeing brought to Meſſina, he beheld with his eyes the heads of 200. Gentlemen cut off, to reuenge the death of *Conradin*. His father beeing returned to Naples, found the affaires in a pittifull eſtate, and liued not long after. At his death there were two Legats in Sicile to treate of an accord with Queene *Conſtance*, who was a wiſe and religious Lady, but not able to draw her to any reaſon, they did aggrauate the Excommunication againſt the King D. *Pedro*, and interdicted the Sicilians, the which did ſo incenſe them, as running in a rage to the priſons where the remainder of the French were that had beene taken by *Roger de Loria*, they ſought to enter to murther them: but the French made reſiſtance, ſo as theſe mutiners ſeeing there was no meanes to effect what they intended, they ſet fire of the priſons and burnt them all. After which there was an aſſembly of all the chiefe Magiſtrates of the townes of Sicile, to reſolue what was to be done with *Charles* Prince of Salerne, and nine other Noblemen which were priſoners with him, where they concluded, that after the example of *Conradin*, and the other Noblemen, they muſt all dye.

Charles Prince of Salerne defeated and taken by the Arragonois.

Reuenge of the death of Conradin of Suabe.

Whereuppon wee may not let paſſe an act of Queene *Conſtance*, full of pietie and courage: for this Princeſſe hauing ſent on a Friday morning, to aduertiſe *Charles* to thinke of the ſaluation of his ſoule, and that he was condemned to die after the ſame maner that *Conradin* had done: he anſwered, that hee tooke his death the more patiently, for that hee ſhould receiue it the ſame day that our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt had ſuffered. This anſwer deliuered to the Queene, ſhee ſayd, If it be ſo that the Prince takes his death ſo patiently by reaſon of that day, for my part I am reſolued to ſhew him mercie for his ſake, who the ſame day ſuffered death and paſſion for vs all. Whereuppon ſhee commanded he ſhould be preſerued without any harme, letting the people vnderſtand (who did preſſe her to put him to death) that ſhee ought not in a matter of ſo great importance, and which might be the cauſe of great inconueniences, reſolue nor execute any thing, without the priuity of the king her husband: and therefore ſhe commaunded that Prince *Charles* ſhould be carried into Cattelogne to the king Don *Pedro*, to diſpoſe of him as he ſhould thinke fit by good aduice. This generous and Chriſtian like act, is worthie of eternall prayſe, as the exceſſe which king *Charles*, through bad councell, and an ill-gouerned paſſion, had committed againſt *Conradin* and other Noblemen his priſoners, is to be blamed and deteſted. This *Charles* Prince of Salerne was afterwards king of Naples the ſecond of that name.

23 After the king D. *Pedros* returne out of France, expecting daily (by reaſon of the Popes cenſures, and his enterpriſes againſt Nauarre) to be ſet vpon by *Philip* k. of France, and *Charles* of Valois his ſon: and the Noblemen and Knights of Arragon & Cattelogne, being tyred by him in the former wars, & ill intreated, as they thought, in their freedoms,

(whereof the townes and commonalties of his Countries did alſo complaine) they did alſo ſtirrre vp troubles and ſeditions, and made an vnion together. The heads of the Nobility were, *Symon* of Vrrea the elder, D. *Pedro Fernandes* Lord of Ixar, and D. *Pedro* of Ayerbio, both baſe brothers vnto the King. *Pedro Cornel, Artal Alagon, Lope Ferrnçe de Luna, Athon des Foſſes, Sancho* of Antillas, *Gombald* of Beneuent, and *Symon* of Vrrea the younger, all of Noble families, and moreouer *Lope William* of Oteicia, *Pedro Iourdain Pegna, Gombald Tramaſſet, Giles* of Bidaure, *Pero Garces Nuez*, who were Knights, whoſe predeceſſors had beene aduanced by Kings. Theſe hauing made a league with the people did promiſe and ſweare to let the king and his ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, (who was his Lieutenant generall) vnderſtand, that if they did not containe themſelues within the limittes of the lawes of the country, they would withdraw themſelues from their obedience, and declare themſelues enemies, and pourſue them by armes that ſhould ſeeke to breake them. The king had called the Eſtates to Taraſſone, and afterwards to Saragoſſa. There he intreated, promiſed, and did all he could to breake this vnion: but he was forced to yeeld, and therefore he granted vnto the Arragonois, the priuiledge which they call general, whereby the liberty which had beene ſomewhat reſtrayned, was againe reſtored, the ancient maners of the Country, and cuſtoms of their Anceſtors, fit for the country, put again in practiſe. And moreouer, there were lawes made for their Kings, which they ſhould be bound to obey. And for that they were in a mutine in ſome places, by reaſon of certaine Impoſitions layed vpon ſalt, the trafficke thereof was made free by the Eſtates. Notwithſtanding all theſe things, the king refuſed the iudgement of the Iuſtice Maior of Arragon, the which was then exerciſed by *Pedro Martines Artaſſone*, whom he depoſed from his office: but ſoone after this dignity was fortified with ſtronger lawes. The like aſſembly was made at Barcelona, and to the ſame end; where they obtained confirmation of their old ſtatutes and cuſtomes, which they call *Vſatiques*. They of Valencia beeing called to the Eſtates of Arragon, would not appeare, pretending liberty to aſſemble apart. In this Realme of Valencia there was a Magiſtrate eſtabliſhed, who was Preſident of the Iuſtice, who ſhold be an Arragonois, and ſhould do right vnto the townes and Noblemen of that Realme, who enioy the priuiledges of Arragon: the firſt in this dignitie was *Alphonſo Martines*. In Ribagorça there was alſo a peculiar Iudge created at Grados, from whence the firſt appeales ſhould go to Barbaſtro, or to the Iuſtice of Arragon, and the ſecond to the king, or to Iudges deputed by him: but theſe laſt ordonances were made and executed in the yeare 1285. at the Eſtates held at Hueſca, where as the king did preſide. They being transferred to Zufaria, the king beeing abſent, *Iohn Giles Tarin* Iuſtice Maior of Arragon was Preſident, where it was ſayd, that he was a lawfull Iudge, yea in cauſes commenced againſt the King: who beeing cited and not appearing, there were decrees made againſt him in many inſtances. In the end the king confirmed the decrees of the Iuſtice Maior, and whatſoeuer ſhould be concluded by the Eſtates, the Deputies, and Councellors hauing giuen their ſuffrages. Atthat time the king Don *Pedro* ſpoyled his brother D. *Iames* king of Majorca, of the County of Roſſillon, for that he had retired himſelfe into France, and had made a League againſt him with king *Philip*, who had promiſed him the Realme of Valencia, after the conqueſt which he did hope to make thereof, and of the reſt of D. *Pedros* country. In theſe combuſtions was the eſtate of Arragon about the returne of the king D. *Pedro* from the warre of Nauarre attempted with the Caſtillans.

Vnion in Arragon againſt the king for their liberties.

King of Maiorca diſpoyled by his brother.

Caſtile.

29 As for D. *Sancho* Infant of Caſtile, he with all his followers had bene alſo excommunicated by Pope *Martin* the 4. The Arch-biſhop of Seuile, the Deane of Tudele in Nauarre, and the Arch-deacon of S. *Iames* in Gallicia were the denouncers thereof: wherfore it was concluded in D. *Sanchos* Councel, to kill all thoſe that ſhold intimate or bring theſe cenſures: yet the Commiſſioners deputed by the Pope went on in their Commiſſion, and did interdict all parts of Spaine, holding the Infants party. On the other ſide the fury of armes ruining the country, Queene *Beatrix* the widow of Portugal, D. *Mary* wife to the Infant, laboured to procure a peace, and to remedie thoſe great miſeries, at which time there was ſome hope that the king and his ſonne ſhould haue an interview: for the king was come to Conſtatine, & the Infant to Guadaſcanall, but the Infants minions and bad Councellers did hinder it. The Ladies purſuing this holy enterpriſe, Don *Sancho* fell ſicke

A ſicke at Salamanca, and in ſuch extremity, as the Phiſitions had abandoned him: the king in like manner fell ſicke vnto death, whereby it ſeemes that God was highly offended againſt theſe miſerable Princes, whoſe reconciliation was thus preuented. The king ſeing his end drawing nigh, he gaue by his will, Seuile and Badajos, with the title of a Realm, to his ſonne *Iohn*, with charge, that he ſhould hold them of the Crown of Caſtile and Leon. To D. *Iames* his other ſonne he gaue the Realme of Murcia with the ſame condition. Hee pardoned all ſuch as had carried armes againſt him, except his ſonne D. *Sancho*. In the beginning of a will of his made in Nouember 1283. he makes great complaints of his aduerſities, and doth much blame the kings of Portugall, Arragon, England, the Pope, and others, who had fauoured D. *Sancho*, curſing him and all his poſteritie, and leauing heires B of his Soueraigne Realmes, D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, one in default of the other, and if they dyed without iſſue, he gaue them to *Philip* king of France, and to his deſcendants: He gaue many other Legacies to his other children, to Churches, and to his Officers and domeſtique ſeruants. By another teſtament apart, made in the yeare 1284. he ordained, that his heart ſhould be carried and interred on mount Caluarie in the citty of Ieruſalem, and his body in his citty of Seuile or Murcia, in the which his Executors ſhould pleaſe. He dyed in the yeare 1284. and was buried at Seuile, hauing raigned 31. yeares, 10. moneths, and 23. dayes.

Alphonſo king of Caſtile giues portions to his ſonnes.

Curſe of the father vppon D. Sancho and his poſterity.

An. 1284.

This Prince was a preſident of the weakneſſe and inconſtancie of humane things, not onely in the goods which they call of Fortune, but alſo of thoſe of the mind, whereof he C was as well furniſhed as any Prince that hath beene before or ſince him, all which did him more harme then good: for neither vertue, knowledge, honour nor riches auayle not, if the bleſſing of God do not accompany them, but they rather ruine a man. And in truth this Prince may be tearmed miſerable in all theſe things. He was a great and mighty king, but nothing did ſuffice him, by reaſon of his prodigality, and ill-meaſured bounty: he was neuer ſincerely beloued of his ſubiects, by reaſon of his ſower diſpoſition and wilfulnes, proceeding from too great a preſumption of his knowledge: ſo as hee did neuer beleeue any good counſell: It was the fruite of his Philoſophie, the which had made him ſo ouerweening, as he preſumed to controule the Author of Nature, ſaying, That if he had bin preſent at the Creation of the world, he ſhould in many things haue beene of another D opinion, with other ſuch ſpeeches full of impietie. By iudiciarie Aſtronomie, whereunto he was giuen beyond all reaſon,, he had foreſeene (as he thought) his aduentures, the which made him affect the Imperiall dignitie, where hee purchaſed more diſhonour then euer any Prince. This vanity made him cruell to his brother D. *Frederick*, and other Noblemen, to preuent the conſpiracies which threatened him, but could not auoid them: the which he had done, if leauing theſe diuinations, hee had relyed wholly vpon the prouidence of God, without any further ſearch. But it is the will of God, the curious ſhould haue this torment, alwaies to feare their misfortune, which they would know by damnable meanes, giuing effect to vanity, and to the ſpirit of error, againſt thoſe that follow it. The Queene D. *Beatrix* his mother (who it may be was ſuperſtitious, and giuen to theſe E impieties) had neuer any contentment after his birth, hauing vnderſtood when hee was in his cradle, from a Grecian, who was a great Sorcereſſe, that he ſhould bee depriued of his Realmes.

The end of the twelfth Booke.

F

THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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5 *Aduancement of* D. Lopes Diaz de Haro, *preiudiciall both to the Realme of Caſtile, and to himſelfe.*
6 *Acts and proceedings betwixt the Eſtates of Arragon, and the King* Don Alphonſo *the third.*
7 *Treaties betwixt* D. Alphonſo *king of Arragon, and* Charles *the Haulting, king of Naples, priſoner, and what ſucceeded.*
8 *Quarrels in the Court of Caſtile, and the death of* D. Lopes Diaz de Haro.
9 *Deliuerie of the children of* D. Fernand de la Cerde *from priſon in Arragon.* Don Alphonſo de la Cerde *declared king of Caſtile.*
10 *Tumults at Badajos ſuppreſt.*
11 *Family of Guzmans, who are Dukes of Medina Sidonia.*
12 D. Iames *the* 2. *of that name,* 11. *King of Arragon.*
13 *Peace betwixt the French and the Arragonois, and the retention of the Iland of Sicily by* D. Fredericke *of Arragon, brother to the king* D. Iames, *contrarie to the Capitulations.*
14 *Donation of the Ile of Corſica and Sardinia, to the king* D. Iames *of Arragon the ſecond, by Pope* Boniface *the eighth.*
15 D. Fernand *the fourth of that name, the twelfth king of Caſtile, and the three and thirtith of Leon.*
16 *Iewiſh ſuperſtitions. Conuerſion of ſome Iewes to the Chriſtian faith.*
17 *Foundation of Bilboa in Biſcay.*
18 *Compromiſe betwixt the children of* D. Fernand de la Cerde, *contending for the Realme of Caſtille, and* D. Fernand *then raigning: and betwixt the king of Arragon and him of Caſtile: and the ſentence giuen by the arbitrators.*
19 Lewis Hutin *the* 1. *of that name,* 26. *king of Nauarre.*
20 *Tranſlation of the Popes Court from Italy into France.*
21 *Perſecution of the Templers.*
22 *Order of Chriſt in Portugall.*
23 *Order of Monteça in Arragon.*
24 *VVarre in Granado.*
25 *Deeds of the Cattelans in Greece and Thrace, after the wars of Sicily and* Naples.
26 *Troubles*

A 26 *Troubles at Lyons, and in the Court of* **France.**
27 *Diſcourſe of the croſſes which did accompany* Philip *the* **Faire**, *as well in his raigne, as in priuate affaires.*
28 D. Alphonſo *the* 12. *of that name,* 13. *King of Caſtile,* 34. *of Leon, and the troubles which happened at his entrie.*
29 *Papacie affected with murthers.*
30 Philip *the long King of France,* 2. *of that name,* 27. *king of Nauarre.*
31 *Exploits of the Caſtillans againſt the Moores: the ſodaine and ſtrange death of* D. Pedro; *and* D Iohn *Princes of Caſtile, and troubles in that Realme.*
32 *Perpetuall vnion of Arragon, Cattelogne, and Valencia.*
B 33 D. Iames *the eldeſt ſonne of Arragon, quits the ſucceſſion of the Realme, and becomes a rebellious man.*
34 *Confirmation of the gift of Sardinia and Corſica to the houſe of Arragon by the Pope. Conqueſt of Sardinia by the Infant* D. Alphonſo.
35 *Deedes of* Deris *King of Portugall. Pietie of Queene* Iſabell *his wife: their buildings in Portugall.*
36 *Troubles in Caſtille by the death of* D. Mary *the Queene mother.*
37 *Maioritie of king* D. Alphonſo *the twelfth of Caſtile.*
38 *Eſtate of the Moores of Granado at that time.*

C

Order of the Kings raigning in Spaine, whereof mention is made in this 13. Booke.

D

CASTILE.		*LEON*	*ARRAGON.*		*NAVARRE.*
11	D. *Sancho*	4--23.	10	D. *Alphonſo* 3.	25 *Philip the faire* 1.
12	*D. Fernand*	4--33.	11	D. *Iames* 2.	26 *Lewis Hutin* 1.
13	*D. Alphonſo.* 11--34. *Some number him for the*	12.			27 *Philip the Long* 2.

A

D. Sancho the Braue, the fourth and laſt of that name, the 11. of Caſtile, and 32. of Leon.

1. IN the yeare 1284. D. *Sancho* caried himſelfe as king, hauing performed his fathers obſequies in the city of Auila, where he was at the time of his deceaſe, where he mourned in ſhew, for that which he had long deſired, as we may iudge by his actions. He commanded that D. *Maria* his wife ſhould be called Queene, and their daughter called *Izabell*, beeing but two yeares old, to bee declared and receiued heire of thoſe Realmes, if he had no iſſue male: the titles which he gaue himſelfe were, King of Caſtile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seuile, Cordoua, Iaen, Murcia, Badajos, and Algarbe. He came to Toledo with D. *Maria*, and there they were crowned. By a complot made with D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, D. *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara was diſpoſſeſt of the fort of Albarrazin, a free place holding of no man, the which was very preiudiciall to Caſtile: this place was afterwards giuen by the king D. *Pedro*, to a baſtard ſonne of his called D. *Fernand*, whome he had by D. *Agnes Zapate*. The Infant D. *Iohn* brother to the new king, with the helpe of ſome knights, which were fled out of Caſtile, thought to ſurprize Seuile: but the king poſted thither with ſpeed, & diſappointed their deſſeignes. Being in that citty, Ambaſſadors came to him from *Aben Ioſeph* king of Maroc, to ſettle ſome order betwixt Affricke and Spaine, but the king D. *Sancho* being incenſed, that the king of Maroc had come to make warre againſt him in his fathers fauour, anſwered his Ambaſſadors very ſowrely, ſaying, that he held his bread in one hand, and a ſtaffe in the other, and that if any one would ſeeke to take away his bread, he would ſtrike him with his ſtaffe. The Ambaſſador, whoſe name was *Abdalla*, returned to Algezire, from whence they began to make roads into the territories of Medina Sidonia and Xeres, which cauſed the king D. *Sancho* to looke to his affaires: who for this cauſe began to make prouiſion of galleys and other veſſels, in the ſea townes of his Iuriſdiction, and did entertaine a Captaine of Genoa, called *Benet Zacharie* with 12. gallies, to whom he gaue the port of S. *Mary* in propriety, vpon condition, that he ſhould for euer entertaine one galley armed. This king hauing called a Court at Seuile, hee diſanulled many priuiledges which were extorted in time of neceſſitie. Beeing returned into Caſtile hee diſpoſed of matters of Iuſtice, and puniſhed many which had beene rebels vnto him, cauſing ſome heads to be cut off.

Don Sancho of Caſtils titles

B C D

These things paſt in the yeare 1284. about the end of which he had newes of the preparation which the king of France made to inuade Cattelogne, by reaſon whereof, he and his vncle D. *Pedro* of Arragon had an interview in Ciria, where they were moreouer aduertiſed that there was intelligence betwixt king *Philip* and him of Maroc, to make warre at one inſtant, the one in Cattelogne the other in Andaluſia: wherefore beeing parted D. *Sancho* came to Burgos, to hold an aſſembly of the Eſtates.

E

Arragon.

D. *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara being diſpoſſeſt of Albarrazin, as we haue ſayd, by Don *Lopes Diaz de Haro*, being the Commander, he put himſelfe into Tudele, the which hee defended for *Philip* the faire king of Nauarre, againſt the king D. *Pedro*, and not onely repulſed him, but alſo tooke great ſtore of victuals and cattell which was brought to the enemies campe: for he had within it aboue 300. horſe, and a great number of foote: ſo as D. *Pedro* ſeeing that he ſhould do no good before Tudele, he ſpoiled the countrie, and returned into his Realme, to defend the paſſage againſt the king of France, who came to aſſaile him: from whom the Earle of Artois, whome the Spaniards call *Charles*, and the French *Robert*, was ſent to the king Don *Sancho* beeing at Toledo, to perſwade him to ſet at libertie without exception the ſonnes of his deceaſed Brother Don *Fernand de la Cerde*, who were

F

Caſtile.

were priſoners in the hands of D. *Pedro* King of Arragon; and then he intreated him not to ſuccor the King of Arragon in the warre which the French King pretended to make againſt him. to whom the King D. *Sancho* made no other anſwere, but that he would ſend his Ambaſſadors to King *Philip*, to treat of thoſe affaires: wherevpon he ſent vnto him D. *Martin* Biſhop of Calaorra, and D. *Gomes Garcia* of Toledo Abbot of Vailledolit, who found King *Philip* at the entry of the country of Cattelogne, with a great army, beſieging Girone, who were but ſleightly entertained, and returned without any effect. They write that the Earle of Arthois being diſpatched from the court of Caſtille, taking his leaue, the King D. *Sancho* receiued a pacquet out of France: hauing opened it and read the letters, he ſayd vnto the Earle that he had good friends in the court of France, who adduertiſed him of all that paſſed, intreating him to ioyne with them, and to become his friend: yet the Hiſtories of France ſay, that this Earle of Arthois had beene before in Caſtille, after the ſuppreſſion of the rebels of Nauarre, in the life time of King D. *Alphonſo*, at which time this packet was brought, and not now: the which the Earle of Arthois hauing reported to the King it cauſed a great tumult and ſearch in court. In the meane time the King D. *Sancho* made preparation to ſuccor Xeres, the which was already inueſted by the army of the Miralmumin of Maroc, where there were eighteene thouſand horſe Moores, or Arabian Affricans; and came from Toledo by Talauera and Merida to Seuille, whether the Moores made daily roades euen vnto the gates, the King D. *Sancho* hauing not yet ſufficient forces to ſuppreſſe them: but within few daies after there came vnto him about foure thouſand horſe, as well of the military orders of Spaine, as of Noblemen, with the which he made a ſufficient army to goe to field. Hauing muſtred his troupes, he marched towards his enemies, to whom hee preſented battaile, but the King of Maroc would not accept thereof: for beſides the great forces at land which came daily to the King D. *Sancho*, hee had a mighty army at ſea, which lay in the Port of Saint Mary, where there were aboue a hundred ſaile of great veſſels. The King of Maroc raiſed his ſiege from Xeres, and afterwards they were made friends, hauing an enterview at Pegna Ferrada, or according vnto ſome in Albuhera, where the King of Caſtille receiued a preſent of *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, of two millions of Marauidis of gold, then currant. This peace was not pleaſing to the Infant D. *Iohn* the Kings brother, nor to Don *Lopes Diaz* of Haro, who demaunded nothing but warre. About the end of the yeere 1285. the Queene D. *Maria* was brought to bed in Seuile of a ſonne, called D. *Fernand*, who ſucceeded the father in thoſe realmes.

Accord betwixt the Kings of Maroc and Caſtille.

An. 1285.

2 *Philip* the 3. King of France, and his ſonne *Philip* the faire King of Nauar, being entred into Cattelogne, had taken Perpignan, ruined ſeuen and twenty townes and caſtles, & laied ſiege to Girone. The victuals for the campe were brought from Narbone to the neereſt hauens and ports of Empurias, Roſes and others, and from thence was carried a little ſpace by land with a gard of horſemen. Which the King deſiring to preuent and withall to take the treaſor which he knew was brought to pay the ſouldiers, he came and laied an ambuſh of fiue hundred horſe, and about two thouſand foot betwixt the ſea and the French campe: whereof the King of France, being aduertiſed by his ſpies, ſent before, by the aduice of the Conſtable of France, three hundred choiſe men at armes, vnder his charge, who being come to the ambuſh, and diſcouered to be few in number, were preſently inuironed and charged with great cries, by the Arragonois, who thought to defeat them, but the French who were come thether to fight, did incounter them in ſuch ſort, as although they were much inferior in number, yet they ſeemed more then equal in valour and courrage.

Arragon. Perpignan taken by the French.

The ſiege of Girone.

The Arragonois animated by their King, who was preſent and fighting, behaued themſelues valiantly, ſo as the one yeelding nothing vnto the other, the fight continued long without aduantage, vntill that the King D. *Pedro* being grieuouſly hurt in the face with a Lance, retired himſelfe out of the fight, wherevpon his men beganne to faint. Many of his horſemen eſcaped with him, but as for the footmen they were all cut in peeces, there were ſome horſemen ſlaine vpon the field, on either ſide, but moſt Arragonois.

The King D. *Pedro* hauing cauſed himſelfe to be carried to Villa-franca, died ſoone after

after of his wound. He had raigned nine yeeres, three monthes and foure daies; A generous Prince, but ambitious beyond all meaſure, being growne an irreconciliable enemy to the French, ſince the ſucceſſe of the Iſland of Sicile, the which he left to D. *Iaime* or *Iames* his yonger ſonne.

D. Alphonſo the third of that name, and the tenth King of Arragon.

DOn *Alphonſo* his eldeſt ſucceeded to the realme of Arragon, this yeere 1285. Don *Pedro* being aduertiſed by his Phyſitions, the chiefe whereof was *Arnaud* of Villeneufue (whoſe workes we haue but much curtalled by the Inquiſitors) that he drew neere his end, he did ſollicite his ſonne D. *Alphonſo* to haſten the conqueſt of Majorca, which he had vndertaken, and did much deſire; wherefore D. *Alphonſo* preſently after his fathers death, led the army to Majorca, and tooke the Iſland, ioyning that of Majorca to the other titles of the Kings of Arragon. In this action the chiefe Commanders were D. *Blaſco* of Alagon, *Sancho* of Antillas, *Pedro Garces Nuez*, *Pedro Seſes*, *Blaſco Ximenes* of Aierbio, *Symon Perez Andoſilla* of Arragon: and of Cattelogne, D. *Pedro de Moncade*, *Raymond* of Vrgi and *Maimon Plaigaman*. Euen vpon the death of the King D. *Pedro*, there arriued in Cattelogne, *Charles* Prince of Salerne, called the halting, a priſoner, being conducted by *Raymond Alleman*, *Symon* of Eſtorio and *William Ponce Cattelans*, who had bound themſelues to the Infant D. *Iames*, who was appointed King of Sicile, to carry him into Cattelogne, or to looſe their liues, ſwearing that if any came to reſcue him, and that they found themſelues too weake, they would kill him and caſt him into the ſea. You muſt vnderſtand that one of the chiefe conſpirators in Sicile againſt the French, called *Alain Leontain*, a councellor of Eſtate, and chiefe Iuſtice of the realme, which is one of the greateſt dignities, ſtaied not long before he receiued from the Arragonois, a worthy reward for his notable treachery, and immoderat appetit of reuenge: for being diſcouered that he ſought to reconcile himſelfe vnto the French, for ſome diſcontentment, he was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Siurane, from whence he neuer parted, being knowne to be a double traitor: and God brought him to this end, to ſhew that he deteſts thoſe, that for their priuat paſſions ſeeke the ruine of Eſtates.

D. Iames King of Maiorca diſpoſſeſt by his Nephew.

Alain Leontin Author of the Sicilian Euenſong a double traitor and his end.

The Conſtable of France returning to the campe before Girone, he was receiued with all poſſible ſignes of ioy: whereas ſoone after they had newes of the death of D. Pedro King of Arragon, whereof hauing aduertiſed the beſieged that they ſhould not continue obſtinate; *Raymond* of Cardona, who commanded within the towne, demanded leaue to ſend one thether to vnderſtand the truth, who brought him word that hee had ſeene the King his maiſter dead: whereupon he yeelded vp the towne to the French King, the ſouldiars and Inhabitants departing and carrying away what they could, except gold and ſiluer which they were to leaue, for the which they were ſercht. At this ſiege the plague fell into the campe, and the King himſelfe grew ſick, ſo as this warre ceaſed, and they began to thinke of their returne into France. The King had entertained certaine gallies of Piſa and Genoa, which hee now ſent backe, hauing no more vſe for them.

Girone taken by the French.

Saying towards Italy, they were met by *Roger* of Loria Admiral of Sicile, who came to Cattelogne with fiue and fortie gallies, to ſuccour the King of Arragon his Maiſter, of whoſe death he was then aduertiſed. This man who was pollitike, and loath to looſe any oportunity, hauing vnderſtood from theſe captaines the Eſtate of the affaires in Cattelogne, and eſpecially of the enemies army, he entertained all their fleete, and lead them backe towards Ampurias, where they found the remainder of the French fleete in the hauen, whom they did ſodainely ſet vpon and burne, all the ſouldiers and marriners hauing eſcaped, and ioyned with the reſt of the Land-army. King *Philip*, who cauſed himſelfe to bee carried in a litter, was much grieued at this loſſe, and his ſickneſſe

A ſickneſſe did ſo increaſe, as he gaue vp the ghoſt in the towne of Perpignan, whether the armie came with great difficulty, the Arragonois hauing ſtopt the paſſages of the mountaines, ſo as they were forced to make their way by the ſword. *Death of Philip the third King of France.*

Philip the firſt of that name, the fiue and twentith King of Nauarre.

B 4 *Philip* his ſonne, called the faire, who ſucceeded him, was both King of France and Nauarre, hauing a little before married D. *Iean* the heire of Nauarre. Of which marriage were borne three ſonnes, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the long and *Charles* the faire, all which three were Kings of France and Nauarre one after an other, hauing no children. They had alſo two daughters, *Ioane* who died young (who is not in the French Genealogies) and *Iſabel* Queene of England, mother to *Edward* the third, who contended for the ſucceſſion of the Realme of France againſt *Philip* of Valois. *Nauarre.*

At that time 1286. the Realme of Nauarre was gouerned by a Gentleman called *Clement* of Launay in quality of Viceroy, who defended it againſt the daily inuaſions of the Arragonois. A captaine of Nauarre, whoſe name was D. *Iohn Corbaran*, hauing the charge of the frontier towards Arragon, was defeated and taken by D. *Pedro Cornel*, an C Arragonois. The Nauarrois alſo entring into the country of Arragon beſieged Tiermas, but could not take it, yet they did great ſpoiles. About the end of the yeere there was a truce made betwixt theſe two Kingdomes, and a defence made not to moleſt one an other vpon paine of death. There was alſo a truce concluded betwixt *Philip* King of France and Nauarre, and Don *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, during the which they ſought meanes to make a peace betwixt them, for the controuerſies of Sicile and other places. *An.* 1286. *Clement of Launay Viceroy of Nauar.*

The death of *Philip* the third King of France being knowne in Caſtille, the King D. *Sancho* ſent backe the Archbiſhop of Calaorra, and the Abbot of Vailedolit, his Ambaſſadors, to *Philip* the faire his ſonne, to ſeeke ſome meanes of an accord, for many conſide- D rations: one and the moſt imporant was, that the Kings of France, father and ſonne had beene the meanes at Rome to ſtop the diſpenſations of the marriage which D. *Sancho* had made with D. *Maria* his couſin. Theſe Ambaſſadors carried backe into Spaine an entervew of both Kings graunted in the towne of Bayonne; yet they met not, for the King of France would not paſſe the mount of Marçan, and he of Caſtille ſtaied at Saint Sebaſtians, ſending their deputies to treat and end their quarrels. For King *Philip* there came *Robert* Duke of Bourgongne and others, for the King of Caſtille came D. *Guttieres* Archbiſhop of Toledo, ſucceſſor to the Cardinal D. *Gonçalo*, with the Biſhops of Calaorra, Burgos and others. The firſt demand which the French made, and whereon they E did inſiſt, was, that the King D. *Sancho* ſhould leaue his wife D. *Maria*, to marry one of king *Philips* ſiſters, which ſhould be either *Marguerite* or *Blanche*: which the Ambaſſadors of Spaine found to be out of reaſon: and hauing giuen aduice thereof vnto their King, who was neere, he was ſo much offended, as hee recalled them, and would not haue the conference to proceed any further. The Abbot of Vailledolit, who was ſuperintendent of the Kings reuenues, by this voiage fell into diſgrace with his maſter, and was accuſed to haue put this ſauage demand into the Frenchmens heads: wherefore hee was ſtraightly looked into, and diſmiſt from all affaires. The King went from Saint Sebaſtians to Victoria, where the Queen attended him, from whence they paſt to Burgos, from thence he went to Saint Iames in pilgrimage. Paſſing by Sahagun, he cauſed the bodies of the King D. *Alphonſo* the ſixth, and the Queenes which were there interred, to be F remoued. *Caſtille.* *Conference of Deputies for the Kings of France and Caſtille.*

5 His voyage being ended, hee honoured D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, with the dignity of high Steward, and Standard-bearer of the realme of Caſtille, giuing the ſuruiuance vnto D. *Diego Lope de Haro* his ſonne, with promiſe neuer to diſpoſſeſſe them of their offices, ſo as they did ſerue him and his ſonne D. *Fernand* faithfully, without affecting *Haro Lord of Biſcay exceedingly honored by the King D. Sancho.*

affecting any other parties, appointments or alliances, the which they promiſed ſolemnly, vpon paine of loſing Biſcay, and all they had in Caſtille and Leon: and the King gaue into the hands of D. *Lope*, for aſſurance of that which he had promiſed, moſt of the forts in Caſtille. A

By meanes of theſe things D. *Lope Diaz* was made Earle the firſt day of the yeere
An. 1287. 1287. with command ouer all the country, from Burgos vnto the ſea. To D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* the Earles brother, was giuen the Gouernment of the Moores frontier: about which time the marriage was made betwixt D. *Iohn* the Kings brother, and D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, daughter to the Earle D. *Lope*: who had a great deſire to ſee the King D. *Sancho* diuorced from the Queene his wife, to haue him marry the daughter of *Gaſton* Lord of Berne his couſin, hoping that the children which ſhould come of that B marriage, ſhould inherit thoſe realmes, and thoſe which hee had had by Queene *Mary* ſhould be excluded, for that the marriage was made without the Popes diſpenſation: but God did otherwiſe diſpoſe. This Princeſſe was brought in bed this yeere of her ſecond ſonne, called *Alphonſo*, and then the King retired D. *Iſabel*, heire of the Eſtate of Molina, whom her mother D. *Blanch*, ſiſter to Queene *Mary*, would haue married to D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon. This great power and authority which the King had giuen to the Earle D. *Lope*, diſcontented many Noblemen of Gallicia, but eſpecially of Leon, ſo as hee was preſt to abate this power, too great for a ſubiect, the which hee abuſed: but the King had no will to diminiſh any thing, wherefore he tried to content them with good words: and in the meane time he ordained, that the Earle D. *Lope* ſhould goe into the Marches of Galicia, with good numbers of ſouldiars, to ſuppreſſe ſuch as would C attempt any thing againſt his will. The Earle D. *Lopes* held a garriſon at Aſtorga, and the King went an other way to ſee his Nephew D. *Denis* King of Portugal, to reconcile him with D. *Alphonſo* of Portugal, who held ſome places vpon the frontiers of Leon, where by reaſon of his quarrels hee kept ſome ſouldiers, whether alſo ſome baniſhed men of Caſtille retired themſelues, who made roades into the territories of Leon. The two Kings of Caſtille and Portugal met at the ſiege of Ronches, and tooke it by compoſition: by the which D. *Aluaro de Lara*, who had retired himſelfe to D. *Alphonſo* of Portugall, was reſtored to D. *Sanchos* fauour. At this ſiege the King of Portugal did councel the King of Caſtille to humble D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, who did abuſe the authority which he had giuen him tyranouſly, elſe it was to be feared there would grow great D troubles in Caſtille.

This aduice was wel taken by the King D. *Sancho*, and from that time hee began to ſtudy by what meanes he might take away or diminiſh that extraordinary power, but it was too late: It is not the cuſtome for ſuch as are once mounted, to ſtoope. The Earle D. *Lope* finding the Kings intent, retired to *Gaſton* of Berne his couſin, there to make ſome faction: where he had newes of the death of D. *Aluaro de Lara* his competitor and enemy, whereof he was exceeding glad, and returned into Caſtille, but he found that the King had giuen his offices, and all that D. *Aluaro* had enioyed to his brother D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, ſo as D. *Lope* found himſelfe preuented; wherevpon he debaucht the Infant E D. *Iohn* his ſonne in law, leauing the court much diſcontented. D. *Iohn* made ſome roads about Salamanca; wherefore the King being in the towne of Carrion, the weeke before Eaſter, whether the Earle D. *Lope Diaz* came well accompanied, he complained vnto him of the exceſſe which his ſonne in law D. *Iohn* had done, to whom the Earle anſwered proudly, that hee had not done any thing but what he had aduiſed him; and that if hee would heare the Infants reaſons, hee ſhould goe to Vailledolit, and hee would bring him to Cigales. This proud manner of ſpeech of the Earles, ſeemed ſtrange vnto the King, and increaſed his deſire to puniſh them both: Notwithſtanding he went to Vailledolit, and the Earle with his ſonne in law came to Cigales, not daring to come in the Kings preſence in any great towne. There the Deputies of either part did confer dayly, at a place called Loueruela, whereas theſe iarres were ſomewhat reconciled: wherevp- F on the King came towards the frontiers of Arragon, to treat with the King D. *Alphonſo* touching the deliuery of his Nephewes, the ſonnes of *La Cerde*, whereof hee was much ſollicited, euen by the Earle D. *Lope Diaz*.

Speech audatious of the Earl D. Lope Diaz de Haro.

Not-

A Notwithſtanding before the King D. *Sancho* could approch nere to Taraſſone, where the King of Arragon was, the Earle had preuented him, who hauing ſpoken with the King of Arragon, hee reported vnto his maiſter, that he found by the way, that the King of Arragon would not be pleaſed with this kinde of enterview, and therefore hee had no need to paſſe any farther. The Earle finding himſelfe ſomewhat croſt by the enterview of the King D. *Sancho* and him of Portugal, did alſo thinke that this would bee nothing fauorable vnto him.

Arragon.

6 As for D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, whom we haue left carefull to execute the charge which the King his father had giuen him, to diſpoſſeſſe the King D. *Iames* his vncle of the Iſlands of Majorca and Minorca: after the conqueſt thereof hee had brought backe his
B victorious army to Valencià, and there was receiued and acknowledged for King by the Valentians. Yet he was admoniſhed by D. *Bernard*, *William Entenza* and *Symon* of Vrrea, Ambaſſadors for the Eſtates of Vrrea, to come ſpeedily to the aſſembly at Saragoſſa, where hauing ſworne and promiſed the obſeruation of the cuſtomes, rights and priuiledges of the country, and receiued the oth of fealty from the deputies, he might lawfully take vpon him the title of King of Arragon, the which (ſaid they) he might not vſe before this act and ceremony, according to the ancient cuſtomes of Arragon. The King hauing giuen them audience at Moruiedro, he anſwered them courteouſly, that he would repaire thether with ſpeed: and as for the royal title, he had held it reaſonable to take it, ſeeing he had beene ſo ſaluted by the Archbiſhop of Tarragone, and by the Cat-
C telans and Valentians. Being come to Saragoſſa, he tooke and receiued the oth, and was crowned by the Biſhop of Hueſco, in the abſence of the Archbiſhop of Tarragone, to whom (by the Popes decree) this office doth appertaine, where he proteſted that he held the realme as hereditary from his father, and was not bound to any. At this aſſembly of the Eſtates, which was in the yeere 1286. there grew great contention touching the reformation of the manners of courtiers, and the ordering of the Kings houſe, the noblemen and deputies of the Eſtates of Arragon maintayning that the knowledge thereof was incident to their charge; the King and his houſhold ſeruants on the other ſide denied that there was either law or cuſtome which tied the King or his followers to any ſuch ſubiection.

Reformation of the King of Arragons houſe belonged to the generall Eſtates.

D In the end it was concluded that the reformation of the court ſhould bee made by twelue of the principal families (which they cal in that country Meſnadas) the like number of Knights, foure Deputies of Saragoſſa, and one of either of the other cities the which ſhould giue their voices in that caſe. This vnion of Arragon obtained a decree, that the King ſhould haue certaine councellors choſen, that is, foure of the chiefe Noblemen, which were D. *Pedro d' Aierbe* the kings vncle, *Pedro Cornel*, *Artal Alagon* and *Pedro Martines de Luna*; foure knights of noble and ancient races, which were D. *Fortun Sanches Vera*, *Symon Perez Salanoua*, *Symon Perez Vera*, and *Arnaud de Caſtro*, and foure of his houſehold ſeruants: that is D. *Gyles de Bedaure*, *Roderigo Sanches Pomar*, *Alphonſo de*
E *Caſtel nouo* and *Fernand Perez Pigna*: Moreouer two knights for the realme of Valencia, two citizens of Sarragoſſa, and one of either of the other cities of Hueſca, of Taraſſone, Iaca, Barbaſtro, Calatajub, Turol and Daroca: with a condition that whilſt the King ſhould remaine in Arragon, *Ribagorça* or *Valencia*, two of the noblemen, two of his houſhold ſeruants, two Knights of Arragon, one of Valencia, and the foure Deputies of the realme of Arragon, ſhould follow and reſide in court, as councellors appointed by the vnion, the which by the mouth of D. *Fortun*, *Sancho de Vera*, *Sancho Martines Lacunella*, and the Deputies of Saragoſſa, Hueſca and Turol (who were ſent to that end) proteſted that if he did not receiue, obſerue and maintaine theſe orders, they would ſeize vpon his reuenues, and of all the fees, offices and dignities of ſuch noblemen as ſhould contradict them: thus were the Kings of Arragon intreated in thoſe times.

Moores expelled out of Minorca.

F This yeere the King reſtored D. *Philip de Caſtro*, ſonne to his vncle D. *Fernand Sanches* (who as we haue ſayd was caſt into the riuer of Singa) as wel to the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Pomar, as to the reſt of his fathers patrimony: and for that there were ſome remainders of Moores which ſtood out in the Iſland of Minorca, the King ſoone after went thether with an army in perſon, and clenſed the whole country, hauing forced them

vnd

to fly into the caſtle of Agaic, and to compound, from whence accor ding to the treaty, A
they were tranſported into Affrike, by D. *Raymond Marquet* and *Berenger Majol*. In the
meane time King D. *Alphonſo* did ſollicit the Pope by his Ambaſſadors to receiue him
into fauour, which the French did hinder: for beſides the rights, pretended by *Charles*
of Valois, and granted to him by the Pope, to the realme of Arragon, and lands anexed,
which were interdict, there was moreouer, that not onely the two yong Princes D. *Al-*
7 *phonſo* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde* were detained priſoners by the King of Arragon, but
alſo *Charles*, called the Limping, ſonne and heire to *Charles* of Aniou, King of Naples
and Sicile: for whoſe releaſe *Philip* the father and ſonne, Kings of France, had beene ear-
neſt ſolicitors, and taken armes, and euen at that inſtant *Philip* the faire did preſſe the
Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, and in regard of *Charles* the Limping, *Edward* King of B
England did labour to make a peace betwixt him and the Kings of Arragon and Sicile
brethren. In the meane time there was continual warre in Italy, whether *Robert* Earle of
Arthois had beene ſent, who with the aduiſe of a Cardinal the Popes Legat, and *Mary*
Princeſſe of Salerne, wife vnto *Charles*, who was priſoner, gouerned the realme of Na-
ples. They were then vpon termes of a good accord, when as theſe Gouernors hauing
ſent a great army into Sicile, vnder the command of *Renaud del Balſo*, Earle of Auellin,
tooke the towne of Cattanea; whereof king D. *Alphonſo* being aduertiſed, he ſent backe
Roger de Loria Admiral of Sicile, to ſuccor and defend his brothers country. The Earle of
Auellin hauing made this prize, hee ſent the galleys, which had tranſported his army,
backe to Naples, to bring the reſt of his troupes which were yet on land: and at the ſame C
inſtant, *Guy* of Montfort, Earle of Languillare, with the Earles of Boullen and Flanders,
hauing leauied men in Tuſcany, were ready to imbarke vpon the bankes of Sienna,
when as *Roger* de Loria the Admiral arriued in the Italian ſeas, who hauing deſcouered
the fleet which went to tranſport the ſouldiars at Naples, hee purſued them, and tooke
them eaſily, hauing none to make any defence, and ſoone after hee eſpied about ſixty
gallies ſayling towards Sicile, which was the army of thoſe French Noblemen aboue
named, which had imbarqued in Tuſcany, whoſe Admiral was called *Arrighin*, a Gene-
uois. *Roger* charged them courragiouſly, and put them to rout, without any great diffi-
culty, for the ſouldiars in the French fleete could fight better at land then at ſea: the
Commanders were taken, all which paied their ranſoms, except the Earle of Montfort. D
who was detained priſoner, and there died.

Theſe two victories were the recouery of Cattanea the which was yeelded to the Ar-
ragonois, by the Earle of Auellin, who with his compagnions, returned with their bag
and baggage to Naples. By this meanes the treaty of peace which *Edward* made was
broken, but he deſiſted not, vntil he had drawne them to theſe conditions: That *Charles*
ſhould be ſet at liberty, paying twenty thouſand, or (as ſome ſay) thirty thouſand markes
of ſiluer for his ranſome. That he ſhould procure the Pope to inueſt King *James* in the
realme of Naples, that he ſhould take away the Interdict, and abſolue the two brethren
of Arragon, and that he ſhould be a meanes to make *Charles* Earle of Valois quit the in-
tereſt he pretended in Catalogne, by vertue of a donation made vnto him by Pope *Mar-* E
tin: for the execution whereof hee ſhould haue three yeeres time, and in caſe he could
not performe them, hee ſhould returne againe to priſon: for aſſurance whereof, hee
ſhould giue his three ſonnes, *Lewis*, *Robert* and *John* in hoſtage, with forty gentlemen of
the county of Prouence. The which *Charles* hauing promiſed, and the hoſtages deli-
uered, he was releaſed foure yeeres after his taking. He came into France, and labored
in vaine with *Charles* of Valois, who would neuer relinguiſh the title hee had to Catte-
logne. Pope *Nicholas* alſo would not yeeld vnto that which *Charles* had promiſed
touching the realme of Sicile, the which hee ſayd was a fee belonging to the church,
wherefore he paſt ſpeedily into Italy with good troupes of men, led by *Emery* of Nar-
bone. Being in Tuſcany, he ſpent ſome time to fauour the Guelphes party, againſt the F
Gibilins, the which were two frantike factions, afflicting Italy ſince the diſſention be-
twixt the Popes and Emperor *Frederic*, continued among the Italians without ſubiect or
ſence, with horrible examples of Impiety and inhumanity. The French which delt in
theſe quarrels, held the Guelphes faction.

Conditions of peace betwixt the King of Arragon and Naples priſoner.

Charles of Valois will not yeeld vp his right to Cattelogne.

Charles

A *Charles* beeing come to Rome, Pope *Nicholas* the fourth crowned him in the yeere of our Lord 1289. King of both Siciles, from the which he could not be diſſwaded: where- *An.* 1289.
with they Arragonois held themſelues much wronged, and fell to armes more violently then before. *Suritez* affirmes that this yeere King *Charles* the Limping came and preſented himſelfe armed betwixt the valley of Ionquera and the hill of Panizaçe, making a ſhew as it he came to yeeld himſelfe to the King of Arragon, according to the treaty, and that hee returned ſodainely to Perpignan. The Calabrois, neighbours to Sicile, were daily ſollicited to reuolt; the which the Inhabitants of the Cathenzan did, who gaue themſelues to King *Iames*: wherevpon king *Charles* beeing accompanied by the Earle of Artois, led an army thether, to ſuccor which place, king *Iames* beeing come with
B his Admiral, and hauing landed his men, hee was incountred and defeated by the French, and forced to ſaue himſelfe in his galleies, yet without any great loſſe; wherefore the Arragonois deſiring to diuert this ſiege, they ſailed towards Gayete, where hauing ſeized vpon a hill neere vnto it, they gaue many aſſaults, but without any effect. King *Charles*, and the Earle of Arthois, leauing ſufficient troupes to entertaine the ſiege of Cathenzan, marched towards Gayete, being reſolued to giue battaile to the Arragonois: but they kept themſelues from fighting, beeing lodged in a place of aduantage and neere vnto their galleys.

There was a mediation for a truce betwixt the two kings and the realmes of Sicile and Naples, the which king *Charles* yeelded vnto for fiue yeeres, againſt the aduice *Truce for fiue yeeres betwixt the French and Arragonoiz.*
of the Earle of Arthois, who held the victory in his hand, aſſuring himſelfe to force the
C enemy to fight: wherevpon hee grew much diſcontented, and leauing Italy, returned into France with his troupes; vpon this truce Cathenzan was yeelded. This firſt conqueſt which the kings of Arragon made out of Spaine, was the cauſe of great broyles, warre and ruines in Chriſtendome, for which they chiefely ſmarted, whereof the Popes were the ſubiect, as they ſtood well or ill affected to thoſe Princes, of whoſe miſeries, and of their ruines they were ſecure ſpectators, beeing defended from all daunger through the opinion of their holineſſe and authority.

At the death of Pope *Martin*, his ſucceſſour *Honorius* the fourth, had ſetled and confirmed D. *Iames* of Arragon, and abſolued the King D. *Pedro*, but Pope *Nicholas* the
D fourth, malitiouſly and without any feare of the ſhedding of Chriſtians bloud, did kindle a new warre betwixt the French and Arragonois, whereas hee would not crowne *Charles* King of Naples alone, but of Naples and Sicile together. D. *Iames* of Arragon holding Sicile at that time, at his coronation he tooke the armes which the realme hath ſince carried, which are an Eagle ſable in a field argent, the which *Manfroy* was wont to beare, and the bends geules in a field *Or* of Bareelona.

8 The King of Caſtille being ſollicited, and much troubled to reſolue vpon the deli- *caſtille.*
uery of his Nephewes of *Cerde*, detained in Arragon, and to recompence them in ſuch ſort as his ſoueraignty might remaine entire and peceable to him and his ſucceſſours, hee ſent to that end Ambaſſadors to *Philip* the faire, King of France, beeing
E at Lions: but what they could not then effect by treaties and negotiations, occaſion did afterward bring to paſſe, for there happened a great exceſſe in the court of Caſtille, wherevpon enſued the deliuery of the Infantes of Cerde: the which notwithſtanding was as much diſpleaſing to the King of France, who had purſued it, as to him of Caſtille, who feared it, and auoided it all hee could. A moſt daungerous freedome for them that were deliuered, but of the reſtraint of their perſons, as ſhall appeere.

The King Don *Sancho* being at Alfaro, with the Queene his wife, Don *Gonçalo* Archbiſhop of Toledo, with many other Prelats and Noblemen of his realmes, hauing alwaies a deſire to reſtraine and puniſh the pride of the Earle Don *Lope Diaz de Haro*,
F and of the Infant D. *Iohn* his ſonne in law, who were there preſent, hee ſayd vnto them, that if they would not remaine both priſoners, they ſhould deliuer vp the forts which *Quarrels in court where D. Lope Diaz de Haro is ſlaine.*
they held within the realm, whereat the Earl and D. *Iohn* grew into ſuch choller and rage, as beſide words of contempt which they vſed, they laied their hands vpon their ſwords before the King their Lord, threatning to kill them that ſhould offer to lay hands vpon

them, and called to their friends for aide : but inſtantly all the Noblemen and Knights there preſent, drew their ſwords and ſlue the Earle vpon the place, whoſe right hand was cut off at the firſt blow (this was the reward for the ſeruice he had done in rayſing D. *Sancho* to the crowne) the Infant D. *Iohn* did hurt D. *Sancho Martines de Leyua*, and *Gonçalo Gomes de Mancanedo*, and made great reſiſtance, by reaſon hee was ſomewhat ſpared, for that he was the Kings brother : but when he ſaw his father in law ſlaine, hee beganne to flie for ſafety towards Queene *Mary*, who ſtaied the King (that purſued him with the reſt) from killing him with his owne hand. Beeing taken hee was put into a ſtraight priſon and fettered in the towne of Logrogno, from whence the King went with ſome troupes, to Treuigno and tooke it, and after that the caſtle of Haro. Queene *Mary* remayning at Saint Dominicke de la Calçada, ſhee was viſited by the widow of the Earle that was ſlaine, whom the King D. *Sancho* let vnderſtand, that her husbands raſhneſſe had brought him to that deſaſter, aduiſing her to perſwade D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* her ſonne to lay downe armes, and not to miniſter any further occaſion of trouble: that if he did containe himſelfe within the duty of a ſubiect, the King would forget what was paſt, and both cheriſh and honour him, as his predeceſſors had beene honoured. This Lady promiſed to doe her beſt endeauor for a peace, but ſhee did the contrary : for ſhe ceaſed not to incenſe her ſonne, who was full of rage and deſire of reuenge : ſo as hee retired into Nauarre, with his ſiſter Donna *Maria Diaz*, wife to the Infant D. *Iohn*, who was priſoner, where hauing left her, he paſt into Arragon to the King Don *Alphonſo*, whether alſo came *Gaſton*, Lord of Bearn, who was no leſſe deſirous to reuenge the death of the Earle his couſin. Theſe Noblemen wrought in ſuch ſort, as the King Don *Alphonſo*, ſet Don *Alphonſo* and Don *Fernand*, Infants of Cerde, at liberty, who had beene detained ten yeeres in the caſtle of Xatiua : and the King ſending for them to Iacca, hee cauſed D. *Alphonſo* the elder to take vpon him the title of Caſtille and Leon, to whom D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* did inſtantly doe homage, and acknowledged him for his ſoueraigne King.

The mother perſwads her ſonne to reuenge his fathers death.

9

King of Arragon ſets the Infants of Cerde at liberty.

D. Alphonſo de la Cerde ſaluted for King of Caſtille.

The King D. *Sancho* beeing aduertiſed of theſe things, was much diſcontented, and ſought to diſpoſſeſſe D. *Diego Lopes* of al his lands. Parting from Victoria, whereas the Queene was brought in bed of a ſonne, who was called D. *Henry*, hee came to Vrdugna, the which he tooke, and then he forced la Baſtida and Ocio in Rioje, where they had proclaimed D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*. The King D. *Sancho* beeing in this perplexity, Ambaſſadors came vnto him from *Philip* King of France and of Nauarre, who concluded an enterview of the two Kings at Bayone. Thether alſo came Ambaſſadors from *Iacob Aben Ioſeph* King of Maroc, to renue the alliances paſt. D. *Diego Lopes* Gouernor generall of the Moores frontiers, brother to the Earle D. *Lope Diaz*, beeing aduertiſed of his death, beganne to grow fearefull, and to fortefie himſelfe within Carmone, and notwithſtanding all the promiſes and aſſurances, which the King D. *Sancho* could giue him, hee could not bee ſatisfied : ſo as hee was forced to paſſe into Arragon, where his Nephew was, who died there ſoone after his vncles arriuall : wherevpon the Eſtates of Biſcay, being without a Lord, fel into great combuſtions.

The King of Caſtille ſent Don *Diego Lopes de Salcedo* thether, who tooke all the caſtles and forts of the country, except the towre of Vnçuera, the which was ſo well defended by the Lord thereof, as all the batteries and aſſaults which *Salcedo* could giue, could not force it. The King D. *Sancho* beeing much perplexed at theſe broiles, came to Burgos, whether he cauſed the Infant D. *Iohn* to be brought and put into the caſtle, & being confident that he ſhould haue warre with Arragon, he ſought to fortefie himſelfe by Portugal, wherefore hauing ſent to intreat D. *Denis* his Nephew for an enterview, they met at Sabugal.

Portugal.

There D. *Sancho* demanded aide againſt the King of Arragon, and made a relation vnto the King of Portugal of all that had paſt betwixt him and his ſubiects in Caſtille. About that time the king D. *Denis* had by his wife D. *Iſabel* of Arragon one daughter, named D. *Conſtance*, who was afterwards married to the Infant D. *Fernand* of Caſtille. Afterwards the king D. *Denis* had by her the Infant D. *Alphonſo*, who was king of Portugal. Others adde a daughter named *Iſabel*.

Genealogy of Portugal.

The

A The warre which the Nauarrois had againſt them of Arragon, gaue ſome reſpight to that betwixt Arragon and Caſtille, for King *Philip* intertayning ſtrong garriſons of French in Nauarre during the pretenſions of *Charles* of Valois in Cattelogne, there was no truce could hold, but they were ſtil at blowes, the French and Nauarrois taking from the Arragonois the towne of Sauveterre, in the yeere 1289. The yeere following 1290. Queene *Iane* of France and of Nauarre was brought in bed of a ſonne, named *Lewis*, who was heire of both realmes, and ſurnamed Hutin. *Nauarre.* *An.* 1290.

This yeere was the entervew betwixt *Philip* King of France and D. *Sancho* of Caſtille at Bayone, little fauorable to the Infants of Cerde, for the King of France being iealous that they were aided and ſupported in their quarrels by the King of Arragon, whom hee B loued not, abandoned thē, and made a ſtrict league with him of Caſtille, yea in ſuch ſort, according to the Spaniſh Hiſtories, as to take away all occaſions of quarrell betwixt them he did againe renounce in fauour of D. *Sancho*, all the right hee had to the Realme of Caſtille. The King of Arragon deſirous to come to ſome accord with the French, imployed *Edward* King of England, who vſed great dilligence to reconcile them, as we will ſhew. After the conference of Bayone, the King D. *Sancho* returning by Guipuſcoa he granted priuiledges for the foundation of Tolouſe, Segure and Villefranche, townes in that country. *Caſtille.* *Renunciation reiterated of the rights which the Kings of France comming from Saint Lewis haue to Caſtille.*

10 During theſe broiles, the inhabitants of Badajos, by meanes of a quarrel betwixt two factions, reuolted againſt the King D. *Sancho*, and imbraced the party of D. *Alphonſo* C *de la Cerde*, who intituled himſelfe King of Caſtille. The Bejarans and Portugalois, factions among the inhabitants of Badajos, fel to great contention among themſelues, for that the Portugalois againſt all right had vſurped many poſſeſſions belonging to the Bejarans, through the fauour of the King D. *Sancho*: whereof many complaints beeing made by them that were diſpoſſeſt, the King commanded Iuſtice ſhould bee done them, and that they ſhould bee reſtored to their goods: the which beeing decreed, they that were in poſſeſſion would not obey: wherefore the Bajarans hauing taken armes, and ſlaine many of their aduerſaries, and chaſed the reſt out of the towne, they recouered their owne in this manner: but the exceſſe and violence which they vſed was ſuch, as D fearing to bee ſeuerely puniſhed, as they deſerued, they ſeized vpon the high towne, and beeing fortefied there, they proclaimed D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille and Leon. *Tumult at Badaios.*

In the beginning the King D. *Sancho* ſent the Maiſters of the Knights of Saint Iames, Calatraua and Alcantara, with the priors of Templers and Saint Iohn, who wrought in ſuch ſort as they retired the Bejarans from their folly, with aſſurance of their liues, but afterwards the King neglecting his faith promiſed by his Lieutenants, cauſed this people to be cruelly murthered, to the number of foure thouſand, ſparing neither women nor children, for the which he was iuſtly blamed.

There was alſo an other maſſacre at Talauera, for the like faction; proclayming Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde* for King of Caſtille, whereas one of the ports of the townes E is called at this day Quartos, for that there were aboue foure hundred of the chiefe inhabitants ſlaine there. The continuall griefe wherein hee was by reaſons of theſe difficulties, both at home and abroad, made him to commit theſe outrages, contrarie to all reaſon, the which was no ſigne of magnanimitie, beſides, that the furies (if wee may ſo ſay) by reaſon of his impietie and diſobedience towardes his father did purſue him. *Cruelty of the King D. Sancho.*

In the yeere of our Lord 1291. Queene *Mary* was brought in bed of her fourth ſonne, who was named D. *Pedro*, and the warre being now begonne with Arragon, the King D. *Sancho* came to Cuenca, and ſent good troupes againſt D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, who ſpoiled the countries of Cuenca and Alarcon, who were defeated, and many Enſignes and Guidons carried to Valencia, whereas the king of Arragon and D. *Diego Lopes de Ha-* F *ro* were: theſe with other diſcontents made the King to fall into a double Quartane, which brought him in danger of his life. In the meane time the King of Arragon, D. *Diego Lopes* and D. *Iohn Nugnes* beeing returned to Albarrazin, they did ouerrunne the territories of Molina, Siguença, Atienca, Berlanga and Almacan, where they committed great ſpoiles, and carried away a great booty finding no reſiſtance. D. *Iohn* *An.* 1291.

Nugnes was fed with hope to recouer Albarrazin. The Queene who was come to Cuenca, to ſee the King her husband ſicke, wrought meanes to winne Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, whom they had often attempted to draw vnto the Kings ſeruice, but hee truſted him not, but now hee was perſwaded, vpon a promiſe to giue in marriage to his ſonne, called alſo D. *Iohn Nugnes*, D. *Iſabella*, the heire of Molina, and the Queenes Neece, the which was performed: but hauing his head euer fraught with iealouſie and diſtruſt, hee was ſo eaſily induced to beleeue any aduertiſment, as hee was ſtill ready to diſlodge: ſo as the King beeing at Palença, and diſcontented with D. *Nugnes* carriage, beganne alſo to diſtruſt him. And for that hee had need of captaines, hee drew the Infant Don *Iohn* his brother out of priſon, in the yeere of our Lord 1291. to imploy him againſt his rebels, hauing cauſed him to take a new oth, to be faithfull vnto him, and to his ſonne D. *Fernand*, whoſe hands hee cauſed them all to kiſſe, as to the heire of the crowne. From Palença hee went in pilgrimage to Saint Iames, and by the way reduced vnder his obedience D. *Iohn Alphonſo d' Albuquerque*, a knight of great authority in Gallicia, who had beene wonne by D. *Iohn Nugnes*. At his returne to Vailledolit, he found that his ſecond ſonne D. *Alphonſo* was dead.

Arragon.

The ſame yeere a peace was concluded betwixt the Kings of France, Naples and Arragon, the Ambaſſadors of theſe Princes being aſſembled with the Popes Noncio at Taraſcon, at the inſtance of *Edward* King of England. For the King of Arragon came D. *Nugnes Mataplane* Biſhop of Sarragoſſa, *Raymond Angleſol*, *Berenger Puchuert*, *William Lunfort*, and *Bernard William Pinelio* all Lawiers, who treated and agreed vpon theſe conditions. That the donation, made by Pope *Martin* to *Charles* of Valois, of the realme of Arragon and the appurtenances, ſhould bee voide and of no force, paying a tribut of thirty ounces of gold yeerely to the Church of Rome. That the Iſland of Majorca ſhould bee reſtored to the lawfull Lord, vpon condition that hee ſhould acknowledge the King of Arragon for his ſoueraigne. That the Arragonois ſhould depart out of the Iſland of Sicile, and leaue the free poſſeſſion vnto *Charles* King of Naples. That D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon ſhould bee at Rome on Whitſonday that preſent yeere, & lead an army againſt the Infidels. That he ſhould perſwade his brother D. *Iames*, and his mother D. *Conſtance*, to quit the realm of Sicile, or elſe to make war againſt them.

Peace betwixt France and Arragon.

Theſe were the principall Articles of this peace the which the Arragonois held infamous, accuſing their King of impiety towards his mother, and treaſon to his brother: yet it was concluded and ſigned. And for the confirmation thereof, the biſhop of Sarragoſſa and *Berenger Puchuert* went to Rome. Some doubt whether the full concluſion thereof were made during the life of King D. *Alphonſo*, or at the entrance of the King D. *Iames*: for D. *Alphonſo* died about this treaty, as hee made preparation to marry the daughter of *Edward* King of England, called Leonora: yet it is likely this peace was made in the life time of King D. *Alphonſo*, yea ſome Authors affirme, that King *Charles* the Limping and he met in the valley of Iunquera, either of them beeing accompanied with twelue gentlemen onely, who carried no other armes then their ſwords, and that there they ratefied and ſigned this accord: as for the effects and execution thereof, it is credible they followed in the time of his ſucceſſor. King D. *Alphonſo* died in the ſeuen & twentith yeere of his age, hauing raigned fiue yeeres and ſeuen monthes. Being nere his end he would bee attired in the habit of Saint *Francis*, for an opinion which raigned then, that there conſiſted ſome great vertue in that weed, and ſo hee was carried to the conuent of Franciſcans at Barcelona.

Moores.

About that time the King of Granado, had conference with the gouernor of the frontier of Caſtille, for the King D. *Sancho* being called D. *Fernand Perez Ponce de Leon*, and renued the treaty and league with Caſtille, for the confirmation whereof there was a Mooriſh knight ſent to the King to Burgos. *Ioſeph Aben Iacob* had ſucceeded his father *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, in the realme of Maroc, ſince the yeere of our Lord 1285. he hauing raigned fiue and twenty yeeres, with the reputation of a generous Prince, and a good Iuſticer. This yeere he paſt into Spaine, and came to beſiege Bejar, but hee could not take it, wherefore he returned into Affrike with little honour. Meaning to returne ſome time after into Spaine with greater forces, he could not paſſe, beeing ſtayed by the ſicke-

of

A of Caſtille, which was great and mighty, for feare whereof he ſtayed vpon the bankes of Tanger, for *Benoiſt Zachary*, Admiral of Caſtille, had taken thirteene galleys from him: by fauour of which victory the King D. *Sancho* marcht into Andalouſia, to make an enterpriſe vpon Tariffe.

By the way he conferred with D. *Denis* King of Portugal, made a new league with him, and a future marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Fernand* of Caſtille and D. *Conſtance* of Portugal, who were both very young. And for the fulfilling of all promiſes in due time, there were townes and caſtles deliuered in pawne of either ſide, yet the King D. *Sancho* had no aide from him of Portugal, in this expedition. Being come to Seuile, and hauing their ordained what was needful for the ſiege, Tariffe was battred, and furi- *Caſtille.*

B ouſly aſſaulted, and in the end taken, the gard whereof was giuen to D. *Roderigo*, maiſter of the Calatraua. A little before a marriage had beene treated of by Ambaſſadors, betwixt Don *Iames* the new King of Arragon, and the Infant D. *Iſabel* of Caſtille, daughter to D. *Sancho*, beeing onely nine yeeres old. For confirmation whereof, pacification of the troubles, and other alliances, the two Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, met together in Calatajub, in the yeere of our Lord 1292. but the marriage tooke no effect. *Tariffe taken by the Caſtillans.* *An.* 1292.

For as much as D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* the elder, continued ſtill to trouble the realm, the King D. *Sancho* hauing taken Canette and Moya from him, hee forced him to retire into France, whether Ambaſſadors were ſent ſoone after, to renue the league with King *Philip*, Don *Sancho* fearing that by ſome ſiniſter reports hee might bee diuer-

C ted from his friendſhip, Don *Iohn Nugnes* beeing abſent, Don *Iſabel* of Molina his daughter in law, died without any children, whoſe inheritance fell to the Queene Donna *Maria* her aunt. The Infant D. *Iohn* carrying ſtill a hatred in heart againſt the King his brother, rebelled againe, ioyning with Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* the younger; and drawing vnto his partie many Knights, but the King purſued them in ſuch ſort, as D. *Iohn de Lara* was forced to yeeld vnto his mercy, and the Infant to flie into Portugal.

11 About that time D. *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman* liued in great reputation in Spaine, beeing a wiſe and valiant Knight, who had long ſerued the *Miralmumin Aben Ia-*

D *cob* of Maroc and his father, leading their armies in qualitie of Lieutenant generall in the warres which they had againſt the other Moores of Affrike, where hee had wonne honour and great riches, with the which being returned into Spaine he purchaſed much land and great Seigneuries. This knight and Donna *Maria Alonço Cornel* gaue beginning to the family of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, famous in our time in Spaine, the Lords whereof in the beginning intituled themſelues Earles of Niebla. To this D. *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman* the King D. *Sancho* gaue the gouernment of Tariffe, the which hee promiſed to keepe ſafely with leſſe charge by two third parts then the Maiſter of the Calatraua had done. The Earle Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* hauing contin- *Beginning of the houſe of Guzman and Dukes of Medina Sidonia.*

E ned ſome time in France, had meanes to make his peace with the King and ſo returned into Caſtille, where they did preſentlie imploy him againſt the Infant Don Iohn of Caſtille, and Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, who with many other of their confederates ſpoiled the whole countrie of Leon: but in an incounter hee was defeated and taken: afterwards beeing but ſleightly garded, hee found meanes to eſcape, and came to the court at Toro, whereas Queene *Mary* was deliuered of D. *Beatrix* her daughter, in the yeere of our Lord 1293. The King Don *Sancho* beeing aduertiſed that *Mahumet Mir Almus Lemi* King of Granado was like to make ſome attempt, hee ſent the Earle Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, with Don *Iohn Nugnes* his ſonne, and Don *Nugno Gonçales* vnto the fronter. The Earle of Lara the father beeing come to Cordoua died. *An.* 1293.

F This motion of the Granadin Moores was but an idle brute, wherefore the troupes returned. And for that Don *Denis* King of Portugall did receiue the Infant Don *Iohn* of Caſtille and the other rebelles, the King D. *Sancho* ſent him word, that according to their capitulations, hee could not giue any retreat vnto his enemies, and therefore he intreated him to cauſe them to depart his Countrie with all ſpeed, the which he did.

The Infant D. *Iohn* going to ſea, meaning to paſſe into France, was driuen by a ſtorme A to Tanger, from whence hee went to kiſſe the hands of the Miralmumin *Aben Iacob*, who entertained him courteouſly, and hauing conferred with him of the affaires of Spaine, knowing that he was deſirous to annoy the King of Caſtille his brother, hee offred him fiue thouſand horſe to make the enterpriſe of Tariffe, the which D. *Iohn* did willingly accept, returned into Spaine, and beſieged Tariffe, thinking to finde it vnfurniſhed, but D. *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman* had wiſely prouided, and defended it valiantly. It is not knowne by what accident a ſonne of D. *Alphonſo Perez* was fallne into the Moores hands: but ſome Authors write that D. *Iohn* ſeeing there was no meanes to take this place by force, hauing demaunded a parle, hee led this child vnto the ditch, and told the father, who was vpon the walles, that if hee did not deliuer the fort, hee B would cut his ſonnes throat: wherevnto D. *Alphonſo* anſwered, that the towne was the Kings, who had giuen it him to keepe, and that it was his duety to defend it: as for his ſonne, hee might doe what hee pleaſed, adding moreouer, that to let him vnderſtand that he ment not to preferre the loue of his houſe, before that of his Prince, and the crowne of Caſtille, hee would rather giue a knife, if hee needed one, and at the ſame inſtant threw him his ſword from the walles, and ſo retired to his lodging.

D Iohn of Caſtille brings the Moores into Spaine againſt the King his brother.

Act of great conſtancy of D Alphonſo Perez de Guzman.

The Infant Don *Iohn* incenſed at this diſdainefull anſwere, preſently cauſed this poore Innocents head to bee cut off: at which ſpectacle the ſouldiers which were vpon the walles gaue a great ſhout, the which was heard by Don *Alphonſo Perez*, beeing at the table with his wife: whereat beeing mooued, hee tooke his armes, and commaunded them to follow him. C

Cruelty of D. Iohn of Caſtille.

Beeing come to the place where they had made this noyſe, hee beganne to incourrage the ſouldiers, ſaying that hee was there to ſuccour them, if they were preſt, thinking it was ſome aſſault which the enemie gaue vnto the towne: but the ſouldiers tould him that no man preſt them, and reported vnto him the cruelty which they had ſeene executed vpon his onely ſonne: If it bee no other thing, ſayd Don *Alphonſo*, bee carefull of your gard, and ſo returned without any outward ſhew of alteration, and without ſpeaking any thing to his wife, hee ſat downe at the table with her. This is honoured amongſt the Spaniards for one of the moſt generous acts in this houſe of *Guzman* that hath beene ſeene in Spaine. The Moores and their captaine Don *Iohn*, ſeeing that they had to deale with reſolute men, rayſed their ſiege, and returned into Affrike. D Heerevpon the Miralmumin deliuered vp Algezire to the King of Granado, for that the entertayning of ſo great a garriſon was both chargeable and preiudiciall vnto him. Thus the Kings of Maroc were diſpoſſeſſed of all they held on this ſide the ſea.

Soone after there arriued in Spaine the Infant Don *Henry*, ſonne to the King Don *Fernand* the third, and vncle to this King D. *Sancho*, beeing freed from a long impriſonment with the French at Naples. Hee was well receiued, and did accompany the King into Biſcay, whereas D. *Diego Lopes Diaz*, being come out of Arragon, had cauſed ſome troubles, the which were pacefied by the Kings preſence. The country did then belong vnto D. *Maria Lope de Haro*, wife vnto the Infant D. *Iohn*, who was baniſhed out E of Caſtille. The King being returned to Vailledolit, and from thence to Alcala de Henares, he fell ſicke, which made him to diſpoſe of the affaires of his realme: hee left Don *Fernand* his ſonne and ſucceſſor, vnder the gouernment of the Queene Donna *Maria*, to whom hee would haue all the Noblemen which held the chiefe dignities, and others which had charges within the realme, ſweare: wherevnto hauing obeyed in his preſence, he cauſed himſelfe to be carried to Madrid, and from thence to Toledo, where hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1295. hauing raigned eleuen yeeres, and was buried in the great church of that city.

Death of the King D. Sancho.

An. 1295.

Whileſt theſe things paſt in Caſtille, the realme of Nauarre was gouerned in the name of King *Philip* and of the widowe D. *Iane*, by a French Knight called *Hughe* F of Conſians, after the accuſtomed manner, notwithſtanding the great Eſtates of the Realme, gouernments and other charges, were for the moſt part giuen to the Nauarrois, all which were entertained with the Kings money, and then they made their

Nauarre.

accounts

accompts by Liures, Solz, and Deniers, after the manner of France. Aboue all things the fronters towards Arragon were carefully garded, in which country in the latter wars they had made a great breach, and taken many places which they held by the treatie of Taraſcon, or at the leaſt in making a peace there was no mention made of yeelding them vp. *Diego Sanches de Garriz* beeing Merino or Prouoſt of Pampelone, the towne was ſet on fire in the night by *Symon* of Ardaiz, *Michel* of Alçanegui, and *Garci-Sanches*, men of baſe condition, deſirous to do ill, wherewith many houſes were burnt: theſe men beeing taken, were hanged. The Gouernor did fortifie many places and houſes within the realm, eſpecially vpon the fronters, and cauſed the Engliſh to diſlodge out of the country, about the yeare 1295. by reaſon of the ciuill warres betwixt the kings of France and England: vnto that time continued the League betwixt France, Nauarre, and Caſtile, which was vnto the deceaſe of the king D. *Sancho*: but then by reaſon of the factions which were reuiued betwixt his children and them of Cerdes, all leagues were broken.

D. Iames the 2. of that name, 11. king of Arragon.

12 IN Arragon preſently after the death of King D. *Alphonſo*, D. *Pedro* his brother aſſembled the Noblemen and Deputies of the Townes at Sarragoſſa, to conſult leaſt the Realme ſhould receiue ſome preiudice, during the abſence of the king Don *Iames* his elder brother: thither came Don *Symon* of Vrrea, *Bernard William Entenza*, *Pedro Cornes*, *Philippes Fernandes de Caſtro*, *Athon de Foßes*, *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, *Sancho Antillas*, *Artal* and *Blaſco* of Alagon breethren, *Lope Ference*, *Pedro Martines*, *Roderigo Ximenes de Luna*, *Gombald Entenza* and others. The king beeing arriued at Sarragoſſa, hee was there receiued and crowned, hauing ſworne and promiſed the obſeruation of the rights and priuiledges of the Country: proteſting that he tooke poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome, belonging vnto him by right, as the elder, and not as an increaſe by reaſon of his brothers death, the which he declared, to the end he might keepe his intereſt to the Realme of Sicile, againſt his brother Don *Frederick*, who murmured, that the intention of the deceaſed king was to leaue him this Iland for his portion, being diſcontented at the peace concluded with *Charles* king of Naples and the French: the which D. *Iames* deſired might take place, confirming it as ſoone as he came to the crowne, ſeeking by all means to haue peace with the French, but eſpecially with the Sea of Rome, held at that time by *Boniface* the 8. who then did much fauour the French king.

Arragon.

Peace confirmed betwixt the French & Arragonois.

13 By the meanes of Pope *Boniface* the eight a finall accord was made, about the coming of Don *Iames* to the Crowne of Arragon, with *Charles* king of Naples, the King Don *Iames* promiſing to deliuer his children, who were detayned in Cattelogne for Hoſtages: and moreouer to marry one of his daughters called *Blanche*, and to quit him the Realme of Sicile, which was but a charge or loſſe to Arragon. The Pope and king *Charles* for their parts, promiſed to procure *Charles* of Vallois to relinquiſh the right which hee might pretend in Cattelogne, by the Inueſtiture made vnto him by Pope *Martin* the 4. for the accompliſhing of which accord King *Charles* ſtayed ſome time in France, and alſo by Commiſſion from the ſame Pope to mediate a peace betwixt France and England: but returning into Italy, and thinking to haue free poſſeſſion of Italy, hee found that Don *Frederick*, brother to the king Don *Iames* of Arragon, had ſeazed thereon, by reaſon whereof there began a more violent warre then before. The Pope hauing cited the two breethren of Arragon, Don *Iames* came to Rome, and purged himſelfe by oath, that he was ignorant of his brothers enterpriſe, offering to king *Charles* (who was preſent) ayde to recouer the Iland: whereuppon they continued friends. Thither alſo came queene *Conſtance*, widow to Don *Pedro*, and *Roger de Loria* the Admirall, who were much honored by king *Charles*, intertayning *Roger* into his ſeruice.

Frederick of Arragon ſeazeth vpon Sicile.

14 The king D. *Iames* was made Standard-bearer of the Church by the Pope, who moreouer did inueſt him in the Ilands of Corſica and Sardinia, which were held by the Piſans

Robert ſonne to K. Charles put to rout by the Sicilians.

Piſans and Geneuois: vpon condition, that he ſhould conquer them by armes at his own charge, and a certaine rent, which (ſome ſay) was two thouſand markes of ſiluer to the Church of Rome, with other burthenſome conditions. According to the offer which the king of Arragon had made vnto king *Charles*, he gaue him thirty gallies, with the which hauing ioyned his fleet of forty gallies, whereof *Roger de Loria* was Admirall, they ſayled all towards Sicile, and hauing incountred D. *Frederick* with 60. gallies, commanded by *Frederick d'Oria* a Geneuois, they gaue them battell, put them to route, took 22. gallies, and about 6000. priſoners, and if the Cattelans, who tooke part with *Charles*, had not made way, to giue D. *Frederick* meanes to eſcape, he had beene alſo taken. *Roger de Loria* was depriued of his goods in the Iland of Sicile, and condemned as guilty of high treaſon. Don *Frederick* ſaued himſelfe in Cattelogne, where he did ſomewhat repaire his forces, and then returned to Meſſina. There hee found that the Sicilians had had their reuenge vpon the French, for they had fought with them, and taken *Iohn de Loria*, nephew to *Roger*, with ſixteene gallies, and had cut off his head as a rebell, which cauſed *Roger* to ſhew himſelfe cruell vnto his priſoners. Afterwards king *Charles* hauing ſent *Robert* his third ſonne with commiſſion into the Iland, and hauing taken Cattanea, as he reſolued to go and meet with a fleete of 60. Gallies, which *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, his brother did leade the Sicilians, vnderſtanding that *Roberts* gallies were in the port of Cattanea; vnmanned, went and aſſayled them, tooke ſome, and diſperſt the reſt in the view of *Philip*, againſt whom hauing directed their prowes, they alſo gaue battel to his 60. gallies, whom they put to route, tooke him priſoner, and carried him to Palermo: wherfore *Rebert* their king after theſe two routes, thinking that he ſhould not be ſafe in Sicile, abandoned Cattanea, and returned to Naples. Whileſt theſe contended for Sicile, the King D. *Iames* did quietly enioy his Eſtates of Arragon, hauing in the yeare 1295. made a new league with the Kings of France, Portugal, and Granado, againſt the new King of Caſtile in fauour of D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, the titularie king of that Realme.

D. Frederick put to route by the French.

Robert ſonne to King Charles put to rout by the Sicilans.

D. Fernand, or Ferdinand the 4. of that name, 12. king of Caſtile, 33. of Leon.

Caſtile.

15 IT is a ſcourge greatly to be feared, with the which God (beeing diſpleaſed) doth puniſh nations, when he giues them children for Princes, and women for Gouernors: for the young age and weake ſexe beeing alwaies little reſpected, and theſe inſtruments eaſie to gouerne by flatterers, and to be terrified by the violent, wee haue alwaies ſeene in ſuch raignes, Maieſtie in contempt, Iuſtice troden vnder foot, the people oppreſt, the good recoyled, Truth baniſhed, and the Country in prey to their neighbors. D. *Fernand* of Caſtile being a child, the yeare 1295. when his father D. *Sancho* dyed, the gouernment of him, and of his Realme by the will of the deceaſed King, ſhould remaine in the hands of the Queene D. *Mary* his mother. A little before D. *Henry* his great vncle was come into Spaine, who hauing beene chaſed out of the country for his turbulent ſpirit, during the raigne of Don *Fernand* the third had runne through many countries, both Chriſtians and Infidels, and tryed diuers conditions: ſo as after many yeares he brought backe into Spaine the ſame qualities which had expelled him, yea far worſe: by whoſe aduice the Queene was forced to gouerne her ſelfe, ſo as in effect he was Regent himſelfe, which the Earle D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, and his brother D. *Nugno Gonçales* did enuie. Beſides the Noblemen who during the life of the deceaſed king were out of the Realme, hoping in this new raigne to be reſtored, through the fauour of their partiſans and friends, were now returned, which did not a little trouble the Queene mother, who for theſe conſiderations was forced to giue D. *Henry* great authority againſt her will. D. *Diego Lope Diaz de Haro* had vſurped the authoritie in the ancient patrimonie of his houſe of Biſcay, and there were newes that the Infant D. *Iohn* came out of Affricke, to contend for the kingdome: Beſides, that on the other ſide D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, fauoured by the forces of Arragon, France, and Nauarre, carried himſelfe openly for king of Caſtile.

D. Alphonſo de la Cerda and D. Iohn of Caſtile contend for the realme.

Not-

A Notwithſtanding all theſe croſſes and dangers, this Princeſſe who was of a great courage, cauſed Don *Fernand* her ſonne to be proclaimed and crowned King of Caſtile, Leon, and other lands depending in the citty of Toledo, writing vnto the Noblemen and Prouinces to acknowledge and receiue him: and to the end they ſhould doe it the more willingly, ſhe did releaſe them of a tribute called Sica, which the deceaſed king, beeing preſt with great neceſſitie, had impoſed. In the beginning no man refuſed it, but the Noblemen mentioned bred ſuch a confuſion, as ſhe had almoſt ſunke vnder the burthen. D. *Henry* to ſettle his authoritie of Regent, which he ſayd did belong vnto him, ſtirred vp the townes of Caſtile to open rebellion, ſo as the Queene mother and her ſonne being come to Vailledolit, where ſhe had called an aſſembly of the Eſtates, they ſhut the gates
B againſt them, and cauſed them to ſtay without vntill night: neither would they then ſuffer ſuch as had accompanied them to enter, but onely ſhe, her ſonne, their Officers and houſhold ſeruants. Don *Henry* came thither, who hauing ſcarce ſaluted the Queene, he began to perſwade her to end this dangerous warre, and to diſperſe the conſpiracie of ſo many Princes againſt her and her ſonne by her marriage with Don *Pedro* of Arragon, to whome this Princeſſe gaue a courragious and ſharpe anſwer, reiecting this marriage as vnfit and pernitious.

Troubles raiſed by D. Henry

The Infant Don *Iohn* the Kings vncle, beeing arriued in Granado, came to Extremadura, and ſeazed vpon the towne of Pont, or Alcantara, and then entred into Portugal, where by the fauor of the King Don *Denis*, he tooke vppon him the title of King of Ca-
C ſtile, both of them writing to the Inhabitants of the frontier, that they ſhould hold him for their Prince and Soueraigne Lord: and Don *Denis* not content herewith, ſent to proclaime warre againſt the Queene D. *Maria*, and Don *Henry*. The wiſe Queene mother withſtood all theſe dangers, and preuented them as well as ſhe could, yeelding to the malice of the time, reſiſting ſome, and giuing contentment to others, with the leaſt preiudice ſhe could.

The king of Portugall came to Cite Roderigo, whereas the afflicted Queene mother with her ſonne and puple were, and there they did in ſome ſort renew their old allyances: they impoſed ſilence to the Infant Don *Iohn*, who ſeemed to relinquiſh: and they did a-
D gaine conclude a future marriage betwixt the king Don *Fernand*, and D. *Conſtance* Infanta of Portugal. To theſe inteſtine troubles, were added the enterpriſes of the Nauarrois and Arragonois, who led by *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, calling himſelfe King of Caſtile, entred the country by S. Eſteuan de Gormas, and paſſing vnto Leon, hee was there receiued without any difficultie. There Don *Iohn*, who was rebelled againe, cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king of Leon, diuiding betwixt them the Realmes of Spaine: ſo as Don *Alphonſo* ſhould be king of Caſtile, Toledo, Cordoua, Murcia, and Iaen: and the Infant Don *Iohn* of Leon, Gallicia, Extremadura and Seuile. Into this confederacie entred the Kings of Arragon, Portugal, Granado, and the Queene D. *Violant*, widow to the king Don *Alphonſo*, with whom there alſo ioyned *Philip* of France and Nauarre, with many
E Noblemen and Knights of the Countrie: in all whoſe names Don *Iames*, king of Arragon, had ſent to proclaime warre againſt the Queene D. *Maria* and her ſonne Don *Fernand*, in the yeare 1269. ſo as there was a pittifull reuolt in all parts of Spaine: theſe afflicted Princes, mother and ſonne, hauing no entrance into any towne without great difficultie. After this inuaſion of Leon, the Nauarrois and Arragonois led by D. *Alphonſo*, entred into Sahagun, where they crowned him king of Caſtile, and tooke Villagarcia, Tordeſillas, Medina del Rioſecco, la Mota, Villa Fafila, with many other places and forts. Notwithſtanding beeing at the ſeege of Maiorga, a place diſtant fiue leagues from Sahagun, he continued there three moneths, and finding no man to make reſiſtance, God ſhewed his power, for the plague falling in the Nauarrois and the Arragonois Campe, they were forced to rayſe their ſeege, and make a truce with the Queene widow to return
F home, who beeing oppreſt with infinit miſeries, without counſell, ayde, or ſupport, not onely made a truce, but alſo ſent them linnen, carpets, and ſuch like things, to the end they might carry away the bodies of many Noblemen and Knights which were dead of this contagion, the more honorably, among the which were the Infant D. *Pedro* of Arragon, Don *Symon* of Vrrea, and *Raymond Angleſol* Arragonois, giuing commandement that

D. Alphonſo de la Cerde entereth into Caſtile.

Confederacie againſt the K. of Caſtile.

An. 1296.

Plague in Don Alphonſo de la Cerdes campe.

that they ſhould ſuffer them to cary them away without any let or hinderance. Thus ſome retired into Nauarre, and others into Arragon. The king D. *Iames* on the other ſide, being entred by the fronters of Murcia, had conquered the greateſt part of that kingdome. Hee of Portugal, notwithſtanding the conference and league made at Cite Roderigo, ſhewed himſelfe in armes vpon the fronter, and had ſpoiled the countrie vnto Simanca, and neere to Vailledolit; where beeing aduertiſed of the Nauarrois retreat, hee returned alſo, hauing taken moſt of the places of Alfajares and Sabugal, with ſome others about thoſe quarters: but the king of Granado thinking to effect ſome great matter in Andaluſia, was repulſed by D. *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman* Gouernor of that Prouince.

Inuaſion of Caſtile by the king of Granado.

16 During theſe warres, many Iewes mooued with feare more then with deuotion, turned to the Chriſtian Religion in Spaine, where they had dwellings & Synagogues almoſt in all the good townes. The occaſion was, that in the citty of Auila, there roſe vp a certaine man of the Iewiſh nation, who tearmed himſelfe a Prophet; with whom another of the town of Aillon, thruſt on with the like ſpirit, did ioyne: who telling of many ſecret reuelations, propheſied vnto the Iewes that the time of their deliuerance did approch. The authority of theſe two perſonages, well knowne, was not little among them, and therefore they were eaſily credited; and the rather, for that they did accompany their preachings and diſcourſes, with modeſtie, grauitie, and holineſſe in their outward behauiour: ſo as theſe newes running throughout all Spaine, the people gaue themſelues to prayers, faſting, almes, and all other commendable good workes, attending the day of their redemption, the which was foretold them by theſe Prophets, and appointed the laſt day of the fourth moneth: on the which (ſayd they) ſhould appeare many ſignes in heauen, with a loud ſound of a trumpet. Thus hauing paſt the time in great repentance, feare and terrour, vnto that day, they were throughout all the townes, earely in the morning, all attired in white before their Synagogues, as they are accuſtomed to do the day of their expiation, to pray vnto God to ſee thoſe celeſtiall ſignes, and to receiue their Meſſias: but ſeeing nothing, they returned to their houſes, whither beeing come, as they ſay, there appeared many croſſes on the walles, and vpon their garments; whereof ſome made good vſe, thinking it came from our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, who reproued their hardnes of heart: and therefore acknowleeging the error wherein they had liued, receiued the holy baptiſme; among the which was a great Phiſition called *Alphonſo*, who did afterwards write againſt the Iewes obſtinacie. Others perſiſting in their impietie, did beleeue that theſe croſſes were illuſions of the diuell to deceiue them.

The ſtorme wherewith Caſtile had beene beaten from Nauarre, Arragon, Portugal, Granado, and her owne rebels, beeing ſomewhat pacified, the Queene-mother ledde an armie into the country of Leon, whereas the Infant D. *Iohn* raigned, and beſeeged Paredez: and on the other ſide D. *Henry* went to the fronters of Granado, where hee was defeated and put to flight, and without the ſpeedie aſſiſtance of *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman*, he had beene taken. This loſſe which did much preiudice the Realme of Caſtile was accompanied with combuſtions and practiſes, which Don *Henry* made, to the hurt of the king Don *Fernand*, in the citty of Toledo, and the Dioceſſe of Auila and Segobia, where hauing gathered ſome troupes together, he marched to the campe before Paredez, and wrought ſo, as he made them raiſe the ſeege, vnder colour of holding a Parlament which was called at Vailledolit: and in the meane time he ſought vnderhand to corrupt the Deputies of townes and commonalties, and of the other orders of the countrie, to the preiudice of Don *Fernand*. The Queene D. *Maria* preuented all theſe diſorders, which were not hidden from her, but with great paine, ſeeking to content Don *Henry*. During theſe garboiles, they had newes, that the Nauarrois breaking the truce, had ſeazed vppon the Iuiſuerie of the cittie of Nagera, a place ſtrong by nature, the which they fortified, ſaying, that they held it in the name of the Infant Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, whome they called king of Caſtile, and as they would haue gone on along the riuer of Oja, they were repulſed by Don Iohn *Alphonſo de Haro*, who beſeeged them in the Iuiſuerie, and preſt them in ſuch ſort, as they were forced to leaue it, and to yeeld: this was in the yeare 1297. when as the kingdome of Nauar was gouerned in the name of the King and Queene of France by *Alphonſo de Ronay*.

Alphonſo de Ronay Gouernor of Nauar. An. 1297.

At

Arragon.

A At which time Don I*ames* king of Arragon was in Italy, where the peace made in the yeare 1295. betwixt him, the king of Naples, and the French king, was renewed and confirmed in the towne of Anania, in the preſence of Pope *Boniface*, and the better to confirme the friendſhip betwixt theſe Princes, the king of Nauarre yeelded vp the townes of Lerda, Vlfirera and Sauueterre vnto the king Don I*ames*, beeing taken from the Crowne of Arragon: ſo as for this cauſe, the peace and amity betwixt Nauarre and Arragon was firme and vnited againſt Caſtile. By theſe treaties the fort of Albarazin was yeelded vppe to D. I*ohn de Lara*, to entertaine him, and was taken from D. F*ernand* baſtard brother to the king Don I*ames*, as if it had beene vniuſtly taken from the father of Don I*ohn*, who did homage to the king of Arragon.

Caſtile.

B The widow Queene of Caſtile ſeeking by all meanes to preſerue her ſonnes Realme from ſo many imminent dangers, renewed againe the treatie of mariage betwixt him and the Infanta D. *Conſtance* of Portugal, in the towne of Alcaniz, whether the Infanta was brought by the king her father, and accorded for a future ſpouſe vnto the young king D. F*ernand*, and to make a more ſtrict League of friendſhip, the King D. *Denis* concluded a marriage betwixt D. *Beatrix* Infanta of Caſtile, and his eldeſt ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, who was then but eight yeares old. Theſe marriages were made with great diſaduantage for the king of Caſtile, for the conuentions made in conſideration thereof, were theſe. That the king of Portugal ſhould hold in pawne Oliuencia, Conguela, Campo Moya, and S. Felix de los Gallegos, places belonging to the Crowne of Caſtile. Then did the king D. *Denis* renounce the league which he had with the Infant Don I*ohn*, who raigned in Leon, and gaue vnto the widow-Queene three hundred horſe to go againſt him, but they returned ſoone after, hauing not done any thing. The Infant Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde* on the other ſide ſeazed on the towne of Almaçan, and the troupes of Don I*ohn Nugnes*, and of the Infant Don I*ohn* had almoſt ſurprized Siguença; who finding themſelues in great want of ſiluer, coyned great ſtore of falſe money, vnder the ſtampe of the king Don F*ernand*, and did many other acts which were not commendable, the which neceſſitie, and ambitious obſtinacy do force men vnto: ſo as D. *Denis* king of Portugal, at the inſtance of the widow and the young King, entred into Caſtile by Cite Roderigo, in ſhew to make warre againſt the Rebels, but it was all counterfeit: for the effects did ſhew he came more to fauour them then otherwiſe: whatſoeuer it were, hee did no act of an enemy againſt them, but propounded ſome conditions of peace, fauourable for them; beeing of opinion, that to retire the Infant Don I*ohn* from his purſute, and to draw him to the king Don F*ernands* ſeruice, they ſhould grant the Realme of Gallicia to him and his for euer, and that of Leon for his life time; the which beeing diſliked by the Counceil of Caſtile, the king of Portugal grew thereat diſcontent, and ſo returned into his countrie: after which the Rebels tooke heart, and it was the cauſe of a new reuolt of many knights and townes, and proteſtations of others to do the like, if they did not what they demanded: wherefore the Queene D. *Maria* and her Councell, were forced to yeeld to many vnworthy things, and was rather gouerned with her ſonne and her Councell, by her ſubiects, then ſhe did gouerne them.

Accord betwixt Caſtile and Portugall by marriages.

C

D

E

Nauarre.

To this was added a new care which came from Nauarre, where as *Alphonſo de Roleed* was Gouernor in the yeare 1300. who ſent an Ambaſſador into Caſtile, in the name of king *Philip* the Faire, and D. *Ieanne* his wife, Queene proprietarie of Nauarre, to demand the lands and ancient patrimonie of the Crowne of Nauarre, vſurped by the precedent kings of Caſtile, extending from the limits which were then betwixt the two kingdoms, vnto Atapuerca, and places neere vnto the cittie of Burgos; which Ambaſſadour beeing a knight of Nauarre, was ſent backe to the Queene D *Maria* and her Councell, with the beſt words they could giue him. The French king was then much troubled with the Flemings of Bruges and others, by whom he had receiued a notable route, with the death of many Noblemen: among the which were *Robert* Earle of Artois, *Renald* of Neſle Conſtable of France, and aboue two hundred men of eſteeme. The Ambaſſadour beeing returned, the Gouernour held a Councell with the Infant D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, and other enemies to the king of Caſtile, at a place called Duegnas, where they reſolued to ſend D. *Iohn Nugnes* vnto King *Philip*, with other Ambaſſadors,

An. 1300.

F

to

to the end he ſhould authorize the promiſes made in this aſſembly, to ayde one another to conquer the lands of the riuer of Oja for the Crowne of Nauarre, and the Realme of Caſtile, for the Infant D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*. Theſe Ambaſſadors were well receiued in the Court of France, and preſent diſpatches were made, with approbation of all that had beene done, the king writing vnto the gouernor, that he ſhold giue all ayde and aſſiſtance to them that were fled out of Caſtile againſt the King D. *Fernand*.

Caſtile. 17 At that time we find, that the towne of Bilbao was built by Don *Diego Lopes de Haro*, who had made his peace with the young King Don *Fernand*, and did enioy Biſcay.

Foundation of Bilbao. This place is built vpon a riuer called in the country language Ybay çabal, which ſignifieth Great-riuer: for it is the greateſt in all theſe quarters, and ſome affirme, that it is the riuer which was anciently called Neruium, very nauigable, the which falls into the ſea at Portugalette, two leagues from Bilbao. This towne retained the name of a little hamlet neere vnto it ſo called as that time, but they now call it Bilbao the old, to make a difference betwixt it and the towne, where there is at this day as good trafficke for the Northerne parts, as at any vppon that coaſt. It was firſt peopled by men borne thereabouts. Beyond that towne the Baſcangado language is no more in vſe, which they will haue to be the ancient Cantabria.

In the aſſembly of Vailledolit, the Queen D. *Maria* had obtained great ſummes of money from ſome of the townes and Commonalties, to make warre againſt the rebels, and D. *Henry* had beene made Gouernor of the Mores fronter, who notwithſtanding ſought to entertaine the troubles and diuiſions, wherein he tooke great delight, neither did hee care if that Tariffe had fallen into the king of Granados hands. Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* beeing returned out of France, hee beganne to ouer-runne the Biſhopricke of Calaorra, with the Nauarrois and French, againſt whom D. *Alphonſo de Haro* aduanced with ſome troupes leuied in haſt, and finding him in a conuenient place, he fought with him, defeated him, and tooke him priſoner, deliuering him into the hands of the Queene D. *Maria*, who hauing recouered from him all the places he held of the Crowne of Caſtile, and made him ſweare that he ſhold from thencefoorth faithfully ſerue her ſonne D. *Fernand*, ſhe gaue him his libertie. In the yeare 1301. the King of Portugall came to Plaiſance to meet with the Queene D. *Maria*, where they did treat to ſue vnto the Pope for a diſpenſation of the marriages which they had contracted betwixt the Infants of Caſtille and of Portugall, conferring of the charges they muſt be at, not onely to obtaine theſe diſpenſations from Pope *Boniface*, but alſo the legitimation of the King D. *Fernand*, for that the marriage betwixt the deceaſed King D. *Sancho*, and D. *Maria* of Molina, had neuer beene diſpenced withall. For the effecting whereof they muſt haue good ſtore of doublons: for Pope *Boniface* although he were of a Spaniſh race, yet would he not do any thing for them without a good fee. After the taking and compoſition of D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, the Infant D. *Iohn* ſeeing himſelfe abandoned of his beſt friend, reconciled himſelfe vnto the widow Queene, and to the King Don *Fernand* her ſonne, quitting the title of king of Leon, and all that he held in that country: and for that D. *Diego Lope de Haro* held the country of Biſcay, which did belong vnto his wife D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, hee had in recompence therof the towns of Manſilla, Paredes, Medina de Rioſecco, Caſtro-nouo and Cabreros: for the Councell were not of opinion, that they ſhould diſcontent Don *Diego Lopes* in diſpoſſeſſing him.

D. Iohn Nugnes de Lara defeated and taken priſoner.

An. 1301.

Theſe things thus repayred, it ſeemed that all troubles had beene pacified within the Realme, but thoſe which were entertayned by the Infant Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde*: wherfore it was reſolued to repell him couragiouſly, beginning by the ſeege of Almaçan, which held for him: but D. *Henry* who deſired no peace in Spaine, diſappointed this enterpriſe, and afterwards the King of Arragon and he hauing met at Ariza; they made leagues and confederacies, without acquainting the Queene or her Councell therwith. The King of Arragon tooke Lorca, both towne and caſtell, by the ſufferance of Don *Henry* and Don *Iohn* alſo. Thus was this couragious Queene oppreſt with a thouſand inſupportable difficulties in her Gouernement and Regency, which were procured by her owne ſubiects, beſides the feare ſhe had of forraine enemies.

There was a new aſſembly of eſtates called at Burgos, and afterwards continued at Zamora,

A Zamora, where there were granted a ſubuention of great ſummes of mony for the war, and alſo for the diſpenſations which they demanded from the Pope, who by that meanes granted them, and they were publiſhed. The Infants D. *Henry*, and D. *Iohn* beeing ſtill diſcontented, did ſoone begin to make new practiſes, to diuide the king and his mother, whoſe wiſedome and iudgement did diſpleaſe them. The Queene beeing at Burgos, there came other Ambaſſadors to her from the French king, to aduiſe her to do him reaſon for the lands of Nagera, the riuer of Oja, and others that were held by the precedent kings of Caſtile, otherwiſe they did proteſt in their Maſters name, that he would haue recourſe to armes: whereat the Queene was much perplexed, apprehending greatly the forces of ſuch a king as *Philip* the Faire was. Hauing conferred with D. *Henry*, D. *Iohn* of Caſtile,
B and D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, it was concluded with the Ambaſſadors, that the Queene of Caſtile, and the Gouernor of Nauar ſhould meet at Victoria, where they ſhould treate of all differences. Whilſt that this poore Princeſſe did labor to maintaine her ſons eſtate, the Noblemen aboue-named carried away the king to Leon, and did ſeparate him from her: neither was there any thing concluded at the interview of Victoria, for the great differences of either part.

The king D. *Iames* ſent a knight vnto D. *Maria* Queene of Caſtile beeing at Victoria, to *Arragon.*
tell her, that if ſhe would be a meanes, that he might hold the towne of Alicante without any controuerſie, he would reſtore all that he had taken in the Realme of Murcia: wherunto ſhe would not conſent: for hauing (like a Lady of iudgement) intelligence what was
C done by her neighbours, ſhe did not now ſo much feare the king of Arragon as ſhee had done, ſeeing him in trouble with his Nobility, by reaſon of a tribute which he had impoſed as well vpon the Nobility as the reſt of his Realme, called *Selga*: wherefore ſhe ſought *Selga a tribute*
to haue intelligence with the malcontents of Arragon, to intertaine and augment theſe *Diuiſions in*
diuiſions. About this time dyed the Queene D. *Conſtance*, mother to the king D. *Iames* *Arragon.*
and D. *Frederick* at Barcelona.

The Queene-mother of Caſtile hearing the wrong they had done her, in carrying a- *Caſtile.*
way her ſon, ſhe came with all ſpeed to Vailledolit, and to diſappoint her aduerſaries deſſeigns, ſhe ſent vnto the king of Portugal, to effect the marriage betwixt the king her ſon, and the Infanta D. *Conſtance*, that by this means ſhe might get from him the places which
D he held in pawne of the Crowne of Caſtile, wherunto the Portugois yeelded. But they which held the youg king D. *Fernand*, deſirous to entertaine the king of Portugals fauor, to the end they might be ſupported by him in their tyrannies, aduiſed him not to yeeld vp any thing, promiſing that the marriage ſhould be accompliſhed when he pleaſed: whereat he was very glad, and ſtayed not long to put the married couple together, but did not giue vp the townes. Hereupon the king D. *Fernand* called an aſſembly of the Eſtates at Medina del campo, whither the Deputies wold not come, without the expreſſe commandement of the Queene-mother, but ſhe appointed them to go, promiſing to be there her ſelfe. The Deputies made great complaints, that the kings perſon was detained by the In-
E fant D. *Iohn*, and D. *Iohn de Lara*. They for their part obiected many things againſt the Queen: In the mean time the king being practiſed by his mother, ſtole from the knights which had debaucht him, and followed her, holding the way to Burgos, but as he was yong and inconſtant, before they came vnto the citty, he abandoned her, and D. *Henry*, who was newly made great Maſter, and returned with the others; by reaſon whereof there was much diſpute. The Queene bearing and diſſembling all, being wiſe, and excuſing her ſons youth, who went to winter at Leon.

Whilſt theſe things were in queſtion, *Mahumet Myr* king of Granado, hauing alwaies *Moores of*
entertained the friendſhip of the ſeditious Prince D. *Henry* of Caſtile by rare & continu- *Granado.*
all preſents, after that he had tryed all meanes to recouer Tariffa, in the which D. *Henry*
had alwaies fauored him, propounding it in the open Eſtates, and aduiſing them to yeeld
F it vnto him: but ſeeing he could not preuaile by theſe meanes, he vſed open force, aſſayling Andaluſia, which was neere vnto him, and laying ſeege to Alcaudete, the which hee tooke thinking to do the like at Baena: *Alphonſo Peres* of Saauedra was Captaine of the caſtell, and D. *Fernand Alphonſo* of Cordoua, *Payo*, *Arias*, *Iohn Martines* of Argote, and others, being in garriſon in the towne, he was repulſt, and forced to returne into Granado:

But ſoone after hearing that the towne of Iaen was not well manned, and that a peece of the wall was fallen, he came with greater forces, and gaue a furious aſſault, ſo as many good ſouldiers dyed in the defence thereof: and among them *Henry Perez* of Arana, a Knight of a noble houſe, yet it was preſerued from the furie of the Moores: and king *Mahumet* ſeeing he could not take it, went to Queſada, the which hee forced. This king of the Moores was ſtrictly allyed, and a great friend to D. *Iames* king of Arragon, to whome he had promiſed to ayde Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde* with all his meanes to recouer the Realme of Caſtile, demanding for his part of the conqueſt of Tariffe, Medina Sidonia, Alala and Bejar, which were wont to belong to the Crowne of Granado, the which was granted, but he did not ſee it effected, for he dyed in the yeare 1302. the thirtith yeare of his raigne, and of the Arabians 685. In whoſe place raigned his ſonne *Mahumet* the third called *Aben Alhamar*, or *Alamir Aben-Azar*. About that time dyed *Raymond* that great Philoſopher, (yet had he no great learning, but in opinion) he was borne in the Iland of Maiorca, and in his younger yeares was a merchant. Beeing wearie of the world, hee retired into the deſerts, and there compoſed that briefe Art, or abridgement of diuine and humane ſciences, whereby they haue beleeued that men in an inſtant might become very learned: the which (he ſayd) he had by reuelation. He was religious, and thinking to draw the Mahumetiſts to the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt, he paſt into Affricke, where preaching the faith with an inconſiderate zeale, he was ſtoned by the Moores. Notwithſtanding his writings being examined and cenſured ſome yeares after his death, by the Iudgement of *Aimeric* a Iacobin, and other Inquiſitours Spaniards, they were condemned by Pope *Gregory*, ſitting at Auignon, as dangerous and full of ill doctrine, contrary to our faith.

An. 1302.

Caſtile.

Enterview of the kings of Caſtile and Portugall.

The king of Caſtile, beeing (as he thought) at libertie, for that he was from his mother deſired to confer with D. *Denis* king of Portugall his father-in-law, the which the Queene D. *Maria*, D. *Henry*, and D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* ſought by all meanes to hinder, but they could not: for theſe two kings met at Badajos. The apparent colour of this interview was, that the king D. *Fernand* had of his father-in-law a preſent of a million of Marauidis of mony currant in thoſe times; but what was treated in ſecret was ſuſpect to D. *Henry*, to *Diego Lopes de Haro*, and euen to D. *Iohn Manuel*, ſon to the Infant *Manuel* with others, who fearing leſt they ſhould plot ſomething againſt them, made a league with the king of Arragon, and D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, and would haue comprehended the Queene-mother in their league, but ſhe refuſed it, and gaue good reaſons for her excuſe: wherefore they receiued the Infant D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde* for king of Caſtile, the which the Queene ſeeking to hinder, ſhe laboured in vaine, and retired to Medina del campo, the Inhabitants of which towne were faithfull to her ſonne. Thereupon, being in the yeare 1304. Don *Henry*, who was very old, dyed, whoſe inconſtant and turbulent ſpirit had troubled both himſelf and others, and ſo this league vaniſhed: he was buried in the church of Saint Francis at Vallcdolit. This death did much content the king, who was then at Cordoua, and hauing there ſetled his affaires with the new king of Granado, who made a league with him vpon the ſame conditions, and paying the ſame tribute which his father had done, he departed, leauing D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* for Gouernor general of the fronter, diuiding all the goods and poſſeſſions which D. *Henry* had held among his Knights, whereof a good part fell to D. *Iohn Nugnes*, although the king loued him little, but he feared him. The Queen-mother was then forced to follow his humors, yet ſhe did all things for his profit and good. By her meanes D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* reconciled himſelfe vnto him. But there fell out another contention betwixt D. *Diego* and the Infant D. *Iohn*, who notwithſtanding any accord that had beene made, would haue the Country of Biſcay, which did belong vnto him in the right of his wife. The Queen and the Noblemen of the Councell ſought to pacifie them, but not able to do it, they ſtayed the deciſion of this controuerſie, to end matters more important to the realm, with the king of Arragon, and the Infant D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*: for the one held in a manner all the Realme of Murcia, and the other intitled himſelfe ſtill king of Caſtile: for the which Don *Iohn* of Caſtile was ſent to the king of Arragon, to take ſome good courſe with him, to end their pretenſions and quarrels, who preuailed ſo, as the king of Arragon put that which concerned him-

18.

An. 1304.

himſelfe to compromiſe, chooſing for Abitrators the King of Portugall, who had married his ſiſter Donna *Izabel*, the ſame Don *Iohn*, and the Biſhop of Sarragoſſa. The Infant Don *Alphonſo* content in like manner that his right ſhould be friendly decided, did chooſe and elect for Arbitrators, the kings of Arragon and Portugall, and the ſame Don *Iohn*: the which, the King Don *Fernand* did willingly allow of, but not the Queene his Mother, who did fore-ſee, that the end of this compromiſe would fall out to her ſonnes preiudice. *Compromiſe betwixt the Chriſtian Princes of Spaine.*

This election of Arbitratours ſignified to the King of Portugall, and accepted by him, hee went to Tarraſſone in Arragon, paſſing by Medina del Campo, from whence the King Don *Fernand* did accompany him vnto Soria. To Taraſſone there alſo came the King of Arragon, Don *Iohn*, and the Biſhop of Sarragoſſa, who imployed themſelues to examine the rights and pretenſions of the parties, whileſt that the King Don *Fernand*, and the Queene his Mother, attended their ſentence in Agreda. In regard of the Realme of Murcia, the King of Portugall, Don *Iohn*, and the Biſhop did pronounce: That the riuer of Segura ſhould make the ſeparation betwixt the Lands of Murcia and Valencia, ſo as that which is to the South of Murcia, ſhould be of the Iuriſdiction of Don *Fernand*: and from the ſayd riuer towards Valencia, ſhould belong to the King of Arragon: ſo as Don *Iames* did not onely get the towne of Alicante, which hee had demanded, but alſo many other places.

As for the differences betwixt the king Don *Fernand*, and Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, which were greater, for that Don *Alphonſo* pretended the whole Realme of Caſtile to belong lawfully vnto him, it was iudged and arbitrated by the kings of Arragon and Portugall: That for the right and intereſt which the ſayd Don *Alphonſo* pretended, by an arbitrarie ſentence pronounced vppon the pretenſion of Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, the king Don *Fernand* ſhould giue and ſurrender vnto him the places which follow: Alba de Tormes, Bejar, Val de Corneja, Gibraleon, Gargantalaolla, Torremenga, Paſſaron, el Reall de Mancanares, Algaua, Mont de la Grede de Magan, the Towne of Sarria, with the appurtenances thereunto adjacent, Monçon, Lemos, Robayna Aliadra, Almonia, Canall, and la Barka Eſtercolina, Torre Blanca, Rodo Eledia, Hornacuelos, las Hazennas of Corduba, the Royall right and inheritance of Bonilla, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, Colmenar of Sepulueda, and Aldea maior, with Sal de Campos, Vencos, Gaton, Ferran, Moliellas, the Salt-pits of Rubio, Belbimbre, Caſtro Caluon, the Port of Vizagra of the Cittie of Toledo, and the Martinengas of Madrid, and of Medina del campo.

All theſe fore-mentioned places were adiudged and giuen by the Arbitrators, to the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, into the poſſeſſion whereof, hee ſhould (without any oppoſed contradiction) bee actually put and inueſted by the king Don *Fernand*, by our Lady day (otherwiſe called the Natiuitie of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*) in September following: and in conſideration thereof, the Infant Don *Alphonſo* ſhould no more intitle himſelfe king of Caſtile and Leon, nor carrie the armes quartered of Caſtile and Leon, as hee had done before, and continued it to that preſent day: and hee ſhould deliuer vp, and ſurrender vnto the king Don *Fernand*, the Towne of Almaçan with the appurtenances adiacent, and ſome other places which hee had taken during the warre.

This arbitrarie ſentence was giuen and pronounced by the Arbitrators in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred and foure, whereunto were added and annexed great penalties and forfeitures to the partie that ſhould infringe or violate the ſame: at the which were preſent Don *Raymond* Biſhop of Valencia, Don *Martin* Biſhop of Lisbon, the Biſhop of Hueſca, and the Biſhop of Cordoua: Don *Iohn Oſerio* Maſter of the knights of Saint *Iames*, *Iohn Ximen*, *Diego Gonçales* Secretarie of Taraſſone, *Gonçalo Gonçales*, *Raymond Altar* of Aguilar, *Pero Lopes* of Padilla, *Fernand Gutteres* of Quixada, *Gonçalo Diaz de Cauallos*, *Lope Garcia* of Hermoſilla, *Martin Fernandes*, *Porto Carrero*, *Alphonſo Perez* of Saauedra, *Sancho Ruis* of Eſcalante: moreouer, there were alſo preſent at that time, *Velaſco Peres* of Leyua, *Stephen Peres* of Auila, *Lope*

Peres of Burgos, with many other Noblemen and Knights; and it was written and ſigned by *Andrew Perez* of Corbera, publike Notarie of Tarraſſone. In this laſt ſentence D. *Iohn* was no Iudge, but Agent and Atturney for the king D. *Fernand*, in whoſe name hee yeelded. As for the Infant D. *Alphonſo*, what ſhew ſoeuer he made, he was nothing pleaſed, as it will appeare by the euent. The kings hauing beene ſome daies together as well at Taraſſone, as at Agreda, parted good friends. A

Theſe matters beeing ended they reſolued to determine the controuerſie betwixt the Infant D. *Iohn*, and Don *Diego Lopes de Haro*: to which end D. *Diego* was cited to come to Court, which was then at Medina del Campo, to anſwer to the demands of Don *Iohn* and of his wife D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, heire proprietarie of Biſcay: D. *Diego* would not plead in the Court of Leon, but he appeared in that of Caſtile, which gaue ninty dayes B reſpite to the defender, notwithſtanding if he let the thirtieth day paſſe and did not preſent himſelfe, or giue a lawfull excuſe, they might ſeaze vpon their ſheepe, oxen, cowes, and ſwine, and eate them, tying the feete againſt the walles and trees, in ſigne of the demanders poſſeſſion.

Don *Diego* appeared, and pleaded for his defence, that conſidering the accords and tranſactions made heretofore, betwixt him, Don I*ohn*, and Donna *Maria* his wife, by the which they had yeelded vnto him the poſſeſſion of the Segneurie of Biſcay, in regard of the recompences which they had receiued, wherewith they were contented, and had ſworne and confirmed it by oath: they were now fallen from all the right they could pretend to the ſayd Segneurie, and the dependances. The cauſe beeing pleaded of either ſide, with allegations of maine reaſon, they were referred to councell: and in the C meane time, the Queene D. *Maria* foreſeeing ſome new trouble, laboured by all meanes to accord them, or to vndergo an arbitrarie and friendly ſentence: but Don *Diego Lopes* would not yeeld thereunto, but departed without the King or Queenes priuitie, and returned into Biſcay, the which was very ill taken. The aſſembly beeing ended, the king came to Vailedolit, where he was ſo importuned by the Infant Don I*ohn*, as he pronounced ſentence, by the aduice of his Councel, contayning, That D. I*ohn* and his wife Donna *Maria Diaz* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Biſcay: yet he did ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence, thinking that Don *Diego* would grow thereby more tractable: but he was reſolued to hold his Segneurie: ſo the king ſeeing his obſtinacie, would haue diſmembred the country of Guipuſcoa from his Crowne, to giue it to his vncle in recompence: wher- D unto he yeelded, to end all quarrels: but D. *Maria Diaz de Haro* beeing obſtinate, ſayd reſolutely, that ſhe demanded nothing of another mans, and that ſhe would neuer quitte her fathers inheritance, no not if they would giue her ten times as much as the Segneury of Biſcay was worth.

Sentence giuen by the king againſt D. Diego Lopes de Haro.

Theſe pourſuites did ſo trouble and diſturbe euery man, and euen Don I*ohn* himſelfe, as they all thought it fit and conuenient (the King ſo commanding) to ſurceaſe the proceſſe for two yeares; during the which the parties ſhould haue truce, and not attempt any thing one againſt another. And for that the great loue and friendſhip betwixt Don *Diego Lopes de Haro*, and Don I*ohn Nugnes de Lara*, was ſuſpect vnto the king, he ſought E in the meane time to breede and ſtirre vp ſome iealouſie and diuiſion betwixt them, gratifying Don *Diego* in many things, making his Sonne Don *Lopes Diaz de Haro* Lord Steward of his houſe, but it was not poſſible to diuide them: neither could Don *Diego* by any meanes bring Don I*ohn Nugnes* in fauour with the king, who was reſolued to make warre againſt him, againſt the opinion of the Queene his mother, and all his Councell: ſo as hee was forced and conſtrained to diſlodge haſtily in the night from Aranda of Duero, and came to Don *Diego Lopes* and his ſonne, who altogether made a league and confederacie againſt the king: Whereuppon there were many enterpriſes and incounters, without any great effect: ſo as beeing returned to Aranda, and the king not able to draw Don *Diego* from that partie, there was a day appointed to meet at Cerezo, and in the meane time a truce was made. F

There Don *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman* who did negotiate for the king, preuailed ſo with them of the league, and the Queen-mother with the king D. *Fernand* her ſon, who attended the reſolution of this aſſembly in the towne of Pancoruo, that all theſe, that

is

A is to ſay, the Lords of Haro father and ſonne, and D. *Iohn Nugnes*, ſhould remaine his ſeruants, and he receiued them into grace, yeelding vnto them all they were wont to enioy, and they for a gage of their faith deliuered ſome places in pawne. Don *Iohn* of Caſtile, who purſued the Seigneurie of Biſcay, was not pleaſed with this accord, wherefore he did preſſe the king to haue the ſentence giuen by him in fauour of D. *Maria Diaz* his wife, put in execution, wherewith the king was much troubled; and both he, the Queene and others of the Councell, ſought by all meanes to agree theſe parties contending, who were reſolued to go to armes: to preuent the which, the king made many great offers vnto Don *Diego Lopes*, the which he refuſed: but afterwards he repented it often. There was ſo great labouring for a peace, and eſpecially by the Queene-mother, as in the end they
B yeelded to this compoſition. That Don *Diego Lopes* ſhould, during his life, enioy the Segneurie of Biſcay, and lands belonging thereunto, and that after his deceaſe the poſſeſſion ſhould be giuen to Don *Iohn*, and to D. *Maria* his wife, or to their heires, except Vrdugna, Val de Balmeſeda, and S. Olalla, which three places ſhould remaine to Don *Lope Diaz de Haro*, ſonne to D. *Diego*: to whom moreouer the king ſhould giue for the entertayning of this peace, Miranda of Ebro, and Vilalua of Loſa. D. *Diego Lopes* yeelded to theſe conditions, to pleaſe the king though vnwillingly.

The troubles and ſeditions wherewith the Realme of Caſtile was afflicted at that time, was a plague which humane policie could not preuent: for when as one fire was quen-
C ched, another was ſuddenly kindled: ſo as theſe miſeries continuing, men periſhed, the treaſures were waſted, and Chriſtians ruined one another in theſe ciuill warres, giuing meanes and leyſure to the Moores of Granado to aſſure their Eſtates, who furniſhed themſelues with ſuch ſtore of munition, and built ſo many forts, towers, and caſtels, vppon the ſea coaſt, as they maintained themſelues for many yeres, againſt all the attempts of their enemies. D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* was not pleaſed to ſee an accord made betwixt D. *Diego Lopes*, and the Infant D. *Iohn* of Caſtille: wherefore he retired from Court, and fortified himſelfe in Tordehumos, where he was beſeeged by the king: but in the end the King was forced to giue him Moja and Cagnette, and to receiue him againe into fauour, ſeeing his vncle D. *Iohn*, to hinder the ſeege vnder-hand, cauſed the Knights to disband:
D yet for all this they liued not long in peace, for all theſe ſeditious men, although they had many quarrels among themſelues, yet they agreed in this point, to keepe the Realme in perpetuall combuſtion. The Infant D. *Iohn*, and D. *Iohn Nugnes* did afterwards make a league againſt the king, vppon a falſe aduertiſement, that the king meant to kill them: whereupon they troubled the State againe, ſo as they had great difficulty to retire the Infant D. *Iohn* from this enterprize: but as for D. *Iohn Nugnes* he continued in his rebellion, and would not come to the Eſtates held at Burgos, where there was queſtion to treate of the kings patrimony, and the reuenues of the Crowne; which were greatly impaired.

Miſerable Eſtate of Caſtile.

Mahumet Aben Alhamar, the third king of Granado.

E

THe Moores (as I haue ſayd) during theſe garboiles, did fortifie themſelues in Granado, ouer whom raigned *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* the third king, and third of that name, by the deceaſe of his father *Mahumet Myr*, who at his death had left two ſonnes, the which raigned one after another, and one daughter. The younger was called *Mahumet Aben-Nacar Aben-Lemin Abeadille*. King *Mahumet* during his raigne was blind by an accident, his ſiſter was married to a great kinght, a Moore, called *Ferrachen Arraez*, or Captaine of Malaga, who was alwaies much eſteemed by the king, and honoured for his vertue. This *Ferrachen* vſurped the towne of Ceuta in Affrick, and did great exploits both
F by ſea and land. He had many children by his wife, who was Infant of Granado, among the which were *Iſmael* and *Mahumet*, who raigned in Granado, as we will hereafter ſhew. This king *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* being blind, had from his entrance continued the war by his captaines againſt the Chriſtians; the which had been begun in his fathers life time, and tooke Bethmar and other places, during the broyles in Caſtile.

Granado.

Wherefore for a time he exempted himſelfe of the tribute, which his predeceſſours had payed to the kings of Caſtile: but the king Don *Fernand* in the yeare 1304. hauing (as hath beene ſayd) renewed their League, and ſent *Fernand Gomez* of Toledo his Chancelor, with a Iew called *Samuel*, to Granado, to demand the tribute, where they treated a truce with *Mahumet*, whereat *Mahamet* was well pleaſed, and they did agree that either ſhould enioy the places which they had taken one from another: that is, the king of Caſtile *Tariffe*, and the king of Granado *Alcandete*, *Queſada*, *Bedmar* and others, and that the yearely tribute ſhould be payed to the king of Caſtile. Which Articles were ſigned by king *Mahumet* and the Ambaſſadors, and afterwards confirmed by the king D. *Fernand* in the citty of Cordoua, whether was ſent to that end from the king of Granado, an Alfagui called *Mahumet*. This truce continued about foure yeares, during the which the Moores were carefull to furniſh their countrie with all things neceſſary, to repell the inuaſions of their forraine enemies: yet had they troubles among themſelues: for *Mahumet* beeing growne contemptible among his ſubiects, by reaſon of his blindneſſe, *Aborrabe* an audacious Moore, who was Gouernour of Almery, began to tyrannize, and to vſurpe the title of King: and although he were chaſed away, and forced (the towne being taken) to flie into Affricke, yet he left not to call himſelfe King, and would haue ſurprized Ceuta.

Nauarre.

During theſe things, *Arnaud* of Puyane, Biſhop of Pampelona, a Baſque by nation, held their Synods for reformation of his Clergie, which was very needfull. Two yeares before their had beene a Synode held of many Biſhops at Pegnafiel, where it was decreed that Prieſts might keepe Concubines ſecretly, but not openly.

Prieſts allowed to keepe Concubines.

Arragon.

In Arragon a marriage was treated betwixt the Infant D. *Maria*, daughter to the king Don *Iames* and *Lewis Hutin* the eldeſt Sonne, and then with the Earle of Poictiers ſecond ſonne to King *Philip* the Faire, and of the Queene Don *Ieanne* his wife, but it tooke no effect. We haue ſayd before, that the King Don *Iames*, the better to entertaine the peace which he had made with the French raigning in Naples, had promiſed to marrie *Blanche* the daughter of *Charles* the Limping, the which he did. By this Ladie he had the iſſue which followes: Don *Iames* his eldeſt, who was married to D. *Leonora* Infant of Caſtile: but hauing not touched her, hé ſent her home, and made himſelfe a knight of the order of Saint Iohn of Hieruſalem, and was afterwards Maſter of the order of Monteça. D. *Alphonſo* his ſecond ſonne was king after him. Don *Pedro* the third, Earle of Ampurias, D. *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Prages and Ribagorça, Don *Iohn* who was Archbiſhoppe of Toledo, and afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria, and Arch biſhop of Tarragone. Moreouer D. *Conſtance* married to Don *Iohn Manuel* of Caſtile, ſonne to the Infant D. *Manuel*: D. *Maria* who was wife to Don *Pedro* Infant of Caſtile, ſonne to Don *Sancho* the 4. D. *Blanche* a religious woman, and a Prioreſſe of Sixena: D. *Violant* married to the prince of Tarentum: and D. *Iſabella* wife to Don *Frederick* Arch-duke of Auſtria: theſe were his lawfull children: and by his ſtolne loues he had a daughter, which dyed young, and Don *Iames* of Arragon, who hauing married the daughter and heire of Don *Lope de Luna*, was Earle of Luna.

Genealogie of Arragon.

Nauarre.

The marriage treated betwixt D. *Maria* of Arragon, and the ſecond ſonne of France, by the meanes of Pope *Boniface*, tooke no effect, for that the conditions propounded ſemed very preiudiciall to *Lewis Hutin*, to whom the ſucceſſion of Nauarre by right belonged as the eldeſt, the which the Pope and the king of Arragon would haue transferred to the Earle of Poictiers, with the Earledomes of Champaigne and Brie, and other lands belonging to Queene *Ieanne* their mother. This Donna *Ieanne* Queene of Nauar, a little before her death, cauſed that famous Colledge of Nauarre to be built in Paris, endowing it with good rents in Champaigne, as well for the entertayning of Regents and Profeſſors in Diuinity and Humanity, as of the chappell and Miniſters thereof. The ſame Princeſſe built the towne called Pont de la Roine in Nauarre, otherwiſe called Cares, and hauing liued in France one and thirty yeares, and neuer returned into Nauarre, ſhe died in the yeare 1305. leauing *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, who raigned in France and Nauarre ſucceſſiuely one after another, and *Iſabel* who was Queene of England, married to *Edward* the ſecond, her children. She was buried at the Franciſcans in Paris. A yeare after the

An. 1305.

A the deceaſe of this Lady King *Philip* deſired to make an allyance with Caſtille, demaunding by his Ambaſſadors D. *Iſabel*, ſiſter to the King D. *Fernand*, but this marriage tooke no effect, for ſome reaſons not written, ſome ſay it was three yeeres after the death of Queene *Iane*.

Lewis Hutin the firſt of that name, ſix and twentith King of Nauarre.

B 19 *Lewis*, ſonne to King *Philip* and Donna *Iane*, ſurnamed *Hutin*, firſt of that name amongſt the Kings of Nauarre, ſucceeded his mother in the ſayd realme: he did not intitle himſelfe King, vntill hee had beene crowned at Pampelone, but onely the eldeſt ſonne and heire of the Realme: his ſurname of *Hutin* ſignifies mutin or riotous, which he purchaſed after his comming to the crowne of France, or as ſome ſay, before, whether it were that he had beene the cauſe of contentions, or that hee had pacefied them. The Queenes death being knowne in Nauarre, the Eſtates aſſembled at Pampelone, where they reſolued to ſend Ambaſſadors into France, to beſeech King *Philip*, to ſend them *Lewis* his ſonne, their naturall Prince, and hauing written letters to that effect in the name of the Eſtates, they diſpatched D. *Arnaud* of Puyana, Biſhop of Pampelone, and Don
C *Fortun Almorauid*, who were well and honorably accompanied: who being come to the court of France, they gaue the Kings to vnderſtand the great griefe the people of Nauarre had for the death of their Queene, and Soueraigne Lady; for whoſe conſolation, they beſought them that their new King *Lewis* might goe thither as ſoone as might bee, accompanying this extreame deſire of the Nauarrois, with neceſſary reaſons, for that they had great complaints to make of the gouernment of their Viceroys, who had gouerned the affaires of the realme, to the great preiudice thereof. Whereof the continuall abſence of their ſoueraigne Magiſtrate was the cauſe, who could not viſibly ſee the Eſtate of his country and people, but was ſerued by the eyes and eares of others, whoſe
D reports are commonly falſe, and the truth either concealed or diſſembled. This requeſt ſeemed iuſt vnto the Kings, both father and ſonne: yet King *Lewis* came not into Nauarre but two yeeres after, and in the meane time hee married *Marguerite* daughter to *Robert* Duke of Bourgongne, with whom hee had in marriage fifty thouſand Liuers in ſiluer, and the lands of Gyen vpon Seine: of which marriage iſſued *Ieanne*, who was Queene of Nauarre, maried to *Philip* Earle of Eureux, ſon to *Lewis* of France, by whom the Kings of Nauarre haue pretended right to the Dutchy of Bourgongne againſt the Kings of France: for *Robert* Duke of Bourgongne, father to this *Marguerite*, hauing had many children, moſt of them left not any heires, and their poſterity which had children, tailed ſoone, there remayning no iſſue of the houſe of Bourgongne, but that
E of this Lady, married to *Lewis Hutin*.

Nauarrois ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of France and to Lewis Hutin their King.

Genealogy of Nauarre.

20 Whilſt that the King of Nauarre delaied the time to come into his Realme, there were Gouernors, or Viceroies, after the accuſtomed manner. The great quarrels which had happened in France ſome yeeres before, betwixt King *Philp* the faire and Pope *Boniface* the eight, had cauſed many diſorders, by reaſon whereof there was a great famine throughout all the realme. Pope *Boniface* had excommunicated King *Philip*, and giuen his realme in prey to him that could take it; but hee was a prey to the French, who being led by *Nogaret* of Saint Felix, and by the inteligence of *Sarra Colonne*, ſurprized the Pope at Anania, and intreated him ſo il, as ſoone after for rage and ſpight hee died at Rome: whoſe ſucceſſor *Benedict* the eleuenth, abſolued the King, his houſe and his realme, who held the ſea but eight monthes. After whoſe deceaſe there grew great
F factions for the election of a new Pope, ſo as the ſea was voide abouetenne monthes, for that the French and Italian Cardinals, beeing aſſembled at Perugia, could not agree, who in the end concluded, that three French Cardinals ſhould be named by the Italians, or elſe three Italians by the French, one of the which ſhould bee choſen Pope by the other faction.

The

The Italians would needs name three French prelats, whom they knew to bee diſcon- A
tented and enemies to King *Philip*, among the which was the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, called *Bertrand Gor*, ſonne to *Bernard*, a Baſque by nation, who was choſen Pope by the French, and that at the inſtance of King *Philip*, who during the delay of forty daies, which had beene reſerued for the two parties, after the nomination, to aduiſe which of the three they ſhould chooſe, was aduertiſed of all: and they ſay that hee aduertiſed the Archbiſhop that he was one of the three named, and that if hee would promiſe and ſweare vnto him to doe many things which he propounded, and among others to change the Popes ſea from Italy into France, it was in his power to make him Pope. The good Archbiſhop deſirous to attaine to that dignity, promiſed it, and did effect it being choſen, cauſing all the Cardinals and Officers of the court of Rome to come to Lions, where he was B
crowned in the Church of Saint Iuſt, that yeere 1305. There were preſent the French King, with many other Princes and Noblemen, and an infinite multitude of people of all ſorts.

Duke of Britany ſlaine at the Popes coronation.

During the pompe of this coronation, *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine was ſlaine with the ruine of an old wal, on the which there was a world of people to ſee this ſpectacle, and the King and Pope himſelfe were in great daunger. Hee was called *Clement* the fifth, who ſent three Cardinals to Rome, to gouerne the city, and other places of the territories of the Church. Hee made his reſidence in France, for the moſt part in Auignon where other his ſucceſſors remained for the ſpace of ſeuenty yeeres, which were *Clement* the fifth, C
Iohn the two and twentith, *Benedict* the twelfth, *Clement* the ſixth, who bought Auignon of Queene *Iane*, *Innocent* the ſixth, *Vrbaine* the fifth, and *Gregory* the eleuenth, who returned the ſea to Rome: It is called by the Italians the new tranſmigration, and captiuity of Babilon. This Pope granted to the French King the tithes of the Clergy, for reparation of the ſpoiles which the warre had cauſed, and the right of patronage of many Churches which were vacant, to prouide Miniſters and Paſtors worthy of their charges. King *Lewis Hutin* did accompany his father during all the alterations, ſo as he could not ſo ſoone goe into his realme of Nauarre, as he deſired, beſides hee was very young: notwithſtanding all diſpatches were made in his name. After that the Kings of France had

Pretention of Soueraignty in Nauarre by the Kings of Caſtille.

vnited the crowne of Nauarre to theirs, all quarrels for precedence, which the King of D
Caſtille pretended, ceaſed, the which hauing in former times gotten ouer France by their great power, they now loſt by the ſame right of a greater power, which was that of France. *Philip* Earle of Poictiers, brother to King *Lewis Hutin*, to whom the King of Arragon had ſought to marry his daughter *Mary*, vpon condition that they ſhould make

An. 1306.

him King of Nauarre, was married in the yeere 1306. to *Iane* daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Bourgongne, the marriage was celebrated at Corbeil, after the which *Lewis* King of

Lewis King of Nauarre comes into his realm.

Nauarre went vnto his realme, well accompayned with French Noblility; beeing at Pampelone, hee was crowned, to the ioy of his ſubiects, in the yeere of our Lord 1307.

An. 1307.

and then he beganne to ſtile himſelfe King, beeing about ſixteene yeere of age. Hee ſware to obſerue the lawes and rights of the realme, and then hee went to viſit the towns and places thereof, with a great concourſe of his vaſſals and ſubiects, who had not of E
long time ſeene their Kings and Soueraigne Princes, to whom the King ſhewed himſelfe milde and affable: Notwithſtanding being in the towne of Eſtella, hee cauſed D. *Fortun Almorauid* and *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar to bee put in priſon, who had mutined for the preuiledges of the Nobility of Nauarre, againſt the French Gouernors, and had medled in the gouernment, for the preſeruation of the country: whereat the Nauarrois were ſomewhat diſcontented, but he paied them with reaſons, and parting out of Nauarre, to returne into France, he carried theſe two priſoners with him: D. *Fortun* died in priſon, but *Martin* got his liberty through the fauour of the Earle of Vallois, who notwithſtanding liued not long after. Hee was followed by aboue two hundred gentlemen Nauarrois, whom he aduanced in France, both to make them more affectio- F

Pope Clement the fifth tranſports the Papal ſea into France.

nate by his bounty, and to accuſtome them to the manners of the French, and alſo to haue ſo many hoſtages, of thoſe whom he diſtruſted.

21 Pope *Clement* the fifth, hauing (as we haue ſayd) done a memorable act, which did much import the Italians and other nations, to haue tranſported the Papal ſea into

France

A France vndertooke an other buſineſſe worthy of no leſſe fame, the Knights Templers being growne very rich, were by conſequence inſolent; they were enuied by great men, and generally hated; ſo as the people either mooued in conſcience, and deſire to reforme and roote out vice, or ſeeking to haue part of the ſpoile, in the yeere of our Lord 1308. *An.* 1308. made informations againſt them through al Chriſtendome: ſending word to the Biſhops *Purſuit for the abolition of the Templers.* to make inquiry in their Biſhopriks, of their liues, manners and religion, citing them generally to appeere at a councell which he had called to that end at Vienne in Daulphine, in the yeere of our Lord 1310. Before and after this councel, many of them (after informations made) being attainted and conuicted of greeuous crimes of hereſie, Apoſtaſie, & other impieties, againſt God, nature and al good manners, great executions fol-

B lowed, many being conuicted were put to death by fire, and other puniſhments: many (whoſe accuſations were not well verefied) being cruelly tortured, confeſſed greenous crimes, whereof they would diſcharge themſelues, being at their executions; and of this number was the great Maiſter of the Order, called *Iames Mole* of Bourgongne, many alſo without any confeſſion, were put to death: wherefore the Pope hauing made a ſtrict ſerch, reſolued to aboliſh this Order, and pronounced this ſentence againſt them, in the preſence of the Kings of France and Nauarre, of *Charles* Earle of Vallois, *Philip* and *Sentence giuen by the Pope againſt the Templers.* *Charles* brethren to *Lewis Hutin* and others. The execution of this ſentence was ſuſpended, in regard of the Knights Templers of Caſtille, Arragon, Majorca and Portugal, the ſuppreſſion of whom the Pope reſerued to the diſpoſition of the Apoſtolike ſea, to

C prouide according vnto reaſon.

Thus ended the Order of the Templers, which had continued about two hundred yeeres: a preſident which ſhould be followed in other things, which hauing beene inſtituted to a good end, and whoſe beginnings were not wholy to be blamed, are ſince ſo degenerat, as the profeſſions of Chriſtians is made odious and abominable to other nations. In time the knights Templers of Caſtille, Portugal and Arragon were ſuppreſt with the reſt, being growne the more odious to all men, for that they had beene condemned by a councel. The Knights of Saint Iohn of Ieruſalem were enriched with the ſpoiles of theſe Templers, who had in the yeere of our Lord 1308. taken the Iſland of Rhodes, or at the leaſt hauing beene conquered by other Chriſtians, were put in poſſeſ- *Hoſpitaliers inricht with the ſpoiles of the Templers.*

D ſion by Pope *Clement* the fifth. Theſe Rhodiens (as they were afterwards called) made profeſſion of the order of Saint Auguſtine, and obtained great preuiledges from the Popes, enioying this Iſland aboue two hundred yeeres. They had helpt to ruine the Templers, and therefore had part of the ſpoile. Pope *Clement* and King *Philip* the faire diuided their mouable goods betwixt them.

22 Other Orders of holy knight-hood had their beginnings by the ruines of this, as *Portugal.* thoſe called of Chriſtus in Portugal, by the deuotion and dilligence of the King D. *Denis*: who aſſigned them rents and reuenues of the Templers Comanderies and benifices: *Order of Chriſtus in Lortugal.* and it was ordained that they ſhould carry for a marke or badge, a white croſſe with a

E red. This King of Portugal wrought ſo, as the knights of Saint Iames were ſeperated and exempted from the ſubiection of the Maſtery of Caſtille, wherein hee was aſſiſted by the Apoſtolike Authority, who made Alcacar de Sal the chiefe place of the order of Saint Iames, the which was afterwards tranſlated to Pamela, D. *Fernand* King of Caſtille ſeized vpon the places, townes and forts, and all the reuenues of the Templers in his country, to diſpoſe thereof as ſhould be thought fit.

23 The Order called our Lady of Monteça tooke its beginning by the ruine of the *Arragon.* Templers, in the realme of Valencia which is like vnto the knights of Calarraua, and vnder the Order of Ciſteaux, vnto whom were rents aſſigned out of the Templers confiſcations. This Order was afterwards confirmed by Pope *Iohn* the two and twentith, ſucceſſor to *Clement* the fifth. In the time of this *Clement*, *Robert* King of Naples ſonne to

F *Charles* the Limping, was crowned in Auignon, being before Duke of Calabria, a great enemy of D. *Frederic* King of Sicile, of which Kingdome of Naples, we will forbeare to ſpeake, for that it concernes not the affaires of Spaine, vntill that the Arragonois were called to that crowne by Queene *Ioanne* the two and twentith, as we ſhall heereafter ſhew.

24 The

Caſtille.

24 The accord betwixt the Kings of Caſtille and Granado, as ſoone as the King D. *Fernand* ſaw his eſtate ſomewhat ſetled, was broken: for the Kings of Caſtille and Arragon hauing met at Monreal, in the yeere of our Lord 1309. beſides the marriage which *An.* 1309. was treated betwixt the Infant D. *Iames* of Arragon, and the Infanta D. *Leonora* of Caſtille, they concluded to make warre againſt King *Mahumet Aben-Alhamar* the blinde: *Warre made by Caſtille and Arragon againſt Granado.* and although the conqueſt of Granado did belong to Caſtille, yet a ſixth part thereof was granted to the King of Arragon, who made preparation to beſiege Almery, whileſt that the King D. *Fernand* ſhould beſiege Algezire.

Moores. The King of Granado aduertiſed of this plot, was much incenſed againſt theſe Princes, which had not kept their words, but eſpecially againſt the King of Arragon, who had no intereſt to Granado, the diuiſion being made betwixt the ancient Chriſtian Kings, and by the Popes authority. He ſent a good garriſon to Algezire, and to all other places, attending the euent of this warre, the which was begunne by the King of Arragon, who ſent ſome galleys in fauour of *Aborrabe* the Moore, who was expelled, ſtiling himſelfe King of Almery, who beſieged Ceuta in Affrike, and tooke it by meanes of theſe ſuccors; at the ſame time the King of Arragon came and layed ſiege to Almerie, and he of Caſtille to Algezire.

The Moores incenſed moſt againſt the Arragonois, went to field on that ſide, and gaue many routs, and hindrances to them that held the ſiege, and to them that came to it. Algezire being well furniſhed, defended it ſelfe in ſuch ſort, as the King D. *Fernand* finding the ſiege would bee long, ſent the Archbiſhop of Seuile, D. *Alphonſo Perez de Guſman*, and D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, with part of the army to Gibraltar, the which *Gibraltar taken.* place was yeelded, and the Inhabitants and ſouldiars tranſported into Affrike, with their baggage, in ſhips which the King of Caſtille did furniſh, according to the accord: for an old Moore being there, who complayning vnto the King of diuers alterations, whereunto he had beene forced, all the people were reſolued to paſſe into Affrike, and not to liue any more in Spaine. This Moore beeing come thether at the newes of the taking thereof, ſayd vnto the King: I was an Inhabitant of Seuille, when thy Great grand father D. *Fernand* tooke it, from whence being expelled, I came to remaine at Xeres, from thence D. *Alphonſo* thy grand-father chaſed me, and I retired to Tariffe, the which being taken by the King D. *Sancho* thy father, I thought to liue here in peace, from whence you diſlodge mee: wherefore I will paſſe into Affrike, to ſpend the remainder of my daies, with all the Inhabitants of this place, where wee ſhall haue no cauſe to feare the Chriſtians.

The King Don *Fernand* being returned to Algezire, and ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to force it, the Moores by commiſſion from their King made an accord with him, to yeeld vnto him all the places taken in the former warres in Andaluſia, and moreouer fifty thouſand doublons, ſo as hee would raiſe the ſiege from before Algezire. This accord was made when as the King could not doe any more by reaſon of the diſcommodities which his army ſuffred, through the continual raine, and other croſſes, *Accord betwixt Granado and Caſtille.* ſo as many Noblemen died of infirmities, amongſt the which was Don *Diego Lopes de Haro*; by whoſe deceaſe the Siegneurie of Biſcay went out of the familie of Haro, *Biſcay falles to D. Iohn of Caſtille.* and fell into the poſſeſſion of them of the bloud royal of Caſtille, by D. *Iohn* husband to Donna *Maria Diaz de Haro*, daughter and heire to *Lope Diaz de Haro*, ſlaine at Alfaro. During this warre D. *Alphonſo Perez de Guzman* died alſo in an incounter againſt the Moores, beeing ſhot through with an arrow, hee left one ſonne and heire, Don *Iohn Alphonſo de Guzman*, Lord of Saint Lucar.

Theſe loſſes were increaſed by the retreat of Don *Iohn* of Caſtille, who carried many knights away with him, the which did much weaken the army: wherefore the King reſolued to agree, and receiued the ſum of gold aboue mentioned, with the places of Queſada, Bedmar, Quadros and Chungin.

Thus Algezire was deliuered, and a truce made betwixt the Realmes of Caſtille and Granado: but when as the King D. *Fernand* found himſelfe ſeized of theſe townes, and of a good ſumme of money, hee did not much care to maintaine that which hee had promiſed, but ſent Don *Pedro* his brother with the reſt of the army, to the caſtle of

A of Tempul, neere to Algezire, the which he tooke, and then returned to Seuille, where D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* was newly arriued out of France, from Pope *Clement*, of whom he had obtained permiſſion for the King, to take the tithes for the warres againſt the Moores. King *Mahumet* the Blinde was ſoone after depoſed by his owne brother *Mahumet Azar Aben Lemin*, being fauored by many great men Moores, who were diſcontented to be gouerned by a blinde King, who could not lead them to the warres in perſon. He was taken and diſpoſſeſſed in the yeere 1309. hauing raigned ſeuen yeeres, the ſix hundred ninty and two of the Arabians. *The King of Granado depoſed.*

As for the ſiege of Almery, it was nothing fortunat for the Arragonois, who were beaten both by the ſuccors that were ſent from Granado, and by the beſieged which ſallied *Arragon.*
B out vpon them, ſo as they loſt many good knights and valiant ſouldiars. Such was the religious duty of vaſſals to their Lords, and of ſubiects to their Prince, & ſo holy and inviolable the military diſcipline in thoſe daies, that *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar, holding a fee of *Symon Perez* of Arenos, ſlaine in that warre, was accuſed of felony, for that he had not ſuccored his Lord in fight: but he prooued his *alibi*, and that he was not in that incounter: and D. *Pedro Martines de Luna* being accuſed of the like crime, purged himſelfe by oth, before the King and Noblemen, that he was not at the charge whereas *Symon Perez* had beene ſlaine, D. *Fernand* Infant of Majorca was at this ſiege, where he gaue great prooſes of his valour.

Some Authors make mention of memorable exploits, done about that time in Grece,
C by ſome troupes of Arragonois and Cattelans, the which we may not omit. It happened about the yeere 1302. that in Italy betwixt *Charles* the Limping King of Naples, and D. *Frederic* of Arragon, holding the Iſland of Sicile, contrary to the treaty of peace made at Taraſcon, after many routs giuen and receiued of either part, there was an accord made by the meanes of *Charles* of Valois and others; the conditions were. That D. *Frederic* ſhould enioy the realme of Sicile during his life, the which after his death ſhould returne to King *Charles* of Naples, or to his ſucceſſors. That the Princes treating this peace, and hauing intereſt therein, ſhould bee a meanes that the Iſland of Corſica and Sardinia ſhould be giuen to D. *Frederic* and his deſcendants.

The townes taken by the Arragonois and Cattelans on this ſide the ſtraight
D ſhould bee yeelded vp. The Mediators ſhould bee ſutors that the interdict of Sicile ſhould be diſcharged, and the priſoners ſhould be deliuered, amongſt the which was *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, ſonne to *Charles*, and *Gautier* Earle of Brenne, which accord was ratefied by Pope *Boniface*, who impoſed a tribut of fifteene thouſand florins of gold vpon the realme of Sicile, paiable yeerely vnto the church of Rome. Vpon the concluſion of this peace, the captaines and ſouldiers of either part retired into other countries. *Roger de Loria*, who had beene in great reputation to bee an excellent ſea captaine, yea the beſt of his age, retired himſelfe into Spaine, where he died in the city of Valencia, in the yeere 1305. and left an honorable poſterity. About foure thouſand Cattelans and *Tribut impoſed by the Pope vpon the realm of Sicile.*
E Arragonois, and amongſt them ſome Sicilians ſayled towards Greece, vnder the command of *Roger Florio*, *Berenger Entenza* an Arragonois, and others, to ſerue the Emperor *Andronicus Paleologus* then raigning, whoſe ſonne *Michel Paleologus* ſlue *Roger Florio* in treaſon at Adrianople, a man of valour, of a Germain race, but borne at Brindiſi, much lamented; wherevpon the troupes of Cattelans and Arragonois did chooſe for their General *Berenger Entenza*, being commanded vnder him by *Fernand* of Ahones, *Corbaran* of Leet, *Bernard* of Rochfort, *Raymond* of Montanero, *William Sichar*, *Symon Albert* and others. Being mutined by reaſon of theſe Grecian Princes, they fortified themſelues vpon the ſtraight of Calipoli, and there made warre with all violence againſt the Emperor *Andronicus*, and cut in peeces *Caio Iean* one of his children, with foure hundred horſe, which were ſent againſt them, at a place called Pont Roial, ſix miles *25 Cattelans and Arragonois in Greece and Thrace.*
F from Conſtantinople. But ſoone after *Berenger Entenza* beeing incountred at ſea, and taken by *Edward de Oria*, was carried priſoner to Pera, and from thence to Trebyſonde: yet the reſt of his army held the fort of Calipoli ſtil. *Grecians defeated by the Cattelans.*

The ſtrength of this army conſiſted in two thouſand fiue hundred horſe at the moſt, who being led by *Bernard* of Rochfort, who was choſen their head after the taking of

Entenza

Entenza, gaue a notable defeat to *Michel Paleologus*, ſonne to *Andronicus* (who had with him all the Cauallarie of Conſtantinople) neere to the towne of Apros in Thrace, ſo as *Michel* being wounded was forced to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and ſhut himſelfe into Adrianopoli, whereas the Cattelans beſeeged him long. A

Their fort of Calipoli being afterwards aſſailed by *Andriol Moro* (who led *Theodore Paleologus Marquis* of Montferrat into Italy with an army) was ſo well defended, as there were aboue ſixe hundred with their commander *Andriol* ſlaine there. Yet neceſſity in the meane time did conſume theſe Cattelan troupes being in an enemies countrie, few in number and farre from all ſuccors, ſo as finding themſelues in extreame deſpaire, D. *Fernand*, Infant of Majorca, arriued happely, being ſent by D. *Frederic* King of Sicile, to giue them ſome releeſe. Then was *Berenger Entenza* returned from priſon, who B ſeeking to reſume his authority of captaine generall, againſt *Bernard* of Rochfort, there grew ſuch a quarrel betwixt them and their partiſans, as *Entenza* was ſlaine; wherefore the Infant of Majorcca deteſting ſo raſh and mutinous an army left them, and thinking to returne into Sicile, fell vpon the Iſle of Negrepont, where hee was ſtaied and carried priſoner to Saint Omer, a fort of Athens: being put into the hands of *Gaultier* of Brenne, ruling in that country.

Soone after *Bernard* of Rochfort and *Albert* his brother, commanding the Cattelans at Calipoli, ſuffred themſelues to bee ſurprized by the Gouernor of Negrepont called *Thibaud* of Sipoiſe, who deliuered them to *Robert* King of Naples, who cauſed them C to die in priſon: by reaſon whereof the Cattelan troupes beganne to ouerrunne the country, like made men, without commanders, and without order, and falling vpon the country of Macedonie which was nere, they paſt through it like a lightning, ouerthrowing all they incountred, vntill they came into the territorie of Athens, whereas the French commanded; ſtaying there they demaunded to bee entertained in pay by Duke *Gaultier*, but hee deſirous rather to chaſe away this vagabond people, who were poore and inſolent, went to incounter them with his forces, to fight with them, by whom notwithſtanding hee was defeated and ſlaine, and almoſt all his men. By this victory the Cattelans made themſelues Maiſters of all that the French held in that country, and lodged themſelues there, whereas ſince they had many commanders ſucceſſiuely, as D. *Manfroy* ſon to D. *Frederic* King of Sicile, then D. *Frederic Alphonſo* his brother, who re- D mained Gouernor there, and married the daughter of *Boniface* of Verona a Nobleman of great power in Negrepont, with others: from thence is come the title of Dukes of Athens to the Princes of Arragon. D. *Fernand* Infant of Majorca being deliuered out of priſon through the fauour of *Robert* King of Naples, his kinſman, married *Iſabel* the heire of Morea by whom he had D. *Iames* who was King of Majorca after D. *Sancho* his vncle; hee tooke Clarence, and made many other conqueſts in Morea. D. *Fernand* to to his ſecond wife married a Princeſſe of Cypres, of whom *Fernand* was borne, who was husband to *Eſchiue* daughter to *Hugues* King of Cypres. After this ſecond marriage, and the birth of this ſonne, D. *Fernand* of Majorca Prince of Morea, hauing performed great matters both in the Eaſt and Weſt, died in the floure of his age, about the E yeere of our Lord 1315. ſo as the affaires of the Arragonois in that countrie went to ruine.

The French defeated by the Cattelans in Greece and Gaultier of Brenne ſlaine.

Genealogie of Maiorca.

He was the third ſonne of D. *Iames* King of Majorca the firſt of that name, whoſe poſterity we haue gathered out of hiſtories, after this manner. He had by his wife *Eſclermonde* of Foix, *Iames* his eldeſt ſonne, who being wholy giuen to deuotion, left the ſucceſſion of the realme, to his yonger brother, and became a Franciſcan friar. D. *Sancho* the ſecond ſonne was King after the father, in the yeere of our Lord 1312. who hauing married the daughter of *Charles* the ſecond King of Naples, named *Marie*, had no children by her, wherefore dying, hee left the Realme of Majorca, to Don *Iames* ſonne to his brother D. *Fernand* aboue named. Of this firſt ſtemme of Majorca, wee finde there F iſſued theſe three ſonnes, D. *Iames*, D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernand*, and one daughter named D. *Sancha*, married to *Robert* Duke of Calabria; to the which ſome adde D. *Philip* the fourth ſonne.

Nauarre.

But returning to Spaine, we finde that about the time of theſe laſt wars of Granado, whereof

whereof wee haue newly made mention, or ſoone after, the Nauarrois renued their old quarrels againſt them of Arragon, to whom (notwithſtanding any accords) they were neuer good friends: ſo as going out of Pitiella, a place then of the Kingdome of Nauarre, they entred the neighbour country of Arragon, and committed great ſpoiles, whereat D. *Iames* King of Arragon being incenſed, hee ſent an army to beſeege that place, but they were diſlodged by the Inhabitants of Sangueſſe, a frontire towne of Nauarre, being aſſiſted by ſome French troupes, who fought with them and they were defeated. The Arragonois being returned againe into Nauarre, and hauing runne as farre as the towne of Olite, and forraged the country, they were againe charged by them of Sangueſſe and other neighbor places, being ready to paſſe the riuer of Arragon, at the ford of Saint Adrian, and were there defeated with great ſlaughter of their men, and the loſſe of the Standard royal of Arragon, which they of Sangueſſe carried away, by reaſon whereof, and in remembrance of their vertue and valour, they carry for their armes, by grant from King *Lewis Hutin*, the bands gueules of Arragon, but in a field argent.

Arragonois defeated.

26 In the yeere of our Lord 1312. were the troubles of Lions vpon Rhoſne, betwixt the Inhabitants of the towne and their Archbiſhop *Peter* of Breſſe, by reaſon that he did vſurpe vpon the Kings Iuſtice: King *Philip* ſent his ſonne the King of Nauarre thether, who tooke this Prelat priſoner, and ſent him to the King his father, for which cauſe, and for that he durſt preſume to lay his hands vpon an Archbiſhop, he was called *Hutin*, or mutin as ſome ſay. The citizens of Lion beeing pacefied, they mutined againe, by reaſon of the differences which they had with their Archbiſhop, but they were ſuppreſt, and puniſhed by the ſame King of Nauar, and reduced vnder the King his fathers obedience. It was at that time that *Marguerite* Queene of Nauar, the Counteſſe *Ieanne* of Poictiers & *Blanche* of la Marche, who had married the three brethren of France, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* and *Charles*, were accuſed of adultry, & put in priſon at Chaſteau Gaillard, of the which the Counteſſe *Ieanne* of Poictiers, was found innocent and abſolued: but *Marguerite* Queene of Nauar, and the Conteſſe *Blanch* being conuicted, were condemned to perpetual priſon, whereas *Marguerite* died ſoone after: the adulterers were put to death with cruel torments: the which were *Philip* and *Gaulter* of Aunoy brethren. An vſher of the chamber, who ſerued as baud and meſſenger of their loues, was hanged. It is reported of this Queene of Nauar, that ſeeing any faire yong man paſſe by, ſhee cauſed him to be taken, & brought ſecretly at night into her chamber, & that after ſhe had taken her diſhoneſt pleaſure with him, ſhe cauſed him to bee caſt into the riuer of Seyne, to the end hee ſhould not vaunt thereof: the which was diſcouered by a ſcholler, who ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming, being not wel bound. Thereof grew that ambiguous ſentence. *Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum eſt*. This vnchaſtneſſe is attributed by ſome to *Ieanne* mother to *Lewis Hutin*, Queene of Nauarre, who was a ſcourge to the Flemings, and the cauſe of al the wars betwixt the King and them.

An. 1312. *Troubles at Lions.*

The king D. *Fernand* about the end of the war of Granado, gaue order for the building of Sauueterre, and Azpeity in Guipuſcoa, granting then the rights & preuiledges of Victoria: he married his daughter *Iſabel* to Duke *Iohn* of Brittaine, and made D. *Iohn Manuel* of Caſtille, ſonne to D. *Manuel*, Lord Steward of his houſe, taking that dignity from his brother D. *Pedro*, to whom in recompence he gaue Almaçan and Berlanga: whereby it appeeres that theſe offices depended on the kings pleaſure. This D. *Iohn Manuel* had two daughters, which were both Queenes, the one named D. *Ieanne*, wife to *Henry* the ſecond King of Caſtile, and the other D. *Conſtance*, married to D. *Pedro* King of Portugal. During the marriage of Duke *Iohn* of Brittaine, and of D. *Iſabel* at Burgos, the Infant D. *Iohn* of Caſtile, alwaies like himſelf, turbulent & ſeditious, came nere vnto the city, accompanied with ſoldiars, & would not enter without aſſurance, the which was giuen him: yet notwithſtanding the King commanded he ſhould be taken and ſlaine; whereof beeing aduertiſed by the Queene mother, vpon whoſe word hee was chiefely entred into the Citie; hee went forth verie earely in the morning, ſeeming for to goe a hunting, and ſo eſcaped: Beeing purſued in vaine by the Kings men which hee had ſent after him. Many knights and among others D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, deteſting the Kings treachery, and withal ill affected to him, followed D. *Iohn*, and beganne new troubles

Caſtille.

Diſtruſt of D. Iohn of Caſtille, and treachery of the King D. Fernand, the cauſe of great trouble.

troubles in the Realme of Caſtille. The Duke of Brittaine gaue them leaue to end A
their quarrels, and carried away his ſpouſe into Brittaine. The Queene mother, with
the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, and the Biſhops of Palence, Lugo and Mondognedo,
labored to pacifie, and content theſe rebels, and in the meane time D. *Conſtance* the
Queene raigning was brought in bed of her ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, in the city of Salaman-
ca, who was heire of the Realmes of Caſtille and Leon. The King of Caſtille and Ar-
Alliance renued betwixt Caſtille and Arragon. ragon, had an enterview at Calatajub, where a promiſe of marriage was made betwixt
D. *Leonora* of Caſtille, who was but three yeeres old, and the Infant D. *Iames* of Arragon,
and an other marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Pedro* brother to the King of Caſtille
with Donna *Maria* daughter to the King of Arragon, and there the two Kings made
a new league and confederation againſt the Infidels, to make warre againſt whom the B
King of Caſtille called an aſſembly of the Eſtates of Caſtille at Vailedolit, from whence
D. *Pedro* the Kings brother was ſent with an army, to beſeege Alcaudete. In the
meane time the King ſtaied in Caſtille, making ſeizures, and taking by force certaine
caſtles which did belong vnto his Rebels. Afterwards hee came in perſon into Anda-
luſia where being arriued at Martos, hee cauſed two knights brethren to bee apprehen-
ded, being accuſed for a murther commited on the perſon of Don *Iohn Alphonſo de Be-
nauides*, who had beene ſlaine at Palence, going out of the Kings lodging. Theſe
Two brethren executed vniuſtly. two brethren whom they called *Peter* and *Iohn* of Carauajal, beeing condemned with-
out any great proofes, to bee caſt downe head-long from the top of the rocke of Mar-
tos, as they were at their execution, proteſting of their Innocency, they adiourned
Alcaudete taken by the King of Caſtille. the King to appeere before the Tribunal ſeat of Almighty GOD, within thirty daies C
after, to giue reaſon of the death which he made them ſuffer vniuſtly: notwithſtanding
all this, they were executed.

The King beeing come to the Campe before Alcaudete, hee beganne to be ill, and
came to Iaen, where hee remained ſome daies, little regarding his Phyſitions, in the
meane time D. *Pedro* tooke Alcaudete.

Mahumet Aben-Azar the fourth King. of Granado. D

Moores. IN the realme of Granado, the yonger brother hauing diſpoſſeſt the elder, had much a-
do to be receiued, and obeyed by the Moores Granadins, who reſiſted him, eſpecially
Farrachen his brother in law, captaine of Malaga: ſo as Alcaudete could not be releeued.
The new King *Mahumet Aben-Azar. Aben-Lemin*, being in ſome ſort ſetled and aſſur-
ed of his Kingdome, cauſed his brother that was priſoner to be cruelly ſlaine, and ſent to
the King D. *Fernand* being at Iaen, to renue the league which the Kings his predeceſſors
had with Caſtille, the which was done, the Infant Don *Pedro* beeing preſent, where E
amongſt other reſolutions, it was concluded, that all together ſhould make warre
againſt *Ferrachen* of Malaga: but the ſodaine death of Don *Fernand*, croſſed this
deſeigne.

Caſtille. The King being laied to ſleepe one afternoone, the thirtieth day from the aſſignati-
on which was giuen him by the two gentlemen which were executed at Martos, when as
they of his chamber thought that he ſlept more then was fit, they entred into his cham-
ber to ſee what he did, where they found him ſtarke dead, the which was attributed to the
Death of King Fernand the fourth. iudgement of God. This vnexpected death which happened in the yeere of our Lord
1312. did much trouble the Realme, he was about fiue and twenty yeeres old, he had raig-
ned aboue ſeuenteene, and was buried in the great church at Cordoua.

Nauarre. Soone after *Philip* the Faire the French King died, leauing the Crowne and Scepter F
to *Lewis Hutin* King of Nauarre his ſonne. Some hold that this King *Philip* had the like
adiournement to the Iudgement of God, in the towne of Bourdeaux, where there was a
knight of the Templers executed in his preſence, beeing borne at Naples, who ſeeing
the

A the Pope and the King at a window, to behold this execution, cried out with a loud voice, ſeeing there is no worldly power to the which I may appeale from the ſentence giuen againſt the Templers by the Pope, at the Kings inſtance, I doe adiorne them both to appeere before God within one yeere, ſo as that yeere being 1313. they both died. *An.* 1313.

Lewis Hutin had then raigned eight yeeres in Nauarre, when he came to the crowne of France, King *Philip* the faire his father is noted to bee very vnfortunat in many things, both in religion, in the gouernment of his realme, and in his owne houſe. Hee was neuer in peace with the Church of Rome, in the which (although he were the eldeſt ſonne) he cauſed many ſcandales, hauing had deadly hatred with the Popes, eſpecially with Pope *Boniface* the eight, whom hee forced to die miſerably: hee tranſported the Sea of
B Rome into France, *Clement* the fifth being made Pope, whom he vſed as a fit inſtrument, in many bad practiſes, as hatred and couetouſneſſe did mooue him: hee did ruine with a ſtrang cruelty and without diſcretion the Order of the Templers, which ſect, admit it were corrupted yet many deſerued better vſage: he falſefied the money in France, exacted tithes of the Clergy, impoſed the tribut called Maletoſts, and the fifth penny vpon all Marchandiſe: he was prodigall without iudgement: hee intreated the Flemings vniuſtly, and their Princes cruelly, by captiuities and vnworthy vexations, not ſparing the innocent virgin *Philip* daughter to Cont *Guy*, who had beene giuen him in hoſtage, whom they ſay he cauſed to be ſmothered: others affirme he cauſed her to be poiſoned: ſome ſay ſhee was drowned, with many gentlewomen and maidens of honour which
C did attend her, others, and it may be the moſt certaine, write, that ſhe died for griefe. All this Kings children died young, their wiues were accuſed and conuicted of adultery, and his owne ſuſpected to haue beene vnchaſt: yet he inſtituted the Court of Parliament of Paris, and cauſed the palace to bee built, which may bee numbred amongſt his memorable deeds. The firſt notable act which his ſonne *Lewis Hutin* did after his comming to the crowne of France, was that he cauſed *Enguerrant* of Marigni, Earle of Longueuille to be hanged, being accuſed to haue hindred the King from ſubduing the Flemings, but the chiefe occaſion was, for that he was ſuſpected to haue robbed King *Philips* treaſure, the which was found empty by his children *Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*: he had no greater enemy then *Charles* of Valois the Kings vncle, to whom *Enguerrant* had once giuen the
D lie debating in councel of the bad gouernment of that treaſor as they ſay. There is no great memory of that which paſt in Nauarre, after that King *Lewis* came to the crowne of France, his daies being but ſhort, for eighteene monthes after he died at Bois de Vincennes, being about foure and twenty yeeres old, leauing *Clemence* his ſecond wife, daughter to *Charles* the ſecond King of Naples and ſiſter to King *Robert*, great with child of a ſonne, which liued not. Hee had married *Clemence* preſently after the condemnation of his firſt wife *Marguerite*, by whom hee had one daughter, named *Ieanne*, who was Queene of Nauarre, but not ſo ſoone: for attending Queene *Clemences* deliuery, *Philip* of France, Earle of Poictiers, was choſen Regent of the two Realmes of
E France and Nauarre, to gouerne them vntill the child which ſhould bee borne, if it were a male, ſhould come to the age of foureteene yeere; and if it were a daughter, that to her and her ſiſter *Ieanne* ſhould belong the Realme of Nauarre, with the counties of Champaigne and Brie: but he ſhould ſucceed to the crowne of France, by vertue of the law Salique, as ſome Authors thinke: but rather by the right of cuſtome inueterat amongſt the French, conformable to the order which God hath ſet in nature, and according to the good conſtitutions of ancient Eſtates, not to receiue a woman to the crowne, who is made to bee gouerned, and not to command. Whatſoeuer it were, this law was then practiſed, as well in regard of France, as of Nauarre, whereas *Philip* the Long, brother to the deceaſed King raigned, in the yeere of our Lord 1315. not without great troubles and tumults amongſt the Nauarrois.

27 *Vnfortunat obſeruations in Philip the Faire and his poſterity.*

Marriage of Lewis Hutin and his death.

F

A

D. Alphonſo the twelfth of that name thirteenth King of Caſtille and foure and thirtith of Leon.

Caſtille.

28 THe vnhappineſſe of the houſe of Caſtille, continued the minority of King D. *Alphonſo*, being numbred by ſome the eleuenth, by others the twelfth of that name: for the Infant D. *Iohn* of Caſtille, and D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* (two firebrands which had often put the Realme into combuſtion) hearing of the Kings death, were returned, the one from Valencia, the other out of Portugal, whether they were fled, to ruine the E- B ſtate, after their accuſtomed manner; and ſeeing that the Infant D. *Pedro*, brother to the deceaſed King, by the conſent of the Queenes, was entred into the mannaging of the affaires, and the gouernment of the King, who was at Auila, they came to Vailledolit, and tould the Queene Donna *Maria*, that they were well content ſhe ſhould gouerne, but that they would neuer endure that D. *Pedro* ſhould haue that authority: and from that time they ſought all meanes to get the King into their hands, but the Inhabitants of Auila, and D. *Sancho*, their Biſhop elect, gaue him ſo good gards as they labored in vaine, being reſolued not to giue the poſſeſſion and gouernment of this yong Prince to any one that were not appointed by the aſſembly of the Eſtates: imitating therein the fide- C lity and care of their anceſtors towards King *Alphonſo* the ninth, whereof followed great factions, and tyranous ciuil warre throughout the whole realme: the ring-leaders wher- of, on the one ſide, were the Infant D. *Pedro*, fauored by the Queene Donna *Maria*: and on the other the Infant D. *Iohn*, a warlike and factious Prince, who had ioyned vnto him D. *Iohn Nugnes*, and the fauor of Queene *Conſtance* the Kings mother: either of them being followed with a great number of knights: a generall aſſembly beeing called at Palence, the deputies of the Eſtates were alſo diuided, ſome deſyring that the Queene D. *Maria* and her ſonne D. *Pedro* ſhould haue the gouernment of the King, and others demanding that D. *Iohn* alone ſhould haue this charge: ſo as there was nothing done, but to animate them more to ruine the publike, and their priuat enemies. The Inhabitants of Auila, without any further reſpect, did acknowledge the Queene Donna *Maria* and D. D *Pedro* for tutors to the King, and Gouernors of the realme, yet would they not ſuffer them to lead the King out of their towne. D. *Pedro* with this aduantage made a progreſſe throughout the Realme, and comming to Toledo, and from thence into Andaluſia, hee was receiued, and generally obeyed.

Iſmael the fifth King of Granado.

Moores.

IT happened that in the realme of Granado, the citizens of Granado had rebelled a- E gainſt King *Mahumet Aben-Azar*, the murtherer of his brother: the Author of which rebellion was *Iſmael*, the ſonne of *Ferrachen*, and of the Kings ſiſter, who held Malaga. He with the fauor of his father, and of a mighty Moore, of the lignage of the *Merins* of Maroc, called Ozmin, purſued King *Mahumet* in ſuch ſort, as he ſhut him vp, and beſieged him in the fort of Granado, called Alhambra, the which notwithſtanding was well manned with Moores of his party, and ſtrong both by nature and art. D. *Pedro* aduertiſed of this diſorder by King *Mahumet*, who was a friend and ally to Caſtille, and intreated by him to ſuccor him, went to field with ſuch troupes as he could gather togither in ſo ſhort a time: but before he could come to Granado, hee had newes that the fort was yeelded to *Iſmael*, and that King *Mahumet* had reſeigned the realme vnto him, beeing contented F to liue in a priuat Eſtate in the towne of Guadix, without any other title, then Lord of Guadix: wherevpon D. *Pedro* returned, and came and aſſaulted the caſtle of Rute, a verie ſtrong place, and which hee tooke, whileſt that the affaires of Granado were yet in diſorder. Thus King *Mahumet* was diſpoſſeſt of his crowne, which hee had

Seditions in Granado againſt King Mahumet.

gotten

A gotten by tyranous cruelty, hauing enioyed it about foure yeeres.

The faction of Caſtille which followed D. *Iohn*, aſſembled in the towne of Sahagun, *Caſtile.* whereas Queene *Conſtance* fell ſicke, and died ſo poore, as ſhee had beene forced to ſell her Iewels to feed her. This death and the proſperities of D. *Pedro*, made D. *Iohn* to propound ſome meanes for an accord, ſo as he and D. *Pedro* agreed, that the nouriſhment of the King ſhould be at the diſpoſition of the Queene Donna *Maria* his grand-mother, & as for the gouernment, it ſhould be common betwixt them two, as it ſeemed the Eſtates of Palence had thought fit: wherewith the Queene D. *Maria* ſeemed wel pleaſed: for at the leaſt ſhee got by this accord, that the Kings perſon was deliuered vnto her, whom ſhe led to Toro, in the yeere 1314. where ſhe cauſed him to be bred vp, vnder the care of *An.* 1314.

B a noble Lady, grand-child to *Theodore Laſcari*, ſometimes Emperor of Greece, her name was *Vataça*. An other aſſembly of the Eſtates was called at Burgos, where it was decreed that the gouernment of the King, and the regency of the realme ſhould be reduced al into one body betwixt Queene *Mary*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Iohn*, and if any one of them ſhould die, it ſhould remaine to the two others, that did ſuruiue, and to one if two died. There *Death of D. Iohn Nugnez de Lara.* was an order ſet downe for the augmenting of the reuenues of the crowne, with many other decrees, for the good of the King and realme. D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* died then being come to the aſſembly of the Eſtates, and left no children.

The Eſtates being ended, D. *Pedro* came into Andaluſia, to aſſiſt *Mahumet Aben-Azar*, *Moores.* who held Guadix, being depriued of the realme of Granado, leauing the Queene D. *Maria*, and the Infant D. *Iohn* to gouerne in Caſtille. D. *Pedro* had an incounter vpon the

C frontiers with the Moores, whereas he ſlue a thouſand fiue hundreth, and did afterwards take from them the caſtle of Cambil and Ardauados. *Mahumet Aben-Azar*, cauſed himſelfe to bee ſtil called King of Granado, notwithſtanding that hee had promiſed to leaue this title to *Iſmael*: but this victory of D. *Pedros* freed him, hauing in his company the maiſters of the knights of Saint Iames and Calatraua. They write that among the Moores which were ſlaine vpon the place, there were aboue forty captaines, and almoſt al the floure of Granado, ſo as King *Iſmael* found himſelfe much weakened, wherefore D. *Pedro* and his captaines, both this yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1315. *An.* 1315. and the next following, made many courſes and enterpriſes in the territory of Granado,

D ſpoyling the vignes and fields, euen vnto the city gate, King *Iſmael* making no reſiſtance in field, nor any purſuite, when as they retired charged with ſpoiles. After this the King of the Moores hauing tried to beſiege Gibraltar, hee was repulſt, and forced to retire with ſhame, by D. *Pedros* army, the which ſurprized the towne of Belmes, which was ill garded, and then forced the Moores of the caſtle to yeeld, at which ſiege they lay three weekes, and yet no ſuccours came from Granado, (being but eight ſmall leagues from thence) but too late, after the yeelding, which ſuccours returned notwithſtanding without fighting. During this warre *Iſmael* laboured to haue a truce, or to make an accord with the Chriſtians, but D. *Pedro* would not harken to it, deſyring to roote that race of Infidels out of Spaine, whereof hee ſeemed to bee in a good way, and in

E great hope, wherefore they anoyed one an other all they could, but King *Iſmael* ſeeing that in the end he ſhould not be able to ſubſiſt, he ſent to ſolicite the King of Maroc, for the community that was betwixt them in ſect and nation, to aide him to defend the realme of Granado againſt the Chriſtians, the which beeing loſt hee muſt not thinke that euer the Arabians ſhould haue any acceſſe or entry into Europe, for aſſurance of which African Kings armies, he not onely offred Algezire, but alſo al the places which are from Algezire vnto Ronde incluſiuely; Ronde, Caſtellar, Axuneua, Eſtepona, Marbela and others.

29 Whileſt that Chriſtian Princes made warre againſt Infidels, the Clergy and pillers of the Romiſh Church were not well vnited amongſt themſelues. After the

F death of Pope *Clement* the fifth, the Cardinals beeing aſſembled at Carpentras for the election of a new Pope, they grew into ſo great a fury, as two of them were murthered in the Conclaue, the reſt disbanded, and were diſperſed throughout France, abandoning all, ſeeing there was no meanes to accord them.

King *Lewis Hutin* who liued then, was very carefull to pacefie this ſcandale, cauſing

them all to come to Lions where they held their conclaue in the conuent of Iacobins, where after his death, there was choſen by two and twenty Cardinals, *Iames* of Oça, Cardinal of Saint Ruffinus, Biſhop of Portuenſe, borne at Cahors, who was called *Iohn* the two and twentith. This Pope made Sarragoſſa an Archbiſhoprike, and likewiſe Toloufe, and erected Cahors, the place of his birth, to a Biſhoprike.

Sarragoſſe and Tolouſa made Archiſhopriks.

Philip the long, the ſecond of that name, the ſeuen and twentith King of Nauarre.

Nauarre. 30 IT was in the yeere of our Lord 1315. that *Philip* the long came to the crowne of France and Nauarre, at whoſe entrance they beganne to diſpute of the law Salique: for many Noblemen were of opinion, that *Iohn Poſthumus*, the ſonne of King *Lewis Hutin* being dead, the realmes of France and Nauarre did belong by right of ſucceſſion, to *Ieanne* of France his daughter, by *Marguerite* of Bourgongne.

Thoſe which held this partie, were *Eude* Duke of Bourgongne, *Lewis* Earle of Neuers, *Himbert* Daulphin of Viennois, and others of their faction: but *Philip*, who for the diuerſity of opinions and interpretations feared that the law Salique did not extend to the ſucceſſion of Kingdomes, and that poſſibly his right was not grounded thereon, contrary to the cuſtome receiued in all other nations, and eſpecially in Nauarre, whereof he pretended to diſapoint *Ieanne* the heire thereof as well as of the crowne of France, hauing alſo many noblemen which fauoured him, hee wonne his cauſe, by meanes of greater efficacy then diſputes, and allegations of rights: for hee gaue *Ieanne* his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the Duke of Bourgongne, and for doury the countie of Bourgongne her patrimonie: To the Earle of Neuers his ſecond called *Marguerite*, and *Marie* the third to the Daulphin: in this manner hee ſtopt their mouthes, and made them conſent with the reſt, recoyling *Ieanne* his Neece not onely from the crowne of France, but alſo from the Realme of Nauarre, which was not to bee queſtioned with. Force and authority preuailed in this point; beſides this Princeſſe was not gratious with the French, by reaſon of her mothers fault. The Nauarrois followed the authority of the French, becauſe they could not withſtand it, and receiued *Philip* the long for their King, that yeere 1315.

Caſtile. The Kings Tutors, and the Gouernors of the realme of Caſtille were required by the Eſtates in an aſſembly made at Carrion, to giue caution for their gouernment, and to giue an account what they had done, Don *Pedro* obtained liberty from the Pope to receiue the tithes, and to proclaime a Croiſadoe againſt the Moores, againſt whom hee made violent and ſucceſſull warre, as hath beene ſayd, whereof his fellow Tutor was enuious, and gaue him many croſſes, to draw him into daunger; of ſuch force is enuie, that to preiudice an other, hee doth often bring ruine vnto himſelfe, and to a whole Eſtate.

Thus the affaires of great Monarkes are often times ill mannaged by them, who haue the moſt important charges, who being loth to yeeld one vnto an other, in that which concernes the good and proffit of the State and the ſeruice of their Prince, and being alwaies enuious of the honour and glory of their companions, let ſlippe occaſions, diſſemble, delay, and had rather incurre the perpetuall infamy of traitors, cowards and peruerſe emulators, then to aide one an other in a good action.

Thus did D. *Iohn* againſt D. *Pedro*, croſſing and hindring his gallant deſeignes and enterpriſes of warre, vpon the Moores frontiers, whileſt that hee gouerned within the heart of the Realme; ſometimes ſtaying the Nobility of Caſtille and Leon from going to D. *Pedro*, ſometimes keeping backe the treaſure, and alwaies finding meanes to croſſe him, and to make the people leſſe obedient vnto him, ſo as the Queene Donna *Maria*, who was a verie wiſe Ladie, and ſaw cleerely into theſe troubles and bad affections, had

A had much toyle to keepe them from an open diuiſion: and did often and wiſely call an aſ-
ſembly of the Eſtates to that effect, ſometimes at Vailledolit for the Caſtillans, and ſom-
times at Medina del campo for them of Leon and Extremadura.

In their yeare 1317. Don *Berenger* Arch-biſhop of Saint *Iames*, brought a commande- *An.* 1317.
ment and cenſures from the Pope to put Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde* in poſſeſſion of the
lands and goods which were adiudged by the Arbitrators at Taraſſone: whereunto the
Gouernours would not obey, but ſent their reaſons to the Pope, excuſing themſelues,
that the Infant had not for his part kept the conditions ſet downe in the ſentence.

31 Don *Pedro* notwithſtanding the enuie which his vncle Don *Iohn* bare vnto him, *Moores.*
did ſtill ſeeke to annoy the Moores all he could, and in the beginning of the yeare, 1319. *An.* 1319.
B he reſolued to beſeege the towne of Tiſcar, which was held by a Moore, called *Mahumet* *Tiſcar a ſtrong place taken by Don Pedro.*
Andon, and was one of the ſtrongeſt places in Spaine: yet the happines, iudgement, and
good fortune of Don *Pedro* were ſuch, as (notwithſtanding it was with great toyle and
danger of the ſouldiers) it was taken: whereat euen the Chriſtians themſelues wondered,
conſidering the ſtrength of the place. The caſtell made ſome reſiſtance after the taking of
the towne, but in the end it yeelded by compoſition: That the Moores which were with-
in it with their Lord *Mahumet Andon*, ſhould depart with bag and baggage, the which
was granted and kept. 4500. ſoules went out of the place, and were put in ſafety into Ba-
ça. This did increaſe Don *Iohns* enuie againſt the proſperities of Don *Pedro*: wherefore
he approched then vnto the fronters, beeing thruſt on by iealouſie, to attempt ſomthing
againſt the Moores for his part: hee came to Baena, euen as Don *Pedro* prepared to be-
C ſeege the towne of Belmar, beeing aduertiſed of Don *Iohns* comming, he marched that
way, that they might ioyne their forces together, and do ſome notable exploite in the e-
nemies countrie. Hauing ioyned at Alcaudete with great demonſtrations of loue, they
led the armie ioyntly through the champian countrie towards Granado, whereof Don
Iohn led the foreward, and hauing taken the caſtell of Yllora, they preſented themſelues
before Granado, ſtanding a whole day in battell in the ſight thereof, and yet king *Iſmael*
neuer ſallyed foorth, nor ſent any one forth to skirmiſh with them, nor to diſcouer them.
Don *Pedro* was of opinion to begin the ſeege, but Don *Iohn* held it fitteſt to retire, ſay-
ing, that they neither had men enough, nor munition ſufficient to beſeege ſuch a towne:
D whereas the king was in perſon, accompanied with all the flower of his Knights and ſoul-
diers, and an incredible multitude of people: for at that time they thought there liued
within that cittie aboue 200000. perſons, although there were ſcarce 500. heads of fa-
milies Moores by race, for all the reſt were Chriſtians Renegados or their deſcendants,
or Chriſtian ſlaues.

Vpon theſe perſwaſions, the Princes and Captaines began to turne head, hauing chan-
ged the order of their march, Don *Iohn* beeing in the rereward. When as the Granadins
ſaw them diſlodge, king *Iſmael* ſent forth his men, commanding them to charge the ene-
mie in the rereward, and to preſſe them in ſuch ſort, as they might put them out of order,
if it were poſſible, and that they ſhould not then forget that which the diſcipline of warre
E required: the which they did execute reſolutely, ſo as Don *Pedro* was forced to turn head
with the foreward to ſuccour Don *Iohn*: but the diſorder was ſuch amongſt Don *Pedros*
men, as he could not bring them to march in Battaile, nor to keep any good order: where
he tormented himſelfe in ſuch ſort, hauing his ſword drawne, crying ſometimes to one,
ſometimes to another, as he was out of breath, and loſt his ſpeech, and in an inſtant by
this ſtrange accident he fell downe dead from his horſe: the which beeing reported to D.
Iohn who ſaw himſelfe in danger, the contrarietie of paſſions wherewith he was afflicted, *Strange death of D. Pedro of Caſtile, and D. John his vnkle*
were of ſuch force, as it happened to him as to his nephew, ſo as looſing his ſpeech, he fel
amazed from his horſe. The armie hauing loſt their two Commanders, notwithſtan-
ding any indeauour of the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and the Maſters of the militarie Or-
F ders of S. *Iames* and Calatraua, all were put to rout, and were purſued farre by the Mores
with great ſlaughter; who ſpoyled their campe, and ceaſed their pourſuite: wherefore the
Chriſtians which were about Don *Pedro* that was dead, and Don *Iohn* drawing towards
his end had meanes to eſcape, laying him that was aliue on an horſe, and the dead bodie
vpon a moyle: but beeing ſurprized by the night, they which conducted Don *Iohn* mar-
ching

ching more ſlowly then the reſt, ſaw him expire: wherefore fearing to be purſued, they A
left the bodie vpon the field, and ſaued themſelues as they could. Don *Iohn* left one ſon
of the ſame name, who for that he had loſt an eye, was called the blind, and was his heire
and ſucceſſor in the Segneurie of Biſcay. He ſent to intreat King *Iſmael* to ſend him his fa-
thers bodie. The King cauſed it to be ſought for, which being found, hee commanded it
ſhould be brought to Granado, where it was layed in a great hall, in the fort of Alham-
bra, vpon a herſe couered with rich cloth of gold, ſetting a great number of waxe tapers
about it; the king commanding the Noblemen, and knights Moores, with all the Chriſti-
an captiues that were in Granado, to pray about the dead body: doing many other ſolem-
nities after their manner, then he ſent to D. *Iohn*, that he ſhould ſend for his fathers bo-
dy, the which he gaue him willingly, being ſorry for the accident which had happened, for B
Don *Iohn* had neuer done him wrong. Don *Iohn* the blind ſent many Knights thither, to
whom the bodie was deliuered, and they were accompanied to the firſt towne of the
Chriſtians, then they tooke their way to Cordoua, from thence it was tranſported to
Burgos, whither they had carried D. *Pedro*, and there they were interred. By this vnexpe-
cted victorie the affaires of *Iſmael* king of Granado grew in reputation and force, reco-
uering many places which had beene loſt before. Don *Iohn Manuel* the ſonne of D. *Ma-
nuel* of Caſtile maintaining the warre againſt the Moores. Towards Murcia *Iſmael* tooke
Hueſcar, Ores, and Galere, places belonging to the Order of Saint *Iames*: and returning
towards Andaluſia, he beſeeged Martos, and tooke it by force, commanding them to kill
all they found aliue in it: yet moſt of them ſaued themſelues in the fort, and defended it
againſt the Moores, who loſt many of their beſt men: and among others, a Nephew to C
Ozmin, the which gaue great occaſion of murmure againſt king *Iſmael*, for that he did ſo
hazard his Nobility in theſe dangerous aſſaults. In this eſtate ſtood the warre of Grana-
do, the which was ended with them of Andaluſia, vpon king *Iſmaels* returne to Granado,
vpon condition, that the Caſtillans, being ready to chuſe new tutors for the yong king D.
Alphonſo, ſhould not receiue nor acknowledge any, but that ſhould confirme this truce.

Caſtile. During theſe alterations, the Q. D. *Maria* was gone into Portugal, where ſhe had con-
ference with her ſon-in-law, D. *Alphonſo* Infant of Portugal, at Font d'Aguilero, a Bourg
of Cite Roderigo, & frō thence was returned with the yong K. of Caſtile to Toro, where
ſhe had newes of the miſerable end of D. *Pedro* and D. *Iohn*: whereupon ſhe made preſent
diſpatches to all the chiefe townes of the realme, and to the Noblemen, aduertiſing them D
of this diſaſter, and exhorting them to continue faithfull vnto the king her grand-child,
and not to receiue commandement from any, but from him or them that ſhould bee ap-
pointed by the Eſtates: for ſhe feared D. *Iohn Manuel*, who was rich and mighty, and deſi-
rous of innouations, would ſeeke to attaine to the Regencie of the king and Realme: and
ſaw on the other ſide, that D. *Iohn* the blind had the like ambition: againſt whom the Q.
Tumults in Caſtile for the gouernement. oppoſed D. *Philip* her ſon, (but as the moſt certaine Authors ſay D. *Alphonſo*) vncle to the
king D. *Alphonſo*. All theſe Noblemen being well followed, and keeping the field with
good troupes of ſoldiers, they were ready to ioyne in battell neere vnto Auila, the which
was preuented by D. *Iohn Manuel*. The Infant D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, who was Lord Ste-
ward to the king, was an actor in theſe ciuill ſeditions, ſo as the realmes of Caſtile, Leon, E
and their appurtenances, were full of all exceſſe, violence, and inſolencies, the which con-
tinued long: notwithſtanding that the Eſtates had choſen for tutors D. *Philip* or Don *Al-*
An. 1320. *phonſo*, D. *Iohn Manuel*, and D. *Iohn* the blind in the yeare 1320. In the meane time the K.
D. *Alphonſo* to make his name more reuerent amongſt his ſubiects, granted certaine pri-
uiledges vnto townes, aud among others, to wall in a Bourg, called Renteria, the which
was named Villanoua of Ojarçum in Guipuſcoa, and gaue it the title of a town, & the pri-
uiledges of S. Sebaſtian from whence it is but a league diſtant. The Infant D. *Philip*, or *Al-
phonſo* ſware the truce made betwixt the king of Granado and them of Andaluſia, where-
in the Cittie of Cordoua was comprehended, for that they had giuen their voice for
the gouernement of the King to Don *Iohn Manuel*, againſt whome King *Iſmael* was F
incenſed.

This yeare D. *Iohn*, Infant of Arragon, ſon to the king D. *Iames* the 2. was conſecrated
Archb. of Toledo, in the towne of Lerida in Cattelogne, in ſtead of D. *Gonçales* deceaſed,

many

A many Prelates beeing preſent, and namely, D. *Ximenes de Luna* Arch biſhop of Tarragone, and Don *Pedro de Luna*, firſt Arch-biſhop of Saragoſſa, erected to that dignitie in the yeare 1318. by Pope *Iohn* the 22. ouer the Biſhops of Pampelona, Calahorra, Calçada, Taraſſone, Hueſca, Segobia, and Albarazin. Theſe two Arch-biſhops of Tarragone and Saragoſſa did watch if the new Arch-biſhop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine, would march through their Dioceſes with his croſſe before him, to the end they might oppoſe themſelues by vertue of a certaine Conſtitution made at the Councell of Tarragone, and ſo it happened: whereupon the Arch-biſhop of Toledo and all his followers were excommunicated by them, for entring into their Iuriſdictions: which cenſure and excommunication was publiſhed by him of Sarragoſſa: whereat the King Don *Iames* was
B much offended, and did write vnto the Pope, making great complaints of this manner of proceeding: but being afterwards perſwaded that it was done to maintaine the dignity of the Churches of his Realme, he was pacified. The Primate appealed from their ſentences and proceeded againſt them. The Pope calling the deciding of this queſtion to the Apoſtolicke ſea, abſolued the Arch-biſhop of Toledo in the meane time, and gaue him faculties to abſolue his followers and ſeruants. He was the ſeuen and fiftieth Arch-biſhop of this ſea, Primate of Spaine.

At the ſame time, or litle before, the king of Arragon had giuen to the knights of Monteça, the towne and caſtell of Monteça, wherof this Order carries the name: the firſt Maſter was *William* of Errill, who tooke the white habite of Calatraua, in the yeare 1319. in
C the Monaſterie of Santa Cruz, from the hands of the Commander of Alcaniz. Theſe knights had ſome yeares after faculties to leaue the habite of Ciſteaux, and in ſtead thereof to carrie a redde croſſe vpon their breſts granted by Pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, and confirmed by Pope *Martin* the fifth. The King D. *Iames* by the aduice of his Eſtates held at Tarragone, did make a perpetuall vnion of the Realmes of Arragon and Valencia, and the principalitie of Cattelogne, the which from that time, ſhould not for any occaſion be diſ-united. In which aſſembly, the Infant Don *Iames* the eldeſt and heire to the Crown, beeing readie to marrie D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, ſuddenly, by a ſtrange affection, quitting both his wife, and ſo goodly a ſucceſſion as that of the Realme of Arragon, told the
D king his father, that he had made a vow neither to marrie nor to raigne: ſo as notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions of the king and Noblemen, he quit his birth-right to his brother D. *Alphonſo*, after the example of *Eſau*. Beeing there ſet at liberty by the king, he diſcharged the Eſtates of the oath they had made vnto him, and preſently put on the habite of the Knights of Ieruſalem, the which he receiued by the hands of *Bernard Solier*, in the preſence of his brother Don *Iohn* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, Don *Symon* of Luna, Arch-biſhop of Tarragone, *Berenger* Biſhop of Vic, and *Raymond* of Ampurias, Prior of S. *Iohn* in Cattelogne, and others. Afterwards this ill aduiſed Prince, hauing left this Order, became one of Monteça, where he ſpent his dayes in diſſolutenes and filthy pleaſures. This age afforded other ſuch like examples in Don *Iames*, eldeſt ſonne to the king of Maiorca,
E and *Lewis* ſonne to *Charles* the lymping king of Caſtile, who became Franciſcan Friars: but they were mooued by zeale of religion, and were not giuen to vices. His ſecond brother D. *Alphonſo* was by the ſame Eſtates of Tarragone acknowledged, and ſworne heire of thoſe kingdomes after the deceaſe of Don *Iames* their father. This Infant had married D. *Thereſa* of Entenza, and had in her right the County of Vrgel, which came vnto her by ſucceſſion from her vncle Don *Armingol* of Cabrera, vpon condition ſhe ſhould marrie the Infant Don *Alphonſo*: of which marriage was borne at that time Don *Pedro*, who was king of Arragon, the fourth of that name. At the ſame Eſtates of Arragon were pacified the quarrels betwixt Don *Artal* of Alagon, and Don *Symon Cornel*, who kept the Realme in diuiſion: and that according to the aduice and order of the Magiſtrate called the Iuſtice Maior of Arragon, called *Symon Peres* of Salanoua, the parties ſhould vn-
F dergo the iudgement of the King and his Eſtates. Doubtleſſe the authority of this Magiſtrate at that time was great, who might both cenſure the King and the Eſtates, and appoint them a place, and admit them that did aſſiſt, or reiect them.

Arragon. Order of Monteſa.

32. *Vnion perpetuall of the Eſtates of Arragon, Valencia, and Cattelogne*

33. *Iames heire of Arragon quits his inheritance*

But returning to the affaires of Caſtile, the election of Don *Iohn* of Arragon to the Arch-biſhoppricke of Toledo, did not much pleaſe the Queene D. *Maria*, fearing hee would *Caſtille.*

would not greatly fauour D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, but would alwaies hold the partie of Don *Manuel* his brother-in-law, who was a mighty Prince in Caſtile, and wonderfull factious: but the Pope aſſured the contrarie, and paſt his election: and to ſpeake the truth he neuer ſupported D. *Iohn Manuel* in any action that was preiudiciall to the King, although that Toledo and the iuriſdiction thereof were in his gouernement, by reaſon of the tutelage: ſo as they fell to ſuch debate, as Pope *Iohn* was forced to ſend a Cardinal Legate into Spaine, to reconcile them, and to bring the Archbiſhop into his ſea, the which he had abandoned. The Queene D. *Maria* hauing called the Eſtates at Palence, in the yeare 1322. as ſhe prepared her ſelfe to go thither, ſhe fell ſicke at Vailledolit, wherof ſhe dyed, to the great griefe of all good men: for by her wiſedome and bountie, ſhe had bene the ſupport and onely defence of Spaine, againſt the rebellious and ambitious deſires of Princes and Noblemen, wherein ſhe laboured wonderfully, with great happineſſe and commendable ſucceſſe. The young king and the Realme were depriued of this ſupport, for the which he ſoone after ſmarted. The Queenes bodie was layed in the Monaſterie of las Huelgas at Vailledolit, which ſhe had cauſed to be built, hauing alſo founded in her time that of Saint Paul in the ſame towne, and that of the preaching Friars at Toro, with others. We read as a memorable thing, vpon the religious exerciſes, and concerning the diuine ſeruice, in the Conſtitutions of D. *Iohn* Arch biſhop of Toledo then liuing, that the Prieſts do offer the Hoſtie at the leaſt foure times in the yere, and that after Morning prayer.

An. 1322. *Death of Q. D. Mary of Caſtile.*

The ſame yeare the Eſtates beeing aſſembled in the towne of Siracuſa in Sicile, the king Don *Frederick* cauſed his ſonne Don *Pedro* to be crowned king with him, and they raigned together in that Iland. Don *Pedro* did afterwards marrie *Izabel* daughter to *Iohn* King of Bohemia, or of *Henry* Duke of Carinthia, as ſome ſay. It was at ſuch time as the expedition was made for the conqueſt of Sardinia, whereof D. *Alphonſo*, Infant of Arragon, was Generall by the reſolution of the Eſtates, held at Gyrone, and in conſideration of the ſubuention giuen by them for the charges of that warre. We haue ſayd before, that the Ilands of Sardinia and Corſica had beene giuen in fee by Pope *Beniface* the eight vnto Don *Iames* King of Arragon, and to his ſucceſſors males or females paying a certain rent to the Church of Rome, for an acknowledgement of Soueraignetie, and that hee ſhould conquer them at his owne perill. The ſame donation had beene confirmed by Pope *Benedict* in the yeare 1304. to the ſame king Don *Iames*, and facultie giuen him to leauie the tythes for this conqueſt, and a Legate appointed to aſſiſt therein: but it was deferred by reaſon of other lets. The reaſons which moued the Popes to make this donation, were their paſſions and hatred againſt the common-weales of Genoua and Piſa, who commanded in thoſe Ilands: but the pretext was, that theſe Ilands lying in the Mediterranean ſea, as a barre betwixt Affricke and Italy, diuiding it from the North to the South, they entertained the Potentates of Italy, eſpecially theſe two common-weales of Genoua and Piſa, who were then very ſtrong at ſea, in continuall quarrels and warre, moſt pernitious for Chriſtendome: fighting for the poſſeſſion thereof, with great effuſion of bloud, and waſting of their forces and treaſures, the which they ſhould haue employed in better occaſions, againſt the Infidels, vnder this colour, the fame of the Caſtillans and Arragonois and of their Princes being then great, it ſeemed expedient for the ſuppreſſing of all iealouſie and quarrell betwixt the Geneuois and Piſans, to take from them the right of theſe Ilands, and to transferre them to a greater power, which might be able to keep and defend them from the inuaſions of Sarraſins and Arabians, who ſtill made ſome breach there. The conqueſt therefore of the Iland of Sardinia beeing vndertaken in the time of Pope *Iohn* the 22. ſitting in Auignon, by this king D. *Iames* the 2. there were many ſhips of warre and burthen prepared, as well in a port called Fangoſo, vnder Tortoſa, at the mouth of Ebro, as at Barcelona, Tarragone, Valencia & other places of that coaſt, wherin they ſpent much time, whileſt that the king D. *Iames* tooke his fourth wife *Eclyſende* ſiſter to *Othon* of Moncada, a woman of good yeares: and he made D. *Pedro* his ſon Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, the laſt Earle *Mangolin* being dead without children. And for that the enterpriſe ſeemed difficult, by reaſon of the Piſans power, who enioyed the Iland, and had newly made a peace with the Geneuois, the king of Arragon did ſollicite

Arragon.

34.

Pope

A Pope *Iohn* the 22. by his Ambaſſador *Vidal* of Villanoua, to aſſiſt him in this warre with his meanes and fauour, to the Princes of Italy: but this Pope beeing diſtaſted by certaine Cardinals which fauored the Piſans, ſought to diuert this enterpriſe all he could: exhorting the king of Arragon rather to purſue his right by Iuſtice, then by armes: notwithſtanding the fleete beeing in a manner readie to ſet ſayle, and the king perſiſted in his reſolution, and bound himſelfe to pay great tributes vnto the Church. At that time the chiefe men in the Iland were *Brancaleon d'Oria*, and *Hugues* Vicont of Baſſi: this laſt being corrupted by the king of Arragon, ſhewed himſelfe an enemy to the Piſans, and began the war of Sardinia with happie ſucceſſe. The king drew vnto his partie *Guelphe* Earle of Donoratico, Kinſman to Cardinall *Luke Fieſco*, and ſuddenly ſent *Dalmais* Vicount of
B Rocabertin, and his vncle *Girard*, *Bertrand* of Caſtelet, and *Hugh* of S. Paix Cattelans, with 200. horſe, and 2000. foot, to fortifie his partiſans in the Iland. Whileſt that the armie aſſembled in the port of Fangoſo, where there met about the end of Iune, in the yeare 1233. ſixty gallies, and 20. ſhips armed, and aboue twice as many other veſſels carrying victuals and baggage. The Infant D. *Alphonſo* parted with his fleet, vnder the conduct of *Franciſco Carroço* Admirall, and came with a good wind to the port of S. *Marke*, neere vnto the ruines of the ancient cittie of Sulſi, a Colony of the Carthaginians. The ſouldiers beeing landed, began to preſſe the towne from the Church, in the which were *Barnabas d'Oria* ſonne to *Brancaleon* and other Captaines, who after long reſiſtance yeelded it to the Infant D. *Alphonſo*. The citties of Cailleri, Egliſe, Aquafredda, Iojoſa-
C guarda, Orguilos, Oleaſtro, Quirrano, Patra and other places, held good for the Piſans: whileſt they battered the towne of Egliſe, the Admirall *Franciſco Carroſo*, with 20. gallies beſeeged the port of Cailleri, and *Dalmais* Vicount of Rocabertin by land, ſeazed vppon an hill which commanded the caſtell, or fort of that citty: but this place was releeued by *Manfroy* ſonne to *Regnier*, one of the Earles of Donoratico, who came to Terranoua with 25. gallies of Piſa, and ſome number of ſouldiers, the which hauing landed at Decimo, a Bourg ſo called, for that it is ten myles from Cailleri: by the fauour of this armie, he gathered together a great number of Sardes, and fortified himſelfe in ſuch ſort, as hee preſumed to offer battaile to the Arragonois. Thoſe that were before the towne of Egliſe were wonderfully afflicted with ſickneſſe, which grew through the bad diſpoſition of the
D ayre of Sardinia, and euen the Infant D. *Alphonſo* was in danger of death, yet perſiſting at the ſeege, the towne beeing preſt by force, and want of victuals, it was yeelded, hauing held out eight moneths: during the which many dyed through the infection of the peſtilent ayre, Don *Artal de Luna*, and his ſonne of the ſame name, *Gambault* of Beneuent *D'almais* of Chaſtelnoua, *Girard* of Rocabertin, *Gillebert Centillas*, *Pedro Querault*, *Raymond Berenger Ceruillon*, *Raymond Alleman*, *Galcerand S. Paix*, and *Raymond* of Cardona, all men of note: ſo as the taking of the towne of Egliſe, coſt the Arragonois deare. After this exploit, the Infant D. *Alphonſo* led the armie to the ſeege of Cailleri, againſt whome *Manfroy* aduanced with thoſe Piſans which he had brought, and ſome Sardes gathered together, where there was a fierce and bloudie battell: but the Arragonois had the victorie,
E hauing loſt D. *Alleman de Luna*, nephew to D. *Symon de Luna* Arch biſhop of Tarragone, who was much lamented: *Manfroy* being wounded, ſaued himſelfe in the fort of Cailleri: and at that inſtant there arriued 18. gallies of ſupplies to the Infant D. *Alphonſo* from Barcelona. Wherefore the towne and fort of Cailleri were more ſtraightly and violently battered then before, ſo as the beſeeged beeing reduced to great extremities, following the aduiſe of *Manfroy* their Captaine, and by his leading, made a ſudden ſally foorth with all their horſe, (among the which were 500. ſouldiers, the beſt and moſt reſolute ſpirits among all the Piſans) and charged the Arragonois army, with great terrour and amazement: yet through the diligence of the Infant and his Captaines, the enemy was repulſed, with the loſſe of three hundred horſe. Here *Manfroy* was grieuouſly wounded
F againe, whereof, and for griefe of this laſt loſſe, he died ſoone after; the which draue the beſeeged into ſuch deſpaire, that hauing aduertiſed the Piſans of their eſtate, and they ſending to demand a peace of the king D. *Iames*, beeing at Barcelona, by the meanes and negotiation of *Brancaleon* D'Oria, they came to compoſition vppon theſe conditions: That the citty and caſtell of Cailleri ſhould bee yeelded vp to the Infant, and the priſoners of either

Sardinia inuaded by the Arragnois.

Egliſe yeelded to the Arragonois.

Defeate of Piſans and Sardes before Cailleri.

either part deliuered; which citty and caſtell ſhould be deliuered againe vnto the Piſans, A
vppon condition, that they ſhould hold it, and all they enioyed in Sardinia, in fee and homage of the crowne of Arragon; Yea ſome Authors among the Arragonois ſay, that the citty it ſelfe of Piſa, and that it ſhould be lawfull for the Piſans to trafficke in Cattelogne and Arragon, and to haue a Conſull in the citty of Barcelona. Theſe things being accorded and performed, the Infant D. *Alphonſo* gaue many caſtels, lands and reuenues to Noblemen and Gentlemen which had ſerued faithfully and valiantly in this warre, in the which many gallies of Majorca had continued. He left D. *Philip de Salces* Gouernour of Sardinia, and Commander of the men of warre, and D. *Berenger Carroſo*, ſonne to Don *Francis*, to command the gallies which were left there for the guard of the Iland. Hauing thus diſpoſed of the affaires, the army imbarked at Saint Macaire, and ſayled with their B
Generall D. *Alphonſo* towards Barcelona, where they arriued with a proſperous wind, a-
An. 1324. bout the beginning of Auguſt, in the yeare 1324. There were great ſignes of ioy made at the landing of this victorious armie, and thankſ-giuing vnto God in the citty of Barcelona; but ſome write, that the king Don *Iames* going foorth to meet his ſonne triumphing and full of glorie, for the warre of Sardinia ſo happily ended, ſeeing him attired in the habit of a Sarde, he grew ſad, and would not ſpeake vnto him, vntill hee had taken a more ſeemely garment: whereofore in the midſt of this pompe, the Infant put on his coate of armes, and then the king his father imbraced him, and honored him much, ſaying aloud, that he tooke great delight to ſee him attired like the Commander of a victorious warre, and not in the habite of a ſlaue. After the conqueſt of Sardinia, the king D. *Iames* was ſollicited by *Caſtruccio Caſtracani*, gouerning at that time at Luca, to make the expedition C
of Corſica againſt the Geneuois, promiſing that he would prouide them ſuch worke in Italy, as the enterpriſe of that Iland ſhould be eaſie: but *Barnabas d'Oria*, who was then in fauour with the King D. *Iames*, diuerted him, ſhewing that it ſhould bee more expedient and profitable, to practiſe the chiefe Noblemen of Corſica, and to draw them to his ſeruice. The affaires of Sardinia continued not long quiet, as we will ſhew: but it is neceſſary to relate firſt what paſt in the other parts of Spaine, during theſe wars and conqueſts of the Arragonois.

Portugal. 35 In Portugal there was then erected the Order of Knights of *Chriſtus*, by Buls from
Pope *Iohn* in the yeare 1320. by the which it was receiued into the protection of the A-
Order of Chriſtus in Portugal. poſtolike ſea of Rome, and the towne of Caſtro *Marin* aſſigned for the chiefe of this Or- D
der, being neere vnto the Mores, and ſince the conuent was tranſported to Touar. The knights of this Order carry a red croſſe ſplit and opened by the foure branches, with a white line, ſo as one croſſe makes two, the one red, the other white. The election of the Maſter belongs to 13. perſons: that is, the Prior, the Commander maior, the Treaſurer, the Secretary, and nine Commanders. The election was made, euery one of theſe 13. giuing his voyce; the which being publikely pronounced, he that had moſt voices was choſen Maſter. The firſt was D. *Gil Martines*, who had beene Maſter of the militarie Order of Auis. The elect is bound (ſwearing in the Priors hands) to promiſe to bee in fauour with the Pope, and the Church of Rome, and to preſent himſelfe vnto the King, to do him the E
homage of fealty. The Commanders of this Order, are, the Prior, the great Commander, the Treaſurer, Secretary, Commander of Arquin, of Rodano, Proença, Olallas, Caſtilejo, Sanacheyra, Prucos, Segura, Lardoça, and Deroſmanichal. Since there hath beene added the Commanderies of S. Michel, and S. Mary in the Ilands, by the king Don
An. 1323. *Manuel*. In the yeare 1323. the king D. *Denis* endowed this Order with priuiledges fit for
Genealogie of Portugall. the dignity thereof, and the ornament of his religion. The ſame yeare D. *Beatrix* wife to the Infant D. *Alphonſo*, was brought in bed of a ſon in the city of Coimbra, who was named *Peter*, and raigned after his Grandfather and father: This king *Denis*, was in ſo great eſteeme among the Portugals, as they haue a Prouerbe in vſe at this day: *El Rey D. Denis, que fiz quanto quiz*, that is to ſay, The king D. *Denis* who did all he would. It is as well by
reaſon of the inſtitution of theſe militarie Orders, as of many foundations and remem- F
brances he left of him: as the Monaſterie of S. Francis of Portalegre, and the Monaſterie of Nuns of the Order of Ciſteaux, or S. *Bernard*: of S. Denis, of Odiuela a league and a halfe from Lisbone, where he appointed his body ſhould be interred: and other publike

workes,

A workes, as causeys, towers, castels, walles, fortifications, and reparations of townes without number. By him the new street of Lisbone, so much esteemed in Portugall, was made, as also the castels of Serpa, Moura, Oliuencia, Campo maior, Argela and the fortresse: that of Portalegre, Odiana, Marbari, the castell of Abibe, Alegrete, Monches, Monfort, Beyros, Arroyolos, Hebora monte, Bosba, Villauicioſa, Montcarraz, Redondo, Model, Beja, Geromena, Sabugal, Alfayates, Castelrubio, Villamaior, Castellobon, Castellomejor, Almeida, Castelmendo, and Pinel, most of the which were walled in by this king. He did also wall in Braga, Guimaranes, Miranda of Duero, with the Castell of Monçon, and Caraſtolo. He built new Muja, Saluueterre, Montargel, Atalaya, Acerceyra, and many others, which we will omit for breuities sake. The king Don *Denis*
B spent his time, and employed his treasure in such things. He had some warre against Castile in fauour of the rebels and otherwise, as we haue formerly related: and moreouer, against his owne brother, whom he spoiled of his lands, forcing him to retire into Castile to his wiues kindred. Towards the end of his dayes, there was no good agreement betwixt him and his sonne Don *Alphonso*: for the sonne bred such a reuolt and sedition throughout the whole Realme, as he was often in armes against the father, and readie to giue battell, neere to Coimbra, Saint Iren, Albaran and else-where, beeing thrust on by flatterers and counsellors of iniquity: which disorders Queene *Izabel*, a Princesse full of piety, did happily repaire, and preuented the effusion of bloud, praying continually vnto
C God for concord betwixt the father and sonne, the which shee obtayned before the decease of the king her husband, which was in the yeare 1325. hauing raigned 45. yeares, nine moneths, and 5. dayes, and the 64. of his age. He dyed at S. Iren, and was interred in the Monasterie of S. Denis of Oduielas, as hee had ordayned by his testament, by the which he gaue 140000. lyures of money then currant in Portugall, to be distributed to poore hospitals, monasteries, widowes, orphelins, marrying of maydens, redemption of prisoners, and such like, at the discretion of the Queene his wife, and the Executors of his testament. Besides, his lawfull children, he had by one, or by diuers concubines, Don *Alphonse*, the beginner of the family of *Albuquerque*, Don *Pedro*, who gaue himselfe to studie, and hath compiled a Volume of the great Houses of Spayne, D. *Iohn*, and D.
D *Fernand*, one daughter that was maried to D. *Iohn de la Cerde*, and one daughter a Nun.

Piety of the Queen Izabel.

An. 1325.

Death of the king D. Denis.

This holy Queene *Izabel*, daughter to Don *Pedro* the third king of Arragon, and of Donna *Constance* daughter to *Manfroy* king of Naples, was married beeing but eleuen yeares old, and carried her selfe so wisely and religiously, as she was admired and honoured of all men: she shewed in her royall estate a wonderfull humilitie and modestie: shee laboured with her hands to auoyde idlenesse, and what shee made shee gaue away for Gods sake, wherein shee did not spare her meanes which were otherwise great: fasting and prayer were her delights, and she was in continuall anguish for her sins, and for her peoples: she serued God as she had beene instructed, by gifts, offerings, Masses, and suffrages without measure. Finally, she was so giuen to contemplation, and to the spirit, as she
E tooke no delight in any thing that pleased the sences: shee fledde and forsooke (as much as possibly shee could) all royall Pallaces, beeing the Magazine of delights, and of peruerse affections, so as the king Don *Denis* who was of a contrarie disposition, made small account of her, giuing himselfe often to vnlawfull and lustfull loues, by whome hee had children, the which this good and vertuous Queene caused to bee bredde vp as her owne, although shee were wonderfully afflicted to see this bad course of the King her husband; fearing, and rightly, that God would punish him: for this consideration she did pray continually for his amendment, which happened in the end. The K. D. *Denis* did oft vse her roughly, wherein she shewed such patience, as she neuer vsed any word of complaint, but only prayed to God to let him vnderstand the truth: yea when she was in a manner chased from his presence, and retired to her house at Alenguer, by reason of the quar-
F rels betwixt the father and the son, whereof the minions of the Court layd all the blame vpon her, perswading the k. that she intertayned them, against all likelihood of truth. Shee did wonderfully esteem the Orders of begging Friars, thinking that their estate was the most perfect among the Christians, and therefore shee gaue as well to them within the realme as without. She built the monastery of S. *Claire* the royal of Coimbra, she finished

the houſe of the Innocents at S. Iren, the which was begunne by D. *Martin* Biſhop of la Garde: and did the like to the Monaſterie of Almoſter of Nunnes, the which was begun by a Lady called D. *Berenguela Ayres*: and after the deceaſe of the King her husband, ſhee gaue herſelfe wholy to a religious life, and tooke vpon her the habit of S. *Claire*, which ſhe vſed euer after: ſhe ſould her Iewels, and conuerted them into Ornaments and veſſels to ſerue churches, the which ſhe gaue to many Monaſteries. Shee went vnknowne on foot to viſit the Sepulcher of S. *Iames*, asking almes, and paſt her dayes in like workes with great zeale: ſhe dyed in the towne of Eſtremos, whether ſhe went to mediate a peace betwixt her ſonne and the king of Caſtile her grand-child, borne of her daughter. Beſides theſe aboue-named workes, ſhe had built at Torreſnouas a Monaſterie of repentants, and at Leyra an hoſpitall of poore baſhfull men. Her body was carried to Coimbra, and layd in the Monaſterie of Santa Cruz. The apparitions which the Spaniards write happened vnto her in her life time, and at her death, with ſuch like things, are the impoſtures of Monkes of thoſe times.

Caſtile. 36 As for the affaires of Caſtile, wee find, that after the deceaſe of the Queene D. *Maria*, (who by her wiſedome preuented many miſchiefes) the troubles grew greater then euer: all Iuſtice ceaſed, and the moſt inſolent were moſt in credit. King Don *Alphonſo*, although he were young, was much diſcontented at theſe diſorders, and ſought to redreſſe them, but he was not obeyed: ſo as by reaſon of the violences, tyrannies, ruine of places, murthers, and other ſuch wickedneſſe, which then raigned, he ſaw his ſubiects abandon their houſes, and retire into Arragon, Nauarre, Portugall and elſe-where, there to ſeeke peace and reſt: the Gouernours were the cauſe of all theſe miſeries, vſing the people of their Iuriſdictions tyrannouſly, beeing in perpetuall diſcord among themſelues. Thoſe that were of the priuie Councell aduiſed him to ſeaze vppon the places belonging to D. *Blanche* his Couſin, daughter to the deceaſed Don *Pedro*, the which were in the hands of *Garſilaço de la Vega*, in the name of Donna *Maria* of Arragon her mother: for that (ſayd they) it was not fit the King of Arragon ſhould meddle much in the affaires of Caſtile, nor that he ſhould know all the vlcers of that kingdome, the which hee did, more then was conuenient, by the meanes of theſe places, and vnder colour to procure the good of Donna *Blanche* his Grand-child, watching in the meane time to make his profit with the preiudice of Caſtile.

He which was moſt vehement in this Councell, was Don *Garſilaço* himſelfe, beeing Marin Maior of Caſtile. Don *Iohn* of Arragon Arch-biſhop of Toledo, was by that reaſon ſuſpected of them, hauing for his chiefe aduerſarie Don *Iohn Manuel*, one of the Kings tutors, who had his gouernement in the Country of Toledo, and againſt whoſe diſordinate deſires, the Arch biſhop of Toledo, (a better ſeruant to the King then they eſteemed him) had alwaies oppoſed himſelfe. So as they treated ſecretly with the king to take the royall ſeales from him, for they held it dangerous, that an Arragonois ſhould be Chancelor of the Realme; who by reaſon of that dignity was priuie to all that was treated and reſolued in the kings Councell.

Seales taken from the Arch-biſhop of Toledo.

According to this reſolution, there was an occaſion offered: The Arch-biſhop beeing in the Kings Pallace, and beeing demanded of the affaires of the Biſhoppricke, touching the Eſtate, and the kings reuenues, hee excuſed himſelfe vppon the actions of Don *Iohn Manuel* his brother-in-law, who was there preſent, who anſwered very peremptorily for himſelfe, ſo as there were bitter words betwixt them in the Kings preſence. For this cauſe ſoone after the ſeales were taken away, and giuen to Don *Garcylaço de la Vega*: whereat the Arch-biſhop Don *Iohn* beeing much diſcontented, hee neuer ceaſed vntill hee had exchanged his Arch-biſhoppricke of Toledo, with that of Tarragone, cauſing Don *Iohn de Luna*, to be aduanced to the Archiepiſcopall dignitie of Toledo, and Primacie of Spaine by Pope *Iohn*.

1326. 37 In the meane time came the yeare 1326. when as the King tooke vppon him the gouernement of his Realme, at a Parlament held at Vailledolit, whereas D. *Philip* or *Alphonſo*, Don *Iohn Manuel*, and Don *Iohn* the Blind were diſcharged of their adminiſtration, which they had managed with great ſcandall. There did the king ſweare to obſerue the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme, and to adminiſter Iuſtice, maintaining euery

A euery one in his eſtate, goods, and honour. To whome alſo the Deputies of the Eſtates did ſweare fidelitie, and offered the rights and ordinarie ſeruices due vnto the Crowne. This done, the King did chooſe two wiſe Knights to bee of his Councell of State, Don *Garcylaço de la Vega*, aboue-named, and *Alnar Nugnes Oſorio*: and for his treaſure a Iew called *Ioſeph* of Ecchia, to whome he gaue the Superintendencie of the Cuſtomes, Impoſts, Rents and Reuenues of the Realme. *Oth reciprocal betwixt the K. and his ſubiects*

In the diſpoſition whereof, hee did not gouerne himſelfe by the aduice of Don *Iohn Manuel*, nor Don *Iohn* the Blind, nor did much eſteeme them: whereat beeing iealous and diſcontented, they parted from Vailledolit without taking any leaue of the King, and made a league together at Cigales. The king was ſoone aduertiſed hereof, and did
B in few dayes breake this plot, making himſelfe ſure to Donna *Conſtance Manuel*, daughter to Don *Iohn Manuel* at Vailledolit: but this marriage tooke no effect: and he gaue vnto Don *Iohn Manuel*, (to draw him vnto him) the gouernement of the fronter. Thus was Don *Iohn* the Blind abandoned, ſo as hee was more incenſed then before: this Prince entertayned ſuch bad deſſeignes, as his end was miſerable. Hee ſought to marrie Donna *Blanche* daughter to Don *Pedro* of Caſtile, to the end hee might enioy the places which ſhee held vppon the frontier of Arragon, and from thence make warre againſt the King Don *Alphonſo*: Hee made a league with the new King of Portugall againſt him, and attempted all meanes to annoy his Prince, notwithſtanding that the king Don *Alphonſo* tryed al waies to pacifie him, ſo as he was forced to vſe more violent remedies.

C 38 During theſe home-bred troubles of Caſtile, *Iſmael* king of Granado was ſlaine by his ſubiects, vppon this occaſion. Among the priſoners which the Moores had brought from Martos, there was a Chriſtian woman, exceeding fayre, who fell into the hands of the kings Couſin, ſonne to the Gouernour of Algezire, who was called *Mahumet*. This priſoner beeing ſeene by king *Iſmael*, he grew ſo in loue with her, as he demanded her of *Mahumet*: who yeelding more vnto his deſires, then to the reſpect hee ought vnto his Prince, refuſed him plainely: whereupon the king gaue him many bitter and threatning words: *Mahumet* either for feare or diſdaine, to haue beene threatened with iniurious words, layed a plot with *Ozmin*, who was already much diſcontented for the death of his ſonne, whome they had ſo little ſpared at the aſſault of the rocke of Martos, Moores.
D and reſolued together to kill king *Iſmael*, and to place in the royall Seate of Granado, a Moore called *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, or the Vermeil, who deſcended from the firſt king of Granado, and carried the ſame name, ſaying, that the Crowne belonged more rightly to him, then to *Iſmael*, who was allyed to theſe kings onely by the Mothers ſide. This king was called to this Councell, and they made a new confederacie with *Ozmin*, who ſhould bee readie in Armes with his friends and ſeruants, whileſt that *Mahumet*, ſonne to the Gouernour of Algezire, with his father, and another brother, ſhould execute the murther vpon the perſon of king *Iſmael*. Theſe things beeing concluded, the Conſpirators entred into Alhambra of Granado, and addreſſing themſelues vnto the king, they told him, that they had ſome matters of great importance to impart vnto him,
E deſiring him to gitte them audience in ſome retired place: the which the king willingly graunted, who beeing entred into a gallerie, the father and the ſonne marching before the king, and his brother after, with the great Prouoſt, or Conſtable of Granado, whom they called Alguazil Maior, the two foremoſt turned ſuddenly vppon the king, and gaue him two wounds vpon the head. The Alguazil ſeeing this diſloyaltie, drew his ſword to defend his king, and fought ſo valiantly againſt theſe two traytors, father and ſonne, as hee made them giue backe vnto the end of the gallerie, and to enter into a chamber, into the which hee ſhut them, notwithſtanding that the brother, who was the third murtherer, had wounded him behind in foure places, who returning afterwards againſt the king, gaue him a mortall wound in the ſhoulder. The Alguazil hauing ſhut vp the two
F firſt, came againſt the third, and forced him to enter into an old cabinet, into the which he alſo ſhut him. Beeing thus freed of the traytors, this faithfull ſeruant came vnto the king, whom he found grieuouſly wounded, and almoſt fainting, hauing taken him in his armes, and carried him into a chamber, in the which were his mother, widow to *Ferrachen* and his wiues, where leauing the cure and care of him to them, hee went into the pallace *Iſmael king of Granado ſlaine by his owne ſeruant.*

Court of Alhambra, where as he found many, as well of the conſpirators, as of others which might haue heard the noyſe, and vnderſtood ſomething of the fact, to whome hee ſayd, there was no great danger, and that the kings wounds were light: and hauing called ſome vnto him, whom he knew faithfull vnto the king, he entred with them into thoſe places where as the traytors were ſhut, and cut off their heads: then he returned into the chamber where as the king was in the Phiſitions and Surgeons hands, but there was no more hope of life: wherefore going out of Alhambra, he met with *Ozmin*, who came running at this noyſe well accompanied, and asked him of the kings life. The Alguazil diſſembling the truth, anſwered, that all was well, intreating him to accompany him to ſeaze vpon thoſe that were ſuſpected to be of this conſpiracie, the which *Ozmin* durſt not refuſe: thus of a traytor he became faithfull by conſtraint, and running through the citty of Granado, they ſeazed vpon all the friends and ſeruants of the murtherer *Mahumet*, and brought them into Alhambra, where in the heate they were put to death. In the meane time king *Iſmael* breathed his laſt, hauing raigned by force about nine yeares: this was in the yeare 1322. and the 705. of the Arabians.

Mahumet the ſixt K. of Granado.

TO him ſucceeded his ſonne *Mahomet* the ſixt, by the meanes and dexteritie of the Prouoſt or Alquazil, who hauing ſeene the kings death, and keeping it as ſecret as he could, he gaue the Noblemen and Knights Granadins to vnderſtand, that they ſhould ſhew themſelues in armes before the caſtell, to receiue the Kings commandements, and namely *Ozmin*, who was not well aſſured in his conſcience, but ſtudied what hee ſhould do: yet he came well followed. The Nobility being aſſembled, the Alguazil being faithfull to the king, euen after his death, taking the eldeſt of three ſons (which he had left) in his armes, he went out of Alhambra, and declared the truth vnto the aſſembly, how the king had benne ſlaine by the treaſon of *Mahumet*, and what had followed, and preſenting the child, who was but twelue yeares old, vnto the knights, hee recommended him vnto them, and perſwaded them to acknowledge him for their lawfull king. *Ozmin* who was of greateſt authority among them, was wonderfully perplext, and wauering in his diſcourſes, yet thinking that he ſhould rule this Infant better then any other, he was the firſt that gaue his conſent, ſaying, *Mahumet* is our king. His voyce was allowed by all that were preſent, and the brute both of *Iſmaels* death, and of the election of *Mahumet* his ſonne, was diſperſed through the town: and ſoone after the new king was led through the ſtreets and ſhewed vnto the Granadins, who were diſcontented at this ſudden change, as well by reaſon of the King murthered, as of the haſty election of his ſonne, beeing ſo young, yet it held good: but notwithſtanding that this yong *Mahumet* obtained the Realme by a lawfull meanes, yet his end was miſerable, being a familiar thing among the Arabians, one to ſpoyle and diſpoſſeſſe an other by wicked and cruell treaſons, as a people alwaies void of all good gouernement. Such of the conſpirators as were not taken, fled: among the which was *Mahumet Aben-Athamar*, who in time returned to Granado, and raigned, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

Nauarre. What paſt in Nauarre during the raigne of *Philip* the Long, who dyed about the time of theſe reuolutions in Granado, we find not any thing worth the relating: only mention is made of a Gouernor for the king in that Realme, called *Ponce* of Morentain, whome ſome terme Lord of Roſſillon: others, Vicont of Anay, of *Arnaud* of Barbaſtan Biſhop of Pampelona, D. *Martin* of Ayuar Standard-bearer of the Realme, D. *Inigo Peres de Rada* a Knight, D. *Iohn Arnaud* of Eſpeleta, of the Abbot of Lerin, of D. *Martin Iuanes* of Vrris, D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Mirafuentes, D. *Garcia Martines* of Ollaoqui, *Diego Martines* of Vrris, and *Michel Martines* of Arletta, knights, who made the Councell of ſtate of that Realme.

The end of the thirteenth Booke.

THE

THE FOVRTEENTH BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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B

Continuance of the royall Families of Spayne, whereof mention is made in this 14. Booke.

NAVARRE.			*ARRAGON.*			*PORTVGAL.*	
28	*Charles the Faire*	1	12	D. *Alphonſo* 4.		7. D. *Alphonſo* 4.	
29	*Philip of Eureux, by reaſon of Ieanne his wife, daughter to Lewis Hutin.*	3	13	D. *Pedro* 4.			

C

Charles

Charles the Faire, the firſt of that name, and eight and twentith King of Nauarre.

TO King *Philip*, being dead at Fontainbleau without heires male, ſucceeded in the yeere of our Lord 1321. his brother *Charles* the Faire, in the two Realmes of France and Nauarre, to the preiudice of his Neece *Ieanne*, the lawfull heire of Nauarre. *Charles* when hee was farre from theſe ſucceſſions, had put away *Blanche* his wife, being conuicted of adultery, as hath beene ſayd, whoſe life was ſaued, for that the marriage might bee diſſolued without death, by the Popes authority, for that there was betwixt the husband and the wife a ſpiritual alliance, which had made the marriage vnlawfull, ſo as by conſequent there was no adultery, but ſimple fornication, for that *Charles* the Faire was Godfather to *Blanche*. Wherefore hee tooke to his ſecond wife the daughter of *Henry* of Luxembourg Emperor, and ſiſter to *Iohn* King of Bohemia, hauing firſt demaunded in marriage Donna *Violant* of Arragon, daughter to the King D. *Iames* the ſecond, but could not obtaine her, for ſome reaſons. In the beginning of King *Charles* his raigne, *Ponce Morantin* beeing Gouernor and Viceroy of the country, the caſtle of Gorriti was ſurprized by them of Guipuſcoa from the Nauarrois: for this and other conſiderations, the Gouernor hauing raiſed an army of Nauarrois and French, entred into Guipuſcoa, being reſolued to put the country to fire and ſword: and beginning by Tolouſa in Guipuſcoa, he burned Beraſtegui, and did incredible harm, ſparing neither holy nor prophane. Marching towards Beotiba, the Nauarrois army was ſtayed at the foot of the mountaines by the Guipuſcoans, who were gathered together to the number of eight hundred (ſome ſay eight thouſand) in armes, vnder the conduct of *Gil Lopes* of Ognes, Lord of Larrea, and were ſeized vpon the Straights and places of aduantage, where the army ſhould paſſe, hauing planted ſome peaſants vpon the tops of the rockes and precipices, who when the body of the army beeing aduanced in theſe difficult paſſages, ſhould march, they ſhould roule downe pipes full of ſtones, which they had prepared, the which ouerthrew many, and beſides put ſuch a diſorder in the army, as that eight hundred armed men which were vpon the paſſages, preſented themſelues, and put all their enemies to rout, with a wonderfull ſlaughter, and tooke all their baggage: the which was eſteemed worth a hundred thouſand liuers, a matter almoſt incredible, conſidering the inequality of their forces, but it is witneſſed, not onely by the records of Guipuſcoa, but alſo of Nauarre, ſo dangerous is the hazard of warre, and ſo great an aduantage doth the ſcituation of a country giue, when it is well choſen by a wiſe and expert captaine.

Marriage of King Charles the firſt.

Defeat of Nauarrois in Guipuſcoa.

Amongſt the men of marke that were ſlaine in the Nauarrois army, were found the Viceroys brother, and D. *Michel Sanches Alaues*, D. *Martin* of Roncal, *Martin Vrtiz*, the Lord of Roſobel, *Iohn Corboran* of Leer, *Iohn Martines* of Medrano, *Iohn Henriques*, D. *Martin de la Pegna*, *Pero Sotes*, *Iohn Lopes* of Vrros Merin Major of the Mountaine, *Peter* of Ayuar, *Martin* of Vrſa ſonne to *Martin* of Ayuar, who carried the Standard royal, and others to the number of fiue and fifty knights. Amongſt the priſoners was *Martin* of Ayuar and an other ſonne of his. The number of ſouldiars that were ſlaine, was very great: and of this incounter they doe at this day ſing ſongs, both in Caſtille and Guipuſcoa, in their country language. Here of grew other warres betwixt Caſtille and Nauarre.

Men of account ſlaine.

In the yeere of our Lord 1324. Queene *Mary* beeing dead, King *Charles* married the third time with *Ieanne* daughter to *Lewis* of France, Earle of Eureux, and ſiſter to *Philip* of Eureux, who was King of Nauarre ſoone after, by reaſon of his wife *Ieanne*, daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, heire of Nauarre. The ſame yeere Nauarette of Pampelone, by the permiſſion of *Charles*, was begunne to be re-edefied, hauing beene ruined eight and forty

Third marriage of King Charles.

forty yeeres before by *Robert* Earle of Arthois. This King *Charles* the Faire, nor his brother *Philip* the Long, neuer came into Nauarre, by reaſon whereof many grew inſolent, eſpecially vpon the frontiers, againſt the will of their Prince, the Gouernors, and Viceroys winking at them, who regarded more their owne priuat proffit and paſſions then the honour and ſeruice of their Maiſter; wherefore betwixt the Nauarrois and Arragonois, of the frontiers of Sangueſſa Real, and other bordering places, notwithſtanding any accord the Kings had made, there was ſtil roades and ſpoyling one of an other, ſo as the Arragonois were forced to keepe great garriſons in thoſe parts, whereof the King of Arragon complayned to King *Charles*, who commanded ſtill that they ſhould liue like neighbours and friends, but he was not obeyed.

Princes abſence cauſe of liberty and diſorder.

In the yeere of our Lord 1328. King *Charles* died at Bois de Vincennes, hauing raigned ſeuen yeeres and ſome daies, leauing Queene *Ieanne* his wife with child, who was deliuered of a daughter, called *Blanche*, married afterwards to *Philip* Duke of Orleance, hee was buried at Saint Denis in France. After the death of this King, there were great quarrels and diuiſions both in France and Nauarre. In France, for that during the Queenes being with child *Edward* King of England, ſonne to *Iſabel* of France, ſiſter to the deceaſed King maintained that the Gouernment did belong to him: On the other ſide *Philip* ſonne to *Charles* Earle of Valois, couſin germaine to the three laſt Kings, ſaid that the regency did belong to him, as next heire to the crowne of France, which did not belong but to males deſcended of males, and was regent. The Queene beeing deliuered at Bois de Vincennes of a daughter, *Philip*, of Regent was proclaymed King, againſt the pretenſions of *Edward* King of England, who was put by, vnder collour of the Salique law. Herevpon followed great and continuall warres, which had in a manner ruined France, if God had not releeued it. Theſe contended a doubtfull title, which belonged to neither of them, if the crowne had fallne to the femal: for *Ieanne* daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, did precede them al.

2 The death of King *Charles* beeing knowne in Nauarre, this nation, which was accuſtomed to liue licentiouſly, for that they had not a long time ſeene the face of their Kings, thought now they had gotten liberty to doe what they pleaſed; ſo as they beganne to mutine and to raiſe ſeditions in all the townes of the realme. In the end they diſcharged their choller vpon the Iewes who were diſperſed throughout the townes in great numbers, and very odious to the Chriſtians, as well by reaſon of the diuerſity of religion, as for their exceſſiue vſury, whereby they did exhauſt al their ſubſtance: wherefore they beganne to ſpoile them in all places as enemies, at Eſtella, Viana, Funes, Marzilla and many other places, with ſo great cruelty, and greedineſſe to get, as it is ſayd they ſlue aboue tenne thouſand perſons of that ſect, men, women and little children. To redreſſe which exceſſe, and to take away the cauſe, the Eſtates of Nauarre aſſembled at Puenta la Reyna, to reſolue without any reſpect, to whom the realme of Nauarre belonged, whether to *Edward* King of England or to D. *Ieanne* Counteſſe of Eureux. The Eſtates were referred to Pampelone, the chiefe towne of the Realme, whereas their opinions were diuers, many holding that King *Edward* ſhould haue the Realme of Nauarre, as grandchild (borne of the daughter) to Queene *Ieanne*, daughter to King *Henry*, rather then the Counteſſe of Eureux, in regard of the ſex: others, and with more reaſon, held for the Counteſſe, who was in the ſame degree, but daughter to a ſonne, and heire to Queene *Ieanne*, and preuailed, drawing the reſt to their opinion.

Maſſacre of Iewes in Nauarre.

3 Thus was *Ieanne* Counteſſe of Eureux declared the true and lawfull Queene of Nauarre, in the yeere of our Lord 1328. the realme hauing beene vacant about foure monthes. And vntill that ſhe and Cont *Philip* her husband, ſhould come and take poſſeſſion of the Realm, they declared Regent and Viceroy D. *Iohn Corboran* of Leet, Standard-bearer of the realme, and *Iohn Martines* of Medrano.

D. Ieanne Queene of Nauarre.

An. 1328.

Philip

A

Philip the third of that name, the nine and twentith King of Nauarre.

PHilip Earle of Eureux, ſonne to *Lewis* of France, who was ſonne to *Philip* the third, ſonne to the King Saint *Lewis*, is counted by vs for the nine and twentith King of Nauarre, the third of that name, and was ſurnamed the noble. As ſoone as the Election was made by the Eſtates of Nauar, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ph.* of Valois the French
B King, to let him vnderſtand the reaſons that the King elected had vnto the realme, which had mooued the Eſtates to make this election; and by the ſame Ambaſſadors they aduertiſed *Philip* of Eureux and *Ieanne* his wife thereof, ſommoning them to come and take poſſeſſion of the realme, and to gouerne it. The French King did no way hinder it, wherefore the Kings of Nauarre elect prepared for their voiage, and arriued there about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1329. hauing not ſeene a King in their country *An.* 1329.
of a long time. The Prelats, Knights and wiſe men of the realme before their comming, had ſet downe in writing the conditions wherevnto they would receiue them in the ſucceſſion of the realme, the which before the ſolemnities of the coronation and oth, they preſented vnto *Philip* and to *Ieanne* his wife, the which they yeelded willingly
C vnto. The Eſtates beeing aſſembled at Pampelone, theſe conditions were ſworne by them, whereof the principal Articles were.

Articles ſworn by the Kings of Nauarre.

1 Firſt to the Eſtates to maintaine and keepe the rights, lawes, cuſtomes, liberties and preuiledges of the Realme, both written and not written, and whereof they were in poſſeſſion, to them and their ſucceſſors for euer, and not to diminiſh, but rather augment them.

2 That they ſhould diſanull all that had beene done to the preiudice thereof by the Kings their Predeceſſours, and by their Miniſters, without delay, notwithſtanding any let.

3 That for the terme of twelue yeeres to come, they ſhould not coine any money,
D but ſuch as was then currant within the Realme, and that during their liues they ſhould not coine aboue one ſort of new money, and that they ſhould diſtribute part of the reuenues, profits and commodities of the realme vnto the ſubiects.

4 That they ſhould not receiue into their ſeruice aboue foure ſtrangers, but ſhould imploy them of the country.

5 That the forts and garriſons of the realme, ſhould bee giuen to gentlemen borne and dwelling in the Country, and not to any ſtranger: who ſhould doe homage to the Queene, and promiſe for to hold them for her, and for the lawfull heire of the countrie.

6 That they ſhould not exchange nor ingage the realme for any other Eſtat what-
E ſoeuer.

7 That they ſhould not ſell nor ingage any of the reuenues of the crowne, neither ſhould make any law nor ſtatute againſt the realme, nor againſt them that ſhould lawfully ſucceed therein.

8 That to the firſt ſonne which God ſhould giue them, comming to the age of twenty yeeres, they ſhould leaue the Kingdome free and without factions, vpon condition that the Eſtates ſhould pay vnto them for their expences a hundred thouſand Sanchets (which was a peece of gold then currant) or in other French money equiualent.

9 That if God gaue them no children, in that caſe they ſhould leaue the realme after them free, with the forts, in the hands of the Eſtates, to inueſt them to whom by
F right it ſhould belong.

10 That if they infring any of theſe Articles, or any part of them, the ſubiects ſhould be quit of their oth of ſubiection which they ought them.

Theſe Articles being promiſed and ſworne by the King and Queene, they were ſollemnly crowned, and the Deputies of the Eſtates, Noblemen and Officers of the crowne

tooke

Coronation of Philip of Eureux.

tooke their oth of obedience, in the Cathedral church of Pampelone. And afterwards A there were orders ſet downe by the King and Queene for the Gouernment of the Realme: the which being written were ſent into France, and confirmed by King *Philip* of Valois at Paris the ſame yeere of our Lord 1329. After that time the French Kings had no command in Nauarre, hauing held that realme eight and fifty yeeres vnited to the crowne of France: yet King *Philip* of Valois, retained of the inheritance of his couſin, the Counteſſe of Bry, and a while after hee gaue them other lands in exchange, yet not of that value.

4

Genealogy of Nauarre.

Philip and *Ieanne* King of Nauarre had theſe children following, *Charles* who ſucceeded in the realme, *Philip* Earle of Longueuille, *Lewis* Earle of Beaumont le Royer, and afterwards Duke of Duras, *Ieanne* married to the vicont of Rohan, *Mary* Queene of Ar- B ragon, wife to D. *Pedro* the ceremonious, *Blanche* Queene of France, laſt wife to *Philip* of Valois, and *Agnes* Counteſſe of Foix married to *Gaſton Phœbus*: ſome of which were borne before their Election, and ſome after. *Lewis* the third ſonne of this marriage was Earle of Beaumont in Normandie, for that he married the heire of that houſe, by whom he had one ſonne called *Charles* of Beaumont, who married the daughter of the Vicont of Maulcon in Nauar, and was the firſt Standard-bearer of the realm, through the fauour of King *Charles* his vncle. Of this *Charles* of Beaumont is deſcended the houſe of Beaumont in Nauarre. After the death of the Counteſſe of Beaumont, *Lewis* married *Ieanne* daughter and heire to the Duke of Duras, vpon the coaſt of Macedonia, towards the Adriatike ſea, and was intitled Duke.

5

Beginning of the houſe of Beaumont in Nauarre.

Theſe things being done in Nauarre, King *Philip* being aduertiſed that the French C King marched with a mighty army againſt the Flemings rebelled, who had chaſed away *Lewis* their Earle, and committed many inſolencies againſt the Kings Officers, both in words and deeds: he parted out of Nauarre, beeing loath to faile him at need who had ſo kindly ſuffred him to take poſſeſſion of the Realme, leauing the Queene D. *Ieanne* to gouerne Nauarre. He was preſent at the battaile which King *Philip* of Valois gaue the Flemings at Caſſel, whereas twenty thouſand were ſlaine vpon the place: by meanes whereof Count *Lewis* was reſtored to his Eſtate, and the Flemings ſubdued. This warre being ended, the King of Nauarre returned into his realme: It was then that the Infant D. *Alphonſo de la Cerda*, ſonne to D. *Fernand*, eldeſt ſonne to King D. *Alphonſo* the Aſtro- loguer, being ill intreated in Caſtille, where he pretended the crowne, made a donation D vnto the crowne of Nauarre, of the rights which he pretended in Guipuſcoa, Alaua, Rioja and other lands, the which had in former times belonged to Nauarre, and were vſurped and retained by the Kings of Caſtille. Some affirme that this donation was made in the yere of our Lord 1330. But howſoeuer, King *Philip* deſirous to do Iuſtice, & to gouerne his Realm wel, which had great need, and therefore was neceſſary to entertaine peace with his neighbours, made no great account thereof at that time, but ſent Ambaſſadors to D. *Alphonſo* then raigning in Caſtile, to ſeeke his friendſhip. The Ambaſſadors found the King at Talauera la Reyna, who entertained them well. Their Ambaſſage was, that the Realme hauing many yeeres wanted the Soueraigne Magi- E ſtate, and in a manner abandoned by their Kings, it was no wonder if many things had happened contrarie to the ancient alliances betwixt the houſes of Caſtille and Nauarre, for what did the Viceroys and Gouernors care, beeing ſtrangers (hauing no reſemblance of manners, nor other bond of friendſhip with the Spaniards) how all things went, ſo as they were obeyed in the country, and that they might vaunt they had rather done wrong, then receiued any, keeping continuall garriſons of ſtrangers, ready to commit any inſolencies: whereof God had ſome times ſhewed his Iudgement, euen in the laſt incounter neere vnto Beotibar: where by an extraordinary and miraculous puniſhmen. God had chaſtiſed the negligence of the foure laſt Kings which had held the realme of Nauarre, who had reſpected it ſo little as they had ſcarce looked towards it, yea the two laſt neuer came nere it, which had made the bad to grow more inſolent, and ſo to F continue, vntill that the lawfull heires of the crowne of Nauarre were come to their poſſeſſion, by the deceaſe of King *Charles* the Faire, *Philip* Earle of Eureux, husband

Donation made by the Infant D. Alphonſo de la Cerda to the Kings of Nauarre.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Nauarre to Caſtille.

husband to their true Queene D.*Ieanne*, being called to raigne, who had ſent this Ambaſſage vnto him, to let him vnderſtand theſe things, as a neighbour Prince and friend, with whom they deſired to entertaine peace and friendſhip, by all good offices which Princes and neighbour Eſtates may receiue one from an other.

The King D.*Alphonſo* hauing heard this Ambaſſage, fitted vnto the deſeignes of the new Kings of Nauarre, moderating the things which had paſt betwixt theſe two realms, before their Election, anſwered, that hee was glad the Nauarrois had had meanes to recouer them for their Kings, to whom the crowne did by right belong, and that for his part he deſired to entertaine a perpetuall friendſhip with King *Philip* and Queene *Ieanne*, and to ſhew it by the effects in any occaſion that ſhould be offred, wherewith he would acquaint his ſubiects, to the end their Kings vaſſals, both Nauarrois and French, ſhould be well intreated in Caſtille, and if any wrong were done them, it ſhould bee repaired: and that they ſhould aduertiſe their Kings on his behalfe, to doe the like in their countries. The Ambaſſadors returning with this anſwere, gaue great contentment to King *Philip*, who to adminiſter Iuſtice, erected a new Court of Parliament in Nauarre, the which was called New to diſtinguiſh it from the Old, hee and the three Eſtates of the realme naming men, worthy of that charge. The like Ambaſſage was ſent by him into Arragon and Portugal, who were returned with pleaſing anſwers. Matters beeing thus ſetled in a better Eſtate then before, the King and Queene returned into France, leauing for Gouernor a French gentleman, called *Henry* of Guliac, or of Solibert, but with a more lymited power then former Viceroys and Gouernors. Such was the Eſtate of Nauarre vnto the yeere 1331.

Ambaſſadors from Nauarre to Arragon and Portugal.

Arragon.

Let vs now returne to the Hiſtory of Arragon, the which we haue left at the new conqueſt of Sardinia, in the which ſoone after the departure of the Infant D.*Alphonſo* they fel to rebellion, beginning in the towne of Saſſari, the which is one of the greateſt of the Iſland, by the faction of them of the houſe and family of Oria, great and mighty Lords, eſpecially in that towne, whereof the chiefe were *Franceſquin*, *Maſtin*, *Branca*, and *Vinciguerra*, all of the family of Oria. Theſe with their partiſans hauing ſought many meanes to expell the garriſon of Arragonois which was at Saſſari, in the end they rebelled openly, and by their example, and vpon the firſt oportunity, the Piſans holding the city and caſtle of Caglieri, ſeemed to haue a deſire to doe the like: whereof the King of Arragon beeing aduertiſed, he neglected all other deſeignes, and thought of the preſeruation of this Iſland, which hee had ſubdued with great charge and loſſe: and for the which and for that of Corſica, hee was bound to pay vnto the Pope and to the Sea of Rome, an exceſſiue tribut of two thouſand markes of ſiluer, and to entertaine a certaine number of ſouldiers for the defence of the church.

Sardinia rebels againſt the Arragonois.

The deceaſe of D. *Sancho* King of Majorça without children, had made him deſirous to ioyne the Iſlands and the Siegneuries which he had enioyed vpon the firme land to his crowne of Arragon, wherefore he had ſent the Infant D. *Alphonſo* into the counties of Roſſillon and Cerdagne, with forces to ſeize thereon, but he was ſo careful of the affaires of Sardinia, as he did eaſily incline to the requeſt which D.*Philip*, brother to the deceaſed King of Majorca, made in fauour of his Nephew D.*Iames*, ſonne to the Infant D.*Fernand* their brother, who as wee haue ſayd died Prince of Morea: wherefore the realme of Majorca, and the ſucceſſion of the King D. *Sancho* was left vnto this D.*Iames* being yet very young, except the right of Soueraignty. Being now forced to ſend an army into Sardinia, to his great charge, the Pope was intreated by the Infant D.*Pedro* (who was ſent Ambaſſador expreſly to that end by the king his father) being at Auignon, to abate this tribute to fiue hundred markes, and to exempt him from the moity of the ſouldiars pay, wherevnto he was liable by reaſon of the ſame contract, and for the ſayd Iſlands, for the defence of the territories of the church. The Infant D.*Pedro* was courteouſly receiued by the Pope, and fauourably heard in the conſiſtory, where he obtained abatement of halfe the tribute and of the ſouldiers pay for tenne yeeres, and moreouer to receiue the tithes for two yeeres.

D.Iames King of Majorca, ſecond of that name.

In the meane time the King D. *Iames* armed twelue gallies in Cattelogne, and ſent thē before to Sardinia, vnder the charge of *Bernard* Ceſpuiade, to aſſiſt the Arragonois,

and

and others that held for him in the Iſland: *Barnabo* who had beene faithfull to the King of Arragon, was now dead, whoſe children *Caſſan*, *Galeor*, *Geoffroy* and *Brancaleon*, ſhewed themſelues enemies vnto him, and ſo in like manner did *Federic*, *Azon* and *John Maleſpina*, Marquiſes, who were rich and of great power in Sardinia: Notwithſtanding that their vncles *Chriſtian Spinola*, entertained the friendſhip of the King D. *Iames*, and was acceptable vnto him. Theſe men by a general conſpiracy, had taken armes, in fauour of an army which the Piſan and the Gibiline faction of Genoa did raiſe to ſend into Sardinia, the which was newly increaſed by two and twenty Genoua gallies, which had beene firſt entertained by *Frederic* King of Sicile, making warre againſt *Robert* King of Naples, of the which *Gaſpar d' Oria* was General, who afterwards leauing the party of the Arragonois and Sicilians, and carrying away the King D. *Frederickes* money, hee ioyned with the Piſans, who made him Admiral of all the fleet. Then beganne there cruel warres betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuois, whom *Franciſco Carroſo*, Generall of the Gallies of Arragon, and a ſworne enemy to that nation, did puniſh ſeuerly when as he tooke any one of their Pirats. Hauing imbarked certaine troupes of old ſouldiars, Arragonois and Cattelans, he came and preſented himſelfe before the port of Cailleri, about the end of Auguſt, in the yeere 1325. and held the city and fort as it were beſieged.

Eſtates of Arragon.

This yeere the Eſtates were called at Sarragoſſa in Arragon, where were preſent D. *Pedro de Luna*, Archbiſhop of Sarragoſſa, D. *Sancho* de Arragon the Kings brother: Don *Iames* of Arragon of Xerica, D. *Symon Cornel*, D. *Pero Martines de Luna*, D. *Blaſco Maza* de Verga, D. *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, Don *Symon* de Foſſes, Don *Raymond* of Perault, Don *Martin Gil* of Atroſil, Don *Gombald Tramaſſet*, Don *William Entenza*, Don *Michel Peres Gottorio*, Don *Gil Garces* of Atroſil, Don *Michel Gurrea*, Don *Blaſco Maza* de Celles, Don *Symon Peres* de Punia, Don *Artorella of Ortis*, Don *Garcia Peres pegna acuta*, D. *Pedro Ruis* de Sagra, D. *Ponce Ignes Entenza*, D. *Lope Ximenes* de Luna, D. *Pedro* de Laino, D. *Michel Peres Zapata*, with other Noblemen and Knights that were preſent, and the Deputies of D. *Blaſco* de Alagon, of D. *Lopes* de Luna, of D. *Alphonſo Fernand* of Ixar, and others abſent, and the Deputies of the townes and commonalties hauing any place in the ſayd Eſtates. There D. *Pedro*, ſonne to the Infant D. *Alphonſo*, was ſworne preſumptiue heire, and ſucceſſor to the crowne, after the deceaſe of the Grandfather and father: the which was then decreed and practiſed, for that Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias did maintaine that if his brother D. *Alphonſo* ſhould die before their father, the realme did belong to him by right of Proximity, wherefore he refuſed then to ſweare vnto his Nephew, but hee did afterwards. There the Articles of the generall priuiledges were confirmed, the which had beene accorded and ſworne by the deceaſed King Don *Pedro*, and it was ordained for a law, that no free man ſhould be put to the racke, and that confiſcations ſhould not bee allowed, but in caſes of coyning, and high treaſon.

Right of repreſentation.

The young King of Majorca beeing vnder the Gouernment of his vncle D. *Philip*, was there made ſure to Don *Conſtance* of Arragon, daughter to the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, hee beeing eleuen yeeres old, and ſhe but fiue: theſe were the chiefe actes of this aſſembly.

Battaile at ſea before Cailleri.

The Piſans army, led by *Gaſpar* d'Oria, approaching neere vnto the Gulph of Cailleri, whereas *Franciſco Carroça* laie with the army of Arragon, there was a cruel and dangerous battaile for the looſer, for their reſts were vp: but the Arragonois were victors, who by this memorable victory, tooke a part of the towne of Cailleri, called Stampace; beeing aſſaulted at ſea by *Franciſco Carroço*, and at Land by *Raymond* of Peralta. Soone after there fell ſo daungerous a ſedition betwixt the Land and Sea-forces of the Arragonois, as both captaines and ſouldiars ranne like madde men one vpon an other with greater obſtinacy then againſt their enemies, and many were cruelly ſlaine: ſo as this rage had in a manner ruined the Arragonois Eſtate in that Iſland, but God had otherwiſe decreed: for the Piſans beeing very weake, and brought low with the long precedent warres, which they had ſuſtained both againſt the Geneuois and Arragonois, did quit the Iſland of Sardinia, by an agreement made betwixt the

Piſans quit the Iſland of Sardinia.

King

A King of Arragon, and their Senat, in the yeere of our Lord 1326. ſo as the towne of Saſſari was yeelded to the Arragonois, the Marquis of Maleſpina ſurceaſing, and promiſing to be obedient to the King and his Lieutenants. Thus the Kings of Arragon became Lords of Sardinia without contradiction, for a time: but in their owne country of Cattelogne, and Valencia, there wanted no troubles and quarrels, which grew amongſt the Noblemen of the country, beeing an ordinary thing, that whereas there is great ſtore of idle Nobilitie, there is alwaies warre and contention, to the oppreſſion of the people.

Piſans quit the Iſland of Sardinia.

Troubles and quarrels where is much idle Nobility.

D. *Arnaud Roger* Earle of Palliars, and *Raymund Folch* Vicount of Cardona, were then in armes one againſt an other, by reaſon of a murther committed on the perſon of D.
B *William Queralt*, whereof the Earle of Palliars was accuſed, and either of them hauing a great troupe of friends and Partiſans, held all Cattelogne in confuſion, with their horrible inſolencies. In the country of Valencia, D. *Iames* Lord of Xetica, was in quarrell with his owne mother, D. *Beatrix* of Loria, and would haue put her out of her lands and poſſeſſions, ſo as this quarrel did in a manner diuide the King and his ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, the one ſupporting the mother, and the other the ſonne. Theſe quarrels were reconciled with much paine: for when as the Souveraigne Magiſtrate doth medle in his ſubiects quarrels, and of a Iudge becomes a Partiſan, his authority leanes to the one ſide, and the remedies are more difficult, and leſſe effectuall. D. *Iames* of Xerica, during theſe troubles, married the widowe Queene of D. *Sancho* of Majorca, whoſe name was *Mary*, ſiſter to *Robert* King of Naples, a woman of an vnchaſt life.

The ſouveraigne ſhould a maies be a Iudge and not a Partiſan in his ſubiects quarrels.

C In the yeere of our Lord 1327. Don *Iames* the Young of Majorca did homage for the Iſlands, and Land which hee held, as well in Cattelogne, as on this ſide the mountaines to the King of Arragon, as to his ſoueraigne, in the preſence of Don *Philip* his vncle and Tutor, Don *Pedro* and Don *Raymond Berenger*, the Kings children, *Caſton* of Moncade, Biſhoppe of Hueſca, and many others: and within few daies after Don *Iames* King of Arragon died in the towne of Barcelona, hauing raigned ſixe and thirty yeeres, foure monthes and a halfe. A Prince rather inclined to good then bad, to whom learning and learned men owe the foundation of the Vniuerſitie of Lerida, in Cattelogne, ſeuen and twenty yeeres before his death, which hee endowed with
D many preuiledges, and would haue that alone throughout all his dominions, forbidding all other ſchooles but for Grammer and Logicke. His bodie lies buried in the Monaſtery of Santa Cruz.

D. Alphonſo the fourth of that name, the twelfth King of Arragon.

E DOn *Alphonſo* his ſonne, ſucceeded him, to whom was giuen the ſurname of pittifull. Hee was not the eldeſt, but that Don *Iames* his eldeſt brother, quitting in his fathers life time, the ſucceſſion of the crowne of Arragon, as wee haue ſaid, entred and inueſted himſelfe into that Order of Knights of Saint Iohn of Ieruſalem: Hee was King. 6

This was his iſſue; During his fathers life, hee married firſt Donna *Thereſa* of Entenza, Counteſſe heire of Vrgell, by whom hee had the Infant Don *Pedro*, borne at ſeuen monthes end, who was King, and the Infant Don *Iames* Earle of Vrgell and Vicont of Ajar, and moreouer foure other ſonnes and one daughter, who died verie yong,
F and are interred at Sarragoſſa in Saint Francis Church with their mother Donna *Conſtance*, who was wife vnto Don *Iames* the laſt King of Majorca. Donna *Thereſa* had not the title of a Queene, for that ſhee died foure daies before the King Don *Iames* her father in lawe. Beeing King, hee tooke to his ſecond wife, Donna *Leonora* of Caſtille, daughter to the King Don *Fernand* the fourth, who was mother to Don *Fernand* Marquiſſe of Tortoça, who married at Ebora, Donna *Maria* of Portugal,

Geneology of Arragon.

daughter to the King Don *Pedro*, and was ſlaine by the commaundement of his brother raigning in Arragon; hee had alſo by her Don *Iohn*, who died in Caſtille, Don *Alphonſo* beeing come to the crowne, hee gaue the countrie of Vrgel and other Lands, to his ſecond ſonne Don *Iames*.

Comming to Saragoſſa where the generall Eſtates were aſſembled, hee tooke and receiued a reciprocall oth according to the auncient cuſtome of Kings his predeceſſors, and was crowned King in the yeere of our Lord 1328. in which yeere were crowned in Nauarre *Philip* of Eureux, in France *Philip* of Valois, and at Rome the Emperour *Lewis* of Bauaria. At this Coronation of King Don *Alphonſo* did aſſiſt with the Deputies of the Eſtates, Don *Iames* of Arragon Lord of Xerica, Don *Pedro Iuge* of Arborea, Don *Raymond Folc* Vicont of Cardona, Don *Arnauld Roger* of Mataplane Earle of Palliars, Don *Alphonſo Fernandes* of Arragon Lord of Ixar, Don *Lope de Luna*, Don *William* and *Berenger Angleſol*, Don *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, Don *Pedro Cornel*, Don *William Ceruillon*, Don *Othon* of Moncado, and Don *Othon* of Foſſes, with other Noblemen. There were aboue two hundred and fiftie Knights made with the ceremonies accuſtomed in thoſe times, where there was preſent the Ambaſſadors of *Iohn* King of Bohemia, called *Henry Bomallia*, who brought a promiſe from his Maiſter that hee would come into Spaine, to make warre againſt the Moores, with the King of Arragon, the which he did not.

King of Arragon makes warre againſt the Moores of Affricke.

The warre which Arragon made againſt the Infidells, was more in Affrike then in Spaine: for the oportunity of Sardinia did inuite the Kings of Arragon for to raiſe their powers and make warre againſt the Moores, which commaunded at Tunes, Bugie, and Tremeſſen: Notwithſtanding beeing mutined againe by the perſwaſion of the Geneuois, this yeere a truce was made betwixt the King of Arragon, and *Abubacar* pettie King of Tunes and Bugia, and *Abduris Hamen* King of Tremeſſen. The Court beeing at Daroca, about the end of this yeere, an Edict was made, that for tenne yeeres, no towne, caſtle, gouernment, nor any cuſtomes, impoſts or places of Iuſtice whatſoeuer, ſhould bee giuen or alyenated from the reuenewes of the Crowne: the which the King ſeeking afterwardes for to breake, it cauſed great alterations and tumults, Don *Iames* King of Maiorca did a new homage to King D. *Alphonſo* for his realme, and other lands, ſubmitting himſelfe to the Souveraignty of Arragon.

Reuolts in Sardinia.

After all theſe things they thought to prouide for the reuolts of Sardinia, whereas *Barnabe d' Oria*, beeing young and ill aduiſed, had ſurprized Caſtle Geneuois, and chaſed away the garriſons which were placed there by his vncles *Caſſan* and *Galeaz*, whom *Azon* Marquiſſe of Maleſpina did aide and ſupport: but *Caſſan* and *Galeaz* Oria, hauing incountred *Azon* and his troupes, marching towards Caſtel Geneuois, they fought with them, defeated them, and tooke *Azon* priſoner: wee ſhall hereafter make mention of theſe new broiles, but we muſt now returne to the affaires of Caſtille and other countries of Spaine.

Caſtile.

The league made in Caſtille, betwixt Don *Iohn Manuel*, and Don *Iohn* the Blinde, beeing broken, by a treaty of a future marriage, betwixt the King and D. *Conſtance Manuel*: D. *Iohn Manuel* went vnto his Gouernment vpon the frontier, whereunto hee had beene in conſideration thereof newly aduanced, and remained at Cordoua, from whence hee iſſued forth one daie, beeing aduertiſed of a great troupe of Moores Granadins, led by *Ozmin*, who was choſen gouernor of the King and Realme of Granado, and Commaunder of the ſouldiars about Antiquero, the which hee charged ſodainely, and made a great and cruell ſlaughter of them, vpon the riuer of Guadalforce, beeing aſſiſted by the holie Knights of Saint Iaimes, Calatraua, Alcantara and their Maiſters.

Moores.

Ozmin had beene choſen to this dignity by the Granadins, who were ignorant, or at leaſt diſſembled, how ill hee had beene affected to the deceaſed king *Iſmael*, ſeeing the power of the realme in his hands, hee brake the truce without any cauſe, and ſurprized Rute beeing il garded by the Chriſtians, beeing lawfull for him to diſpoſe of the affaires of the kingdome, during the minority of king *Mahumet*, ſeeing there was not any man of authority to contradict him, the good & faithful Alguazil, or Prouoſt (who had put the

Scepter

A ſcepter into the hands, of *Mahumet*, and reuenged his fathers death) beeing dead, in whoſe place was ſubſtituted a Chriſtian renegado, borne at Calçade, whoſe name was *Roaman*.

7 King D. *Alphonſo*, during theſe things, went from Burgos to Toro, where he ſought Caſtile.
by all milde courſes to winne D. *Iohn* the Blinde, ſeeming to haue a deſire to giue him contentment and to honour him, wherevnto D. *Iohn* yeelded, and beeing inuited to dine *Treachery of D. Alphonſo King of Caſtile againſt his bloud.*
with the King vpon All Saints day, thinking to make good cheere, he was by the Kings commandement murthered, with two Knights his vaſſalls, called *Garci Fernandes* Sarmiento, and *Lopes Aluares* of Hermoſilla. After this fact (to vnſeemely for a King who is the mirror of Iuſtice) they made his proceſſe; who beeing layed vpon a Beere
B couered with a blacke cloath, the King condemned him as a traitor and did confiſcate all his goods, and vnited them to the crowne, hauing aboue foureſcore townes and caſtles. The deceaſed left one only daughter his heire, the which was conueied into France by her Gouerneſſe, and came to Bayone, which at that time was held by the Engliſh, and was afterwards wife to D. *Iohns Nugnes de Lara*. D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, D. *Iohns* mother, who was then in the Monaſtery of Peralez, hearing of his death, and wanting good councel, by the perſwaſion of D. *Garcilaço de la Vega* ſould the Siegneury of Biſcay *Biſcay ſold to King D. Alphonſo.*
to the King, the which was not confiſcable, for it was her patrimony: yet the King did not enioy it very ſoone, neither is the ſale very certaine. The murther of D. *Iohn* the Blinde, comming to the knowledge of D. *Iohn Manuel*, made him to ſtand vpon his
C gard: wherefore leauing the fronter, and the Kings forces, hee retired to a caſtle of his called Chincilla, where he fortefied himſelfe, from whence the King could not of a long time draw him, notwithſtanding all promiſes and aſſurances: wherefore hee himſelfe came to Seuille, where hee made a ſtately entry, and beganne to make warre againſt the Moores, with great preparation both by land and ſea. Thether came a ſonne of *Ozmins*, called *Abraham* the drinker for that hee drunke wine, who offered for to doe him ſeruice, and hee was entertained. On the other ſide D. *Iohn Manuell* gaue the King of Granado to vnderſtand, that he was at his commaundement, and that hee would giue him great meanes to anoy the King of Caſtile.

D In the yeere of our Lord 1328. King Don *Alphonſo* did beſeege Oluera, and tooke it by compoſition, to haue their liues and goods ſaued: in the meane time beeing aduertiſed that the Moores of Ayamont, fearing a ſeege, ſent their wiues, and vnneceſſary people towards Ronde, hee ſent the troupes of Seuile to ſpoile them, and to take this multitude priſoners. *Ruy Gonçales* of Mancanedo, who led this companie, did effect what hee had in charge, but ſeeking to attempt *Ayamont*, the Moores within it made a verie furious ſallie vpon him and his troupes, and put them all to rout, tooke away their Standard, and ſlue him that carried it: and but for the Archbiſhop of Seuile, who made it good, and withſtood the force of the Barbarians with ſome knights and ſouldiars which hee had rallied together, they had beene all cut in
E peeces. The King after the taking of Oluera came to Pruna, a ſtrong towne, which had a caſtle impregnable: yet there were two Chriſtians, which did aſſure the King that they had a meanes to take it. The King hauing giuen them a good troupe, and ſet them to worke, he gaue a generall aſſault to the towne with his whole army, ſo as the beſeeged holding themſelues aſſured of the caſtle, left onely two or three Moores *Pruna taken by the Chriſtians.*
to gard it, and went all to defend the towne: whereby the two Chriſtians, with them that followed them had meanes to ſeize vpon the caſtle, the vnexpected taking whereof made the towne to be preſently yeelded.

From thence the Chriſtian armie went to Ayamont, and to the tower of Alfaquin, the which yeelded without any reſiſtance. *Alphonſo Geoffrey Tenorio*, Admirall at Sea, gaue battaile to two and twentie gallies, ſome belonging to the King of
F Granado, and ſome to him of Maroc, the which he vanquiſhed, and tooke twelue hundred Moores; hee ſunke foure gallies, and carried away three: And for this yeere beeing 1328. there was no other exploite of warre done, by reaſon of the rayne, and winter approching, which made the King returne to Seuile. *An.* 1328.

Don *Iohn Manuel* reuolted againſt his King and country, by reaſon of the diſloyalty vſed to D. *Iohn* the blinde, and allied himſelfe with the Kings of Arragon and Granado, being the more incenſed with the newes hee had, that the King treated a marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, leauing his daughter D. *Conſtance Manuel*, to whom hee was made ſure, as we haue ſayd. The Infanta was called *Mary*, and was daughter to King D. *Alphonſo*, who had in the yeere of our Lord 1325. ſucceeded King *Denis* his father in the realme of Portugal, and of D. *Beatrix* of Caſtille, ſiſter to the King D. *Fernand* the fourth, ſo as ſhe was couſin Germaine to his future Spouſe.

D. Alphonſo the fourth of that name, the ſeuenth King of Portugal.

Portugal. THis D. *Alphonſo* of Portugall was ſurnamed the braue, for that he was valiant and generous. He was about fiue and thirty yeeres old, when hee beganne to raigne, and had beene made ſure to D. *Beatrix*, beeing but eight yeeres old, and was married at the age of ſixteene. They had many children, whereof *Alphonſo*, *Denis* and *Iohn* died young: then they had D. *Pedro*, who was King after his father, Donna *Maria*, of whoſe marriage with King D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtille, we haue begunne to ſpeake, and D. *Leonora* or *Eluira*, who was wife to D. *Pedro* the Ceremonious, King of Arragon. This King D. *Alphonſo* had beene very turbulent in his fathers life time, maintayning certaine rebels againſt him: yet beeing come vnto the crowne, hee became vertuous, and a great fauorer of Iuſtice, making many good lawes, and gouerning his realme wiſely: yet hee had great quarrels with D. *Alphonſo Sanches* his baſtard brother, to the great oppreſſion of his ſubiects: for Don *Alphonſo Sanches* was a braue knight, and could well defend himſelfe, hauing the fauour of the Caſtillians, and of the King of Arragon, who ſought many meanes to reconcile them, but in vaine. The ſubiect of their quarrels was onely iealouſie, conceiued in the heart of King D. *Alphonſo*, for that King *Denis* their father had loued this baſtard exceedingly. But in the end the King was Maiſter, neuer ceaſing vntill he had chaſed him into Caſtile, after which he confiſcated his goods, and proceeded againſt him by courſe of Iuſtice.

Genealogy of Portugal.

Caſtille. 9 During the treaty of marriage betwixt D. *Maria* of Portugal and D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, D. *Iohn Manuel*, with the helpe of the Arragonois and Granadins, beganne to ouerrunne the territories of Caſtille, from Almança vnto Pegnafiel, ruining, burning and ſpoyling all they incountred: Then did the King make his well beloued fauorite and councellor, D. *Aluar Nugnes Oſorio*, Earle of Tranſtamara, Lemos and Sarria, and Lord of Riuiere and Cabrera, for in thoſe daies there was no Earledome hereditary in Caſtille nor Leon, and hereof Spaine doth yet retaine thoſe markes of antiquity, that the children of Noblemen carrying the titles of Dukes, Marquiſes or Earles (which were all perſonall and temporall dignities) dare not take them after the deceaſe of their fathers, without a new permiſſion from the King, except ſome which haue that right by preuiledge.

Dukes, Marquiſes and Earles not hereditary in Spaine.

Hee did this to oppoſe him to D. *Iohn Manuel*, againſt whom hee ſent D. *Garcilaço de la Vega*, whileſt that hee remained at Cordoua, and prepared for his future marriage with the Infanta of Portugall: Don *Garcilaço* comming to Soria, was ill receiued, for the Nobility hauing had a falſe aduertiſment that hee was come thether to carrie many Knights priſoners, they murthered him in Saint Francis Church, beeing at Maſſe with his people. Theſe were the fruites of the Infidelity which the King had vſed againſt Don *Iohn* the Blinde, a Prince of his owne bloud, by reaſon whereof euerie one grewe very iealous both of him, and of his priuate ſeruants. This murther did much diſpleaſe the King, and incenſed him againſt Don *Iohn Manuel* more then before.

Murther of Garcilaſo de La Vega.

Hee

A Hee came to Toledo, where hauing aſſembled great forces, hee went and beſeeged Eſcalona. D. *Iohn Manuel* on the other ſide laied ſiege to Huete, but neither of them preuailed. The marriage with the Infanta of Portugall was in the end concluded, and moreouer D. *Blanche*, daughter to the deceaſed D. *Pedro* of Caſtile, the Kings vncle, was accorded to the Infant D. *Pedro* of Portugal. Pope *Iohn* beeing aduertiſed of the reuolt of Caſtile, gaue charge to Don *Pedro* of Toledo, Biſhop of Carthagena, newly made Cardinal, to mediate a peace in the realme, interpoſing his Apoſtolike authority: but hee labored in vaine, for hee found the King ſo incenſed, as hee would not heare of any compoſition with his ſubiects, giuing the Cardinal probable reaſons: wherefore hee made his report vnto the Pope, and diſcharged himſelfe of his
B commiſſion.

During theſe troubles, D. *Fernand Rodrigues* of Bilbao, Prior of Saint Iohn, a great friend to Don *Iohn Manuel*, cauſed the cities of Toro and Zamora to rebell againſt the King, ſaying that it was by reaſon hee had aduanced D. *Aluaro Nugnes Oſorio* to the dignity of an Earle: the towne of Vailledolit did the like, whereas *Ioſeph* of Eccia a Iew, Intendant generall of the impoſts, had like to haue beene ſlaine. Herevpon the King left the ſeege of Eſcalona; and came to Vailledolit: where the inhabitants, beeing animated by the Prior of Saint Iohn, ſhut the gates againſt him: yet beeing come to a parle with Don *Iohn Martines de Leyua*, *Iohn Veles* of Gueuara, *Fernand Ladron* of Rioja, and *Ruis Diaz* his brother, *Pero Rodrigues* of Villega, and *Garcilaço de la Vega*, ſonne to him that had beene ſlaine at Soria: theſe knights and others wrought ſo, as
C the King diſmiſt the Earle Don *Aluar Nugnes*, and ſo was receiued into the towne, and by the ſame meanes hee made a compoſition with Toro and Zamora; from thence hee went to *Ciudad Roderigo*, to celebrate his marriage.

Reuolts in Caſtile.

The King is forced to diſmiſſe D. Aluaro his Mignon.

Seeking for to retire out of Don *Aluaro's* hands, the fortes which hee had giuen vnto him in charge, hee could not recouer them all, and moreouer Don *Aluar*, beeing diſcontented with this diſgrace, hee preſently went and ioyned with Don *Iohn Manuell*: wherevpon the King was aduiſed to kill him: And ſeeking a murtherer, and a fit occaſion, hee found a man furniſhed with the quallities of a diſloyall Courtiar: this was *Raymyr Flores de Guzman*, who notwithſtanding that hee had beene a verie
D great friend to the Earle, offered to diſpatch him, vpon the great promiſes which the King made him: wherefore fayning to bee in diſgace with him hee went vnto the Earle, by whom beeing well entertained, lyuing and lying together, hee had meanes and oportunity to kill him whileſt that the King did celebrate his marriage in Alfayates, and did capitulate with D. *Alphonſo* King of Portugal, who came in perſon to Font Grimald.

The Court beeing come neere to Medina del Campo, the King was aduertiſed of the death of Count *Aluar*, to iuſtifie the which hee cauſed his proceſſe to bee made, and condemned him himſelfe ſitting in the ſeat of Iuſtice at Tordehumos: hee cauſed his
E body to be burned, and his goods to bee confiſcated as a traitor, whereof *Ramir Flores de Guzman*, had for his reward, and the price of his friends bloud, which he had ſhed, the caſtle of Beluer, and the towne of Cabreros. Theſe are commonly the fauours of the beſt beloued Courtiers, which abuſe the familiarity of their Kings, or relie to much thereon. King Don *Alphonſo* perceiuing the miſery whereinto hee did runne, deſired to make a peace with Don *Iohn Manuel*, but hee laboured in vaine, for the Prior of Saint Iohn vndid all that hee could doe.

The ſame yeere, beeing the yeere of our Lord 1329. the marriage which had beene treated ſome monthes before, betwixt Don *Alphonſo* King of Arragon and D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, ſiſter to this King Don *Alphonſo* of Caſtile, was celebrated at Taraſſone,
F whereas both Kings met, beeing accompanied by many Princes, Princeſſes, Prelates and Knights, and the Ambaſſadors of Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugal. There was the league renued betwixt the three Eſtates of Caſtille, Arragon and Portugal, and decreed not to receiue one an others Rebels, promiſing withall to aſſiſt the King of Caſtille in his warres againſt the Moores, with the forces of Arragon and Portugall:

Arragon. *An.* 1329.

what iſſue came of this marriage wee haue before related, when as D. *Leonora* ſaw her ſelfe mother to Don *Fernand* her firſt ſonne, which was at the end of the yeere, beeing deſirous hee ſhould ſucceed the King his father, ſhee ſought by all meanes to ſhewe her ſelfe a ſtepmother to Don *Pedro*, her husbands ſonne by his firſt wife, but hee finding it, hee kept himſelfe farre off during his fathers life. Don *Pedro* for his part was of a rough and ſower diſpoſition. A

As ſoone as the Infant D. *Fernand* was borne, the King his father gaue him the Marquiſate of Tortoſe and Albarrazin, contrary to the Edict and law of Daroca, whereof wee haue made mention, whereat the Eſtates were much diſcontented, and with them the Infant D. *Pedro*, Don *Pedro* de Luna, Archbiſhop of Saragoſſa, Don *Michel Gurrea*, who was at it were Gouernor of the Realme, a dignity which they were wont to giue to the eldeſt Princes of Arragon, Don *Pedro* and *Symon Gurrea* brethren: this laſt was Abbot of Montarragon, *Vidal* of Villanoua, *Garcia de Loris*, *Michel Zapate*, and other Noblemen: yet they were forced to haue patience, for D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon ſuffered himſelfe to bee wholy gouerned by D. *Leonora*: this was the firſt ſubiect of hatred betwixt D. *Pedro* and her. B

Caſtile. The King of Caſtille beeing much diſcontented for the death of D. *Garcilaço de la Vega*, came preſently after his marriage to his aunt beeing at Soria, where cauſing informations to bee made againſt the murtherers hee condemned the guiltie to death, and did confiſcate their goods. Hee aſſembled the Eſtates of all his realmes at Madrid, of whom hee obtained a guiſt of great ſummes of Marauidis of gold, to make warre againſt the Moores, who that yeere had ſodainely taken the towne of Priego. D. *Iohn Manuel*, as well for the marriage betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Infanta of Caſtille, as for that his wife, ſiſter to the King of Arragon, was newly dead, loſt his ſupport on that ſide: yet hee married againe with D. *Blanche*, daughter to the Infant D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, younger brother to D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, couſin to D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, which *de Lara* married at the ſame time the daughter of D. *Iohn* the blinde, the heire of Biſcay, who was yet at Bayone, whether ſhee had beene conuaied, when her father was ſlaine, her name was *Mary*. C

The King beeing preſt to reſiſt the Inuaſions of the Moores, hee found meanes to make a peace with Don *Iohn Manuell*, to whom he reſtored Donna *Conſtance* his daughter, whom hee had kept in the caſtle of Toro, and graunted vnto him certaine other conditions, whereby hee pacefied the inteſtin troubles of the realme. Beeing at Vailledolit, hee cauſed *Ioſeph* of Eccia, the Iew, to yeeld an account of the reuenues of his cuſtomes, and for that there had beene great complainrs made of him, hee tooke that charge from him, ordayning that from thenceforth it ſhould bee diſcharged by Chriſtians, with the title of Treaſorers, and not of Cuſtomers. D

An. 1330. In the yeere of our Lord 1330. the Kings of Caſtille and Portugal, meeting at Font Grimald, renued their alliances and leagues, and did capitulate a new, that the King of Portugal ſhould aſſiſt him of Caſtille, wih fiue hundred horſe for the Moores warre: and then was a marriage celebrated betwixt Don *Pedro* the Infant of Portugal, and Donna *Blanche* daughter to Don *Pedro* of Caſtille. The Rendezuous for the Chriſtians army was appointed at Cordoua, whether the King came with his fiue hundred horſe Portugois: led by the maiſter of the troupes of the Order of Chriſtus: ſo as all things being ready they laied ſiege to Thiebe Hardales. E

Moores. *Mahumet* King of Granado, who kept himſelfe in a manner alwaies in the caſtle of Alhambra, gaue the whole conduct of the warre to *Ozmin*, who hauing taken Pruna by treaſon came and lodged with ſix thouſand horſe, and good troupes of foote at Turon, three leagues from Thiebe, ſeeking by his continuall alarmes to diuert the Chriſtians ſeege, making daylie skirmiſhes about the riuer of Guadathiebe, which was the common watering of both armies: notwithſtanding all this, the Chriſtians continued their battery, and the towne was valiantly defended by the Inhabitants, who burned the Engins of battery with wilde fire, and did fruſtrate many of the aſſaylants attempts. F

Stratagem of Ozmin. In the end *Ozmin* deſirous to raiſe the ſeege, he reſolued to charge the campe with this pollicie. He diuided his army into two, and ſent three thouſand horſes farre about, and by

A by couered places, to charge the Chriſtian army behind, or in flanke, vpon ſigne giuen, whilſt that he with the other three thouſand, and his footmen did ſet vpon them in front, thinking that the whole armie would make head againſt him, and that whileſt they were in fight, the reſt falling vpon them with great cryes, ſhould amaze them, and eaſily diſorder them: but he fayled in this diſſeigne: for the king of Caſtile beeing aduertiſed by his ſpies, that part of the Mores army was disbanded, and that the reſt came againſt him, hee appointed a good ſquadron of horſe to defend the rere, and he with the reſt went to incounter *Ozmin*, whom he fought withall and repulſed, and had defeated him, if the three thouſand horſe, which he had ſent to charge the armie behind, had not turned head, (finding all things in good order) and come in time to ſuccour *Ozmin*, which was the
B cauſe he was not wholy defeated. Whileſt they were in fight, the king ſent two thouſand horſe to aſſayle the Mores campe, and to ſpoyle their baggage, the which they effected, bringing away many priſoners.

This ill-ſucceeding enterpriſe was poorely repayred the next day by the Moores, who ſlue about fifty ſouldiers whom they found disbanded about the riuer, and this was all: wherefore they retired, and the ſeege was continued: and then the Moores beeing out of hope of ſuccors, yeelded to haue their liues ſaued. Afterwards Priego and Lagnetta were yeelded, and the forts of Cuenas and Ortexica recouered, which had beene abandoned by the Moores.

With theſe victories king D. *Alphonſo* returned to Seuile, being much incenſed againſt
C Don Iohn *Manuel*, who had ſtill ſecret intelligence with the king of Granado, and beeing ill affected to D. *Alphonſo*, had not ſtirred during the ſeege, notwithſtanding that hee had promiſed to aſſayle the Moores towards Murcia, neither was hee much contented with the Portugois, who left him almoſt at the beginning of the ſeege of Thiebe, and returned to their houſes. By reaſon of theſe infidelities, he reſolued to haue peace with the king of Granado, who ſought it and accepted what he offeeed to his Ambaſſadors at Seuile, that he ſhould pay him twelue thouſand doublons of yearely tribute, and do him homage for his Realme of Granado, ſo as he might be allowed to draw victuals out of the Chriſtians country, paying the twentith penny.

10 The king D. *Alphonſo* beeing at Seuile without any cares of warre, he gaue him- Caſtile.
D ſelfe to the long-ſought loue of Donna *Leonora* of Guzman, daughter to Don *Pero Nugnes de Guzman*, who had beene wife to Don *Iohn de Velaſco*, whom he enioyed. This Lady (who had not her like for beautie in all Spaine) did ſo gouerne him, as hee did not any thing but by her will, excuſing himſelfe that the Queene Donna *Maria*, whome hee had married but two yeares before, had no children. Being come from Seuile to Xeres of Badajos, to viſit Queene *Elizabeth* his Grand-mother, Dowager of Portugall, beeing yet aliue, he found there by chance the Infant D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, that came out of France, who kiſt his hand and yeelded vnto him the right which he pretended to the Realmes of *D. Alphonſo de la Cerde quits his intereſt to Caſtile.*
Caſtile and Leon, the which he had long diſputed but in vaine. He had the ſame yeare (as
E ſome hold) yeelded to *Philip* king of Nauarre, the intereſt which he had or might pretend as king of Caſtile, to Alaua, Rioja, Guipuſcoa, and other lands adjacent, of the auncient patrimony of Nauarre. The king of Nauarre in recompence gaue him certaine places and penſions, to entertayne his eſtate, and ſo they continued good friends. This D. *Alphonſo de la Cerde* had married a Lady in France of the bloud Royall, named *Malfade*, by whom he had two ſonnes, Don *Lewis* and Don *Iohn*: this laſt was Earle of Angouleſme, and Conſtable of France, during the raigne of King *Iohn*, whom the Hiſtories of France, cal Don *Iohn* of Spaine. Thus Don *Alphonſo* was prouided for, beeing iſſued from the eldeſt ſonne of D. *Alphonſo* the Learned. Don *Iohn Manuel* the king, ſeeing that it was now time to liue in peace, employed Donna *Leonora* of Guzman, to bring him into fauour, the which ſhe obtayned, yet was it not wholy to his content. This Lady was deliuered in *An.* 1331.
F the yeare 1331. of a ſonne by the king, who was named Don *Pedro*, and to whome the king aſſigned for a perpetuall inheritance, Aguilar del campo, and many other reuenues.

11 In thoſe times they of the Prouince of Alaua, had a cuſtome to chooſe a Lord, *Cuſtome of Alaua.*
vnder the ſoueraignty of Caſtille, who did gouerne, and enioyed the reuenues which were

were appointed for the Lords of the Countrie: ſometimes they were Princes of the A
houſe of Caſtile, the kings children, and ſometimes the Lords of Biſcay, or of the houſe
of Lara, or others, as they thought good: for the doing whereof, they were accuſtomed
to aſſemble in the field of Arriaga, neere to Victoria, and there made their election: and
thoſe of this election were called brethren, and the aſſemblie a Brotherhood. Thither
came the chiefe families of Alaua, with the Biſhop of Calaorra, and the deputies for the
Labourers: the towne of Victoria, and that of Treuigno were not of this aſſembly, but
had bin alwaies vnited to the Crowne. This yeare the Brotherhood ſent deputies vnto
the king, beeing at Burgos, deſiring him to incorporate them vnto the crowne, and that
they might no more chooſe any Lord, or ſubalternall gouernour; for that in the factions
and ſeditions paſt, they had beene diſtracted from the kings obedience, by the Gouer- B
nors, whereby the countrey had ſuffered much. The King deſirous to giue them con-
tentment, aſſuring his eſtate the more thereby, and increaſing his demeynes, came to
Victoria, and from thence to the aſſembly of the Brotherhood, beeing in the field of Ar-
riaga; whereas publikely, and in all their names, there was a petition preſented vnto him
by theſe Knights hereafter named: D. *Lopes* of Mendoça, D. *Bertrand Iuanes* of Gueuara,
Lord of Ogna, and *Ladron* of Gueuara his ſon, *Iuan Hurtado* of Mendoça, *Fernand Ruis*
of Mendoça, Arch-deacon of Calaorra, *Ruis Lopes* of Mendoça, ſons to D. *Lopes Diego*
Hurtado of Mendoça, *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, *Fernand Sanches* of Velaſco, *Gonçalo Iua-*
nez of Mendoça, and *Hurtado Diaz* his brother, *Lopes Garcia* of Salazar, and *Ruis Diaz*
of Torres. Theſe beeing followed by many other gentlemen, and the deputies of the
Clergie, and third Eſtate, preſented many Articles vnto the King, beſeeching him to C
Alua vnited to the Crowne of Caſtile. grant them, promiſing for their part, that this ſhould bee their laſt aſſembly, and that the
name and effect of their Brotherhood ſhould remaine for euer extinct. The King hauing
heard them, and giuen the Articles to his Councell to peruſe, receiued them, and vnited
the Prouince of Alaua for euer vnto the crowne of Caſtile; whereof letters were after-
ward diſpatcht at Victoria, in the yeare 1332. And theſe were the Articles.

1 That the King nor his ſucceſſors ſhould not alienate any place of his demeines.

2 That the gentlemen and their goods ſhould bee free and exempt from all ſubſi-
dies, as they had bin heretofore.

3 That the Monaſteriall Churches and Collations which belonged to Noblemen, D
ſhould be preſerued for them as before, and whereas the Incumbents were not reſident,
the gentlemen ſhould receiue the reuenues.

4 That all Labourers dwelling vpon gentlemens land, ſhould be ſubiect vnto them,
the Seigneurie, and Iuſtice ſoueraigne reſerued to the King, and the Oxe of March, but
all amercements ſhould be the Lords.

5 That the Gentlemen and others of the countrie ſhould gouerne themſelues accor-
ding to the cuſtomes and rights of Soportilla, and in all offences their cauſes ſhould bee
iudged according to the lawes of the Siete partidas.

6 That the Iudges royall, and Captaines of caſtels ſhould be borne and reſident in
the country, who could not proceed againſt any one but vpon complaint, vnleſſe they E
were condemned or baniſhed, and that all priſoners ſhould be deliuered vpon caution,
vnleſſe they were ſubiect to a corporall puniſhment.

7 That all Labourers dwelling vnder Monaſteriall Churches, and Collations of
Gentlemen, ſhould bee free and exempted from all tribute and ſubiection, except the
Oxe of March.

8 That Labourers dwelling in Pallaces and Caſtels of Gentlemen, ſhould haue the
ſame exemptions, ſo as there were but one at once, and thoſe which nurſe Gentlemens
lawfull children, ſhould enioy the like priuiledges, during the time of their nouriſh-
ment.

9 The Gentlemen which dwell in villages vnder the Iuriſdiction of Victoria, ſhould
enioy the ſame rights with them of the Prouince of Alaua: wherein ſhould bee obſerued F
the ſentence giuen betwixt the towne of Victoria, and the villages thereunto belonging.

10 Whoſoeuer ſhould kill a Gentleman, ſhould pay 500. ſolz for a fyne, and whoſoe-
uer ſhould hurt or diſhonor a gentleman, ſhould pay the like ſumme vnto the party.

11 That

A 11 That there ſhould be no forges of Iron ſet vp in the territorie of Alaua, to the end the mountaines ſhould not be conſumed.

12 That no man might build a houſe without the barre.

13 That all ſales, donations, anſwers, aſſignations and pleas, ſhold be iudged where they had beene begun.

14 That a Subſidie being demanded of him, who ſhould tearme himſelfe a Gentleman, enioying the rights of Caſtile, he ſhould be exempt.

15 That the king ſhould make no new building, or towne in Alaua.

16 That the villages of Mendoça and Mendeuil ſhould be free from all tributes and Impoſitions, and enioy the ancient rights, yet their Seigneurie ſhould belong vnto the
B Crowne.

17 That the Bourg of Guenara ſhould be free from all tribute, as it had bene before ordayned by the aſſembly of Alaua, and likewiſe of the Oxe of March, the Soueraigntie notwithſtanding belonging to the king.

Theſe were the exemptions and chiefe priuiledges granted to the Gentlemen of Alaua, in the yeare 1331. In former times all ſutes were decided and iudged without any *An.* 1331.
Lawes or Statutes, but onely by naturall reaſon, and by Arbitrators, but then they were reduced into a frame according vnto certaine Lawes, and they had a certaine ſeate of Iuſtice appointed. During the kings aboad at Victoria, he did inſtitute (as ſome affirme) the *Order of the Knights of the band.*
C Order of the Knights of the Band, to maintaine ſouldiers in Spaine, the which went to decay: yet ſome hold it was ſome yeares before. But this yeare returning to Burgos, hee ſet downe the Orders, whereof the chiefe Articles are theſe:

They carried a red band foure fingers broade, in manner of a ſcarfe, which came from the left ſhoulder vnder the right arme, the which the king gaue onely to Gentlemen which had followed the Court tenne yeares, or beene in the warre againſt the Mores and by their Orders it was not to be giuen but to younger brothers, who had no great ſhares in their fathers inheritances. Theſe Knights beeing receiued, tooke an oath to obſerue the rules of the Order which follow:

1 That the knight of the band ſhould be bound to ſpeake vnto the king for the com- *Articles of the Order.*
D mon good and defence of them of his countrie, beeing required by them.

2 That he ſhould ſpeake the truth vnto the King, and ſhould be bound to reueale vnto the King what he ſhould knowe or heare ſpoken againſt him.

3 The Knight conuicted of a lie, ſhould not carrie a ſword for one whole moneth.

4 He ſhould conuerſe with ſouldiers and other men of qualitie, and not with men of baſe conditions.

5 They ſhould keepe their promiſe to all men, of what eſtate and condition ſoeuer.

6 They ſhould be prouided of armes and horſes, vppon paine to looſe the title of Knight-hood.

E 7 The Knight ſhould not be ſeene mounted vpon a Moile, nor without band, nor ſword.

8 He ſhould be no Ieſter, but his diſcourſe ſhould be graue and honeſt.

9 He ſhould not complaine of his wounds, nor vaunt of his valour.

10 He ſhould not play at cardes nor dice, nor ingage his armes, nor apparell.

11 He ſhould honour and ſerue Ladies and Gentlewomen.

12 If two Knights of the band had a quarrell, the reſt ſhould bee bound to ſeeke all meanes to reconcile them.

13 The Knight which did vſurpe the band, and had not receiued it from the kings hands, ſhould be bound to defend it againſt two knights of the Order of the band, and if he did vanquiſh them, he might then carry it without contradiction, but if he were van-
F quiſhed, he ſhould be baniſhed from the Court.

14 Any knight winning the prize at the Iuſts of armes of the knights of the band, ſhould be receiued into their Order.

15 That the knight of the band which ſhould draw his ſword againſt another knight of the ſame Order, ſhould forbeare the Court for two moneths: and for two moneths after

after ſhould weare but halfe a band, and if he ſhould wound his companion, hee ſhould be ſixe moneths in priſon, and baniſhed the Court for ſixe moneths more. A

16 The king ſhould bee ſole Iudge of all matters concerning the knights of the Band.

17 All the knights of the Band ſhould bee bound to accompany the king vnto the warre.

18 They might not go to the war with the Band, but againſt Infidels, and in all other they ſhould lay aſide the Band.

19 The knights of the Band ſhould aſſemble thrice a yeare, to treate of the affaires of their Order, where the king ſhould appoint it, beeing mounted and armed, and the ſayd aſſemblies ſhould be in April, September, and at Chriſtmas. B

20 They ſhould exerciſe themſelues in Iouſts, Ioco de-canna, toſſing the pike, and managing of horſes, at a certaine time appointed.

21 No knight ſhould liue in Court, without ſeruing a Ladie or Gentlewoman to haue her in marriage, or otherwiſe with honour.

22 The knights of the Band ſhould be bound to be at all tourneys within ten leagues of the Court.

23 If any of them did marrie within twenty leagues of the Court, the other knights ſhould be bound to beare him companie, and to honour him and his ſpouſe, making ſome exerciſes of armes, and giuing him preſents. C

24 The firſt Sunday of euery moneth they ſhould come into the great hall of the Pallace, and there exerciſe all ſorts of armes before the king, without offending one another either maliciouſly, or in choller.

25 A knight beeing ready to dye, he ſhould be viſited, comforted, and exhorted by his companions, and after his death they ſhould be bound to aſſiſt at his funerals, and ſhould mourne a moneth, all Iouſts and exerciſes of armes ceaſing.

26 His Band that was dead ſhould be reſtored to the king by the other knights, who ſhould be ſutors to haue ſome one of his children receiued into the Order, or to obtaine ſome preſent for the widow to honour her, and entertaine her eſtate of Nobility, or to marry ſome of her daughters. D

The firſt knights of this Order, yet not all at once were choſen, without reſpect to the elder, to honour him, and not to draw it into conſequence.

The king *Alphonſo*.
The Infant D. *Pedro*.
D. *Henry*.
D. *Fernand*.
D. *Tello*.
D. *Iohn* Nugnes.
D. *Henriques*.
D. *Alphonſo Fernand Cornel*.
D. *Lope Diaz d'Almaçan*.
D *Fernand Perez Portocarrero*.
D. *Charles* of Gueuara.
D. *Fernand Henriques*.
D. *Aluar Garcia* of Albornez.
D. *Pero* Fernandes.
D. *Garcy Ieoffrey Tenorio*.
D. *Iuan Eſteuanes*.
D. *Diego Garcia* of Toledo.
D. *Martin Alphonſo* of Cardona.
D. *Gonçal Ruis de la Vega*.
D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Benauides.
D. *Garcilaço de la Vega*.
D. *Fernand Garcia Duque*.
D. *Garcia Fernandes Tello*.
D. *Pero Gonçal* of Aguero.
D. *Iohn Alphonſo Cartello*.
D. *Inigo Lopes Horozco*.
D. *Garcia Guttiere* of Caruajal.
D. *Guttiere Fernandes* of Toledo.
D. *Diego Fernandes* of Caſtiello. E
D. *Pero Ruiz* of Villegas.
D. *Alphonſo Fernandes Inge*.
D. *Ruy Gonçales* of Caſtagneda.
D. *Ruy Ramires de Guzman*.
D. *Sancho Martines de Leyua*.
D. *Iohn Gonçales* of Baçan.
D. *Pero Trillo*.
D. *Suero Perez* of Quinones.
D. *Gonçal Mexia*.
D. *Fernand Cartello*. F
D. *Iohn de Rojas*.
D. *Pero Aluarez Ozorio*.
D. *Pero Perez* of Padilla.
D. *Gil Quintagna*.
D. *Iohn Rodrigues* of Villegas.

D. *Diego*

A D.*Diego Perez Sarmiento.*
D.*Menão Rodrigues* of Viezma.
D.*Iohn Fernandes Cornel.*
D.*Iohn* of Ceruejule.
D.*Iohn Rodrigues* of Cizueros.
D.*Orion* of Liebana.
D.*Iohn Fernandes Delgadillo.*
D.*Gomes Capiello.*
D.*Bertrand* of Gueuara.
D.*Iohn Tenorio.*
D.*Obietto* of Tordeſillas.
D.*Iohn Fernandes* of Bahamon.
D.*Alphonſo Tenorio.*
Some put D. Iohn the Blind in the number of theſe Knights, which ſhewes that the Order was long before inſtituted.

Theſe were at this time the moſt renowned families of Spaine, wherof ſome are wholy extinct. Other houſes are ſince growne great, as the Velaſques, Manriques, Pimentel,
B Mendoça, Cordoua, Pacheco, Eſtunica, Fajardos, Arellanos, Tendillas, Cueuas, Andradas, Fonçecas, Luna, Villandrado, Sotomaiores.

This Order of Knight-hood did flouriſh for a time, but for that it was not religious as the reſt, it was neglected and came to nothing.

At the ſame time *Henry* of Solibert Gouernor of Nauarre, by the perſwaſion, as it is likely, of D. *Iohn Manuel*, and of Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, entred into quarrell with the king of Caſtile: and for that he knew the forces of Nauarre were not ſufficient to annoy the King of Caſtile, and that thoſe of France, were both farre off, and in warre with the Engliſh, he inſinuated himſelfe with the king of Arragon, vnder hope of a marriage betwixt D. *Ieanne* eldeſt daughter to *Philip* king of Nauarre, and Don *Pedro* Infant of Arragon, and heire to the Crowne: for this effect D. *Pero Gonçales* of Morentin, was ſent to
C Tortoſa in Cattelogne, where he was well receiued by the king, who hauing appointed D. *Pedro de Luna*, Arch-biſhop of Saragoſſa, to treate with him of this marriage, they concluded it, as we ſhall ſhew, and agreed, that it ſhould be accompliſhed within a certaine time, and that in the meane time D. *Pedro* ſhould ayde the Gouernors of Nauarre, both preſent and to come, in all the wars they ſhould haue for the realme of Nauarre. The chiefe motiue of this marriage, was D. *Iohn Alonzo de Haro*, Seigneur *de los Cameros*, who was very inward with D. *Iohn Manuel*, and ſought al occaſions to annoy king D. *Alphonſo*. D. *Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre being in France, was that yeare deliuered of the Infant D. *Charles*, heire of the Realme of Nauarre, and the County of Eureux.

Nauarre

League and marriage betwixt Nauarre and Arragon.

Caſtille.

D Another marriage was treated of in Portugal, to the preiudice of king D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile: for D. *Fernand Rodrigues* of Bilbao, Prior of S. *Iohn*, Chancelor to Queene *Mary*, wife to king D. *Alphonſo*, a great friend to D. *Iohn Manuel*, and to whome the reuenges which the king did vſually take of his Nobility were not pleaſing: beeing alſo incenſed at the familiarity which the king had with D. *Leonora* of Guzman, and at the authority ſhee had within the Realme, being alſo much deuoted to the king of Portugall, he preuailed ſo with him by his practiſes, as he cauſed a diuorce betwixt the Infant D. *Pedro* of Portugall, and his wife D. *Blanche* of Caſtile, who was very ſickly, and made him to marrie D. *Conſtance* daughter to D. *Iohn Manuel*, who thought to haue bin Queene of Caſtile. The king
E of Caſtile, who dreamed not of theſe things, thought himſelfe aſſured of the Chriſtians, and was wholy attentiue to the actions of the Moores of Granado, with whom he ſought meanes to breake the truce, by ſtopping of their victuals: but beeing better aduiſed, hee ſent to demand the tribute for that yere of king *Mahumet*, the which was paid, ſo as he ſuffered the Mores to haue paſſage for their victuals out of Andaluſia, and other places therabouts: yet king *Mahumet* vnderſtanding what ſmall aſſurance there was in this truce, and watching all occaſions, either how to free himſelfe from the ſubiection of the Chriſtians, or to annoy them: he paſt ſoone after into Affricke, to ſollicite king *Albohaçen* Miralmumin of Maroc, to make ſome great enterpriſe with him in Spaine.

13 And for that the Moores of Spaine haue alwaies had great affinity and intelligence Moores.
F with theſe Miralmumins of Affricke, it ſhall be fit to relate the continuance, ſince *Ioſeph Aben Iacob*, the ſecond king of the race of Merins, whom we left vpon the banks of Affrick trying to paſſe into Spaine in the yeare 1291. when as the king of Caſtile tooke Tariffe from him: but being ſtopt by *Benedict Zachary* Admirall of Caſtile, he conuerted his deſſeigns againſt *Alboacid* king of Tremeſſen, and his ſucceſſor *Boham*.

This Miralmumin beeing at the ſeege of Tremeſſen, a familiar friend of his called *Alfetrian*,

Bucale 3. king of the race of the Merins in Affricke.

Alfetrian, ſlue him in his bed: whereupon his ſon *Bucale* tooke vppon him the ſcepter of the Arabian Mores, and was the 3. king of the race of Merins. Being yet in the campe before Tremeſſen, *Albohaya* his vncle being inueſted by the Maroquins to take the Realme from *Bucale*, he refuſed it for himſelfe, but he aduanced another King of the ſame family of Merins, called *Botebid*, ſon to a brother of this *Bucale*, who forced him to fly, finding himſelfe too weake to make head againſt him. *Bucale* thinking to ſaue himſelfe in Affricke was ſlaine by them that purſued him, neere vnto Mont Atlas. Thus *Botebid* raigned the 4. of the familie of Merins, who at the end of the yeare, ended both raigne and life: in whoſe place *Abortabe* his Brother was the fift king of Maroc, by the helpe of certaine Chriſtian ſouldiers, who were then in Affricke, led by a knight called *Goncalo Sanches* of Troncones, who notwithſtanding had like to haue beene ſlaine by this ingratefull barbarian, being forced to ſaue his life by flight, and ſo retired into Spaine. *Abortabe* raigned onely 2. yeares, and died in the citty of Ribate, leauing the Realme of Maroc to his great Vncle *Aben Ioſeph*, ſonne to king *Iacob Aben Ioſeph*, the firſt of the family of the Merins which had raigned in Maroc, and brother to *Aben Iacob*. This *Aben Ioſeph* had one ſon called *Alboali*, whome he ſought to make king of Fez in his life time, but as he had indiſcreetly, and too ambitiouſly cheriſhed this ſon, he was forced to repent him, for ſuch was the ſons hatred, as he depriued his father of the Realme of Maroc, and appointed him (by the interceſſion of the Almodes then raigning at Tunis, who had there erected a kingdome of the reliques of their families and forces chaſed from Maroc) Bolahu for his aboade and entertainment: and *Alboali* raigned in the 7. place: but he enioyed it not long: for it was the wil of God, that this wicked ſonne fell grieuouſly ſicke in the towne of Fez, neere vnto Tremeſſen (not that Fez which is the chiefe of a kingdome) his father *Aben Ioſeph* came thither to beſeege him, and preſt him in ſuch ſort, as he was forced to leaue the realm of Maroc and Fez, and to content himſelfe with that of Sojumenca. By this meanes *Aben Ioſeph* recouered his Crowne and royall authority in Maroc, who holding *Alboali* vnworthy to ſucceed him: he appointed *Alboacen* his younger ſonne to be heire of the Crowne. *Alboali* the elder aduertiſed of this inſtitution, watched a time when both the father and the ſonne were abſent out of Maroc, and comming thither on the ſudden well accompanied, he ſeazed thereon, thinking by that meanes to haue recouered his realme: but hee was beſeeged by king *Aben Ioſeph* and *Albohacen*, vpon whom making a ſally, he was defeated, and ſore wounded, ſo as he was forced to yeeld to his fathers will, and to retire himſelfe to Sojumenca, the which was granted him againe for his portion: after which *Aben Ioſeph* liued 18. yeares quietly king of Maroc, by whoſe deceaſe ſucceeded his ſon *Alboacen*, the eighth king of the family of Merins, yet with great contention againſt his elder brother *Alboali*, who ſought by all practiſes to caſt him from his throne, and beeing not of ſtrength ſufficient himſelfe, he begged ayde of other Barbarian Kings, ſo as with the forces he obtained from king *Botexefin* ſonne to *Boham* then raigning at Tremeſſen, he came againe to beſeege the capital town of Maroc, where *Abderrahamen* a braue knight commanded, who defended it ſo valiantly, as he forced *Alboali* to retire with ſhame, who in his retreat was incountred and defeated by the kings army, and ſoone after beſeeged in his towne of Sojumenca, who ſeeing himſelfe reduced to extremitie, hee tooke a new compoſition, promiſing neuer to pretend any intereſt to the realm of Maroc, but to content himſelfe with that of Sojumenca: for aſſurance whereof he gaue his ſonne called *Bozien* for hoſtage. Wee muſt needes confeſſe that the humanity both of the father and the ſonne to *Alboali* was exceeding great, hauing ſo often rebelled, and aſpired to the crowne, a crime which doth often cauſe all reſpect of bloud and allyance to bee forgotten, euen in Chriſtian Princes. *Alboacen* riſing from Sojumenca, ouer-runne Pilla, and burnt all the countrie of Tremeſſen, in reuenge that King *Botexefin* had giuen ayde to his brother at the ſeege of Maroc: It is this *Alboacen* which had beene ſollicited by *Mahumet* king of Granado, to paſſe into Spaine againſt Don *Alphonſo* the eleuenth king of Caſtile: and who afterwards hauing ſubdued the Realmes of Sojumenca and Tremiſſen, was the greateſt Prince in all *Affricke*.

Botebid 4. king of Maroc.

Abortabe 5. king.

Aben Ioſeph 6 King of Maroc

Alboali 7. king of the race of Merins.

Alboacen 8. King of the Merins.

Returning then into Spaine, wee ſay, that *Ozmin* Generall of the forces of Granado, dyed about the yeare 1332. ſoone after the truce made betwixt Caſtile and Granado

1332.

lea-

A leauing two sonnes *Abraham* and *Abucebet*, after whose death King *Mahumet* put himselfe into fauour with King *Alboacen*, (for *Ozmin* notwithstanding that he was of the same family of Merins, had alwaies beene an enemy vnto him) wherefore *Mahumet* going to Fez, he was courteously entertayned by the Miralmumin, to whome hauing made his complaints of the King of Castile, who did alwaies trecherously breake the truce: he perswaded and intreated him, to ioyne with him against Spaine. For (sayd hee) God hauing made you the mightiest Prince of the Religion, published by the Prophet *Mahumet*, and whome so many Kings and Princes of Affricke obey, thou canst not more religiously, and with greater honour employ thy forces, then against the Christians of Spaine, our persecutors, and the implacable enemies of our law, nor more profitably addresse thy B noble enterprises, nor with hope of better successe, then against them, hauing the ports and townes of Spayne at thy command, from the Streight along the coast of the Mediterranean sea: whereunto the troubled Estate of Castile doth alwaies inuite thee, whereas Don *Alphonso*, who tearmes himselfe King, through an insatiable desire of rule, hauing spoyled his subiects of their lawfull inheritances, and pursued them in their honours and liues by tyrannous cruelty, extending his outragious disdaine euen to women of his owne bloud, and others of noble Families, hee hath so estranged most of the Princes and Noblemen of Spaine, as they now seeke our friendship, and offer to ioyne with vs, to make warre against him. It will be therefore an act worthy of thy wisedome, not to let slippe so great occasions, and befitting the generositie of thy Noble and renowned C Family, by this oportunitie to repayre the ruined honour of the Arabians, troden vnder foote in Spayne, for the sinnes of our Nation, by the will and pleasure of the great God, who shewes plainely, that hee hath now turned his wrath against the Spaniards, both Princes and people beeing plunged in all impietie, disloyalty, dissimulation, and couetousnesse.

King Mahumets words to Alboacen.

To this effect spake *Mahumet* to the King of Maroc, who heard him with great attention, and answered by the aduice of his Councell: that hee desired nothing more, then to do what he had propounded, but at that time hee could not wholy attend it as it was fit, being let by the warre which he had against the king of Tremessen, the which being ended, hee would employ himselfe in person with all his forces. In the mean time he offered D him good troupes of horse, and gaue him great summes of mony. Thus the king of Granado returned well satisfied into his country, where beeing arriued, hee sent presently to Don *Iohn Manuel*, to conclude a firme League with him, and the other Noblemen his Confederates, and to resolue of the meanes how to beginne the warre against the King of Castile.

In this league ioyned Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, Don *Iohn Martines de Leyua*, and many others: and there was sent from them vnto Granado with the messengers Moores, Don *Pero Martines Clauijo*, to haue the king confirme their accord. Wherefore the same yeare 1332. *Rodeuan* Captaine of the Lymits of Granado towards Murcia, *Abuceber* sonne to *Ozmin* deceased, and *Machilif* Gouernour of Antequera; entred the Realme of E Murcia in armes, vnto the territorie of Valencia, spoyling, killing, and burning all about Orihuela and Guardamar: from whence they returned laden with spoyles to Granado, whereby king Don *Alphonso* knew that hee must of force go to armes: for before hee had a conceit that *Mahumets* practises would proue vaine, and hoped to reclaime his Rebels, by promises and other practises, but he was deceiued. Wherefore to beginne a warre of so great waight and difficultie, hee went in pilgrimage to Saint *Iames*, and there was made Knight, beeing in compleat armour, ordayning that from thence-foorth whosoeuer should desire to be made a knight, should present himselfe armed at all peeces. Returning to Burgos, he caused himselfe to be crowned king, to giue more authoritie to his royall Maiestie: he also caused Queene *Mary* his wife to be crowned with great pompe F and charge to the Inhabitants. The next day the king did arme and make aboue an hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen Knights, in the Monasterie of Huelgas, being al couered with white. The ceremonie being ended, he gaue to the Cittie of Burgos, the place of *Nugno*, with the iurisdiction for euer, to recompence the expences they had beene at in his Coronation.

During theſe Ceremonies the king of Maroc ſent his ſonne *Abomelic*, called the Infant Picao, into Granado, with ſeuen thouſand horſe: armed *a la Genette*, who landed at Algezire, whereof the Gouernors of Tariffe and Gibraltar, did preſently aduertiſe the king of Caſtile, which newes he receiued, to checke his ioy for the birth of two children, the one by the Queene his wife in Vailledolit, whoſe name was Don *Fernand*, the other by Donna *Leonora* of Guzman, called Don *Sancho*, to whom the king aſſigned Ledeſma, and other places. Aſſoone as the Moore *Abomelic* had landed, he tooke vppon him the title of King of Algezire and Ronde, and came and beſeeged the towne of Gibraltar, in the beginning of the yeare 1333. for the releeſe whereof the king D. *Alphonſo* ſent the maſters of the militarie Orders of S. *Iames*, Calatraua, Alcantare, and the Knights of the band: A.1333. ſe king by all meanes poſſible to giue contentment to Don *Iohn Manuel* and other Noblemen which had rebelled againſt him, but it was labour loſt: wherefore hearing that the king of Granado had on the other ſide beſeeged caſtell del Rio, in the territorie of Cordoua, he marched to the fronter in perſon. Thoſe which defended caſtel del Rio, beeing commanded by *Martin Alphonſo*, behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, with ſome ſmall ſuccours which came vnto them from Cordoua, as the king of Granado rayſed the ſeege and went to Cabra, a towne belonging to the knights of Calatraua, the which hee tooke by the treaſon of the Gouernour *Pero Diaz* of Agrayo, and hauing ſent the priſoners hee found in it to Granado, he razed the place. The towne of Gibaltar beeing battered and furiouſly aſſaulted by the Affricane Moores, for the ſpace of fiue moneths, hauing receiued no ſuccours from the King of Caſtile, was yeelded vp by *Vaſco Perez de de Meyra*, who in ſtead of imploying the kings mony about the fortification of the place, and to furniſh it with victuals and other neceſſaries, had made goodly purchaſes for his owne particular, about Xeres.

After the taking of Cabra, D. I*ohn Nugnes de* P*rado*, maſter of Calatraua, preſented himſelfe in view of the Moores army, with the troupes of Cordoua, Eccia, Carmona, Marchena, and other places, meaning to giue them battell, but king *Mahumet* retired himſelfe. King Don *Alphonſo* finding all things in diſorder at his comming to Seuile, hee preſently led his army before Gibraltar, to recouer it from the enemy, before they ſhould haue leyſure to fortifie it, but it was manned with a great garriſon, which made many ſallies, the which was loſſe of many good men of either part: in the end the Chriſtian army beeing greatly oppreſt with hunger, the gallies beeing not able to furniſh the campe with victuals, they were forced to rayſe the ſeege, to returne another time, as they did. At the retreat of *Abomelic*, King of Algezire, they ſurprized in the paſſage ſo greata number of Chriſtians of all ſorts, as beeing led to Algezire, the beſt of theſe poore ſlaues was ſold for a doublon. Some months after, the King of Granado tooke the caſtell of Benamexi, a place belonging to the knights of S. *Iames*, the which was defended by *Gomes Arias*, and afterwards ſpoyled the territorie of Cordoua, euen to the citty gates, finding not any reſiſtance: for the army returned to the ſeege of Gibraltar, the which they found more difficult then before, yet the Chriſtians vſed all diligence to batter, myne, ſappe, and aſſault it continually: king *Abomelic* ſent to haue the king of Granado to approch with his forces, beeing reſolued to giue battel, and to rayſe the ſeege from Gibraltar. King *Arahumet* was readie, and came and camped neere vnto the riuer of Guadiara, aduertiſing *Abomelic* of his beeing there, who came to field, whereas the two Moriſh armyes ioyned, within a league of the king of Caſtiles campe, to whom they preſented themſelues in battel three dayes together: but D. *Alphonſo* was aduiſed to forbeare, and wiſely. For the hazard of a battell, drawes after it either the happines, or the ruine of an eſtate, and ſhould neuer be put in queſtion by any wiſe captaine within his owne countrie, but vpon very great aduantage, wherefore he fortified his campe with a trench, which reached to either ſhoore. The armies hauing continued thus neere together ſome dayes without fighting, there was a truce propounded, whereunto king D. *Alphonſo* was the more willing to yeeld hauing newes of many inſolencies which the rebels of Caſtile had committed. Wherefore it was concluded of either ſide for foure yeares, the king of Granado remaining vaſſall to him of Caſtile, paying a tribute of 12000. doublons, and Gibraltar ſhould remaine in the poſſeſſion of *Abomelic*, who ioyned it to his titles.

Townes taken by the Moores.

During

During this warre D. *Iohn Manuel*, and Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, had conference with Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, at the caſtell of Habib, ſeeking to draw him to their league, againſt D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile his brother-in-law, but they could not preuaile. Theſe, with other of their faction, began to ouer-runne the countrie, to take townes and priſoners, and to do all acts of hoſtility, in the Realme of Caſtile. The king hearing of this ſpoyle, at the very inſtant when as he was aduertiſed of the death of his onely ſonne and heire Don *Fernand*, in the citty of Toro, was wonderfully afflicted, and therefore inclined to a truce, as we haue ſayd: after which he was viſited by king *Mahumet* in his campe, whome he receiued kindly, giuing great preſents one vnto another. King *Mahumet* returning to his army, many that were deſirous of innouation, murmured at this interview, and reproched vnto the king, that he had eaten with a Chriſtian king. Among others *Abraham* and *Abuceber*, ſons to *Ozmin*, (ſmothering in their breſts an hereditarie hatred againſt this king, and all his houſe) made a conſpiracie, with ſuch as they knew to be ill affected, hauing intelligence with *Mahomad Alhamar*, already mentioned in the conſpiracie againſt his father: and watching an oportunity to put their wicked deſſeigne in execution, ſeeing him one day attired in a rich roabe which king D. *Alphonſo* had giuen him they began to deteſt him, and to rayle of him to all men, ſaying, that he ſhewed himſelfe to be baſe and a coward, and that as he did outwardly carry the badge of a Chriſtian, ſo there was no doubt but he was infected within: with ſuch and the like reaſons he incenſed the Moores in generall, ſo as they ſlue the king inhumanely with their ſwords at the entry of his tent, as he was talking with his Alguazil in the 23. yeare of his age, and of the Arabians 716. hauing raigned in Granado eleuen yeares.

Death of D. Fernand heire of Caſtile.

Mahumet king of Granado murthered by his ſubiects.

Ioſeph the ſeuenth King of Granado.

AT the time of this murther committed on the perſon of a king by his execrable ſubiects, from whom they had receiued all good honour; *Rodoan*, a captaine of great authoritie, and much fauoured by the deceaſed king, whoſe Alguazil he had beene, was then abſent from the armie, but he was ſoone aduertiſed of this diſaſter, wherefore he went with all the ſpeed he could, not vnto the campe, to pacifie the mutinies which might riſe by reaſon of this accident, but to the cittie of Granado, wheras king *Mahumets* brethren were bred vp, which were two, *Farrachen* the elder, and *Ioſeph* the yonger, into whoſe hands (beeing moſt affected to him) he would put the ſcepter of the Granadins, as he did to the preiudice of the elder, and hauing great authority in the cittie of Granado, he cauſed the people to chooſe *Ioſeph*. The example of which citty was followed by all the reſt of the kingdome, and ſoone after allowed by *Abomelic*, King of Algezire, and by *Abraham* and *Abucebet*, the murtherers of king *Mahumet*, who contemning the truce made ſome few daies before with the king of Caſtile, and wheron they had taken occaſion to murther their Prince, thought to breake it inſtantly, preſuming that the tumult of armes, and the neceſſitie of warre would paſſe ouer their treaſon with ſilence, the which in a time of peace might be puniſhed. *Abomelic* beeing as deſirous of warre, ſent Ambaſſadors to Granado to this effect: to congratulate the Kings elections, and to perſwade him to take armes, and to go to field. The new king thinking it not conuenient to oppoſe himſelfe to the deſire of the men of warre, for that they were yet mutined with the murther of the King his brother, committed in the middeſt of their campe, in hatred of the truce, and fearing that *Ferrachen* his elder brother, would eaſily winne them, if they were diſcontented, he ſuffered himſelfe to be perſwaded: whereupon he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Miralmumin of Maroc, that he might be receiued vnder his protection, the which hee obtayned.

The King of Caſtile beeing aduertiſed of theſe practiſes, as hee was readie to diſlodge from Seuile, to go and ſuppreſſe the Rebels, hee was forced to ſtay there. And

Caſtile.

at the ſame time hauing diſcouered, that certaine Knights had had a ſecret Conſpiracy with king *Mahumet* deceaſed, to the preiudice of his Crown, he cauſed one of them called *Diego Sanches de Iaen* to be executed at Cordoua, the reſt fled into the Moores countrie, of which number were Don *Gonçalo* Lord of Aguilar and Montilla, and his brother Don *Fernand Gonçales* of Aguilar, who made themſelues vaſſals to the king of Granado, and by them and others of the ſame ſort, (who were well entertayned by king *Ioſeph*) the warre was begun; making roades from their Caſtels of Aguilar, Montilla, Monturgue, and other forts which were in their hands, agreeing with D. *Iohn Manuel*, D. *Nugno de Lara*, and other rebels, who for their parts committed no leſſe exceſſe in Caſtile, the which did much trouble the king Don. *Alphonſo*, fearing aboue all, that the brethren of *Aguilar* would deliuer the places which they held, vnto the Moores.

Seuerity of the king of Caſtile, makes many Chriſtian Knights fly to the Moores.

Moores.

Alboacen king of Maroc was glad of theſe troubles, and deſired to entertain the reuolts of Caſtile, for that he had an intent to go in perſon into Spaine, with a great power, as ſoone as the warre of Tremeſſen ſhould giue him any leyſure, the which notwithſtanding did ſo trouble him, as he changed his reſolution for a time, and was ſo preſt, as hee called home ſome of his troupes, which he had ſent into Spaine with his ſon *Abomelic*: whereupon he ſent him word, that he ſhould ſeeke by all ſecret practiſes to make a truce for himſelfe alone, aduertiſing him, that if the king of Caſtiles ambaſſadors ſhould demand, if he meant to comprehend King *Alboacen* his father, hee ſhould anſwer, that it might bee hee would accept thereof, if any meſſengers were ſent vnto him. According to theſe inſtructions *Abomelic* ſent Ambaſſadors to king D. *Alphonſo* being at Seuile, to treat of a truce, to whom the queſtion was made according to king *Alboacens* deſire, and vpon their anſwer D. *Gonçalo Garcia* of Gallegos, Alcaide maior of Seuile, was ſent to Maroc to vnderſtand king *Alboacens* will concerning this truce, who anſwered, that hee would willingly enter, ſo as *Ioſeph* the new king of Granado were comprehended: for being vnder his protection, he could not abandon him, deſiring that he might be aſſured from all troubles, and moreouer freed from the tribute which hee payed to the king of Caſtile during this truce. The Alcaide who had no ſuch commiſſion, aduertiſed the king his maſter, who ſeeing himſelfe annoyed by his owne ſubiects, was content the king of Granado ſhould bee comprehended, and that he ſhould not pay any tribute during the truce, the which was concluded in the beginning of the yeare 1334. to continue foure yeares, cauſing king *Alboacen* to make his Letters pattents ſealed with a ſeale of gold, and ſo in like manner did D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, *Abomelic* of Algezire and *Ioſeph* of Granado. This *Ioſeph* called *Aben Amet* was the firſt King of the Moores of Granado, that was exempt from paying tribute to the kings of Caſtile in time of peace, through the fauour of the king of Maroc, and the factions and ſeditions of Caſtile.

Truce very beneficial for the Moores.

1334.

Caſtile.

14 King Don *Alphonſo* beeing thus afflicted betwixt warre and truce, in the Cittie of Seuile Donna *Loonora* of Guzman brought him two ſonnes at one birth. Don *Henry*, who obtayned the Realme of Caſtile, as you ſhall heare, and Don *Fredericke* who was Maſter of the Order of Saint *Iames*.

About March this yeare 1334. the king went from Seuile, hauing prouided for the places on the fronters, as it was neceſſarie, and came to Vailledolit where hauing ſuddenly raiſed an armie, he marched againſt the Rebels, and hauing taken ſome places from them, he came to Lerma, whereas Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* was, for whom he layed many ambuſhes, but without effect: wherefore he entred into Biſcay, and beeing at Guernica, a place deputed for the aſſembly of the Eſtates of the countrie, vnder a tree, after the manner of their anceſtors, he receiued from them the oath of fealty, and they yeelded vnto him moſt of the townes and places of the country: for ſome held yet for Donna *Maria* of Haro their Lady. This beeing done, hee came to Bermeo, and aſſayled a caſtell vpon the ſea, called Saint Iohn de la Pegna, two ſmall Leagues from Bermeo: the Garriſon was obſtinat in the defence thereof, and would not yeeld: wherefore the king beeing called away for matters of greater conſequence, built certaine ſmall forts about it, and manned them with ſouldiers to hinder their going in and comming out, and came to Logrogno, and from thence to Algoncillo, where hee ſurprized Don *Iohn Alphonſo de Haro*, Lord of that place, one of the rebels, whome he cauſed preſently to be ſlayne, and

A and did confiſcate his goods, except los Cameros, which he gaue vnto his brother: then returning to Burgos, he beſeeged Herrera, a place belonging to Don *Iohn Nugnes*, who either wearie of the warre, or diſtruſting the euent thereof, hee made his peace with the king, and returned to his ſeruice.

During this ſeege Queene *Mary* was brought in bed of a ſonne at Burgos, who was named Don *Pedro* heire of the kingdome. The Writers of Arragon ſay, that this Infant was ſuppoſed by Queene *Mary*, being iealous that the king her husband did ſo loue D. *Leonora* of Guzman, and that ſhe brought him ſo many children. The king hauing pacified the troubles towards Biſcay, he marched with his army towards D. *Iohn Manuels* country, and beſeeged Rojas, the which was defended by a Gentleman called *Diego Gil*, in the name of
B D. *Lope Diaz de Rojas*, vaſſall to Don *Iohn Manuel*. This *Diego Gil*, hauing made ſome reſiſtance, in the end yeelded, vppon condition to haue their liues ſaued: notwithſtanding the king condemned him to death, with ſome others, for that he had reſiſted againſt the Standard royall. And then there was an Edict made: That all Gentlemen holding towns, caſtels, or houſes of ſtrength, belonging to any Nobleman, knight, or other of the kings vaſſals, the king comming thither in perſon, they ſhould be bound to receiue him, without any imputation: if not, they ſhould looſe their liues: which Decree was afterwards put in practiſe vppon the Gouernour of Iſcar, who loſt his head, for that hee had preſumed to reſiſt the king.

Diſloyalty of King D. Alphonſo.

Edict againſt Captaines of places, that did reſiſt the king.

About the end of the yeare, king Don *Alphonſo* came to Atera, a place neere to Cala-
C tajub, where he found Donna *Leonora* his ſiſter, Queene of Arragon, with whome hauing treated of certaine affaires, he returned to Vailledolit, where by the negotiation of certaine Mediators, an accord was made betwixt him and Don *Iohn Manuel*, and a peace throughout all the Realme, which the Spaniſh Authors attribute to his ſeueritie againſt the Rebels, when hee tooke them, condemning moſt of them after their deaths: about the ſame time Donna *Leonora* of Guzman was deliuered of a Sonne, whome the King named Don *Fernand*: for which cauſe there were generally great feaſts and Ioy, and at Court there was a ſtately tourney: where on the one ſide the knights of the Band did runne, among the which was the king in a diſguiſed habit.

Accord betwixt the king of Caſtile and Don Iohn Manuel.

15 The yeare following 1335. there were ſome alterations towards Nauarre, Nauarre
D which Realme was gouerned by *Henry* of Solibert, aboue-named, beeing reſident in the Caſtell of Olite, with three thouſand Livres of entertaynment, the places of ſtrength beeing put by the Eſtates into the hands of faithfull Knights. The Caſtels of the riuer, whereof *Arnaud* of Leet was Merin or Gouernour, were held by theſe Captaines following:

At the caſtell of Cortes, commanded *Iohn de Soici*.
At Herrera, *Pero Sanches* of Varelo.
At Penna Ronde, Pero Ximenes of Funez.
E At Corell, *Pero Sanches* of Montagu, ſonne to *Fortun*.
At Araciel, *Inigo Aznar* of Corello.
At Sancho Abarca, *Mathew Saillant*.
At Eſtaca, *Garci* Perez of Dax.
At Valtierra, *Geoffrey* of Villaribo.
At Cadrieta, *Gonçalo* Perez of Gorrocian.
At Coparroſſo, D. *Alphonſo* of Spaine.
At Ablitas, *Iohn Martines* of Necueſſa.
At Arguedas, *Pero Sanches* of Montagu, ſonne to *Pero*.
Artaxone was held by the Inhabitants.
F The Caſtell of Rade, by *Symon Martines* of Baraſoayn, for the Heires of *Oger* of Mauleon, for want of homage.
In the Merindad or Iuriſdiction of Sangueſſa, whereas *Oger* of Gramont was Merin, there commanded.

At Saint Care, *Iohn Renaut le Chat.*
At the caſtell of Murillo, *Diego Peres* of Eſperun.
At S. Martin of Vnx, *Garci Ximenes* of S. Martin.
At Vxue, D. *Alphonſo* of Spaine.
At Gallipienço, *Pedro Arnaud* of Vrtuuia.
At Caſſeda, *Stephen* of Cormelles.
At Pegna, *Peter* of Cuyuero.
At the old caſtell of Sangueſſa, *Garcy Arnaldes* of Eſpleta.
At Petiella in Arragon, D. *Martin Fernandes de Sarança.*
At Pintano, D. *Simon de Sotes.*
At Ongaçaria, *Helias Martines* of Irurozgui.
At Leguin, *Iohn Martines* of Euſa.
At Yrurtegui, *Martin Garcia* of Ollaogui.
At Valcarlos, *Martin Inigues* of Vrça.
At Rochfort, *Lobet* of Narbays.
At Monteyran, *Pedro Sanches* of Olicaratea.
At Rochbrun, *Willyam Arnand Durdes.*
At Guerga, *Iohn de Sauain.*
At Thiebes, *Garci Michel* of Eſcayren.
At Caſtell-nouo, *Roderigo* of Ayuar.
At Burgui, *Pedro Aznar* of Ezcura.
At Yſaba, *Martin Garcia* of Leyun.
In the Merindad or Iuriſdiction of Pampelone, *Fernand Diaz de villa alta*, held the caſtell of Toloyna.
Iohn of Rouceray, that of Aza.
Iohn of Bulli, Labraca.
Iohn Fernandes of Baguedan, the caſtell of Oro.
Bernard of S. Pelage, that of Falces.
Pedro Garcia of Ciraguegui, Carçar.
Iohn Botayroa, and *Martin Sanches* of Villamera, the caſtle of Lana.
Roger of Alamaina, Andofilla.
Corbaran of Leet, Reça.
Romieu Martines of Arrornis, Açagra.
Alphonſo Diaz of Morentiu, Peralta.
Diego Sanches of Eulate, Artaçona.
Iohn Velez of Medrano, the tower of Viana.
Diego Lopes of Alſaſua, the caſtell of Toro.
Martin Sanches of Azedo, Maragnon.
Iohn Moreuint, the caſtell of la Garde.
Renauld of Bourray, the caſtell of Milagro.
Alphonſo Perez of Morantiu, the caſtell of Montjordan.
Garci Sanches of Eſpeleta, Lerin.
Ordoniz of Blandiaco, Funes.
D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Mirafuentes, Arcos.
Lope Perez of Agnoa, the caſtell of Miranda.
Philip of Coynon, the caſtell of Belmarques.
Sancho Perez of Lodoça, the tower of Mendauia.
Michel Ramires of Cuſia, the caſtell of Celatambor.
Sancho of Liçaraçu, the caſtell of Larraga.

Which Captaines of Forts were all entertayned by the King, and enioyed many priuiledges, according to the lawes and cuſtomes of Nauarre. The treatie of marriage continued ſtill, betwixt the Infant of Nauarre, and D. *Pedro* heire of Arragon, by D. *Pedro de Luna*, Arch-biſhop of Sarragoſſa, D. *Pedro Gonçales* of Morentiu, and other Deputies, who hauing beene long together in the towne of Cortez, concluded it in the yeare 1334.

The

A The conditions were, that King *Philip* of Nauarre, ſhould giue in dowry with his daughter D.*Ieanne*, a 100000. Sanchots, which were worth ſo many Liuers turnois, and for aſſurance of a future marriage, there were giuen in pawne for Nauarre, Leſcar, Arguedas, Saint Care, Murillo, Gallipenço and Murgui; and for the King of Arragon, Fayos, Boria, Malona, Campdalijub, Sos and Sauveterre, & the Articles were ſigned by the parties with many knights at Daroca. The King of Caſtille hearing of this alliance, being iealous and foreſeeing that they ſought but an occaſition of warre, he wrote vnto the Gouernor, that hee could neuer vnderſtand that his ſubiects had wronged the Nauarrois, and that if any thing had beene committed which required reparation, hee was readie to ſee it done: but the Gouernor giuing a deafe eare to that which hee had

Ten thouſand pound.

B written, perſiſted in his reſolution and ſeized vpon the Monaſtery of Hitero by force, being then in the poſſeſſion of Caſtille, and had before beene of Nauarre. The King of Caſtille ſeeing the warre to be ineuitable, ſent to the King of Arragon, to intreat him to be a meanes, that his ſonne D. *Pedro*, might not ioyne with the Nauarrois, nor aide them to annoy Caſtille. The King of Arragon, beeing verie ſicke anſwered that his indiſpoſition would not ſuffer him to thinke of ſuch affaires, and that if his ſonne had a will to fauor the Nauarrois, he could not hinder him, being in that Eſtate. This anſwere beeing made knowne to the Arragonois, they grewe more deſirous to ioyne with the Nauarrois, wherevpon D. *Lope de Luna*, one of the greateſt Noblemen of the Realme, D. *Michel Perez Zapata* and *Lopes Garcia*, accompanied with many other knights, whom

VVarre betwixt Nauar and Caſtille.

C the Infant D. *Pedro* gaue them, to the number of fiue hundred horſe, came to the Gouernor to Tudele, from whence enting into Caſtille with the forces of Nauarre, they made a great ſpoile, and brought away a great booty, finding not any one to make head againſt them: whereof the King of Caſtille beeing aduertiſed, hee was much greeued, giuing the ſpeedieſt order hee could to man the frontiers: hee ſent D. *Alphonſo Ortiz* Prior of Saint Iohn, to D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, to the end hee ſhould take vpon him the charge to defend the country, with ſuch troupes as hee ſhould giue him: but D. *Iohn* notwithſtanding his reconciliation with the King, would not truſt him, keeping himſelfe ſtill in Biſcay, and yet the King promiſed to giue him Maralles and Villalon, with many

D other things: wherefore King D. *Alphonſo* made *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero* Generall of this warre, and ſent with him vnto the frontier D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, ſonne to D. *Lopes* the little, D. *Fernand Rodrigues* of Villalobos, D. *Iohn Garcia Manriques*, D. *Rodrigo* of Ciſneros, D. *Pero Nugnes de Guzman*, and his brother, *Ramir Flores*, D. *Lopes Diaz* of Almaſan, D. *Gonçalo Ruis Giron*, D. *Gonçalo Ruis Diaça*, D. *Aluar Rodrigues Daça*, *Alphonſo Fernandes Cornel*, *Garſilaſo de la Vega*, and his brother *Gonçalo Ruis de la Vega*, *Pero Ruis Carilli*, *Iohn Alphonſo* of Benauides, D. *Rodrigues* of Sandoual, *Sancho Sanches de Roias*, and many other knights of marke, which did not refuſe to march vnder *Martin Fernandes*, although there were many amongſt them of greater houſes, in regard that hee did repreſent the perſon of the Infant D. *Pedro* of Caſtille, and had diſplayed the ſtandard royall, and was appointed by the King to be his Lieutenant generall; and as the

E King ſought to make his excuſe, ſaying, that hee would gladly his ſonne had beene of age to goe to horſe, and that hee would willingly haue made him their leader and generall, they anſwered, that they would not onely obey *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*, whom they knew to bee a worthy knight, ſeeing hee gaue him them for their Leader, but any one of leſſe qualitie, yea a groome of his ſtable, if he commaunded it.

Obedience of the Noblemen of Caſtille to their King and Lord.

The Gouernor of Nauarre beeing aduertiſed of this army of Caſtillans, fortefied the Monaſtery of Hitero, and ſent thether D. *Michel Perez Zapata*, thinking they would come and aſſaile it. The Caſtillans being all aſſembled at Alfaro, leauing the Monaſtery, marched directly towards Tudele; being diſcouered, the Arragonois and Nauarrois ſallied forth to incounter them, not caring to attend the returne of *Michel Perez*, who

F had led part of their forces to Hitero.

The Caſtillans were ſtronger in horſe, and the place fit to vſe them: wherefore beeing ioyned, although the Nauarrois made great reſiſtance, yet they were put to rout, and repulſt towards the towne, with great ſlaughter, and the loſſe of many that were taken priſoners. And you muſt vnderſtand that neither the Gouernor, not D. *Lope*

Defeat of the Arragonois and Nauarrois by the Caſtillans.

de

de Luna, were at this charge, but kept themſelues in Tudela, ſo as the army of Arragonois and Nauarrois were without a head, and were chaſed euen to the towne gates. The victorious Caſtillans returning towards Alfaro, incountred *Michel Perez Zapata*, with his troupes, comming from Hitero, who put his men in battaile, by the fauor of a Dich, the which he defended againſt his enemies, who were full of fury, after their late victory, and ſought to force it, but many miſcarried: yet the multitude of the Caſtillans preuailed, and *Michel Perez* was ouerthrowne, and taken priſoner with many others: if night had not approcht without doubt (as the Hiſtories ſay) the Nauarrois and Arragonois, in this laſt incounter, had beene all put to the ſword. A

Thus the Caſtillans after two victories, returned with many priſoners, and great ſpoiles to Alfaro, forbearing for a time to returne into Nauarre, hauing not gotten theſe victories without loſſe. Thoſe that were in the Monaſtery of Saint Mary of Hitero, notwithſtanding that they were well fortefied, and furniſhed with victuals, durſt not abide there, ſo as the Caſtillans ſeized thereon, from whence they went to beſeege the Caſtille of Tudeguen, in the which there was a garriſon of Gaſcons and Nauarrois, who yeelded the place; beeing perſwaded by the faire ſpeeches of a Caſtillan monke, who was in the caſtle with them. The Caſtillans taking heart by this happy ſucceſſe returned afterwards thrice into Nauarre, and ſpoiled the country, carrying away many priſoners, and great ſtore of cattaile. B

Guipuſcoans enemies to the Nauarrois.

On the other ſide the people of Guipuſcoa, hearing of the warre, vpon the frontiers of Caſtille, Nauarre and Arragon, hauing no commaundement, entred in armes into Nauarre, vnder the conduct of *Lopes Garcia* of Lazcano, whom they made their captaine, ſpoyling a great part of the country of the iuriſdiction of *Pampelone*; and in the end they laied ſeege to the caſtle of Vnça, which they tooke. The King of Caſtille aduertiſed of theſe happy exploits, was deſirous to ſtay the courſe of their victories, fearing leaſt hee ſhould kindle a warre betwixt France and Spaine, which ſhould not bee eaſily quencht: wherefore he commaunded them to containe themſelues, and onely to defend the frontiers of his Kingdome, yea hee called home moſt of the captaines and knights, which were vnder the Infant D. *Pedro's Banner*, being led by *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*. Hee and ſome others did inſtantly obey, but *Garcilaſo de la Vega*, and *Gonçalo Ruis* his brother, made an other roade, with certaine troupes, into Nauarre, about Soſiere, where they left lamentable markes, burning and ſpoyling all they found. The newes of theſe outrages came into France, which did mooue many kinſmen, friends and ſubiects of King *Philip* to apprehend the ſpoiles which the Caſtillans had made in Nauarre, among the which *Gaſton* Lord of Bearne, and Earle of Foix made haſt to paſſe the mountaines, with many ſouldiers, *Bearnois* and *Gaſcons*, and hauing taken view of his troupes at Viane, which is a league from Logrogno, he entred into Caſtille, where hee made the like ſpoile as the Caſtillans had done in Nauarre, and then came and camped before Logrogno, the Inhabitants whereof ſallied forth vpon them, beeing led by a gentleman of the country called *Ruis Diaz* of Gaona, but they were repulſt into the towne, and purſued ſo neere, as without the valour of *Ruis Diaz* of Gaona (who with three companions made head againſt the enemies, at the entry of the bridge, whilſt the reſt had recouered the towne, and aſſured the Ports) they had entred Pel-mel with them, and taken Logrogno. This Eſquier imploied his life for the preſeruation of his country, imitating (but with leſſe happineſſe) the example of the Romaine *Horatius Cocles*, for hee was ſlaine vpon the bridge. The Earle of Foix fayling of his hope to take Logrogno by this meanes, returned with his men to Viana. C D E F

Gaſton Earle of Foix the firſt of that name.

Defeate of the garriſon of Logrogno by the Earle of Foix.

The King of Caſtille beeing in the meane time aduertiſed of his comming, had commanded many companies of foote and horſe to march towards the frontiers, meaning that when they had raiſed a great army, they ſhould enter into Nauarre, if it were conuenient, ſo as it was likely there would bee a dangerous warre betwixt theſe two mighty Kingdomes: for it is to bee preſumed the French King would haue beene engaged, in fauour of his couſin *Philip* King of Nauarre, and not to giue occaſion to the Spaniards to preſume to paſſe ſo eaſily ouer the limits wherewith nature had diuided thoſe two nations. But it was the will of God, that in this heat of their courrages of either ſide, Iohn

Arch-

A Archbiſhop of Rheims came into Nauar, going in pilgrimage to Saint *Iames* of Gallicia, who ſeeing this warre begunne betwixt the Nauarrois and the Caſtillans, for light occaſions; wrote a letter to the King of Caſtile, admoniſhing him to harken vnto a peace. The King who was no leſſe deſirous then the Archbiſhop, imbraced this occaſion; and ſhewing that the reuerence of ſo great a prelat, made him willing to obey his holy aduertiſments, he ſent vnto him *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*, D. *Gil Carillo* of Albornoz, Archdeacon of Calatraua in the church of Toledo, who was afterwards Cardinall. By the aduice and reſolution of which three, with whom was ioyned *Fernand Sanches* of Vailledolit, notarie Maior, or Secretary of Caſtille, who concluded a peace vpon theſe conditions.

B That there ſhould be peace betwixt *Philip* King of Nauarre and D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, their vaſſals and ſubiects, and a ceſſation of armes for a certaine time. That foure commiſſioners ſhould bee named, two for Nauarre, and two for Caſtile, for the reſtabliſhment and reſtitution of what had beene taken of either part, and for the reparation of any thing that ſhould bee committed to the preiudice of this accord. That the Monaſtery of Santa Maria of Hitero, ſhould be reſtored to the Monkes, who ſhould remaine Neuters, vntill it were decided to what iuriſdiction it did belong: to the end the diuine ſeruice ſhould not be interrupted, nor they any waies moleſted by the Nauarrois or Caſtillans. That the caſtles of Tudeguen and Vrſa ſhould remaine in the poſſeſſion of the King of Caſtile, vntil their differences were decided, and a definitiue ſentence giuen. That in regard of the propriety of the Monaſtery of Hitero, there ſhould bee arbitrators choſen, a Nauarrois, a Caſtillan and a Cardinal of Rome, who ſhould bee agreeable to both parties, to iudge thereof, and in the meane time all quarrels ſhould ceaſe betwixt the two realmes, Kings and ſubiects. Theſe Articles beeing concluded, they were afterwards confirmed by the two Kings. *Peace betwixt Nauarre and Caſtile.*

C

16 During theſe warres of the King of Caſtille againſt the Moores and his Rebels, and againſt Nauarre, the realme of Arragon was troubled with the quarrels and hatred of the Queene D. *Leonor* againſt the Infant D. *Pedro* her ſonne in law, ſhewing herſelfe in all ſhee could, a right mother in law. Wherein ſhee was the more to bee feared, for that ſhe did gouerne the King D. *Alphonſo* her husband at her pleaſure, and did worke in D him what impreſſions ſhe would, ſo as many times the Infant was in great danger, which he did afterwards reuenge. Beſides theſe inteſtine iarres, the King of Arragon was much troubled which the continual rebellions of the Sardiniens, and their Lords, who were for the moſt part Geneuois, but hee wrought ſo by his wiſdome, and dilligence, as without vſing any force, but in extremity, he reduced moſt of them to his deuotion. *Francis d'Oria* ſonne to *Leonard*, as well in his owne name, as of *Alion*, *Marian Fabian Dignamin*, and *Nicholas* of Oria, came and did homage to the King, and obtained pardon, and confirmation of all the Lands which they did hold in Sardinia; vpon condition that they ſhould not giue any aide nor fauour to the rebels and baniſhed men of the towne of Saſſari, where notwithſtanding the King granted a repeale for ſuch as had beene con- E demned for light crimes, but thoſe of the families of the *Cathons*, *Pali* and *d'Oria*, who had beene condemned of high treaſon, by D. *Berenger* of Caroſſo, were baniſhed the Iſland for euer. This nation of the Sardes was ſo prompt to reuolt, as notwithſtanding any prouiſion the King of Arragon could make, and all accords and treaties, hee was conſtrained to be watchful, with care, and exeeding great charge. *Ayton* of Oria hauing rigged out nine gallies, and ſome other Genouay ſhips of the Ghibeline faction, remayning at Sauonne, houering about the Iſland of Sardinia, ſurprized neere vnto Cap de Terre, nine ſhips of Cattelogna, and ſunke them, and ſo paſſing on he terrified all the Arragonois in the Iſland, and held the fort of Cailleri as it were beſeeged for a time, which F made all the Sardiniens in a manner to rebel: wherevpon D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon ſent D. *Raymond* of Cardona thether, a captaine of great experience, and made him Lieutenant general of that Iſland. Arragon. *Sardinien. turbulent.* *Geneuois of the Ghibeline faction againſt the Arragonois in Sardinia.*

Theſe things paſt in the yeere of our Lord 1330. about the time that the Moores did inuade the realme of Murcia, of the which wee haue treated, at which time the Infant D. *Pedro* Earl of Ribagorça and Amputias, the Kings brother married *Ieanne* ſiſter to *Gaſton*

Earle

Earle of Foix, the firſt of that name, and daughter to *Roger Bernard*. A

The Cattelans enemies irreconciliable to the Geneuois, and newly incenſed by the loſſes which they had receiued by the army of *Ayton d' Oria*, who after that he had ſpoiled all that he found of the Arragonois faction vpon the bankes of Sardinia, retired into Corſica, to the Port of *Boniface*; they drew out of their Ports and Hauens of Cattelogne about forty Gallies, and thirty Foiſts and Brigantins, and directing their courſe towards the riuer of Genoa, they burnt al the Geneuois houſes of pleaſure, without reſpect of friend or foe: for the common weale of Genoa being then diuided, by reaſon of the faction of Guelphes and Ghibelins; the Ghibilins open enemies to the King of Arragon did for the moſt reſide at Sauonne, and from thence made their ſallies and enterpriſes; ſometimes drawing ſome priuate men of the Guelphes faction, to runne vp- B on the Cattelans, by reaſon whereof this Cattelan army intreated them all after one manner.

Cattelans burne and ſpoile the riuer of Genoa.

During theſe wrackes, *Luke* of Fieſco one of the chiefe of the Guelphes faction, had begunne to treat with King D. *Alphonſo*, by the meanes of *Francis* of Saint Eulalia, that if he would harken to a good accord with the Geneuois, holding the city of Genoa for friend, and forget al wrongs done, they would furniſh him with fifteene gallies, and follow his ſtandard againſt the Geneuois Ghibelins remayning at Sauonne, who had cauſed all the reuolts and troubles in Sardinia, wherewith the King was very well pleaſed: but the ſpoiles which the Cattelan army had made during the treaty in the riuer of Genoa intercepted all; ſo as theſe two factions of Genoa, being equally afflicted by a forraine enemy, were the more willing to giue credit to the perſwaſions of *Robert* King of Na- C ples, who reconciled them, and then they ioyned againſt the King of Arragon, to diſpoſſeſſe him of the Iſland of Sardinia. The heads of the two factions, were the families of Oria for the Guelphes, and Spinola for the Ghibelins. Beeing thus incenſed they runne along the coaſt of Cattelogne, with three ſcore ſaile, where they tooke many ſhips and other ſpoiles, leauing lamentable ſpectacles in all places where they had landed. Thirteene of their gallies paſſing from thence into Sardinia, attempted the fort and Port of Caillerij in vaine, from whence they were repulſt with loſſe. Theſe warres at ſea, betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuois might bee held equall, for they were the mightieſt nations at ſea in that age. All was full of difficultie, and iealouſie in the Iſland, notwithſtanding that King Don *Alphonſo*, by his bountie, aduancements, alliances D and marriages contracted in his fauour, and at his inſtance betwixt the Noblemen Cattelans, and Sardiniens, or Geneuois (hauing charges or lands in the Iſland) had ſought to draw them vnto him, and to make them friends, and affected to his party: yet he was in continuall warre, and was forced to keepe great garriſons in the Iſland, and many gallies at ſea with ſo great charge, as all the reuenues of the Iſland of Sardinia did auaile him little: beeing often conſtayned to importune the Pope, to diſcharge him of the tribute, which hee ought vnto the church of Rome, by reaſon of this chargeable conqueſt.

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D. Pedro the fourth of that name, and the thirteenth of Arragon.

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vnto

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deliuered vnto her ſpouſe, being full twelue yeeres old: and moreouer, as at the recepti-
on of King *Philip*, it had beene capitulated that the firſt ſonne borne of Queene *Ieanne*
his wife, beeing come to the age of twenty yeeres, they ſhould deliuer him the realme
to gouerne, and that the Eſtates ſhould bee bound to pay him a hundred thouſand San-
chots; in like manner, if Donna *Maria*, the future Queene of Arragon, ſhould come to
the ſucceſſion of the Realme of Nauarre, the Eſtates ſhould bee bound to pay him the
like ſum of money: Theſe were the principal Articles of this marriage, which was ſoone
after accompliſhed.

An. 1337. In the yeere of our Lord 1337, the King D. *Pedro* being come to Valence, he ſent *Ber-* B
nard of Villaragut, *Arnaud Morera*, and *Azbert Caliaza* Ambaſſadors to the Pope, to
doe him homage for the Iſlands of Corſica, and Sardinia: In this laſt the Eſtate was
then ſomewhat quiet: for *Azon* and *Iohn*, Marquiſſes of Maleſpine, ſonnes to *Opicin*,
Damian Barnabas, and *Brancaleon d'Oria*, Earles of Donoratico, the townes left vnto the
Piſans, demanteled, and without any munition, *Peter Iuge* of Arborea, with *Marian* and
Iohn his brethren, all holding lands, and beeing ſubiects in the Iſland, conteined them-
ſelues in the friendſhip of the new King of Arragon, and did willingly acknowledge him
for their ſuperior. The reſt of the family of Oria, for a wrong newly receiued from *Ray-*
mond of Cardona, had beene forcebly drawne vnto it: who notwithſtanding by the in- C
terceſſion of the Pope, and the Kings of France, and Sicile, had beene receiued into fa-
uour, and reſtored to their goods. Such was the Eſtate of Arragon, at D. *Pedros* com-
ming to the crowne.

Caſtille. 18 D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille hauing made a peace with the Nauarrois, found
himſelfe freed of a great care, beeing ready to fall into new broiles by the practiſes of his
owne ſubiects. This Prince thinking to raigne more ſecurely, had taken a courſe of ex-
treame ſeuerity, ſhewing himſelfe cruel and treacherous to his Nobility, whereby hee
Cruelty makes Kings to bee feared, but withal they loſe the loue of their ſubiects. was feared, but withall he loſt the loue and reſpect of his ſubiects: ſo as he was no ſooner
freed from one daunger, but hee fell into an other, worſe then the firſt: wherefore this
diſtruſt lying ſmothered in the heart of D. *Iohn Manuel*, D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, D. *Pero*
Fernandes de Caſtro, D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, and others, reconciled hereto- D
fore vnto the King by neceſſity, rather then of their owne free will, they held a Maxime,
That a tyrant being offended, will at ſome time reuenge himſelfe; and therefore they
A Tyrant offended is neuer truly reconciled. muſt not truſt him, vpon any reconciliation, who to paceſie the troubles which had
growne by his owne error, had made no difficulty to ſacrifize (vpon the peoples ſpleene)
his owne Mignons: degrading, and in the end murthering, and condemning them as
traitors, after their death, yea the Princes of his owne bloud, rapting their goods and
Eſtates, and depriuing the lawfull heires: ſeeking to raigne ouer free men, and of gene-
rous ſpirits, as ouer beaſts, intreating them as baſe and effeminate ſlaues; who might
not ſpeake their opinions freely, in matters of ſtate and gouernment; of the which they
were held dead members, and without feeling: wherefore if they were men, hauing vn- E
derſtanding and reaſon, they ſhould neuer forget the nature of D. *Alphonſo*, who was
proud, a contemner of all law, and treacherous: yea they proceeded ſo farre, as Don
Iohn Manuel withdrew himſelfe from the ſubiection of King D. *Alphonſo*, by proteſta-
tion and publike act.

VVarre in Caſtile made by the rebels. The Noblemen beeing thus ill affected to their King, they made a league (during the
warre of Nauarre) with D. *Alphonſo* King of Portugall, and did incenſe him to take
armes for their defence, but their attempts had no better ſucceſſe then the precedent,
for D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, meaning to preuent theſe diſorders, gaue commande-
ment throughout all the Prouinces of his Realme, to ſuppreſſe all thoſe that ſhould
take armes without his priuity and warrant, ſeeking by all meanes to keepe the F
Rebelles diuided one from an other. Moreouer hauing ſome fealing, that cruelty
was to violent a remedie for men that were nobly borne, hee ſought by all milde and
courteous meanes to diuide them, and to draw ſome of them vnto his ſeruice; the
which he effected with D. *Pero Fernandes de Caſtro*, and D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquer-
que, who abandoned their companions.

And

A And not able to doe the like with the reſt, he went in perſon to beſeege D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, being in Lerma, and gaue order that in other parts of the Realme they ſhould ſeize vpon the houſes and perſons of other rebels, beſeeging and forcing them if they made reſiſtance: and aboue al he ſent againſt D. *Iohn Manuel*, the orders of holy knights. The ſeege being before Lerma, there were many skirmiſhes and furious incounters: wherevpon the King of Portugall tooke occaſion to declare himſelfe, ſending word vnto the King of Caſtile, that he ſhould leaue D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* in peace, who (he ſayd) was his vaſſal, whereof the King of Caſtile made no great eſteeme, but continued his ſeege more violent then before: ſome authors ſay that the King of Caſtile, had a deſire to repudiat his lawful wife Donna *Maria*, who was daughter to D. *Alphonſo* King B of Portugal, and to marry D. *Leonora de Guzman*, his concubine, and that it was the true cauſe of their hatred. D. *Iohn Manuel* going ſecretly out of the caſtle of *Garci Nugnes*, he came to Pegnafiel to fauor them that were beſeeged within Lerma. In the meane time the tower of Lobaton and Soto were taken by the Kings men, where ſome Knights being taken, they were condemned and put to death.

VVarre made by Portugal againſt Caſtile.

The King of Portugall thinking hee had iuſt cauſe to enter in hoſtil manner into Caſtile, hee beſeeged Badajos: which ſeege continued, vntil that D. *Pero Alphonſo de Soſa* a Portugall, was defeated, with his troupes, by the garriſons and people of Andaluſie and Extremadura, neere vnto Villanoua of Barca Rotta, where many Portugals of account beeing ſlaine, the King was forced to raiſe his ſeege. They of Lerma ſeeing themſelues battred with great obſtinacy, beganne to diſtruſt their owne ſtrength, C and were out of hope of any ſuccours, wherefore they ſought meanes how to let D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* eſcape by night; leaſt hee ſhould fall into the King of Caſtiles hands, who was much incenſed, but all paſſages were ſo ſtopt as hee could not poſſibly get out, ſo as in the end hee was forced to compound, yeelding himſelfe, with the forts of Biſcay, vpon condition that hee ſhould haue his life ſaued, the which was promiſed him and kept. The townes of Lerma, Buſto and Villafranca in the mountaines of Oca, were demanteled, and the forts of Piſcay deliuered into the Kings hands, for an aſſurance of Don *Iohn Nugnes* faith, hauing promiſed and ſworne neuer to leaue his ſeruice, who followed the court at Vailledolit, and was afterwards much honored by D the King, who beſides other dignities made him chiefe ſtandard-bearer of the Realme, and in the end he recouered al that had beene taken from him.

Arragons

D. *Iohn Manuel* ſeeing this, retired himſelfe into Arragon, where there were great broiles betwixt the King D. *Pedro*, and D. *Leonora* his mother in law, and her partiſans: for D. *Pedro* of Xerica, whoſe lands the King had taken away, was in armes, with *Diego Lopes* of Haro, *Iohn Martin* of Leua, *Lope Diaz Rogio* and other Commanders, beeing ſent by the King of Caſtile, who aſſiſted them with men, money and councell: and to conferre of theſe quarrels, hee and his ſiſter Donna *Leonora* met at Ayllon, whereas ſhee made great complaints of the King D. *Pedro*, who had chaſed her out of Arragon, and E ſpoiled both her and her children.

Caſtile and Portugal.

The King of Caſtile deſyring to bee reuenged of the King of Portugall, hee marched towardes Badajos, where vpon the way hee was aduertiſed that Donna *Leonora de Guzman* was deliuered of a ſonne, the which hee cauſed to bee named Don *Tello*, this was in the yeere of our Lord 1337. Donna *Beatrix* his aunte, Queene of Portugall, came vnto him at Badajos, intreating him for to pardon the Portugalles, and not to enter in hoſtile manner into the countrie, promiſing to finde meanes to reconcile all quarrels betwixt her ſonne and him, and that all reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhould bee made.

An. 1337.

Her praiers were reiected, and hee marched with his army towards the towne of Yelbes, where hee cut vp the Vignes and Oliue trees, and ſpoiled all there abouts, then hee paſt by Ronches and Beros, and returned to Chelles and Oliuencia, deſyring much to incounter the Portugal army, the which hee knew to bee in field, but it marched another way. Don *Alphonſo Ieoffres Tenorio*, Admirall of Caſtille, defeated the Portugal army at ſea, beeing commanded by *Manuel Pecagno* a Geneuois, and carried away the Admirall priſoner, yet not without loſſe of ſome of his ſhips and men.

King of Caſtile inuades Portugal with an army.

This was the firſt attempt of Caſtile againſt Portugal, the which was ſtaied by the A
Kings ſickneſſe, whereupon he cauſed himſelf to be carried to Seuile, and put his army into garriſons: but being ſoone recouered, he gathered his forces againe togither, and entred into the country of Algarbe (notwithſtanding that the great maſter of Rhodes, by commiſſion from Pope *Benedict* the eleuenth, had exhorted him to deſiſt from this war: and in like manner the Archbiſhop of Rheims, who was then Ambaſſador in Caſtile for the French King) he paſt the riuer of Guadiana, and came to Ayamont, which finding abandoned, he repaſt at Caſtromarin, the which was wel fortefied, ſo as he would not ſtay, but marcht towards Tabira, where he burnt the trees, and razed the farme houſes there abouts, and then he returned into Caſtile by Alcautin. Whileſt he waſted the country of Algarbe in Portugal, the King of Portugal did the like in Gallicia, and beſeeged Saluatier- B
ra, who although he tooke it not, yet hee ſpoiled a great country, and left it deſolate, by reaſon of the couardize of Don *Pero Fernandes*, who was Gouernor in theſe parts, who would neuer ſhew himſelfe to make head againſt the King of Portugall, for that hee had beene bread vp a Page in his court: wherefore the Portugall army hauing ſpoiled the countrie of Galicia at their pleaſures, they returned without any incounter.

The Moores were ioyfull ſpectators of theſe wartes betwixt the father in law and ſon, ſo as they did ſtrictly entertaine the truce which they had made with the King of Caſtille: and for the better confirmation thereof, there came a great Ambaſſage into Caſtile, from *Albohiçen* the Miralmumin of Maroc, the chiefe whereof were two Alfaquins or Doctors of *Mahumets* ſect, of great reputation, who preſented vnto King D. *Alphon-* C
ſo Barbary horſes, rich ſwords, cloath of gold and of precious ſilke, Oſtriges, Falcons and other beaſts, who hauing receiued an honourable reward, and obtained confirmation of the truce, with reparation of ſome exceſſe which had beene committed amongſt the garriſons of the frontiers, they returned well ſatisfied, but ſoone after the Moore changed aduice and councell, hearing (to their great griefe) that there had beene a truce concluded betwixt the two Kings of Caſtile and Portugal. This truce was treated and made by the dilligence of the great Maiſter of Rhodes, and the Archbiſhop of Rheims Ambaſſador for France, it was concluded with the King of Caſtile in the towne of Merida, about the end of the yeere 1337. or in the beginning of the next.

Death of Ximene de Luna Archbiſhop of Toledo.

During this war betwixt Caſtile and Portugal, D. *Ximenes de Luna* Archbiſhop of D
Toledo died, in whoſe place the Chapter did chooſe (but through the Kings fauour, who had written) D. *Gil Aluares* of Cuenca, otherwiſe called D. *Gil Carrillo* of Albornoz a councellor of Eſtate to King D. *Alphonſo*, and Archdeacon of Calatraua, in the ſame church, a man of great vertue amongſt the Spaniards, who for his wiſdome and iudgement, did in time merit to be a Cardinal of Rome, with the title of Saint *Clement*, Biſhop of Sabina, and Apoſtolike Legat in Italy, the Romaine Sea beeing then reſident in Auignon. During which dignity he did many things for the good of the church: and amongſt other monuments and teſtimonies which remaine of him at this day, there is the Colledge of Saint *Clement* in the city of Bolonia, the which they commonly call the E
Colledge of Spaine, the which was built by the executors of this Prelat, who did ſo appoint it. It hath aboue three thouſand ducats of rent, with the which there are thirty ſtudents entertained, whereof twenty be Lawiers, ſix Diuins and foure Phiſitions, beſides foure Chaplains, al Spaniards, except one who may be a Portugal. The Rector of this Colledge hath ciuil and criminal iuriſdiction, and is not ſubiect to the Legat, nor to any other Magiſtrat of the city, the Colledge enioying as ample preuiledges as any knights or gentlemen there. About the end of the yeere 1337. was founded the towne of Alegria of Dulanci, two Leagues from Victoria, in the Prouince of Alaua, of many villages there about, the which obtained from the King the preuiledges, and lawes of the Realme, whereby the Inhabitants ſhould gouerne themſelues, and market euery Monday, with liberty to chooſe their owne Iudges. F

Colledge of Clement at Bolonia.

In the yeere of our Lord 1338. D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, married D. *Maria*, ſecond
Arragon. daughter to King *Philip*, and to Queene *Iean* of Nauar, in the towne of Alagon, the Bi-
An. 1338. ſhop of Chaalons doing the ceremony, hauing accompanied the Queen mother to the Bride,

A Bride, who came alone to this marriage, without her husband *Philip*, being ingaged in thoſe cruel and bloudy warres betwixt the French and Engliſh, contending for the crowne of France. Pope *Benedict* the eleuenth, then raigning, diſpenſed with the married couple for the bond of conſanguinity, which was betwixt them, at the requeſt of *Philip* of Valois, the French King: from Alagon the new Queene was conducted to Sarragoſſa, whereas the feaſt and pompe was ended, for the which they had prepared long before in that cittie, beeing choſen for the celebration of this marriage: but the indiſpoſition of D. *Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre, was the cauſe that they were married at Alagon.

Marriage betwixt D. Pedro King of Arragon and D. Mary the yonger of Nauar.

19 The newes of a truce betwixt the Kings of Caſtille and Portugal, beeing vnder- Moores.
B ſtood at Granado, and from thence ſent to Maroc, at ſuch time as King *Albohaçen* had ſurmounted all warres and difficulties in Affrike, theſe Mooriſh Kings had a deſire to fill Spaine with fire and murther, beeing thruſt on by two contrary paſſions, the one of feare, to be firſt ſet vpon by the King of Caſtille, who was now freed from his inteſtine wars: the other of hope, that their armes ſhould be as ſucceſsful againſt the Chriſtians of Europe, as they had beene againſt the babarous Affricans: for King *Albohaçen* hauing not long before called troupes out of Spaine, which had followed *Abomelic* his ſonne, lying then idle on this ſide the ſeas, whereas all was quiet: and beeing aſſiſted by the forces of Granado, ſent into Affrike by King *Ioſeph*, hee had lately depriued *Botexeſin*,
C who raigned in Tremeſſen, both of Kingdome and life, and had vnited vnto his crowne the Realme of Sojumenca: ſo as beeing growne as haughty in courage, as powerful in Siegneuries and ſubiects, he had no leſſe conceptions, then to reſtore the ancient glorie of the Miralmumins his Predeceſſors in Spaine, and wholy to expell the Chriſtians. Beſides the reſpect of religion did much incourage him, holding it not onely honourable, but alſo conſcientious, to aduance *Mahumets* ſect by armes, according to his Doctrine: wherefore hauing by the aduice of his *Alfaquins* and *Alcaides* concluded this warre, hee beganne to giue order that his troupes ſhould march towards the Straight, and paſſe by little and litle to Algezire, and other places of Granado, making a Magazin for victuals, armes, engins and other munition for the warre, at Tanger; whereof the
D Chriſtians Princes were preſently aduertiſed by their Gouernors of forts vpon that frontier, and of King *Abomelics* paſſage and returne into Spaine, and of the preparations which both he and *Ioſeph* King of Granado made: infallible arguments that they would ſoone make open warres, as it happened in the beginning of the yeere 1338. D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile ſeeing this burthen ready to fall vpon him, fore caſt all meanes how to beare it: hee made Orders and taxes vpon victuals, and cut off the Spaniards ſuperfluities in apparels and other pompes: hee ſent his ſea-army into the Straights, to ſtop the Moores paſſage: hee obtained from Pope *Benedict* pardons and Indulgences for all thoſe that ſhould contribute to this warre: hee aſſigned places for the ſouldiers *Rendez vous*: hee leauied footmen, artiſans and pioners: and in generall hee prouided for
E all things which hee thought neceſſarie for the warres: but aboue all hee pacefied the troubles growne betwixt D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, and Donna *Leonora* his Mother in law. In all which buſineſſes, the Archbiſhop of Rheims, Ambaſſador for France in Caſtile, laboured with great affection, and to the end there ſhould bee no thing defectiue for the wel gouerning of the common weale, the Prelats and Maſters of the Orders made diligent ſearch among them that were their ſuffragans and dependants: ſo as D. *Ruis Peres* Maiſter of the Order of Alcantara was depoſed by D. *Iohn Nugnes* maſter of Calatraua, who had iuriſdiction ouer him, and power to doe it. Yet amideſt al theſe Cares, the King did not forget the loue of D. *Leonora* of Guzman, whoſe brother called Don *Alphonſo Melendez* of Guzman, was by him made maiſter of the Order of the holy knights of Saint Iames. The yeere 1339. beeing come, hee went towards Seuile, where *An.* 1339.
F was the *Rendez vous*, for all his troupes, both horſe and foote, ſo as hauing in few daies gathered together a great and well ordred army, hee entred the territories of Antequera & Archidona, the which he ſpoiled running vp to Ronda, frō whence he was forced to retire to Seuile for want of victuals, where he ſpent the reſt of the ſpring to diſtribute the forts & places vpon the frontiers vnto captaines, making D. *Gonzales Nugno*, or as others

Expedition of Moores into Spaine.

ſay, *Martinez* Maiſter of Alcantara (newly elect) Gouernor and his Lieutenant gene- A
rall there, and hee himſelfe came to Madrid. The Moores incenſed at this entry which
the Chriſtian army had made into their country, went to field by two ſeueral waies, the
Infant *Abomelic* (who had great numbers of light horſe) by Medina Sidonia, whoſe terri-
tory he ſpoiled, and *Ioſeph* King of Granado entred by Silos, which place belonging vn-
to the knights of Saint Iames and well manned, hee beſeeged, and battred furiouſly, but
Moores raiſed from the ſiege of Silos. it was not onely brauely defended by the garriſon but their campe was aſſaulted by the
Caſtillan army, and they forced to diſlodge by D. *Alphonſo Melendez de Guzman* who
was the Leader, not without great diſhonor and loſſe to the King of the Moores: who at
the ſame time was ſtript of the victuals of his army, which he cauſed to bee conducted to B
Priegos, by the Gouernor D. *Gonzalo Martines*, who carried the prey to Alcaudette.
The gallies of Caſtille being ioyned to them of Arragon, held King *Abomelic* as it were
beſeeged in Algezire, lying in the ſtraight; taking from him all hope of ſuccours, either
of men or victuals from Affrike: wherevpon the Moores beeing aduertiſed that in Le-
brixa was one of the ſtore-houſes for the Chriſtian army, thought they might well ſur-
priſe it: wherevpon they ſent about one thouſand fiue hundred horſe among the Oliue
trees of Xeres (where they tooke a great booty) but they foũd that D. *Fernand Puerto Car-
rero*, gouernor of Tariffe, was entred a little before with a good number of ſouldiars;
wherefore their deſeigne beeing diſapointed, they turned towards Arcos, where they
ſpoiled, and carried away great ſtore of cattaile, whereof the Inhabitants within Seuile C
being aduertiſed, they went with their city ſtandard to field, and beeing ioyned to the
Maiſter of Alcantara, to D. *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, to D. *Pero Ponce* of Leon (who
went out of Arcos) and others, they came and incountred theſe forragers vnlooked for,
whom they charged ſo furiouſly, as they put them to rout, and recouered all the prey.
King *Abomelic* continuing the ſpoile about Xeres, marcht with three thouſand and fiue
hundred horſe which he had reſerued, and a great number of foot towards Alcala de los
Ganzules, and beſeeged it, beeing ignorant of the defeat of his men. The victorious
Chriſtians, hauing ioyned with *Fernand Gonçales d' Aguilar*, who had ſome horſe, and
being alſo fortefied by them of Eccia, marcht that way, and charged this army of Moores
Moores defeated. with ſuch fury, as they put them to flight, and chaſing and killing them they purſued D
them far, his campe remayning in great confuſion and diſorder. King *Abomelic* being
haſtely purſued, had no meanes to get to horſe, but fell amongſt the footmen, who fled
and were hardly followed: ſo as in the end, not to be knowne, hee caſt himſelfe amongſt
thoſe which lay vpon the ground ſlaine or wounded, where a Chriſtian ſouldiar paſſing
Abomelic a Mooriſh King ſlaine. by and not knowing him thruſt him through with his ſword, whereof hee died ſoone af-
ter. The Chriſtians (as ſome write were not aboue 2000 horſe, and two thouſand fiue
hundred foote; who without any great loſſe, ſlue ten thouſand Moores in this ſurprize
and purſute: they ſpoiled their campe, and tooke their baggage which was great, and ſo
returned ioyfully to Xeres. The Kings body was afterwards found, neere vnto a brooke
whether he had crept (as it was likely) to quench the burning thirſt, which doth commō- E
ly afflict ſuch as are wounded, hauing loſt much bloud. King *Albohaçen* his father being
aduertiſed of this pittifull accident, was inflamed with wrath, and deſire of reueng, make-
ing al poſſible ſpeed to paſſe into Spaine.

Caſtile. Whileſt that hee prepares himſelfe, there fell out a great diſorder in Andaluſia, by
the meanes of D. *Leonora* of Guzman. This woman who gouerned the King, made re-
Troubles by the report of a woman. ports & accuſed D. *Gonzal Nugnes* Maiſter of Alcantara, of certaine matters, the which
did much incenſe the King; wherefore being come to Madrid, hee ſent to the Maiſter to
come preſently vnto him. D. *Gonzal* who was fully aduertiſed why hee was ſent for, and
knowing how dangerous the King was to them hee did not like, obeyed not: but thruſt
on by diſtruſt, hee left his ſeruice, and debauching many of his knights, hee acquainted F
himſelfe with the Moores, and beganne to make practiſes in Granado. The King bee-
ing aduertiſed of his reuolt, returned ſodainely, and had meanes (before hee could diſ-
lodge) to beſeege him in a towne called Valence, belonging to the Order of Alcantara,
whereas D. *Gonçale* defended himſelfe vnto the end, and would neuer harken to any
words or promiſes whatſoeuer.

In

A In the end, not able to hold it any longer, hee offred to yeeld vnto the Kings mercy, but it was too late: for the place was forced, and he taken and put to death and his body condemned and burnt as a Traitor by the Kings ſentence. Such as had followed his party, and held other places yeelded. A man in truth worthy of a more honorable death, who beſides many generous acts, and worthy ſeruices done vnto the crowne of Caſtille, had beene in the two aboue mentioned victories and adorned the Temples of the towne where he was forced, with the ſtandards and enſignes hee had taken from the Moores. D. *Nugno Chamiço* was choſen in his place.

Ieoffrey Giralbert Admiral of Arragon, who kept the Sraight with the gallies of Arragon, being landed vpon the ſhoare nere to Algezire, had an incounter with the Moores, Moores.
B by whom he was vanquiſhed, and ſlaine with an arrow, wherevpon the army returned into Arragon, that of Caſtille remayning at the paſſage, the which conſiſted onely of three and thirtie gallies, and ſome few ſhips, to weake a force to ſtoppe the Moores paſſage out of Affrike: ſo as about three thouſand Genets paſt preſently into Algezire, without any let, and beganne to ouerrunne the country about Arcos, Xeres and Medina Sidonia, gathering together a great prey: but thinking to put it into Algezire, they were forced to leaue it by the way, being charged by the horſemen which went out of Xeres, who ſlue many vpon the place, amongſt which was *Bontui*, a famous captaine of the Moores.

King *Alhohaçen* had cauſed a great number of veſſels of al ſorts to be made ready, both
C in the ports of Spaine and Affrike, meaning to carry into Spaine one of the greateſt armies that euer went out of Affrike, to ſtop whoſe paſſage, King *Alphonſo* was il prouided: and as he was diſtruſtfull, and of a ſtrange humour, and many times vniuſt vnto his beſt ſeruants, hee complained of Don *Alphonſo Ieoffrey Tenorio* his Admiral, ſaying that hee ſlept, and ſuffred the Moores to paſſe and repaſſe at their pleaſure, the which was not true: for the Admirall did his duety with thoſe few Gallies hee had, and did often take foiſts and other veſſels which did houer about thoſe coaſtes, and ſhips laden with victuals which came out of Affrike into Spaine: namely from Centa to Algezire; the which notwithſtanding did not ſatisfie the King, who would exact ſome great effect of neceſſity: wherefore hee thruſt the Admirall into deſpaire, the which was
D verie preiudiciall to that warre. *Loyalty ill rewarded makes a good ſeruant deſpaire.*

King *Alhohaçen* beeing come to Ceuta in the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1340. and hauing there gathered together to the number of three ſcore and ten Gallies, *An.* 1340.
and other veſſels to paſſe his horſemen, victuals, armes, engines and other equipage of warre, neere to a hundred and foure ſcore ſailes, as wel of his owne, as of the Kings of Granado, hee went with this mighty army towards Spaine, where it was eaſie to land, finding no reſiſtance, whereat King D. *Alphonſo*, who was at Seuile was much incenſed, blaming his Admiral inceſſantly of cowardiſe and treachery, the which hee tooke ſo greeuouſly, as he reſolued raſhly to goe and charge the Moores at what price ſoeuer: and hauing drawne thoſe few Gallies and Ships he had out of Saint Lucar, into the o-
E pen ſea, he preſented himſelfe before Algezire, prouoking the enemie to battaile, who going out of Algezire and Gibraltar, farre more in number then the Chriſtian Gallies, there was a fierce and cruel battaile, the end whereof was the whole loſſe of the Caſtillan army, whereof there were but fiue gallies ſaued, the which recouered the neere port of Tariffe, and ſome few ſhips, which eſcaped by fauour of the winde and current, ſayling towards Carthagena. The Admirall was ſlaine in this conflict, ſaying, that the King ſhould know he was neither Coward nor Traitor: but it was a raſh attempt in him, to hazard ſo ſmall a fleete againſt ſo great an armie, who ſhould haue conſidred, that by the loſſe of a battaile hee gaue the whole commande of the ſea vnto the enemy. *Deſeat of the Caſtillan army and death of the Admirall.*
F Thus this Admirall thinking to preſerue his honor, which hee might well haue warranted by the reaſons of warre, which diſallow all great hazards, but in extremity, hee did more blemiſh it. This loſſe which happened to Don *Alphonſo* King of Caſtille, partly by his owne bitterneſſe, and vniuſt rigour to his faithfull ſeruant, did much afflict him, ſo as hee was forced to ſeeke ſpeedie meanes to repaire ſo great a ruine: for the Moores army inſolent of this victory, and knowing that there were no forces at ſea able to

make head againſt them, vaunted that they would beſeege Seuile: wherefore the King A
of Caſtille was forced to conuert the truce which hee had made with the King of Portugall to a peace, and to conſent that D. *Conſtance Manuel* ſhould marry with Don *Pedro* Infant of Portugall, whoſe wife D. *Blanche* beeing fallne into a Palſey, was put away by him. By meanes of this peace, and at the inſtance of the Queene Donna *Maria*, daughter to the King of Portugal, hee promiſed to lend all his ſhippes of warre to the King of Caſtille, the which ſtayied not long before they arriued at Seuile, when as the King gaue order to rigge out fifteene gallies of his owne, and twelue ſhips, of the which hee gaue the charge vnto Don *Alphonſo Ortiz Calderon*, Prior of Saint Iohn.

In the meane time King *Albohacens* army paſt, the Moores Gallies and Ships neuer ceaſing for a long time, to tranſport horſe and foote, victualles and munition for B
the warre, which they had prepared, the which was as great and fearefull as any had beene ſeene, for they write in their Hiſtories that this Arabian King had gathered together all the forces hee could from the ſhoare of the Weſterne Atlantike ſea, vnto Egipt, hauing by the conqueſt of the Realmes of Tremeſſen and Sojumença, ſo extended the bounds of his Empire as there was not any King or Potentat in all the length of Affrike, which was not his ſubiect, or ſtrictly allied vnto him: ſo as the Spaniſh authors ſay, that hee brought into Spaine aboue ſeuenty thouſand horſe; and foure hundred thouſand foote, the Arabians and Affricans comming from all part vpon the newes of this great expedition, by the preachings and perſwaſions of the Alfaquins, Doctors and Prieſts of their law, who were ſent through out all the regions of Affrike, by King Alboacen, to the end that ſuch, as ſpoile and gaine (the common end C
of warre) could not moue, might bee perſwaded to take armes for religions cauſe. This great multitude of Infidels, were neere fiue monthes in paſſing, hauing at this paſſage, beſides the Gallies of Maroc and Granado, thoſe of the Kings of Tunes and Bugie, whereof hee of Tunes was father in law to Alboacen, and their common landings were Algezire and Gibraltar.

Great preparation of war made by King Alboacen againſt Spaine.

It behooued King D. *Alphonſo* to ſtudie how hee ſhould reſiſt ſo great a power, the which did wonderfully trouble him: yet beeing a Prince of a great courrage, hee prouided for many things ſpeedely, which were of great importance for the warre. And doubting that the Moores firſt attempt would bee againſt Tariffe, hee manned it with a good garriſon of old ſouldiars, and gaue the charge thereof to *Iohn Alphonſo* of Benauides, furniſhing the place with all things neceſſarie to maintaine a ſeege: wherein hee was not deceiued, for it was preſently inueſted by the enemie, King *Albeaçen* beeing in perſon in the armie. Experience hath often taught, that multitudes giue no victory; for beſides that God will therein ſhew a teſtimony, that it is hee alone, without the force of mans arme, which rayſeth and pulles downe Kingdomes and ſtates; there are ſo many naturall and humaine reaſons, which doe concurre with this point of religion, as there is no cauſe to call it in queſtion. The confuſion, diſorder, diſobedience, mutinies, hunger, diſeaſes, the infinit carriages and lets of baggage, iealouſies betwixt commanders, and diuerſity of nations, the negligence and raſh confidence which Kings ground vpon their great numbers of men, are inſeparable miſcheeſes to great armies, the E
which haue moſt commonly ruined them, but haue alwaies made them vnprofitable and a burthen, to them that haue lead them. So it happened to King *Alboaçen* in this voiage: for as ſoone as hee had landed this infinite multitude of Arabians and other Nations, preſuming that there was not any Chriſtian in Spaine, that would dare to preſent himſelfe before ſo great a power, and that hee ſhould preſently ſee himſelfe Maiſter of all the townes of Andaluſia: beſides hee thought hee had no cauſe to feare any impeachment at ſea, the two armies of Caſtille and Arragon hauing beene defeated: ſo as all ſmall veſſels of burthen might paſſe ſafely from Spaine to Affrike, and furniſh his campe with victualls, if hee ſhould haue any neede, whereupon hee preſently diſarmed all his Gallies, and drew them into the Ports, hauing no other F
thought but to make warre by land, but it fell out otherwiſe: for there was not any pettie place vpon the frontiers of Andaluſia but held good: ſo as being forced to attend his prouiſions for ſo great an army from Affrike, for that the countrie of Granado could

Armies vnprofitable by their too great multitudes.

A could not ſupply it, he found himſelfe (being at the ſeege of Tariffe) in great want of victuals, being eaſie for the gallies of Caſtile and Portugal, to ſpoile all paſſengers which brought munition from the ports of Affricke into Spaine: wherefore he repented himſelf much of this enterpriſe, and would gladly haue found ſome meanes to haue retired honorably.

At that time Don *Iohn Martines de Leyua* arriued at Seuile, returning from Pope *Benedict* who kept at Auignon: from whom he brought pardons and full indulgences, to ſuch as ſhould croſſe themſelues for this warre againſt the Infidels, or otherwiſe employ themſelues or their goods for the aduancement thereof, with an eſpeciall charge and commiſſion to Don *Gil Carillo* of Albornoz, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, to publiſh this Croiſado,
B making him to that end Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea. The army before Tariffe being oppreſt with famine, King *Alboacen* gaue Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Benauides, the Gouernor, to vnderſtand, that he had ſome matters to treat of with him for the good of the king his maſter, and therefore he ſhould ſend ſome vnto him, to conferre with him. The Gouernour hauing receiued hoſtages, ſent two Gentlemen vnto him: but beeing aduertiſed at the ſame inſtant that the gallies of Caſtile and Portugall had beene all caſt away by tempeſt vppon the coaſt, ſo as the ſea beeing free, victuals began to come aboundantly from Affricke vnto the campe: when as theſe Knights came vnto king *Alboacen*, hee ſayd nothing of conſequence vnto them, but was deſirous againe to continue the warre, ſending backe theſe meſſengers, and retiring his hoſtages. Then did they make a furious batterie, with
C all kinds of engines vſuall in thoſe times, againſt the which the beſeeged rampared themſelues, and made a gallant defence. King D. *Alphonſo* hauing called to Seuile, the Noblemen of his Councell, and the chiefe men among his ſubiects, ſitting in his royall throne with great maieſtie, holding in his right hand the ſword, wherewith hee had beene girt in Saint *Iames* Church of Gallicia, when he was made Knight, and in his left hand the Crowne, wherewith he had beene crowned in the cittie of Bourgos: he ſpake grauely vnto them of the preſent eſtate of his affaires, and the danger wherein the Chriſtian realms of Spaine then were, by the importune malice, and impiety of the Arabians, their ancient enemies, coniured together at that time from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt, to glut their implacable thirſt with the bloud of Spaniards: againſt whoſe forces, without all doubt, in
D time, Spaine ſhould not be able to reſiſt, many of their beſt men hauing beene conſumed by the factions and diuiſions which had raigned among them, whereby Spaine had waſted her ſelfe by her owne armes, and withall the ill ſucceſſe of his armies at ſea, brought twiſe to nothing: ſo as for ſo dangerous a miſchiefe, there was need of an extraordinarie remedie, the honour of the name of Chriſtians, the Crowne of Caſtile, and their liberties, liues, and goods, beeing then in queſtion: wherein he had need of good and faithfull Councell, and for that cauſe had called them together, praying God to put into their harts and vnderſtandings, what was fit for the honor and increaſe of his Crowne, and the Common-weale. Wherupon many different opinions hauing beene propounded, all in
E the end concluded, that they muſt rayſe the ſeege from before Tariffe: for the effecting whereof they muſt find meanes to ioyne the forces of Portugall, Arragon and Caſtile together, for the which they began preſently to giue order. The Queene of Caſtile got a promiſe from Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugall her father, to ayde the king her husband with all his forces, whereuppon there was an enterview of the two kings, at Irumegna, a towne in Portugall.

D. Alphonſos ſpeech to his Councell.

The king of Caſtile ſent to encourage them of Tariffe, giuing them hope of ſpeedie ſuccours: forbidding them expreſly not to ſally foorth vpon the enemy, for that the loſſe of one man did more import them, then an hundred to King *Alboacen*: he obtained a new army at ſea from the king of Arragon, (the which was commanded by the Prior of Saint
F *Iohn*, who had eſcaped in the tempeſt) to ioyne with thoſe few gallies which he had yet left: and preſently after the king of Portugall came in perſon to Seuile, beeing accompanied with all the flower of his Nobility, and the beſt ſouldiers of his country. They leauied men in all parts of Spaine both foot and horſe, which enrolled themſelues for this religious warre, but eſpecially out of Biſcay, Alaua, and Guipuſcoa, which bee the beſt footmen of Spaine, the which were commanded by Don *Pero Nugnes de Guzman*, their Lord

Don

Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, beeing employed in the conduct of the horſe. To conclude, A
their indeauors were ſuch, as wi.hin few dayes there were muſtred about Seuile 25000.
foote, and 14000. horſe, with which forces the two kings of Caſtile and Portugal, reſol-
ued to offer battell vnto the enemy which was before Tariffe, beeing farre more mighty
then they, hauing beſides the great number of horſe and foote which he brought out of
Affricke, ioyned vnto him the forces of Granado, the which conſiſted of 7000. horſe, and
a great multitude of foot. Aſſoone as the Chriſtian army began to march, *Alboacen* king
Skirmiſh at the paſſage of the riuer of Salado of Maroc, and *Ioſeph* king of Granado, ſent *Albohamar* Infant of Maroc with 2000. horſe
to keepe the paſſage of the riuer of Salado, which runnes betwixt Pegna du Cerf, and Ta-
riffe, the which were defeated by a thouſand horſe and 4000. foot, which the King of Ca-
ſtile had ſent to put themſelues into Tariffe, the which they effected happily, after this ex- B
ploit, through fauour of the night, the Mooriſh kings hauing already raiſed their ſeege,
burnt their engines of batterie, and retired their army into a place of aduantage, called Al-
faneque. Theſe troups were the bands of D. *Henry* and D. *Tello*, children aduowed of Ca-
ſtile, the which were led by wiſe and expert Captaines.

The day after this defeat the two armies preſented themſelues vppon the bankes of the
riuer of Salado, which the Chriſtians meant to paſſe, and ſo they did, but with great reſi-
ſtance and difficultie: yet *Gonçalo Ruis de la Vega*, and his brother *Garcilaço*, who marched
in the head of the army, aſſured the paſſage for the reſt, repulſing the Mores, who defen-
ded it valiantly, when as the Chriſtians were all paſt without breaking, they found the
great ſquadrons of the Moores in Order, ready to fight, ſo as in an inſtant they ioyned,
and were ſo mingled, as the kings themſelues on either ſide, ſparing not their owne per- C
ſons, and performing the duties as well of ſouldiers, as of Generals of armies, were many
times found in danger: and their obſtinacie was ſo great in the fight, as the Arch-biſhop
of Toledo was faine (partly by intreaties, and partly by force) to draw the king of Caſtile
out of the preſſe, where he had the fore-part of his ſaddle ſhot through with an arrow: a
dangerous blow, if it had lighted a little higher, the which might haue made the king-
domes of Spaine a prey vnto the Mores, by the loſſe of a battell, which doth commonly
follow the death of the Generall. But God diſpoſed otherwiſe, according to his mercy to
the Chriſtians: for the Moores beeing rather hindred then helped by their multitudes,
Defeate memorable of the Moores at Salado. gaue way and fled, where as the ſlaughter was ſo great, as the number of the dead (as Au- D
thors write) is not credible, but howſoeuer, the Chriſtians had an abſolute victorie, who
might haue ſlaine more, and it may be haue extinguiſhed the name of Moores in Spaine,
if they had pourſued the diſordered enemies, who fled one ouer another, and not buſied
themſelues at the ſpoyle, eſpecially the footmen. The camp remayning free to the Chri-
ſtians, as they gathered the ſpoyles together, there were found among the dead, one of
the king of Marocs wiues, called *Fatima*, daughter to the king of Tunes, of the race of
the Almohades, and three other Ladies. Among the priſoners *Albohamar* ſonne to king
Alboacen, and his nephewes *Aboham* and *Alboali*, it may be children to *Alboali*, who had
beene king of Sojumenca, two of the kings daughters, and other Moores of noate. The
Kings of Maroc and Granado eſcaped by flight, and retired to diuers places. *Alboacen* ap- E
prehending, that by this defeate his reputation and honour would bee much blemiſhed,
and thereby the fidelitie of his ſubiects ſhaken, fearing leaſt a ſonne of his called *Abder-
ramen*, whom he had left at Maroc, ſhould ſeaze vppon the kingdome, he paſt the ſame
night to Ceuta.

This battell wonne by the Chriſtians the eight and twentith of October, in the yeare
1340. is rightly paralelled to that of Muradal or Tholouſa, by the which the Moores loſt
the command of Spaine, ſome 128. yeares before: for thereby the great deſſeins
of the king of Maroc were diſapppointed, hauing promiſed vnto himſelfe the conqueſt
of all Spaine, ſo as after that time the warre grew more eaſie and light. This victorie
Superſtitious acknowledgements of ſo great a victory was honoured and renowned by many religious and ciuill acts among the Spaniards:
for beſides that during the conflict, the name of Saint *Iames*, (who was held Patron and F
Protector of Spaine) did ſownd (as they ſay) in the ayre, and that Don *Alphonſo Gon-
çales Pereyra*, Prior of S. *Iohn*, or of Crato in Portugal, had carried with him a peece
or fragment of the true Croſſe, and many other ſuch perſwaſions and inducements

put

A put in practiſe (according to the doctrine of thoſe times) in the campe, and in all other places whether that newes came, thankes were giuen vnto God for ſo great a grace, and great demonſtrations of ioy made throughout all the townes. D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, the day after the battell entred into Tariffe, and cauſed the breaches to bee repayred, commending and rewarding the Captaines and ſouldiers which had carried themſelues valiantly in the ſeege. Hauing afterwards viewed the enemies ſpoiles, the king of Caſtile did diſtribute it, according to euery mans merits.

The king of Portugall would not haue any thing, but certaine furnitures and caparaſons for horſes, and ſwords richly wrought after the Moreſco faſhion: but the King of Caſtile his ſonne-in-law gaue him a priſoner, a Moore of the bloud royall, one of the
B ſonnes of *Alboali*, who had beene king of Sojumenca. Thus the two kings, father-in-law, and ſonne-in-law, parted, very well ſatisfied one of another. To acknowledge the grace which God had done vnto the Chriſtians, by ſo great a victorie, the king of Caſtile took this courſe, he ſent *Iohn Martines de Leyua*, to Pope *Benedict*, then reſiding at Auignon, with his royall Standard, which had beene carried in the battell, accompanied with foure and twenty of the chiefe Enſignes which he had taken from the Moores, the which were borne by ſo many Moores. Moreouer, he ſent him an hundred horſe richly appointed, euery one hauing a ſword and a target hanging at his ſaddle pommell, and were led by ſo many Moores. With theſe horſes he ſent his owne, on the which hee was mounted the day of the battell, couered with the royall armes of Caſtile and Leon: and moreouer, ma-
C ny rich Iewels, and other ſingularities, which things were preſented vnto the Pope with great ceremony and pompe, and receiued with no leſſe honour and ſolemnity by the Pope and Cardinals. And the more to honour this act, the Pope the ſame day did ſing a pontificall Maſſe, and did preach, much commending the king of Caſtile, and to reward him, he powred foorth his ſpirituall treaſures, granting him ſtore of Indulgences, with the which *Iohn Martines de Leyua* returned, beeing well recompenced.

Some Authors write, that the victuallers, carters, pioners, merchants, Lackies, and others of baſe quality in the Chriſtians campe, falling vppon the baggage, whileſt the ſouldiers were in fight, had taken great ſpoiles of gold, ſiluer, and other riches, and that the
D king being aduertiſed thereof, was perſwaded not to ſuffer men, which had not beene in the battell, nor aduentured their liues, to enioy the booties which were due vnto ſouldiers: wherefore meaning to follow this aduice, he forced many to bring backe that which they had taken: but the greater number eſcaped, who fearing to be diſpoſſeſt of that which they had gotten, beeing all their fortunes, left Caſtile, and went into Nauarre, Arragon, France and other countries, with ſuch ſtore of double duckets, as the price of gold was fallen a ſixt part, and all merchandize much riſen.

20 In this warre were furniſhed twenty gallies of Cattelogne, by Don *Pedro* king of Arragon. Arragon, and eight by him of Majorca. The King Don *Pedro* was not there in perſon, neither did he ſend any forces by land, by reaſon of his owne affaires and domeſticke deſ-
E ſeignes, which he did plot to the preiudice of his ſubiect. A violent Prince, proud, diſdainfull, and full of reuenge. Don *Iames* King of Majorca his couſin and brother-in law, was forced in the citty of Barcelona, the yeare before the defeate of the Moores at Salado, to do him homage for the Ilands and other Segneuries which he held vppon the Mayne, as to his Soueraigne, cauſing him to kneele before him, whereuppon this Prince retired himſelfe in a great rage to Perpignan: from whence ſoone after he was forced to returne to Court, and to accompany the king Don *Pedro* vnto Auignon, whither he went to viſit the Pope, where it happened that theſe Kings walking through the towne together, a ſeruant of the King of Majorcas, doing ſome ſeruice vnto his maſter indiſcreetly, hee did ſo mooue the King Don *Pedro*, as he was ready to draw his ſword, and to ſtrike the king of Majorca himſelfe, which was the beginning of their quarrels, the which continued long
F and violent. *Qualities of the King D. Pedro.*

The arriuall and entrie of the king Don *Pedro* into Auignon, was very honorable, for at the paſſage of the riuer of Durance, he was met and receiued by two and twenty Cardinals, and entred with the king of Majorca into the towne, betwixt Cardinall *Neapoleon* of Vrſins, and he of Cominges: but the next day (after he had ſhewed his ſpleene againſt his

his brother in law, it may be moued with ſome ſower anſwer which the Pope had giuen him) he retired to Villa-noua diſcontented. The chiefe man which then ſerued him in his moſt important affaires, was *Nicholas* of Ionuille, a French man, who was Earle of Terra-noua in the Kingdome of Naples, and had maried *Marguerite* daughter to the Admirall *Roger* of Loria. This man was aduanced in the place of D. *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, the Kings vncle, who was giuen more to a contemplatiue life, then to worldly affaires: for the which, notwithſtanding he had had long and bitter iarres with D. *Pedro* de Luna, Archbiſhop of Sarragoſſa, who was deſirous to gouerne, and to mannage the affaires of the Realme: but their contention had beene ended by the aduauncement of this third, and they were reconciled at the marriage of D. *Lope de Luna*, the ſonne of *Artal*, and nephew to the Archbiſhop, and D. *Violant* the Kings aunt, and ſiſter to the Earle of Ribagorça, who was vidow to *Philip Deſpote* of Romania, and ſonne to *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, the which were celebrated at Lerida, and from whence they went to Auignon. The King D. *Pedro* beeing returned from this voyage, hee commenced a criminall Proceſſe againſt the King of Maiorca, for that he cauſed money to be coyned in the Towne of Perpignan, and he cauſed him to bee cited to appeare before the Eſtates then aſſembled at Barcelona, not much troubling himſelfe that the French king (carrying himſelfe as Soueraigne of Montpellier, and other lands belonging to the King of Maiorca, on this ſide the Pyrenees) had ſeized vpon the forts and caſtles of all theſe places. The King of Maiorca not appearing, his totall ruine was reſolued by the King, the which followed as we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

Eſtate of Sardinia. At that time ſuch was the Eſtate of Sardinia: Caillery, Aquafredda, Iojoſaguarda, Quirro, Caſtelorguilleux, Gallicelli, Caſtel Pedreſio, Faba Oſolia, Saſſeri, and la Baſtide of Sorria, were held by Arragon garriſons: *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, had beene newly made Earle of Gothian by the king, *Iohn* Marquis of Maleſpine, and the Earles of Donoratico were friends to the kings of Arragon: but in Italy the Piſans, the Genouois, and with them *Luquin* Vicount, (who then ruled at Milan) had made a league, and conſpired to chaſe the Arragonois out of Sardinia, where they alſo had their partiſans and intelligences: for beſides other factions, the family of Doria was then diuided into foure factions. Theſe things did trouble the king D. *Pedro* amidſt his enterpriſes, at ſuch time as hee ſought the ruine of D. *Iames* King of Maiorca, and when hee was ſollicited by *Hugh Cortingo*, *Petra Allerata*, and *Loupe Cinerca*, chiefe men of the Iland of Corſica, to vndertake the conqueſt thereof, whereof the Biſhop of Aleria was the miniſter and ambaſſadour: and euen then when it was moſt needful to haue ſent his gallies to the Streight, in fauor of the k. of Caſtile, and for the common intereſt of all the Chriſtian Princes of Spaine.

Portugal. Before the yeare 1340. paſt, the Infant D. *Pedro* of Portugall had a ſonne by his new ſpouſe D. *Conſtance Manuel*, whome he had married at Ebora, with a dowrie of 300000. doublons, and many rich iewels, and this Infant was named D. *Fernand* or *Ferdinand*, who was king of Portugall after the Grandfather and father.

Caſtile. 21 In the yeare 1341. D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile hauing called a Parlament of all his Realmes at Herrena in Extremadura, there were great ſummes of mony giuen him, his ſubiects ſeeing that he employed it profitably, for the defence and increaſe of the crowne: from thence he came to Madrid, where he gaue Order for all that was neceſſarie for the warre, and appointed the Rendez-vous for his troupes at Cordoua, from whence he ſent them of Seuile and Cordoua to make incurſions, attending the reſt of his forces: he made a ſhew to go to Malaga, the which put the Moores into great feare: but hee marched to Alcala of Bencayde, vppon the arriuall of thoſe troupes which he expected, the which he found vnfurniſhed, for the king of Granado did confidently beleeue, that he would haue led his armie to Malaga: This place after ſome weake reſiſtance yeelded, vpon condition that the Inhabitants ſhould haue their liues ſaued: *Moclin* was taken by the diligence of D. *Alphonſo Fernandes Cornel*. There was ſome ouerture of a truce made in the behalfe of the king of Granado, but without any concluſion, for that the king of Caſtile would not haue king *Aboacen* comprehended: Priegos was alſo taken by compoſition: the like happened to Sarrabuey, being preſt by *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*. D. *Alphonſo Melendez de Guzman*, maſter of S. *Iames*, did alſo win the caſtel of Benamexir: other places, as Rute, and

A and the tower of Matrera were alſo forced: then winter approching, the king left good garriſons in his townes, and the gard of the ſea to *Giles Bocanegra*, a Geneuois with fortie gallies, and other ſhips, and then he came to Vailledolit, where he aſſigned the Eſtates at Burgos, at the which the ſeege of Algezire beeing propounded, there was granted vnto him an Impoſition, called Alcauala, which was the twentith part of all merchandize, that ſhould be ſold within the Realme. Thus as the king deſſeigned the ſeege of Algezire, his Admiral *Giles Bocanegra* hauing ſurprized twelue gallies of Granado in the port of Builon, he burnt foure, ſunke two, and carried away the other ſixe. The king of Portugall ſent ten of his gallies to ioyne with them of Caſtile, which were in the port of Xatares, being commanded by *Charles Peçano* or *Pecagno*. In the meane time many of the Moores
B gallies aſſembled at Ceuta, the which they ſayd, exceeded the number of 80. which threatened to paſſe into Spaine with great forces to reuenge their former loſſes. The king of Caſtile aduertiſed herof, came to Seuile, where by the way he vnderſtood that the Mores army was come out of Affricke into Spaine, and that they were entred into the mouth of the riuer of Guadamecil with great numbers of ſouldiers, victuals, and other prouiſions, the which they had landed, but it was ſuddenly beſeeged by the gallies of Caſtile and Portugal, to whoſe ſuccor came 13. gallies of Algezire, the which were fought with all by part of the Chriſtian army, who ſunke foure of them, two were taken, and the reſt ran on ground. Being returned to their companions, who had ſhut vp the Moores army in the mouth of the riuer, there was a furious battell giuen, where as the Chriſtians had the bet-
C ter, and the Moores loſt 25. of their gallies. This done, the Portugal Admirall returned being ſent for by the king his maſter: he came to kiſſe the king of Caſtiles hands at Xeres, who did him great honour, and gaue him letters in teſtimony of his vertue to the King of Portugal his maſter, intreating him to ſend him backe againe with his gallies. But the army at ſea was nothing weakened hereby, for at the ſame time that the gallies of Portugal departed there arriued 20. from Arragon, of the which D. *Pearo* of Moncada was Generall, who in their way had incountred and vanquiſhed 13. gallies of the Moores, whereof they carried away foure, two were broken againſt the ſhore, and the reſt ſaued themſelues at Velez in Affricke. The king came to Xatares, and being himſelf deſirous to diſcouer the country of Algezire, and the ſituation of the towne, he went abord a gally, and houered
D along the coaſt, and by the gulph, finding the country very pleaſant: wherefore hee grew more deſirous to beſeege that fort: and being returned to Seuile, and giuen order for all things neceſſarie for ſuch an enterpriſe, he came and inueſted it both by ſea and land, in the month of Auguſt 1342. hauing not yet all his forces together, but onely 4000. foot: *An.* 1342. and 2600. horſe, with his ſea army of Caſtile and Arragon. In Algezire they made accompt, that there were at the leaſt 800. horſe, and 12000. foote Moores, all archers, and Croſſe-bow men, who did much annoy the Chriſtians, by their continuall ſallies and skirmiſhes, but aſſoone as the king of Caſtile had taken a fort, called Carthagena, lying betwixt Algezire and Gibraltar, they preſented themſelues more warily. A Moore taken in
E this caſtell, beeing brought vnto the king to diſcouer the ſtate of the towne, was ſo tranſported with a deſperate furie, as had not his Guard beene, and others that were neere vnto the Kings perſon, he had ſlaine him. Matters ſtanding on theſe tearmes, the king of *Arragon* reuoked his army, for that he had need thereof againſt the king of Maiorca, the which did ſomewhat incomodate the ſeege: and at the ſame time the king had another cauſe of griefe, for the death of D. *Alphonſo Melendez de Guzman*, maſter of S. *Iames*: in whoſe place D. *Frederic* the kings baſe ſonne was choſen in the campe. There arriued daily at the campe great numbers of men from diuers forrain countries, to ſerue againſt the Infidels: by reaſon whereof, and fore-ſeeing that this ſeege would bee difficult and long, King D. *Alphonſo* intreated the Chriſtian Princes of France and Portugal, and the Pope
F himſelfe to lend him mony. The French king aſſiſted him with 50000. Crownes, which were made ouer to Genoa. Whilſt they lye before *Algezire*, *Ioſeph* King of Granado hauing gathered together 6000. horſe, which he had in his country, with 2000. Affricans, being in garriſon at Ronda, hee ouer-ran the country as far as Eccia, where hauing ſpoyled all, he came to Palma, which he entred without any great difficulty, putting all the Chriſtians hee found in it to the ſword, then packing vppe his baggage, hee returned with all

Victories at ſea of the Chriſtians againſt the Moores.

ſpeed

ſpeed to Granado, fearing to be charged by the Garriſons and Commons there-abouts, A
who began to make a head. There was a More with one eye taken in the camp, who came from Caſtellar, and was ſent to kill the king of Caſtile, as hee himſelfe confeſſed, for the which he was executed. This yeare about Nouember, there arriued ten gallies, ſent by the king of Arragon, and commanded by *Mathew Mercier* of Valence: the like number came from Portugal, and ioyned with the army, but within three weekes they returned, and no man knew the reaſon, yet the ſeege was not ſtayed, nor the batterie diſcontinued before Algezire: *Inigo Lopes* of Ozorco, who had charge of the Engines, vſing great diligence.

An. 1343. This was one of the longeſt ſeeges we read of in Spaine, without any intermiſſion of Winter or other ſeaſon. The yeare 1343. beeing come, the king of Granado entred a- B
gaine into Andaluſia, hee recouered and razed the Caſtle of Benamexir, and ſpoyled the Towne of Eſtepa, but hee could not ſtay there: for that the Caſtle held good, and yet during all theſe incurſions, this Mooriſh king did ſollicite King Don *Alphonſo* to come to ſome truce, offering the like conditions, whereunto he and his Predeceſſors had beene formerly bound, but for that he would not leaue the league and friendſhip of the King of Maroc, the King of Caſtile would not hearken to any treatie: although hee vnderſtood, that king *Alboacen* was at Ceuta, and that he made great preparation to come and raiſe the ſeege of Algezire, wherein he was ſtayed by the iealouſie hee had of his ſonne *Alderramen*, leaſt hee ſhould make himſelfe King of Maroc in his abſence, whoſe head hee was in the end forced to cut off, hauing to that end ſent *Haſcar* his Alguazil, or Prouoſt
to Maroc, who by promiſes and good words, lulled this ſonne aſleepe, beeing impatient C
in his ambition, and ſo executed his charge. The Moores of Ronda and Malaga, beeing two thouſand horſe, and as many foot, came running towards Eccia, not knowing that the king had ſent a great troupe of horſe into thoſe marches, to hinder their courſes: yet they forraged the countrie, and tooke their way home-wards, but *Fernand Gonçales* of Aguilar cut off their paſſage in the night, at a riuer called de las Yeguas, and charged them ſo furiouſly at the breake of day, as notwithſtanding any reſiſtance, they abandoned their prey, and were put to route, leauing aboue ſixe hundred of their men ſlaine and taken, and three hundred horſe, which the Chriſtians caried away. There were a good number of horſe paſt alreadie out of Affricke, ſo as the king of Granado ioyning them to the
forces of his countrie, hee might put an army to field, able to preſent battell to them that D
were at the ſeege before Algezire, their forces being then ſome-what diuided, for that king Don *Alphonſo* had (as we haue ſayd) ſent a good part of his horſe-men towards Eccia, Carmona, Marchena, Vtrera, Aguilar, and other places: but beeing either feareſull, by reaſon of former loſſes, or he expected greater ſuccours from Affricke, hee deferred it very happily for the king of Caſtile, and beganne to practiſe a truce, whereunto King Don *Alphonſo* made ſhew to incline, protracting the time, vntill the comming of his horſe, whome hee had ſent for with all ſpeed vnto the campe, the which beeing come, there were ſo many difficulties propounded by him, as nothing was concluded.

The King of Maroc beeing vpon the Affricke ſhoare with a great army, hee ſollicited E
him of Granado to giue battaile, offering to ſend him part of his troupes, if he were not of ſufficient ſtrength. The King of Granado excuſed himſelfe, for that both their forces vnited together, were not able to reſiſt the fury of the Chriſtians before Tariffe: wherfore he aduiſed & intreated him to paſſe in perſon, and to bring with him all the forces he had, but there was no meanes to perſwade the king of Maroc to paſſe the ſtreight: ſo as the ſeege continued, where there daily arriued Princes and Knights from France, England & other places: there is ſpeciall mention made of a Duke of Lancaſter, and an Earle of Salisbury Engliſh men, of *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, and his brother *Roger Regnaud*, whom ſome call *Bernard* Vicount of Caſtelbon, and eſpecially of *Philip* King of Nauarre, whoſe hiſtory we haue need to returne vnto.

Nauarre 22 This Prince hauing his reſidence for the moſt part in France, employing himſelf F
vertuouſly for the defence of that realm againſt the Engliſh, who contended for it againſt *Philip* of Valois then raigning: his country of Nauar being gouerned in the meane time by Lieutenants, or Viceroys French-men, whereof wee haue named ſome. And in theſe

times

A times mention is made of one *Regnaud Pons*, and of one *William Brahe*, Gouernors, in whoſe times the lawes of Duel were much practiſed in Nauarre, as well among the Nobility, as others, who decided their controuerſies and quarrels by combat. The wars betwixt the French and Engliſh beeing ſomewhat appeaſed about the yeare 1343, more for want of meanes to make warre, and for need of reſt then otherwiſe: *Philip* king of Nauarre obtayned leaue to come and viſit his countrie, and if it were conuenient to ſee the ſeege of Algezire, whereof there was ſo great brute throughout all Chriſtendome. This deſire increaſed in him, beeing in Nauarre, and the rather for that hee vnderſtood there ſhould be a battaile, as it was likely, and that the king of Caſtile did reſolutely attend it. Wherefore king *Philip* inuited many of his friends, and leauied men as well in Nauarre,
E as in France, giuing order for the ſhipping of munition and victuals in the ports of Guipuſcoa, and ſo marched on, hauing giuen aduice of all vnto king D. *Alphonſo*, leading with him only an hundred horſe, and three hundred foot, which were ready about him, giuing order for the reſt to follow. There was great honor done him in all the townes of Caſtile, where he paſt, the king hauing ſo commanded, and he arriued at Seuile about the Spring, whither the king of Caſtile ſent Ambaſſadours to welcome him, and conduct him to Xeres vppon the frontier, whether many Noblemen, and ſouldiers ſhould come to accompanie him, as well to do him honour, as for the ſafetie of his perſon, for that the Moores Armie lay incamped vpon the Riuer of Guadiana.

Thus the king of Nauarre was conducted vnto Xeres, and from thence to the campe,
C with all the ſhewes of friendſhip and amity that could bee deſired: The king went foorth to meete him, beeing attended on by many great and worthie perſonages Caſtillans and ſtrangers, French, Engliſh, Germaines, and other Nations. The King of Caſtile did ſuch honour to the King of Nauarre, as hee would not determine of any matter of conſequence, without calling him to councell, neither heare nor anſwer any Ambaſſadors but in his preſence. The King of Nauarre likewiſe for his part ſhewed himſelfe very deſirous to pleaſe him.

There were many skirmiſhes at that time, in the which the Nauarrois and Gaſcons carried themſelues very valiantly: notwithſtanding mention is made by the Hiſtories of
D Spayne, of a great oportunitie loſt of giuing the Moores a notable route, by the default of *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, who that day had the leading of the Nauarrois and Gaſcons, but they ſpeake of it doubtfully, as a thing vncertaine, and it may be without any iuſt ground, adding withall, that the Earle for ſhame demanded his conge, pretending certaine reaſons that hee could not ſtay, as well for that his ſouldiers were vnpayed, as for the neede they might haue of him in France, neither could the king of Nauarre, or hee of Caſtile (who offered him all contentment) ſtay him by any intreaties or perſwaſions. Finally, (according to the Spaniſh Authors) hee departed with a good troupe of Knights and ſouldiers, leading his brother with him: but being at Seuile, hee died, which ſhewes that ſickneſſe was the cauſe of his retreate, or rather the wounds which hee had receiued in a
E furious skirmiſh, which he maintained againſt the Moores which ſallied out of Algezire, in the which our French Hiſtories affirme that he was ſlaine. He was father to *Gaſton Phebus*, of whom mention ſhall be made hereafter. *Philip* king of Nauarre fell alſo ſicke, with other Noblemen, which grew by the intemperature of the ayre of Andaluſia, beeing too violent for the French, who changed nothing of their accuſtomed manner of lyuing, being in a different climate. The king of Nauarres ſickneſſe was ſuch, as hee was aduiſed to cauſe himſelfe to be tranſported into France, ſo as he was forced to take leaue of the king of Caſtile, who neglected no good office to comfort him: but beeing come to Xeres, his ſickneſſe ſo increaſed, as he was forced to ſtay, and dyed there in September 1343. He had raigned about 15. yeares and fiue months in Nauarre. His body was carried to Pampelona, and there interred in the Cathedrall church: whereſoeuer his body paſt through the
F Realme of Caſtile, there were great ceremonies done, and ſhewes of mourning, by commandement from king D. *Alphonſo*. The Spaniſh Authors (who flatter not the French) write, that this infirmity increaſed by griefe, for ſome errors which the French (which followed him) had committed in an ambuſh which had bin layd for the Moore, where by their too great haſt they loſt a goodly oportunity to defeat a great number.

Death of Don Philip king of Nauarre.

The Engliſh Noble-men beeing alſo called home by their king left the campe: and ſo as Authors report, king D. *Alphonſo* remained alone with his owne ſubiects, and ſuch of Portugal and Arragon, as hee had entertayned: the which may well ſeeme to bee written by Spaniards, that they alone might haue the honour of the taking and winning of Algezire. A

Caſtile. 23 After the retreat of theſe ſtrangers, the king was much troubled for many reſpects: for beſides that he was left weake, his treaſures were ſpent, by reaſon of his exceeding charge, and the rewards hee was forced to giue to ſuch as came to ſerue him from forraine countries: for beſides his land army which he muſt furniſh with all things neceſſarie, he was forced to entertaine the gallies of Genoa, Portugal and Arragon, that hee might be maſter of the ſea: the which they could hardly do, for that the enemy was ſtrong who ſoone after paſt out of Affricke, with ſixty gallies Moores, and many other veſſels, landing many horſe and foot, with great ſtore of victuals at Eſtepona, whom they might eaſily haue put into Algezire, where they began to want, if they had beene men of reſolution: for beſides that the king of Caſtiles army was not equall in ſtrength, it was then diſperſed in diuers parts. With this new ſupply the Moores might muſter 12000. horſe, an infinit number of foote. King D. *Alphonſo* got ſuccours and money from the French king, the Pope, and other Princes his friends, and from the Prelates, townes, and priuate men of his realme, who lent him willingly what they could ſpare: ſo as hee ſtayed the Genouois, who would haue beene gone, and contented both them and others, with great wiſedome and good husbandry. B C

Portugal. The king of Caſtile, notwithſtanding his affaires of war, did not forget any thing that might ſerue to better the Eſtate of his Prouinces, building and peopling new townes, as Monreal vpon Deua a riuer in Guipuſcoa, and Playſance, vpon the ſame riuer, the which he peopled with men out of the valley of Marquina, granting them the rights and priuiledges of Logrogno, and aſſigning their bounds and limits.

Theſe things paſt in the yeare 1343. in the which there hapned at Lisbon, the chiefe city of Portugall, great earth-quakes which ruined many goodly buildings, to the great terror of the inhabitants: and in this accident dyed the Admirall of Portugall.

Caſtile. The aduerſe armies in Andaluſia, were continually in skirmiſh and light incounters, but *Ioſeph* King of Granado would by no meanes yeeld to a battel, notwithſtanding the great ſupplies he had from Ceuta, and that he had with him a ſon of king *Alboacens*, called *Hali*, with many other great perſonages Moores, but deſired rather to trie if he could get king *Alphonſo* to yeeld vnto a truce: wherefore he ſent two Ambaſſadors vnto him, who had beene formerly employed, to whom the king of Caſtile ſeemed to giue a willing eare: by whome there was added vnto the conditions of the former accords, that king *Alboacen* ſhould pay him for the charge of this ſeege, 300000. doublons of gold. Theſe conditions being imparted vnto king *Ioſeph*, with a ſuſpenſion of armes, he preſently paſt ouer to Ceuta, to conferre with *Alboacen*. But in his return, he was ſet vpon (notwithſtanding the aſſurance giuen him by king *Alphonſo*) by a gally of Genoa, thinking to take the 300000. doublons with the king, but the kings gally being well armed, defended it ſelfe, and ſo eſcaped, whereof king *Ioſeph* made great complaints vnto the king of Caſtile, who without doubt would haue ſunke the Genouois gallie with the Captaine, if he could haue taken it, but he had gotten to ſea, fearing to be puniſhed, and ſo retired to Genoa. The treaties of truce being troubled by reaſon of this infidelity of the Genouois, the Mores army which was at Gibraltar, aduanced vnto the riuer of Palmons, halfe a league from the Chriſtians campe: where their fore-runners incountring the two armies which followed, had like to haue come to a generall battell, but the Moores retired firſt, hauing loſt ſome men. Their whole deſire was to victuall Algezire, where they vnderſtood, that all things wanted, and that many ſmall veſſels, laden with victuals, had beene taken at ſea, ſeeking by day or night to enter into it, through fauour of the wind or current: for the Chriſtians gallies were exceeding watchfull. But they preſented themſelues ſo often by land, making ſhew that they would fight, and watched their oportunitie ſo by ſea, as fiue Veſſels of Ceuta had meanes to enter, and to refreſh the beſeeged with ſome victuals, and other neceſſarie prouiſions, whereof the Captaine was a Moore, called *Muça*, who beeing diſcharged, returned D E F

A returned to Ceuta without loſſe, reporting vnto King *Alboacen* the great neceſſitie of the beſeeged. King *Alphonſo*, was much troubled hereat, but the eſtate of the beſeeged beeing hereby a little eaſed, was not much bettered: for theſe victuals laſted not long, conſidering their multitude of people, and their great extremitie, and the Princes of the Moores ſeeing, that in the end they muſt either hazard a battaile, which they did much feare, hauing ſo often (to their coſt) tryed the Chriſtians valour, or looſe the place, which had beene long and obſtinately beſeeged.

The king of Granado, with the aduice of *Alboacen*, did reuiue the treatie of truce, and the conditions of former accords; which were, that he ſhould be vaſſal to the king of Caſtile, and ſhould pay him tribute: and moreouer, that obtayning a truce for fifteene
B yeares, (wherein king *Alboacen* ſhould be comprehended) the towne of Algezire ſhould be yeelded vnto him, and that the Moores which were within it, ſhould haue liberty to depart with their goods whither they pleaſed: the which after long deliberation, was concluded. But they cut off fiue yeares of the time of the truce, the which was made but for ten yeares. King *Alphonſo* had a deſire to ſee a young Prince a Moore, that was within it, he was ſonne to *Abomelic*, but his Gouernour would not ſuffer him, ſaying, as hee caried him away, that the King of Caſtile had no reaſon to ſee an Infant, whome he depriued of his Inheritance.

Thus ended this ſeege, hauing continued nineteene moneths, during the which there were many ſharpe and furious incounters, whereof ſome might be accompted battailes:
C they within the towne made fifteene great ſallies the twelue firſt moneths, where as many valiant men of either ſide were ſlaine. About the end of this ſeege, there had bene ſent out of Arragon *Iames Eſcriuain*, and *Mathew Mercer* Captaines, with twenty gallies, who wonne great honour there. The king entred into Algezire in great pompe, where hauing planted many of his Enſignes vppon the towers, the great Meſgide was purified and hallowed with great ceremonies, the which was named Saint *Maries* of the Palme. The wals and rampiers beeing repayred, and the houſes and land diſtributed to new dwellers, the king came to Seuile, from whence hee ſent two daughters of King *Alboacens*, which had beene taken at the battaile of Tariffe, cauſing them to be honourably conducted into Affricke, and richly attired: wherewith the Mooriſh king was ſo pleaſed, as he could not ſuf-
D ficiently commend his bountie and courteſie; who hauing royally rewarded the Ambaſſadours, which did accompany theſe Princeſſes, hee ſent vnto the King of Caſtile a rich preſent of pretious ſtones, ſilkes, armes, horſes, lyons, and other beaſts, infinite perfumes, and whatſoeuer hee thought rare, the which did much confirme the league of friendſhip betwixt them: but it happened that *Alboacen* within few dayes after, beeing ſet vppon and incountred by one of his ſonnes called *Alboanen*, who had rebelled againſt him, and abandoning the duty of a ſonne, depriued him of the kingdome of Fez, whereby the king of Caſtile entred into a new iealouſie of warre, this vſurping ſonne not reſpecting the truce made with his father. *Alboacen king of Marocco diſpoſſeſſed by his ſonne.*

This *Alboanen* did not onely take from his father the Realme of Fez, but alſo all that Moores.
E hee held in Spaine, as Ronde, Zachara, Gibraltar, Ximena, Marbella, Eſtepona, Caſtillar and others. But whileſt the Moores moleſted one another, the King of Caſtile and his ſubiects had ſome reſt, whereof they had great need, by reaſon of their continuall toyle, and great expences at the ſeege of Algezire.

In the meane time the king of Caſtile ſeeing that the quarrels betwixt Don *Pedro* king Arragon.
of Arragon, and his brethren D. *Fernand* and D. *Iohn*, borne of D. *Leonora* of Caſtile his ſiſter, continued ſtill, he ſought to reconcile them, ſending *Diego Garcia* of Toledo to that end, who laboured much, but in vaine. Beeing there, there was a marriage treated of, betwixt D. *Fernand Manuel*, ſonne to D. *Iohn Manuel*, and D. *Ieanne* of Arragon, daughter
F to Don *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prages, Vncle to the King Don *Pedro*. The allyance and amitie of Arragon had beene very auayleable to Don *Iohn Manuel*, the which hee could not forget, although the King of Caſtile were not much pleaſed therewith.

24 During the ſeege of Algezire, the king Don *Pedro* ſought to ruine D. *Iames* king of Majorca, his couſin and brother-in-lawe, by force and all other vnworthie meanes,

ſeeking to make him odious by falſe accuſations, where as force could not preuaile. Hauing drawne him to Barcelona, vppon hope of a reconciliation, hee charged him in open aſſembly, that he had fraudulently ſought to carrie him, with his brother Don *Iames* Earle of Vrgel, and their Vncle Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, into Majorca, and there to detayne them priſoners, vntill that he were releaſed from the oath of fidelitie, and acknowledgement of Soueraigntie, which hee and his Predeceſſors had made vnto the Kings of Arragon: and in this diſcontent and feare, he ſent him away, retayning notwithſtanding his wife Donna *Conſtance*, who was his ſiſter: and without any long delay, the King Don *Pedro* ſent *Arnauld Erillo*, and *William Bellera* to ouer-runne the Country of Roſſillon, and other lands belonging to the King of Majorca, lying neere vnto Cattelogne, and to ſeaze vppon the places of ſtrength, the Princes and Princeſſes of his bloud and his allyes employing themſelues in vaine to pacifie them. But ſuch was his hatred and inſatiable deſire of greatneſſe, as hee proclaimed open warre againſt this poore king of Majorca, weake in meanes, and it may be, in courage, to make head againſt ſo mighty a king, and ſo obſtinate an enemie.

And at that time Don *Pedro* of Moncado was recalled with his Gallies from the Streights, as wee haue ſayd, who hauing increaſed his army with many other veſſels rigged out vppon the coaſts of Cattelogne and Valence, hee came to Palomera, a hauen in the Iland of Majorca, with an hundred and ſixe ſayles, where hee landed many horſe and foote, the king beeing there in perſon, who before his departure, had coloured this enterpriſe with a pretext of Fellonie and Rebellion, pronouncing a ſentence againſt the King Don *Iames*, in an aſſembly of Noblemen and Princes at Barcelona, and confiſcating his goods. In this army was Don *Pedro* of Arragon, Earle of Ampurias and Ribagorça, the kings Vncle, holding the place of Seneſhall and chiefe of Armes: Don *Pedro* of Arragon Lord of Xerica newly reconciled, Don *Blaſco* of Alagon, who carried the Standard royall: Don *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrreé, Don *Philip* of Caſtro, D. *Alphonſo Roger* of Loria, brother to Don *Pedro* of Xerica, *Galuan* and *Raymond Angleçole*, *Acart Murio*, *Arnauld Erillo*, *Gonçal Diaz* of Arenos, *Iohn Fernandes* of Luna, *Artal* of Foſſes, *Michel Perez Zapate*, *Iourdain Vrries*, *Sancho Peres Pomar*, with other Noblemen and Captaines. Againſt theſe forces the king of Majorca had leauied three hundred horſe and fifteene thouſand foote, but he was betrayed and abandoned, and forced to flie, and quit the Iland: ſo as the king Don *Pedro* ſeazed thereon without fighting, and was receiued into the citty of Majorca, whereof Don *Arnold Erillo* was made Gouernour, and *Gillebert Centilla* Captaine of the ſouldiers that were there left in garriſon. The Iland of Minorca made no greater reſiſtance, and that of Yuiça leſſe. Minorca was giuen in gouernment to *Gillebert Ceruera*, and Yuiça to *Martin Arbes*. Theſe Ilands ſubdued, the king returned to Barcelona, from whence he preſently marched into the Countie of Roſſillon, with his whole army, whither the Cardinall of Rhodez, the Popes Legat, came vnto him, to aduiſe him to deſiſt from armes: who could get no other anſwer, but that the king of Majorca ſhould come and yeeld himſelfe to his will. During this warre, there was borne at Ceruera, in the territorie of Lerida in Cattelogne, a monſtrous child, hauing two heads and foure legges, whoſe father and mother ſeeking to conceale it, buried it aliue, but beeing diſcouered in this attempt, they were puniſhed, as murtherers of their child.

Maiorca conquered by the king of Arragon.

Monſter borne in Cattelogne ſlaine by the parents, and they puniſhed.

There were great tumults and ſeditions at that time in Arragon, betwixt many Noblemen, contending by armes for their poſſeſſions, ſo as the king commanded that D. *Athon* of Foſſes ſhould be apprehended and puniſhed, to terrifie others, he alſo cauſed his reuenues and lands to be ſeazed on, from the which he did appeale vnto the Magiſtrate of the Iuſtice of Arragon, which was then in the hands of *Garci Fernandes* of Caſtro, wherupon there grew great contention: for the kings learned Councel pretended that the authority of the Iuſtice of Arragon did not extend out of the aſſembly of the Eſtates, and that this Magiſtrate was there onely a Iudge of controuerſies, which did riſe againſt the king, being not lawfull for him out of the Eſtates, to make himſelfe Iudge of any controuerſie againſt his royall Maieſty, but in ſutes of ſtate, and condition of perſons, or in cauſes whereas the king is called for a warrant, or in complaints which the people may make againſt the kings Officers.

The

A The king therefore commanded, (for that *Garci Fernandes* of Caſtro, Iuſtice of Arragon, was allyed to *Athon* of Foſſes) that *Michel Perez Zapate*, Lieutenant generall of Arragon in the kings abſence, ſhould put *Athon* in priſon, but finding himſelfe too weake, for that *Athon* was ſupported by many ſeditious perſons, and had the countenance of diuers great men his kinſmen and friends, he had recourſe vnto the Iurates of Sarragoſſa, according to the cuſtome of his anceſtors, enioyning them to fore-ſee, that the Eſtate receiued no preiudice, and that Iuſtice ſhould not be forced. *Submiſſion of the king of Majorca diſpoſſeſt*

The warre of Roſſillon continued, neither would the king D. *Pedro* yeeld for any interceſſion the Pope could make, perſiſting ſtill, that the king Don *Iames* (who was diſpoſſeſt of Majorca) ſhould come and ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, without any condition. The
B towne of Elne yeelded vnto him. In the end *Arnold* Biſhop of Aux, the Popes Nuncio, did mediate, that the King of Majorca ſhould come and yeeld himſelfe into the hands of the king D. *Pedro*, and deliuer him his forts, vpon aſſurance that they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt his perſon, nor put him in priſon: the which beeing granted, D. *Iames* king of Majorca, vpon the aſſurance of D. *Pedro* of Xerica, came to Elne, and caſting himſelfe at the king of Arragons feet, he ſubmitted himſelfe to his clemencie, beſeeching him to haue regard vnto his ranke and dignity, to ſuffer him to iuſtifie himſelfe, and that he would be pleaſed to ſue ciuilly againſt him: and howſoeuer, at the leaſt, preſerue vnto his Nephewes, children to his brother D. *Fernand*, their right vnto the realme of Majorca, and other lands, and cauſe the towne of Perpignan to be deliuered vnto him. The king
C D. *Pedro* blinded with hatred and choller, reiected all theſe requeſts after a ſtrange and inſolent manner, and being entred into Perpignan, he cauſed a Decree to be publiſhed, by the which he did confiſcate the Iland of Majorca, and all the lands of the king Don *Iames*, vniting them inſeparably to the Crowne of Arragon: which decree he cauſed to be ſet vp at euery corner. This poore Prince being thus intreated, he left the county of Roſſillon, and retired himſelfe to Berga, a place aſſigned him for his aboad, vntill that his aduerſary ſhould giue order for his entertainment. The king D. *Pedro* (after theſe ſeuere and vniuſt proceedings) returned to Barcelona, where he entred armed, as triumphing for a victory gotten of ſome great enemy. Beeing there in counſell, he aſſigned 10000. liuers of *Decree againſt the king Don Iames.* *A thouſand pound ſterling.*
D penſion for the king D. *Iames* diſpoſſeſt, vntil he had giuen him lands and reuenues out of Spaine: remitting vnto him his rights of Montpellier, and other places on this ſide the Pyrenees, alreadie in his poſſeſſion.

Theſe things beeing ſignified vnto him by Don *Pedro* of Moncado, *Philip Boillo*, and *Garcia* of Loris, hee reiected them all, ſaying: *That he had rather liue baniſhed in a ſtrange Country, and ſuffer all the miſeries in the world, then to yeeld to ſo great an iniuſtice, or allow of ſo vnworthie conditions, impoſed vppon him by a King which was his kinſman.* Whereuppon the King Don *Pedro* renewed the warre, that hee might either take him, or chaſe him out of the Kingdome.

This miſerable Prince deſtitute and quite ſtript of all meanes, and abandoned of his
E friends, had the courage to defie Don *Pedro* of Xerica, accuſing him of diſloyaltie, for that hee had promiſed him many things (perſwading him to come to Elne) which had not beene kept: but Don *Pedro* was abſolued by the king, who declared that hee had not fayled in any thing he had promiſed: ſo as Don *Iames* ſometimes King of Majorca, fruſtrate of all hope, was forced to retire into the Countie of Cerdagne, hoping to hold thoſe Lands by the fauour and ſupport of *Geoffrey Eſtandart* a French-man, Gouernour of Puicerdan, and other Segneuries on this ſide the mountaines: but beeing deceiued and forſaken of all, hee was forced to flie, and to paſſe the mountaines in Nouember, the Winter beeing exceeding ſharpe: ſo as vppon mount Pimorent, which diuides the Contie of Cerdagne from Gaſconie, hee was like to haue dyed with the extremitie of cold, where hee fell into ſuch a paſſion of griefe, as he was readie to haue ſlaine himſelfe. This
F vſage did D. *Iames* the king of Majorca receiue of his brother-in-law, Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, who was at that time againe ſollicited to attempt the conqueſt of Corſica, whereunto he yeelded, and ſent ſome gallies to the port of Boniface, this yeare 1344. hauing intelligence, and a ſecret league with *William Roncaual*, *Rowland Ornan*, *Henry Cortingo*, and others of the chiefe of the Iland.

Caſtile. In the yeare 1345. D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, gaue order for the building of the new A
1345. towne of S. Ander, called Heybar, and a league from thence of the towne of Marquine, called alſo Helgoybar, which he peopled with the inhabitants of the villages of that countrie, giuing them lawes and priuiledges according to the iuriſdiction of Logrogne.

An. 1346. 25 The yeare following 1346. a donation was made by Pope *Clement* the 6. reſident in Auignon, to D. *Lewis de la Cerde*, ſonne to the Infant D. *Alphonſo*, of the fortunate Ilands or Canaries, vpon condition that he ſhould conquer them, and cauſe the Goſpell to be preached there: to this end he came into Arragon, and there began to prepare an army at ſea, wherein he was much aſſiſted and fauoured by the king D. *Pedro*: but we find not that he paſt into the Ilands, and to ſpeake truly, it would haue beene diſtaſtfull vnto B
the king of Caſtile, in whoſe Streight theſe Ilands are ſituated: yet this D. *Lewis* held the title of Prince of the fortunate Ilands. D. *Iohn Manuel* (who had neuer loued the king of Caſtile from his heart) was glad of theſe petty diſcontentments, by fauour whereof hee ſpread abroad falſe reports and aduertiſements, to draw the two kings of Caſtile and Arragon into warre, but what he could not do by his practiſes, occaſion wrought, at the treaty of marriage which the king of Caſtile would make betwixt D. *Fernand* of Arragon his nephew, ſonne to his ſiſter D. *Leonora*, and D. *Eluira* Infanta of Portugal, who is by ſome called alſo *Leonora*, by reaſon whereof king D. *Alphonſo*, and D. *Leonora* his ſiſter had an interview at Tordelaguna: which put the king D. *Pedro* into ſuch a iealouſie, being
1347. then a widower, (which was in the yeare 1347.) as hauing done what hee could to diuert C
this marriage, he reſolued to demand the Infanta of Portugal for himſelfe, for the which he ſent his ambaſſadors. The king of Caſtile beeing much mooued, that hee of Arragon did thus ſeeke to croſſe him, ſent Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque into Portugal, to hinder the concluſion of this marriage, but hee arriued too late, for the ambaſſadour of Arragon had ſo negotiated, as all was concluded: whereat the king Don *Alphonſo* was much offended.

Arragon. 26 This D. *Pedro* king of Arragon had in his time many wiues, the firſt was D. *Maria* Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king *Philip* of Eureux, by whom he had D. *Conſtance* Queene of Sicily, wife to D. *Frederic* the ſecond. D. *Ieanne* married afterwards to D. *Iohn* Earle of Ampurias, and one ſonne, who died as ſoone as he was borne, and the mother D
fiue dayes after, in the yere 1347. To his 2. wife he had this Infant of Portugall: to his third he tooke D. *Leonora*, ſome call her D. *Conſtance*, daughter to *Frederick* the 2. King of Sicily, by whom he had D. *Iohn* his ſucceſſor in the Realme: D. *Martin* Earle of Xerica and Luna, and Duke of Momblanc, and firſt Conſtable of Arragon, (who by the death of his elder brother, was alſo King of Arragon) and D. *Leonora*, which was wife to D. *Iohn* Infant of Caſtile, afterwards king, the firſt of that name of Caſtile and Leon. Beſides theſe great Princeſſes, the King Don *Pedro*, being old and a widower, fell in loue with a ſubiect of his owne of a meane family called *Sibile*, a widow, borne at Forcia in the territorie of Ampurias, and married her, of whom he had D. *Izabella*, who was Counteſſe of Vrgel, and wife to Don *Iames*. Theſe were the marriages of the king Don *Pedro*, who raigning E
cruelly and couetouſly, incenſed the Eſtates and Nobilitie of his Realmes of Arragon and Valence againſt him, whereas the ſubiects made Leagues againſt their Prince, which did in a manner ruine and confound that Eſtate, King Don *Alphonſo* not forgetting to make vſe of that occaſion, to be reuenged of the wrong and iniurie which hee pretended had beene done him, in diſappointing the mariage of his Nephew Don *Fernand* with the Infanta of Portugall.

The King Don *Pedro* hauing no ſonnes at the conſummation of this ſecond marriage, ſought to haue an oath taken to D. *Conſtance*, his eldeſt daughter, heire to the Realme of Arragon, and other lands depending and annexed after his deceaſe, the which was cauſe of great ſeditions: for Don *Iohn*, Earle of Vrgel, the kings brother, gouerning the F
Realme then as Gouernour, or Lieutenant generall, oppoſed himſelfe violently: by reaſon whereof the King (who was violent and rough in all his actions) chaſed him away, and tooke from him his publike charge: then hauing emancipated Donna *Conſtance* his daughter, hee made and inſtituted her Gouerneſſe, or Regent of the Realme, to make her way to the ſucceſſion, there beeing preſent at this act, and his principall

Coun-

A councellors, D. *Huges* Biſhop of Vic, D. *Pedro Thouſio* maiſter of Monteſa, D. *Pedro* of Xerica viceroy of Valence, *Pedro Fenouillet*, *Audemar Mouſſet*, *Gonçaluo Diaz* of Arenos, & *Gaceran de Belpuccio*. D. *Pedro* the Kings vncle, Earle of Ampurias, tooke that oth to his Princeſſe in the name of the Eſtates, vpon condition, that if it were found the hereditarie right did belong vnto D. *Iames*, the oth ſhould be voide. D. *Iames* ſeeing himſelfe diſapointed, ſtirred vp troubles in the country of Valence: hee had recourſe to the vnion of Arragon, to retaine his dignity of Gouernor of the Realme: hee made a league with his brethren D. *Fernand* and D. *Iohn* ſonnes to D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, and with the King of Caſtile himſelfe, and diſquieted al Arragon.

The diſpoſſeſt King of Majorca hearing of theſe tumults, would bee an actor, and
B came neere vnto Majorca, with certaine gallies of France and Genoa, whereof *Charles* Grimaldi was General, but as misfortune did ſtill accompany him hee effected nothing of worth in thoſe Iſlands nor vpon the coaſt of Cattelogne, whether hee afterwards came, and was repulſt by the King himſelfe. By the aduice of *Bernard* of Cabrera, who was then held a man of great wildome and iudgement, he made his vncle D. *Pedro*, Earle of Ampurias, chiefe of his councel, and ſeeking by all meanes to catch his rebels, or to diuide their league, hee wrought ſo as the Earle of Vrgel his brother came vnto him, whom hee reſtored to his dignity of Gouernor of the realme, but it continued not many daies, for he died preſently, not without ſuſpition to haue beene poyſoned. Being at an aſſemblie of the Eſtates at Saragoſſa, he granted them all they demaunded, and re-
C nued the contract made by King *Alphonſo* the third, with the vnion of Arragon, by the which ſixteene caſtles were put into the power of the vnion, with liberty to deliuer them to whom they would, if the King ſhould infringe the accord.

An. 1347. *Marriage of the King D. Pedro with the Infant of Portugal.*

This yeere of our Lord 1347. during theſe troubles the Kings marriage was conſomated with the Infanta of Portugal, the which were very mournful, for that in a ſhort ſpace the Kings men receiued two notable routs by the rebels, the one neere vnto Xatiua, where there died on the Kings part *Andrew William* the Secretarie, Lieutenant to the Viceroy of Valence, and his ſonne: the other neere vnto Valence, in the which *Gonçal Diaz* of Arnos, and *Pedro Mugnon* captaines of the Kings men loſt their liues. So as
D the King, who in the meane time kept at Moruiedro, in a manner beſeeged, was much perplexed, and not knowing what to reſolue, he ſuffred himſelfe to bee perſwaded to enter into the city of Valence, where hee found himſelfe entangled in the mutinies of the citizens, who reſpected and honoured him ſo little, as notwithſtanding his preſence, they ſpoiled and murthered one an other, after a pittiful manner. The Noble men and captaines holding his party, were then fortefied in Daroca, whereof the chiefe were D. *Pedro* of Xerica, D. *Lope* of Luna, D. *Blaſco* of Alagon, D. *Pedro Fernandes* of Ixar, D. *Thomas Cornel*, D. *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, and D. *Iohn Martines* of Luna.

Defeat of the Kings men.

Valencians ſeditious.

The Rebels were fauored and aſſiſted vnder-hand, by D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtile, who ſuffred them to make great leauies of ſouldiars in his countries, for the loue hee bare vn-
E to the ſonnes of his ſiſter D. *Leonora*, *Douager* of Arragon: and D. *Fernand* the eldeſt had alreadie lead many bands of Caſtillans to Valence, and D. *Iohn* his brother prepared to paſſe into Arragon with other troupes, to be the generall of that warre, the which the Arragonois demaunded: yet by reaſon of the complaints made by the King D. *Pedro*, who ſaid that the league betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, was broken by King D. *Alphonſo*, ſollyciting all his friends and priuat councellors, eſpecially Queene *Mary* his wife, and D. *Leonora* of Guzman, his beſt beloued, to diſſwade the King from this enterpriſe, laying before him the conſequence of this rebellion, there were ſent by the King of Caſtille, and by his ſiſter the Queene D. *Leonora*, into Arragon D. *Fernando* Perez *Puerto Carrero*, and to Valence *Lope* Perez of Fonſeca, to treat of the meanes to paceſie theſe troubles.

King of Caſtile ſauors the rebels againſt the King of Arragon.

F The King D. *Pedro* promiſed great matters to his brethren, and deſired nothing more then to haue the Caſtillan troupes called home by their King: but notwithſtanding any likelihood of an accord, they drew what ſuccors they would from Caſtile: wherefore King D. *Alphonſo* beeing importuned by the King D. *Pedro*, and diſcontented with theſe ſeditions, beeing alſo mooued with a deſire he had to ſee the Queene D. *Leonora*

his

his ſiſter and her children aſſured in their Eſtates, which had been left them by the deceaſed King D. *Iames*, and by diuers other paſſions, he could take no better reſolution, then to ſhew himſelfe a common friend: and for that hee could not well hinder the credit which his Nephewes had in Caſtille for the leauying of men, hee alſo ſuffred the King of Arragon to leauy horſemen for his money, entertayning *Aluar Garcia* of Albornoz, who brought him aboue ſixe hundred Caſtillan horſemen. With theſe forces and others of his ſubiects, who fauoured his violences, hee came to battaile with the Rebels of Valence and Saragoſſa, beſeeging Epila, being commanded by his brother D. *Fernand*, whom he put to rout betwixt the riuer of Xalon and Epila, where the Infant D. *Fernand* was taken priſoner: but his good fortune was, to fall into the hands of the Caſtillan horſemen, who being loath hee ſhould come into the power of the incenſed King D. *Pedro*, ſent him ſpeedily into Caſtille, to King D. *Alphonſo* his vncle. In this battaile died *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, the chiefe fauourer of the vnion, *Gombald Tramaſſet*, *Symon Perez Pina*, and *Galuan Angleſole*.

Rebels defeated by the king D. Pedro.

After this defeat there was a firme League made betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, by the treaty of a marriage of one of the King D. *Pedros* daughters, with D. *Henry*, ſon aduowed to the King of Caſtile: and there were conditions propounded for Queene *Leonor* and her children; that the King of Arragon ſhould ſuffer them to enioy their goods and Eſtates freely, and that the Gouernment of Arragon ſhould bee giuen to the Infants D. *Fernand* and D. *Iohn*, and that the King ſhould not proceed againſt the confederats of Valence, againſt whom he was more incenſed then againſt the reſt. The King D. *Pedro* would not grant the gouernment of Arragon to his brethren, nor pardon his rebels, but deſired the King of Caſtile to aſſiſt him with horſe-men, that hee might puniſh them by armes: and in regard of the marriage, he would haue D. *Henry* inueſted in the country of Murcia, with the title of a King: otherwiſe he ſhould not marry his daughter. Theſe difficult and diſtaſtfull treaties to either partie, were ſpent in diſputes, without any concluſion.

The defeat of the confederats army at Epila, did ſo terrefie them of Saragoſſa, as many men of marke went out of the Realme, others ſent vnto the King to ſue for their liues: ſo as that great city whoſe forces had beene fearefull to the Kings of Arragon, was then made ſubiect with the whole realme: for the King hauing called there an aſſembly of the Eſtates, ſuch as he pleaſed, hee wreſted away the popular lawes, and the preuiledges of the vnion, namely thoſe of King D. *Alphonſo* the third, and the confirmation which he himſelfe had made was diſanulled, and new Articles made againſt the ſeditious: many that were culpable, were condemned to die, and their goods confiſcate. Thus the rights and preuiledges gotten ſeditiouſly by armes, were loſt againe by armes. There the iuriſdiction of the Gouernor of the realme was alſo reformed, a dignity neere vnto that of the King, the which hauing to that time beene held by Princes, or great perſonages, with great abuſe, corruption and libertie, for that it had beene an ancient cuſtome, vſed in Arragon, not to call ſuch men in queſtion for their faults, but ciuily, beeing exempt from condemnation of death, priſon or baniſhment. It was then decreed, that from thenceforth that dignity ſhould not bee giuen to Princes, nor to any one that were to powerful aboue the reſt, but to ſimple knights: to the end that if they did commit any fraude or abuſe, or did violate the Lawes and publike liberty, they might make their criminall proceſſe, and take away their liues, if the caſe ſo required. The iuriſdiction of the iuſtice Major of Arragon, was there alſo lymited: that is, he ſhould haue authority to ſuppreſſe the vniuſt decrees of the Kings officers, and the raſh attempts, and actions of mighty men, with all publike force, and maintaine iuſtice betwixt great and ſmal: and it was decreed, that this Magiſtrat ſhould not be giuen by the peoples ſuffrages, nor at the appetite of the Plebeians, to men of baſe condition, but to knights, which ſhould be named by the King.

Reformation of the Gouernors iuriſdiction.

Lymitation of the iuriſdiction of the iuſtice Maior of Arragon.

Saragoſſa being ſubdued, the King led his army againſt them of Valence, who perſiſted in their rebellion. The Valentians in the beginning thought to be able to reſiſt and there were ſome incounters betwixt them and the Kings men: but being often beaten, and repulſt with loſſe, they reſolued in the end to yeeld the city, the which the king (being

Valence ſubdued.

ſharpe

A ſharpe and ſeuere by nature) would haue razed, plowed vp, and the place ſowen with ſault, in hatred of the inſolencies and contempt of which the Valentians had vſed againſt him: yet he was diuerted from this cruell intent, by the Noblemen that were about him, and his wrath was appeaſed, by the puniſhment of *Iohn Ruis Corellia*, *Raymond Scorne*, *Iames Romanin*, and *Ponce* of Solier, men of noble families, who were put to death, and others that were more lightly puniſhed.

Such was the end of the reuolts and tumults of Arragon and Valence: During the which the Iſland of Sardynia was likewiſe in a combuſtion, entertained by the Geneuois, hauing lands there, namely by *Mathew*, *Nicoloſio*, *Iohn Anthony* & *Iulian Doria*, by whoſe ſuppert the Sardiniens did riſe, and ſpoiled the countries which held the Arragon party. *Reuolts in Sardynia.*

B D. *William* of Ceruillon was then Gouernor for the King D. *Pedro* in that Iſland, who thinking to repaire the harme which the rebels had done, was defeated and ſlaine neere to Baſtide, which the enemies did beſeege: wherefore D. *Rambaud* of Corbera was ſent in his place, and *Ponce Santa paz* for Generall of the Arragon gallies. Theſe were more fortunate then *Ceruillon* had beene: for D. *Rambaud* raiſed the ſeege from before Saſſeri, and recouered many places: wherein he was faithfully aſſiſted by *Marian*, Iudge of Arborea, and by *Iohn* his brother, and ſo preſt the faction of *Doria*, which was contrarie to the Arragonois, as he freed the Iſland: the which miniſtred occaſion vnto the common weale of Genoa, to breake the peace which they had with the King of Arragon: *Iohn Murta* was then Duke of Genoa, beeing in the yeere of our Lord 1348. *An.* 1348.

C wherefore they of the family of *Doria*, with the helpe and ſupport they had from the common weale of Genoa, beſeeged Saſſeri againe, and gaue a rout to *Hugues Corbera*, brother to the Gouernor D. *Rambaud*, who was then abſent, for he was come into Cattelogne to makes new leauies of ſouldiars; ſo as the affaires of Sardinia were in greater combuſtion then euer.

D. *Rambaud* returning to his Gouernment, with ſome gallies and good numbers of ſouldiars of Cattelogne, he toucht at the Iſland of Majorca, euen as there was a battaile ready to be giuen betwixt the Arragonois and the diſpoſſeſt King D. *Iames*, who hauing armed many veſſels vpon the coaſts of Prouence and Languedoc, and giuen the leading thereof to *Charles* of Grimaldi Lord of Monaco, had landed in the Iſland of Majorca, *Laſt attempt of D. Iames King of Majorca.*

D being reſolute either to recouer thoſe Iſlands or to die: to make head, againſt him (beſides the care of D. *Gilibert Ruillia*, Gouernor for the King D. *Pedro*, in the Iſlands of Majorca and Minorca) D. *Ponce* of Moncade Admiral of Arragon, laying a ſide his voyage of Sicile, whether he was going, had alſo landed in Majorca, ſo as there were in armes, for the King of Arragon, the day of this battaile, comprehending D. *Rambauds* forces, eight hundred horſe, and about twenty thouſand foote: who ioyning with the King D. *Iames* men, defeated them, after a long & cruel fight with great ſlaughter; whereas the King Don *Iames* (a Prince alwaies vnfortunate in his enterpriſes) loſt his life: his ſonne, called alſo D. *Iames*, being a priſoner, and ſore wounded: wherefore the King *D. Iames King of Majorca ſlaine.*

E Don *Pedro* by this victory held the conqueſt of that Iſland from that time without any contradiction, notwithſtanding that hee had gotten it by tyranie and iniuſtice. A little before the death of this laſt King of Majorca, he had ſold to *Philip* of Valois the French King, all the intereſt hee had to Montpellier and other lands on this ſide the Pyrenee mountaines, whereupon the King of Arragon ſent D. *Pedro Fenouillet* Lord of Liſle and Cagnette, in Ambaſſage into France, to tranſact with king *Philip* for theſe rights, who agreed that the ſale thereof, made by the deceaſed king of Majorca, ſhould bee good, vpon condition, that what the French king had not yet paied of the price, ſhould bee deliuered to the king of Arragon: and then did they treat of a marriage betwixt D. *Conſtance*, daughter to the king D. *Pedro*, and *Lewis* Earle of Aniou, Grand-

F child to king *Philip*, to ballance by this alliance the fauours which Don *Fernand* and Don *Iohn*, brethren to the king Don *Pedro*, might haue in France, who pretended (beſides their portions and rights which were kept from them in Arragon, by the king their brother) that after him the ſucceſſion of the crowne did belong to D. *Fernand*, and not to D. *Conſtance*, to whom the king her father would haue it fall. But this marriage tooke no effect.

27 Com-

Caſtille.

27 Comming to the affaires which paſt at that time in Caſtile, after the pacification of the troubles of Arragon, we finde that King D. *Alphonſo* ſpent his time in peopling of his townes and country: amongſt others he peopled the towne of Sumaya in Guipuſcoa otherwiſe called Villa Grana of Sumaya, and gaue it the preuiledges of Saint Sebaſtian, whether there appellations goe, and from thence to the court. And his realm of Caſtile being in reaſonable good quiet, ſeeing ſuch as profeſſed armes (whereof Caſtile and his other countries did abound) ſeeke all occaſions to imploy their armes, medling, more then hee deſired, with the factions and mutinies of his Neighbors: being alſo duly aduertiſed of that which had paſt in Affrike, and of the little loue which the new King of Fez bare him, who held many places of importance in Spaine, he held it neceſſary to make an expedition againſt the Infidels: for it is a difficult thing to keepe great Kingdomes full of people in peace, eſpecially after long pactiſe of warre, but they will diſquiet both ſpirituall and temporall at home, if they bee not imployed abroade: ſo as armes hath this vnhappineſſe, that after they are once taken, they cannot be laied downe without great and difficult labour, and that many times ſucceeds ill.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1348. Don *Garcia Lope* Maiſter of the Calatraua, beeing accuſed of many diſorders, retired into Arragon. Being cited to appeere perſonally before the King of Caſtile, and abſent, hee was condemned and degraded for his contumacy, and ſo died; in whoſe place the Knights of Calatraua in Arragon, proceeded in Arragon, contrary to the lawes and rules of their Order.

Schiſme betwixt the Knights of Calatraua.

The Caſtillans of Calatraua, did alſo chooſe one; ſo as this Schiſme was like to haue bread ſome great diſorder, if by the mediation of the Pope, and the Kings of Caſtile and Arragon, the parties had not referred it to Don *Pedro* King of Arragon who decreed; That the Maiſter choſen at Calatraua ſhould ſtand, and that any one which held that dignity dying, the election of his ſucceſſor ſhould not bee made any where elſe, but in the couent of Calatraua.

This Maiſter confirmed, was called Don *Iohn Nugnes* of Prado, who they ſayd was Baſtard vnto D. *Blanche*, the King of Portugals aunte, and *Abbeſſe* of Huelgas neere Burgos. To Don *Iohn Fernandes* his competitor, was left the Commanderie of Alcaniz, with the title of great Commander, yet ſubiect to the Maiſter of Calatraua. The approbation of theſe Maiſters, beeing choſen, belongs to the Abbots of the Order of *Ciſteaux*. Amideſt theſe tumults King Don *Alphonſo* reſolued for to raiſe an armie to beſeege Gibraltar, thinking that during the ſeditions betwixt the Arabian Kings, father and ſonne in Affrike, it could not bee releeued: and therefore hauing ſo fit an occaſion offred him, hee made no difficulty to bee the firſt in armes, pretending that hee did not breake the truce, ſeeing that this place and others in Spaine, were held by *Albomen*, with whom hee had not any treaty: For the mannaging and conduct of this warre, which was of no ſmall conſequence, hee aſſembled the generall Eſtates of all his realmes in the towne of Alcala of Henares, where (beſides the Noblemen and Deputies accuſtomed to come in former aſſemblies) many Townes and Commonalties were newly called, and receiued to giue their voices, and to haue a place in ſuch aſſemblies. For vntil that time, the people and townes, which are called by the Toledans, beiond the mountaines, as Caſtile the old, Gallicia, Aſturia and the neighbour countries, were thoſe which did commonly aſſiſt, and did contribute and beare the charges, as beeing moſt retired from the diſcomodities of the warre: but now at this time, they of Toledo, Andaluſia and ſuch like, were alſo called by the King, for his intent was, to demaund the ſubſidie called *Alcauala* throughout his whole Realme. This aſſembly and many others which were made in after times, did for the moſt part conſiſt of good townes, who ſent their Deputies: but ſince they found that multitude bred confuſion, and therefore there were eighteene principall places choſen, which ſhould haue voices, and places in aſſemblies, that is, ſixteene cities and two townes. Spaine, as we haue ſaid in the diſcription thereof, is in a manner diuided in the mideſt by the mountaine called in old time Idubeda the which at this preſent hath diuerſe names. By reaſon whereof they diſtinguiſh the people at this day to thoſe of this ſide and the other ſide the mountaines. On this ſide, wee will call the Toledans, and the neighbour Prouinces: on the other

Places in the realme of Caſtile hauing voice in the Eſtates.

A other ſide, ſhall bee thoſe of Burgos. Therefore on this ſide the mountaines, they call at this day, to the Eſtates of Spaine, for the Prouince of Toledo, the city of Toledo, Cuenca, Guadalajara, and Madrid: and for the other Prouinces, Seuile, Granado, Murcia, Cordoua and Iaen. Beyond the mountaines for the Straight of Caſtille, Burgos, Soria, Segobia, Auila and Vailledolit: and for that of Leon, the city of Leon, Salamanca, Zamora, and Toro. Theſe are the eighteene places which ſend their Deputies to the Eſtates, among the which Burgos, Leon, Granado, Seuile, Cordoua, Murcia, Iaen and Toledo (townes which haue beene ſeates of Kingdomes) haue their places aſſigned, and hold ranke: the reſt take their places, as it happens, and their Deputies ſpeake as they ſit: as for the citty of Toledo in this aſſembly at Alcala of Henares, it contended for prece-
B dence with that of Burgos, alleadging many reaſons, not altogether friuolous. Firſt the greatneſſe of the city, and great numbers of people and Nobility inhabiting there, next the ſeat of the Archbiſhop and Primat, the ſtatelineſſe of the Church, the Prelate whereof was high Chancellor of all the Realmes ſubiect to Caſtille: and moreouer offring to their conſideration, the antiquity of the foundation of that city, which had beene the head during the Gothes raigne, not onely of all that is contained within the two ſeas, and the Pyrenees, but alſo of Gotike Gaule, which at this day wee call Languedoc, ſo many councels celebrated there, and that ſence the Arabians had become Maiſters of Spaine, it had beene a royal ſeat, hauing had many Kings, which did exceed all the Potentats Moores of Spaine, in power and riches except him of Cordoua. God hauing
C ſince of his grace ſuffred Chriſtian Princes to conquer it, ſhe alone amongſt all the cities of Spaine, had beene honoured with an Imperiall title, by reaſon whereof, and many other preuileges there produced, they maintained the precedence to belong vnto her. Burgos on the other ſide maintained that ſhe was the capitall city, & the ancient ſeat of the Princes of Caſtile, which was the title their Kings carried: that from Caſtile & Leon did grow the conqueſts of the reſt of the Realmes of Spaine, and that ſhee was called the royal city; but their chiefe ground was, that time out of minde, ſhee had had the firſt place and voice in ſuch aſſemblies. Vpon theſe differences, the Noblemen fell into factions, as their paſſions did tranſport them, or as they had their Siegneuries and houſes lying in the territory and iuriſdiction of the one or the other citie. King D. *Alphonſo*
D vſing therein wiſe aduiſe, hauing taken the knowledge of this cauſe vnto himſelfe, he pronounced thus: *I ſpeake* (ſayd he) *for them of Toledo, and ſay, the city of Toledo will doe as it ſhall pleaſe the King. Let Burgos ſpeake now.* This manner of decreeing contented both parties, for it ſeemed to them of Toledo, that the King hauing made himſelfe, as it were, their Attorney, had ſpoken firſt in the behalfe of their city. And they of Burgos holding that the Kings words did nothing preiudice their pretenſions, ſeeing they ſpake before the other Deputies, they ſurceaſed for the voice. Concerning their ranke and precedence, the King deſyring to preſerue the ſeate to Burgos, and Toledo refuſing to ſit vnder her, the King ordained, that from thenceforth the Deputie of To-
E ledo ſhould not ſit vpon the ſame banke with the other Deputies, but oppoſite vnto them, yet not in the ſame ranke: which order is obſerued at this day in the generall aſſemblies of the Eſtates of Caſtile. The firſt voice kept for the city of Burgos, was the cauſe the King obtained the ſubſidie of Alcauala, which hee required of all his ſubiects: for Burgos paied it already, and therefore did not contradict it: whereas if Toledo (which had not borne this impoſition) had ſpoken firſt, ſhee had oppoſed herſelfe, as ſhe did, and incourraged other townes to doe the like by her example. All in the end yeelded vnto it, hauing heard the reaſons which mooued the King to demaund it, and the neede hee had for the good of the Realme, and the maintenance of the warre againſt the Moores.

Debats betwixt Toledo and Burgos for precedence.

Order betwixt Toledo and Burgos for precedence.

Alcauala an Impoſition.

The aſſembly at Alcala of Henares beeing diſſolued, and the King hauing gathered
F together great ſtore of treaſor, by the ſpeedie obedience of his ſubiects, hee beganne to diſcharge ſome of his debts, and to retire many precious iewels which had beene pawned, hee ordred iuſtice, and in the end applied his minde wholy to this ſeege, which hee ment to lay to Gibraltar, and to prouide for al things neceſſary both by ſea and land, ſeeing that the time and the oportunity of the Moores ſeditions in Affrike, did inuite

him,

him. The towne of Gibraltar had beene greatly fortefied by the Moores, ſince the time they had taken it from the Chriſtians: ſo as the enterpriſe was no leſſe difficulte then that of Algezire. But there was this aduantage, they did not ſo much feare any ſuccors from Affrike, as if the affaires of the Arabian Moores had beene quiet: notwithſtanding to prouide for all euents, he ſent *Velaſco Martinez Alcaide* or Prouoſt of the court, to the King of Arragon in Ambaſſage, and with him *Alphonſo Gonçales* of Gallego: to confirme the alliance and friendſhip betwixt them, and to reuiue the treaty of marriage betwixt his ſonne D. *Henry*, and one of the Infants of Arragon: but his chiefe deſeigne was, to demaund ten gallies to keepe the ſtraight. The King D. *Pedro* anſwered the Ambaſſadors, that he would ſend an Ambaſſador expreſly vnto the King of Caſtile their maiſter, the which he did.

Arragon. King D. *Alphonſo* was already before Gibraltar, when as the Ambaſſador came to him from Arragon. There was an end made of the differences of the Queene D. *Leonora*, and the Infants D. *Fernand* and D. *Iohn* whom the King Don *Pedro* ſhould ſuffer peaceably to enioy that which had beene aſſigned him by the deceaſed King, as well in dowry, as in portion: and if it ſhould happen that after that time they ſhould moue any troubles in Arragon, that King D. *Alphonſo* ſhould not giue them, nor ſuffer to bee giuen them any aide or ſuccors. Nothing was concluded in regard of the marriage, for that the King Don *Pedro* required, that Don *Henry* ſhould bee inueſted in many Townes and Prouinces, which was not conuenient for the King of Caſtile to giue. For ſuccors, the King D. *Pedro* ſent foure of his gallies, to ioyne with them that were in the Straight, whereof *Raymond* of Villanoua was captaine, being manned with foure hundred crosbow men.

Caſtile. The towne of Gibraltar was furiouſly battred, with all ſorts of Engins, and defended very valiantly, the garriſon beeing very ſtrong, and conſiſting of the beſt ſouldiars that were amongſt the Moores, who made many ſallies vpon the Chriſtians, in the which were ſlaine their beſt men of either ſide; and moreouer King D. *Alphonſo's* campe was much annoyed by the courſes of the Neighbour garriſons, and by the King of Granados horſe men, who had the gard of thoſe places which the Moores held in Spaine. This ſeege hauing continued ſome monthes, the plague fell into the Chriſtians campe, yet the King beeing obſtinate in his reſolution, would not diſlodge: for hee knew that the Moores, being deſtitute of ſuccors could not long reſiſt, but muſt bee either forced, or yeeld. Beeing in this reſolution, it pleaſed God that hee himſelfe was ſtrooken with the plague whereof hee died in the campe, in the yeere of our Lord 1350. the nine and thirtith yeere of his age, and the eight and thirtith of his raigne. Some haue written that hee died not of the plague, but of poyſon, the which was giuen him by the Moores practiſes. This accident was the cauſe of remooving the ſeege of Gibraltar.

Death of king D. Alphonſo.

Nauarre. A little before D. *Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre, widow to King *Philip* of Eureux, died at Conflans in France, who had gouerned her Realme, whereof ſhee was proprietary, after the deceaſe of her husband, with good diſcretion, and yet ſhee had ſome ſubiects not very tractable, who ſought nothing but quarrels. There were ſtill riots committed by them vpon the frontiers of Nauarre, namely by the Inhabitants of Sangueſſe and the Arragonois, notwithſtanding all which, yet could ſhee wiſely entertaine the alliance and peace with D. *Pedro* King of Arragon her ſonne in law, yea after the death of Queene Donna *Maria*, her daughter: ſo as during her life, the King D. *Pedro* endured all the Inſolencies of the Nauarrois, who ſome times made roades farre into his countrie, not ſeeming to take knowledge thereof, for the honour and reſpect hee bare vnto his mother in law, neither did hee make any complaints, nor was mooued, as hee ought to haue beene, for that the Eſtates of Arragon, and others beeing rebelled againſt him for the cauſes aboue mentioned, many made their retreat into Nauarre, from whence they drew aſſiſtance of armes, victuals and other things, to make warre againſt him.

Death of Iean Queene of Nauarre.

It is credible that the King of Arragon ſhewed himſelfe patient in theſe things, that he might not diſapoint other deſſeignes of greater importance: for knowing that *Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre was much honoured in France, hee entertained her friendſhip,

to

A to the end that by her meanes he might haue King *Philip* of Valois more fauourable vnto him, who was incenſed againſt him for D. *Iames* of Majorca. This Lady laboured ſo, as ſhee entertained peace betwixt them, and confirmed againe the alliance paſt, by a treatie of marriage, which ſhe propounded, betwixt *Charles*, Grand-child to King *Philip*, and one of the daughters of the King Don *Pedro*; and of her daughter Donna *Maria*.

This Princeſſe being come into France with *Charles* and *Philip* her ſonnes, to diſpoſe of her lands and eſtates which ſhe had there, hauing left *Iohn* of Conflans, Lord of Dampierre, Marſhal of Champagne, for Gouernor in Nauarre, ſhe died at the end of the yeere 1349. fiue yeeres after the deceaſe of her husband, hauing held the Realme of Na-
B uarre about two and twenty yeeres, counting ſince the death of King *Charles* the Faire: to whom ſucceeded her ſonne *Charles*, who was ſurnamed the Bad.

The end of the foureteenth Booke.

THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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A 20 *Returne of the King* D. Pedro: *defeat of* D.Henry: *cruelties againſt the vanquiſhed, pollicies of the King of Nauarre during theſe quarrels.*
21 *Ingratitude of the King* D.Pedro *to the Engliſh, who had reſtored him; his impieties, tyranies and cruelties.*
22 *Second expedition of Count* Henry *into Caſtile, conqueſt of that Realme with the helpe of the French, death of the King* D.Pedro *the cruel.*
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B

Kings of Spaine mentioned in this fifteenth Booke.

CASTILE and *LEON.*	*NAVARRE*	*PORTVGAL.*
14. *D. Pedro.* 1.——35.	30. *D.Charles,* 2.	8. *D.Pedro.* 1.
		9. *D.Fernand.* 1.

C

D

D. Pedro the firſt and ſole of that name, ſurnamed the cruel, the foureteenth King of Caſtile, *and fiue and thirtith of Leon.*

E THe beginning of the raigne of D. *Pedro*, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile, was in the yeere 1350. in the which Pope *Clement* the ſixth ordained that the Iubile which they had beene accuſtomed to celebrate (yet without any ground) euery hundred yeere amongſt Chriſtians, ſhould from that time be kept from fifty, to fifty yeeres, after the manner of the Iewes. D. *Pedro* was at Seuile with the Queene his mother, when the King his father died, where his obſequies being made, they conſulted for the ordring the Eſtate of the new Kings houſe, and the affaires of the Kingdome. D. *Leonora* of Guzman, her children, kinsfolkes and friends being in great perplexity, at the death of King D. *Alphonſo*, retired themſelues into diuerſe parts of the realme. 1 *An.* 1350.

This yong King being but fifteene yeeres old began his raigne with cruelty, in which vice he continued his whole life, but to his coſt. D. *Leonora* being ſollicited by ſome Knights to come to Seuile, ſhe came, vpon their faith, but ſhe was preſently apprehended and put in priſon, to ſatisfie the rage of iealouſie of Queene *Mary* the Kings mother, wherevpon D. *Henry* Earle of Franſtamare, and ſome of his brethren, children to this F Lady, thought to fortefie themſelues in Algezire, but they were ſet vpon, and forced to flie, ſome into Portugal, ſome elſe-where: againſt whom the King was more incenſed then before, for the marriage which followed betwixt D. *Henry* Earle of Franſtamare, and D. *Ieanne Manuel*, daughter to D. *Iohn Manuel* one of the mightieſt Princes in Spaine, next vnto the King, to which marriage the King D. *Pedro* himſelfe aſpired. *D.Pedro King of Caſtile cruel.* *Leonor of Guzman the deceaſed Queene miſtreſs of the King her husband.*

Quarrels touching the ſucceſſor to the crowne of Caſtile.

This being accompliſhed, the married couple were forced to flie into the Aſturi'as, to A
auoide the Kings fury, who the ſame firſt yeere, being fallne into a great ſickneſſe, and
almoſt abandoned by the Phyſitions hee deſcouered the hearts and diſpoſition of the
Princes and Noblemen of his Realme, by the quarrels they entred into for the ſucceſſor
to the crowne, thinking the King would die: Some being of opinion to call D. *Fernand*
of Arragon, Marquiſſe of Tortoſe, Nephew to the deceaſed King, ſonne to D. *Leonora*
his ſiſter: others giuing their voice to D. *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara, Lord of Biſcay, iſſued by
the mothers line from the bloud royal of Caſtile: of which party were D. *Alphonſo Fer-*
nand Cornel, and *Garſilaço de la Vega*: the contrary party was held by D. *Iohn Alphonſo*
of Albuquerque, a Knight of great credit with the Queene mother. The Kings reco- B
uery ended this controuerſie, touching him that ſhould ſucceed to the crowne, but it
gaue beginning and force to the factions and inſolencies which followed; for D. *Iohn*

Hatred betwixt D. Iohn Nugnes de Lara and D. Iohn Alphonſo of Albuquerque.

Nugnes de Lara being gone from court, in a great rage againſt the Lord of Albuquerque,
for ſome byting words caſt forth in their controuerſies during the Kings ſickneſſe, the
cares of this young and ill experienced King (cholerike by nature, and inclyned to re-
uenge) were filled with the reports of ſuch as gouerned him, wherevpon hee was ſo in-
cenſed againſt this houſe of Lara, their friends and adherents, as it was euident that hee
ſought but an oportunity to doe them ſome miſchiefe.

The death of D. *Iohn Nugnes*, which followed ſoone after in the towne of Burgos, C
made his aduerſaries deſeignes more eaſie: he left for ſucceſſor to his Siegneuries (which
were great) one ſonne, but two yeeres old, called D. *Nugno de Lara*. And at the ſame
time D. *Fernand Manuel*, Lord of Villena died alſo, leauing one onely daughter, named
D. *Blanch*, who died alſo ſoone after. Theſe deathes did much content D. *Iohn Alphon-*
ſo of Albuquerque, for that hee was freed from great emulators and aduerſaries which
hated his authority, and the familiarity he had with the King, who preferred him be-
fore all the Princes and Noblemen of Caſtile. The King was aduiſed by his councell,
to ſeize vpon theſe young pupils, and of their lands, according to which hee went to-
wards Burgos, cauſing D. *Leonora* of Guzman to be brought after him, whom hee ſent
with a good gard to priſon to Talauera. Being at *Henera*, the importunities of his mo-
ther Donna *Maria*, were ſuch, as he was forced to deliuer vnto her this poore impriſo- D
ned Lady, who with a womaniſh and boundleſſe rage, cauſed her to bee cruelly murthe-
red, in reuenge that ſhe had many times defrauded her of the amorous imbracings of
the King her husband, and preſently ſhee begged all her goods; an act which was no-
thing royal, and which did redownd to the great contempt of the deceaſed King Don
Alphonſo: Since which time, and by reaſon of this murther, the towne of Talauera was
and is called, *de la Reyna*, or of the Queene. The King D. *Pedro* did this being yong and ill
aduiſed. Being come to Burgos, at his firſt arriual, he cauſed *Garſilaço de la Vega* to be
ſlaine in his owne lodging: and afterwards there were alſo diſpatcht *Alphonſo Garcia Ca-*
margo, *Fernandes* of Medina, and *Alphonſo Fernandes*, Secretary or Notary, a Burgeois of
that city, al for the quarrels betwixt the Lord of Albuquerque and the houſe of Lara. A E
Lady of honor called D. *Mencia*, wife to *Martin Ruis* of Abendagno, Gouerneſſe to
the yong Infant *Nugno de Lara*, Lord of Biſcay, hearing of theſe cruel executions of the
new King, tranſported the Infant from Paredes de Naua in Biſcay, leaſt the King ſhould
do it ſome harme. The King hearing thereof, purſued them himſelfe, vnto the bridge of
Larra, where vnderſtanding that the Gouerneſſe and the Nurce had recouered the town
of Vermejo, he returned to Burgos, and reſolued to make war againſt the Biſcayns, ſo as
within few daies he ſent *Ruis Diaz* of Rojas to beſeege Oroſco, the which *Iohn* of Aben-

Noblemen murthered by the commandement of the King D. Pedro.

D. Leonora of Guzman murthered by the commandement of the widow queen.

Houſe of Lara.

dagno, ſon to *Martin* aboue named, held, who yeelded the place by compoſition: In the
meane time D. *Nugno* of Lara died, being but three yeers old, in the towne of Vermejo, F
by whoſe deceaſe the Siegneuries of Biſcay and others, came to his two ſiſters, or to the
eldeſt of them, called D. *Ieanne* of Lara, and if ſhee died, to D. *Iſabel* the yonger: but the
King had theſe yong Ladies in his power, with al the lands and Siegneuries of the decea-
ſed D. *Iohn Nugnes*. The father of theſe children, had three ſiſters, whereof the eldeſt, na-
med D. *Blanch*, was wife to D. *Iohn Manuel*. The ſecond called D. *Marguerite*, was a reli-
gious woman in the towne of Caleruega, in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike, built by

2

King

A King D. *Alphonſo* father to this King: and the third D. *Maria* was married into France twiſe, firſt to the Earle of Eſtampes, and next to *Charles* of Valois Earle of Alençon, brother to King *Philip* the ſixth, or as ſome hold, his brothers ſonne. Of the firſt bed ſhee had one ſonne, who was Earle of Eſtampes; and of the ſecond foure, whereof the one was Earle of Alençon, named *Peter*, the ſecond whom they called *Robert* Earle of Perch: and the two other of the church. This Lady *Mary* did afterwards contend, in the time of King *Henry* the ſecond, for the Siegneuries of Biſcay, as we ſhal ſhew: at the time of the death of this yong Lord D. *Nugno de Lara*, there were in this houſe, beſides the Siegneury of Biſcay, the townes of Saint Gadee, Loçoya, Egliſe, Salouer, Font Burvene, Berçoſo, Cibico of the tower, Galez, Paredez of Naua, Villallon, Cuenca of Tamarit, Melgar of
B the frontier, Barzon. Moral of the Queene, Aquilar del Campo, Caleruegos, Beluer, St. Iames de la Puebla by Salamanca, Oropeça, the field of Arrannelo and other townes; beſides theſe great Siegneuries, the houſe of Lara & Lords of Biſcay, had this prerogatiue, alwaies to lead the foreward in armies, whereas the King was in perſon. In aſſemblies of the Eſtates, the Lords of Lara were general Attorneies, or Deputies for the Nobility by an eſpecial preuiledge, and often times they did carry the ſtandard royal. Beſides theſe things, Don *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* laſt deceaſed, held by reaſon of his marriage, the townes of Lerma, Villa-franca in the mountaines of Oca, Buſto, Amejugo, Balorcanos, Tor de Blanco & other places, beſides the rights of Linager which he had, as chiefe of the houſe of Lara, and Lord of Biſcay, to the lands called Beetrias. They were certaine lands,
C and paſſages of the country ſo named, hauing this preuiledge from all antiquity, to chooſe what Lord they pleaſed out of the nobility, of what lynage or family ſoeuer, to command ouer them, and to defend them: and among them there were ſome that might change their Lord 7. times a day, if they pleaſed: others hauing the like power to change their Lord, were yet bound to chooſe of the ſame family to thoſe that were firſt recommended: ſo as they were rights purchaſed to families, many ſuch prerogatiues had the Lords of Biſcay, and of Lara. The liberties of theſe lands called Beetries, the King D. *Pedro* ſought to aboliſh, at the Eſtates aſſembled 1351. and the 2. of his raigne at Vailledolit.

Siegneuries and rights of the houſe of Lara.

Lands called Beetries in Biſcay Alaua and the neighbor countries.

An. 1351.

3 Before he came to the ſaid Eſtates, he was viſited by *Charls* King of Nauar, & as they did ſympathiſe wel in nature and diſpoſition, they made great ſhewes of loue, and gaue
D royal preſents one vnto an other. After this enterview, the King D. *Pedro* came to Vailledolit, from whence *Iohn* of Ruelas Biſhop of Burgos, & *Aluar Garcia* of Albornoz, were ſent Ambaſſadors into France, to treat of a marriage betwixt the king, and *Blanch* daughter to *Peter* duke of Bourbon, whoſe elder ſiſter *Ieanne*, was married to *Charls* the Daulphin, ſon to king *Iohn*, then raigning in France, the marriage was concluded, but vnfortunate was the iſſue, as wil appeere. D. *Pedro* hauing begun his raigne by ſuch violences, he abated nothing in the continuance: for the aſſembly of Vailledolit being ended, hearing that D. *Alphonſo Cornel* was diſcontented with thoſe things which he had done, and that he fortified himſelfe in his town of Aguilar in Andaluſia: and on the other ſide D. *Tello*,
E one of the children of D. *Leonora* with his brother D. *Henry*, fortefied, the one at Arande of Duero, the other at Gijon, he went againſt them in perſon, & firſt beſeeged Gijon. Be-in at this ſeege, he fel in loue with a gentlewoman, attending vpon D. *Iſabella* of Meneſes, wife to D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, her name was D. *Maria* of Padilla: ſhe was ſmal of ſtature, but exceeding faire and pleaſing, with whom he was ſo far in loue, as notwithſtanding he attended the comming of his new ſpouſe out of France, yet muſt he ſatisfie his luſt with this, imploying therein not only D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque his mignon, but euen an vncle of the gentlewomans, her mothers brother, called *Iohn Fernandes* of Hineſtroça, who managed the buſineſſe ſo wel, as he brought her, & deliuered her vnto him at Sahagun, very tractable. Gijon yeelded, and D. *Henry* retired, ſo as the army
F was led againſt D. *Tellos* country, who was retired into Arragon: but by the meanes of the King of Arragon, their peace was concluded, betwixt the Ambaſſadors of theſe two Princes, at Soria, with ſhew that it would continue: wherefore there was not any one more to ſubdue, but D. *Alphonſo Fernand Cornel*, for the which the troupes had marched towards Andaluſia, and he was beſeeged in Aguilar, where he was wel fortefied, but what can one knight doe (how powerfull ſoeuer) againſt the power of a King; the

Marriage treated of betwixt D. Pedro King of Caſtile and Blanch of Bourbon.

Loues of the King D. Pedro.

Vncle bawde to his Neece.

place was taken, and *Alponſo* being retired into a tower, he yeelded to D. *Diego Gomes* of Toledo, whoſe great friend he had beene, hoping that by his meanes he ſhould obtaine his life, or that his goods ſhould be preſerued for his children. As they led him priſoner, he met with D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, who ſaid vnto him, *that he wondred how he, who had ſhewed himſelfe ſo braue a knight, had vndertaken ſo fooliſh an enterpriſe.* To whom he anſwered, *That it was the cuſtome of Caſtile, to make men and to vndoe them ſodainely.* D. *Alphonſo* had beene at the taking and death of D. *Gonçalo Martines* of Ouiedo, maiſter of Alcantara. During the raigne of King D. *Alphonſo*: and the ſame day and month that he was ſlaine by the father, this man was put to death by the commandment of the ſon, and with him were alſo executed D. *Pedro Cornel*, his couſin, *Iohn Alphonſo Carillo*, *Iuanes* of Biedma, *Iohn Gonçales* of Aſa, and *Ponce Diaz* of Queſada. The wals of Aquilar were ruined, & the goods of D. *Alphonſo Cornel* confiſked, & giuen by the King to diuers: among other D. *Maria* of Padilla, the Kings miſtres, being deliuered in the city of Cordoua of a daughter, whom they named D. *Beatrix*, the King gaue her the townes of Montalban, Capilla, Burguillos, Mondejar and Ioncos: of this confiſcation *Pedro Suarez* of Toledo had Bolano. To his brother *Diego Gomes* was giuen Caſarubios of the mountaine, and to *Inigo Lopes* of Oroſco, Torija.

Aquilar taken and the vnworthy death of D. Alphonſo Fernand Cornel.

An. 1353. Theſe things happened in the 1353. to the great diſcontentment of many, who did much eſteeme the vertue of D. *Alphonſo Fernandes Cornel*. The King came afterwards to Torrijos in the country of Toledo, where running at a Tourney, he was hurt in the right hand, by the which he loſt ſuch aboundance of bloud as he was in danger of his life, for they could finde no meanes to ſtanch it. Being in this cure, he was aduertiſed of the arriuall of *Blanch* of Bourbon his ſpowſe at Vailledolit, being accompanied by the Vicont of Narbone, and many other Noblemen and Knights of France, who had beene receiued with great ſhewes of ioy by D *Maria* the Queene mother: but the King was wonderfully troubled, for he was ſo tranſported with the alurements of D. *Maria* of Padilla, as hee was amazed at theſe newes, as if hee had beene ſtrooke with a flaſh of lightning, and would gladly that they had neuer ſpoake of marrying him; yet he muſt of force goe to Vailledolit, to celebrate the marriage, and to perſwade him therevnto, D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque returned happely out of Portugal, whether he had beene ſent, and without him, who gouerned all, the King had not diſlodged. D. *Iohn Alphonſo* brought with him from Portugal, D. *Iohn de la Cerde*, ſonne to D. *Lewis*, who was ſonne in law to D. *Alphonſo Fernandes Cornel*, and came out of Affrike, whether he had retired himſelfe, during the diſſentions and ciuil warres of Caſtile, and had conducted ſome enterpriſes happely for King *Alboanen* againſt *Albohaçen* his father. Bringing letters of fauour and recommendation from the King of Portugal, this Prince was receiued into grace, by the King, but he gaue him not any part of his father in lawes goods. In Spaine they report a ſtrange caſe of D. *Maria Cornel* his wife. That hauing ſome prouocations of deſire in her husbands abſence, ſhe quencht her luſt by death, thruſting vp burning fire brands into her body. Before the Kings going to Vailledolit, he made an accord with his brethren D. *Henry* and D. *Tello*, who were come in armes, and wel accompanied to Cigales, and then he went to celebrate his marriage much againſt his will, but perſwaded therevnto by D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, who deſired to ſee the King to haue a lawfull heire, and was in ſome iealouſie of his owne authority, fearing leaſt the kinſmen of D. *Maria* of Padilla, whom he himſelfe had giuen vnto the King, ſhould get before him in the gouernment of the affaires, as it was likely.

The third day after the marriage, notwithſtanding any perſwaſions or intreaties, which D. *Maria* the Queene mother, and D. *Leonora* Queene Dowager of Arragon, his aunt, he left his new bride, a young Princeſſe of 18. yeeres of age, and went with all ſpeed to Montalban, nere vnto Toledo, to viſit Donna *Maria* of Padilla, by whom he was inchanted. This vnworthy part of the Kings, did much trouble the whole court, eſpecially D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, who finding by ſome ſignes that the King was not pleaſed with him by reaſon of this marriage, hee durſt not to follow him, but retired to his houſes. Don *Fernand* and D. *Iohn*, Infants of Arragon, with many other knights followed him. He tooke D. *Maria* of Padilla from Montalban, & brought her to Toledo.

The King D. Pedro quits his new ſpouſe three daies after his marriage.

Thoſe

A Theſe that were about him preuayled ſo by their intreaties, as he returned to Vailledolit to his wife, but he ſtayed but two dayes, and went away againe leauing the Lady much perplexed at theſe ſtrange courſes.

The Queene D. *Blanche* retired with the Queene-mother to Tordeſillas, and the king returned to D. *Mary* of Padilla, who entertained the hatred and diſlike which the king had of his wife, that ſhee alone might enioy him. It is written by *Diego* of Valera, that among all the precious iewels which the Queene had brought out of France, there was a rich girdle, which ſhe preſented to the king her husband, the which D. *Mary* of Padilla hauing in her power, ſhe found out a Iew, a Magitian, which did inchant it, ſo as when the king would put it on, beeing amazed, and demanding what Prodigie it might be, his mi-

Girdle inchanted.

B nions (who were allyed to his concubine) anſwered, that they were the goodly preſents which this French Gentlewoman had brought him. Whereupon he was much incenſed againſt this poore Lady. In the meane time D. *Tello*, the kings baſe brother, married D. *Ieanne*, the eldeſt daugher of D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara* deceaſed: whereuppon by this marriage he became Lord of Biſcay, and of the other places and lands aboue-mentioned, the which did much offend the king, cauſing him to grow into a greater furie and rage againſt him and the reſt then before, whereof the ſharpeſt effects were againſt them that reprooued his leud life, and the indignities he did vnto the Queene his wife: whom for ſpite, hee cauſed to be led to Areualo with a guard, and vnder the cuſtodie of Don *Pedro Gudiel*, Biſhop of Segobia, and a Bourgeſſe of Toledo, in whome he truſted (his name was *Tello*

C *Palomochio*) as a priſoner, and began to diſplace all the Officers of her houſe, and al others which had beene aduanced by the fauor of D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque: hee tooke away the Office of Chamberlaine from *Guttiere Fernandes* of Toledo, and gaue it to *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, brother to his Miſtris: that of Cup-bearer, which *Iohn Rodrigues* of Viedma held, was giuen to *Aluar Garcia* of Albornoz: the allowance of diet was taken from *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo, and giuen to *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoça, a great Lord in Alaua, from whence are deſcended the Dukes of Infantazgo. In Seuile the king did alſo change many of the chiefe Officers of the Realme, which had beene aduanced by the fauour and councell of Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, giuing them to others that were recommended by *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, and *Iohn Fernandes* of Hineſtroça: name-

D ly, he tooke the gouernment of the frontier from Don *Garcia Fernandes Manriquez*, and aduanced *Fernand Perez Puerto Carrero*.

Thus the king altered things within his Realme, & forced the greateſt to humble themſelues, and to ſue vnto the kinſfolkes and fauorites of Donna *Maria* of Padilla, hating all them deadly that did but tell him, that he ought to loue Donna *Blanche* the Queene his wife, and liue Chriſtian-like and honeſtly with her: as Don *Gil Carillo* of Albornoz, Archbiſhop of Toledo, had ſought to do, who beeing of his councell, and a Prelate of great dignitie in Spaine, had preſumed to reprehend his diſordered life in that behalfe: but hee tooke it in ſo ill part, as this reuerent man was forced to abandon all the liuing hee had in

Arch-biſhop of Toledo forced to leaue Spaine

E Spaine, and retire to Auignon to Pope *Clement*, by whoſe ſucceſſor *Innocent* the ſixth, who came to the Popedome that yeare 1353. he was made Cardinall, and in his life-time they proceeded to a new election in the Arch biſhoppricke of Toledo, and Primacie of Spaine, putting in his place one Don *Blaiſe*.

This King made himſelfe to be feared, and ſo much hated of all the Noblemen of his Realme, as euery man made choice of a party, and ſought how to aſſure himſelfe from his fury and violence. Don *Iohn Nugnes* of Prado, Maſter of Calatraua, a friend to Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Abuquerque, retired into Arragon, to the Commanderie of Alcaniz: but the king who had a deſire to haue him in his power, ſought all meanes, lawfull and vnlawfull to aſſure him, ſo as he made him come vppon his faith and promiſe, that he ſhould

F haue no harme. This good Knight, who found himſelfe guiltleſſe of any crime, but that he had beene a friend to the Lord of Albuquerque, came into Caſtile, to the towne of Almagro, but he was preſently beſeeged by the kings commandement, by Don *Iohn de la Cerda*, and by *Peter Nugnes* of Godoy, who notwithſtanding did ſecretly aduice him to returne into Arragon, before that the king (who was gone out of Seuile to come thither) were arriued: the which he would not do, ſaying, *That he found his conſcience free from*

all

all rebellion, and that he had no cauſe to feare to put himſelfe into the kings mercy: but it ſucceeded ill for him. The king beeing come the maſter came vnto him, and caſt himſelfe at his feet, intreating him to receiue him in his iuſtifications: but this cruell Prince refuſing to heare him him, depriued him inſtantly of the Maſter-ſhip of Calatraua, the which he gaue to *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, and commaunded that he ſhould bee carried priſoner to the caſtell of Maqueda, whereas *Stephen Domingo* of Auila commanded: and there within few dayes after he was murthered by *Diego Lopes* of Portas, ſeruant to *Diego Garcia* of Padilla; whereof the king would haue excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, That it was done without his commandement: but it appeared ſufficiently that he was not diſcontented there-with. Going from Almagro the king came before the towne of Medellin, belonging to the Lord of Albuquerque, whereas *Diego Gomes* of Silua, a Knight of Galicia, commanded: the towne yeelded, fearing the kings furie, and ſoone after the caſtle, the which the king in diſdaine of the Lord of Albuquerque, cauſed to be inſtantly razed: after which hee led his army before Albuquerque, the which was held in the name of their Lord, by *Martin Alphonſo Botello*, a Gentleman of Portugall, and vnder him commanded *Peter Eſteuanez Carpintero*, Commander maior of Calatraua. The King hauing ſummoned them to yeeld the place; vppon refuſall, he proclaymed them Rebels, whereof the Portugall, (who was not his ſubiect) made no accompt. The Commander excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, That the place was not in his power. Wherefore he paſt on towards Cobdeſera, another place belonging to Don *Iohn Alphonſo*, the which he could not take, ſo as after ſome skirmiſhes he left Don *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamare, and Don *Frederic* Maſter of S. *Iames*, his breethren, who followed him againſt their wils, and he came to Caceres. Afterwards he reſolued to ſend ambaſſadors into Portugall, whither the Lord of Albuquerque was retired, to demand him of the king of Portugall as his ſubiect and a rebell: but the king of Portugall excuſed himſelfe, and ſought to bring D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque again into fauour: but it tooke no effect: for D. *Iohn Alphonſo* entred into league with the Erle of Tranſtamare, who was one of theſe Ambaſſadours, and with Don *Frederic* Maſter of Saint Iames, and they proceeded ſo farre, as beeing thruſt on with hatred and diſdaine of their king, they ſought to perſwade D. *Pedro*, Infant of Portugall, to ioyne with them, promiſing to make him king of Caſtile, ſhewing him that hee had a title; beeing Nephew or Grand-child to King *Sancho* the Braue, ſonne to his daughter Donna *Beatrix*. But the king Don *Alphonſo* his father croſt this proiect, and would not ſuffer his ſonne to ingage himſelfe in this enterpriſe.

Impriſonment and murther of D. Iohn Nugnes of Prado, maſter of Calatraua.

A B C D

The more to haue modeſtie in contempt, and to ouerthrow all diuine and humane lawes, the king Don *Pedro*, in the yeare 1354. without any diſpenſation from the Pope, but onely aſſiſted by two biſhops his owne creatures, *Sancho* of Auila, and *Iohn* of Salamanca, cauſed himſelfe by their ſentence to bee ſeparated from the Queen Donna *Blanche*, and in the towne of Cuellar, hee married a Ladie, widow to Don *Diego* of Haro, called Donna *Ieanne* of Caſtro, daughter to Don *Pedro* of Caſtro, of whoſe exquiſite beauty hee was much enamoured: hauing married her, hee had newes of this league made by his breethren with Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, wherefore hee went from Cuellar, and gaue this Lady her laſt adiew, who retired to Duegnas, where ſhee paſt her dayes, hauing brought the King a ſonne, who was named *Iohn*, and cauſing herſelfe to be ſtyled Queene of Caſtile and Leon. To oppoſe himſelfe againſt this new conſpirade, the king beeing come to Caſtro Xeris, he made the marriage of the Infant Don *Iohn* of Arragon his couſin, with Donna *Izabella*, the ſecond daughter of the deceaſed Don *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara. And for that hee vnderſtood that Don *Tello* his brother followed the partie of Don *Henry* and Don *Frederic* his other breethren, he would haue Don *Iohn* of Arragon take vppon him the title of Lord of Biſcay. From thence he paſt to Toro, leauing Donna *Maria* of Padilla at Caſtro Xeris, beeing readie to be deliuered of a daughter which was named Donna *Conſtance*, future wife to the Duke of Lancaſter an Engliſhman. The Confederates were fortified by Don *Fernand* of Caſtro, brother to Donna *Ieanne*, married, and ſuddenly abandoned by the King, in hatred of the contempt of his ſiſter.

1354.

Second marriage of King D. Pedro his firſt wife yet liuing

E F

This king ſeeing that ſo many great perſonages rebelled againſt him, imputing all the cauſe

A cauſe of this miſchiefe vnto his wife the Queene Donna *Blanche*, he cauſed her to bee taken out of the caſtell of Areualo, and conducted to Toledo, Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Hineſtroça, Vncle to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, hauing taken the charge thereof. This pore Princeſſe ſeeing her ſelfe in her enemies hands, and attending nothing but death from her cruell husband, as ſoone as ſhe was entred into the cittie of Toledo, ſhee intreated them to lead her directly vnto the great Church, vnder color of deuotion, the which was granted her: but beeing once entred, ſhe would not go foorth, but challenged the priuiledge of the place, ſo as preſently all the cittie of Toledo ſhewed themſelues for her, euery one pittying her vnworthie vſage: wherefore Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Hineſtroça, durſt not attempt to force her, but returned vnto the king, beeing at Segure de la Sierre, whither
B he was come to make warre againſt Don *Frederic* Maſter of Saint Iames. At this newes the king came in a furie to Ocagne, and there in the place of Don *Frederic*, Maſter of S. Iames, hee created D. *Iohn Garcia* of Padilla, Lord of Villagera, brother to his miſtris D. *Maria* of Padilla, the firſt of all the Maſters of S. Iames that was married. In the mean time the Inhabitants of Toledo in generall, reſolued to keepe the Queene within their towne, from all violence, and not to receiue the king, vntill he were reconciled, and did promiſe to lead an honeſt life with her. As the incenſed King thought to be reuenged of all theſe things, he found himſelf abandoned by many Noblemen of his trayne, among the which were the Infants of Arragon his couſins, and Don *Lopes Sanches* of Abendagno, great commander of Caſtile, who beeing diſcontented with his exceſſe, as well in the courſe of
C his life, as in the gouernement of his Realme, and at his ill vſage of the Nobility, they ioyned with his brethren, and with the citty of Toledo, and all thoſe of Andaluſia, and other Noblemen and Communalties, who altogether made petition vnto the King, beſeeching him, that for his owne honour, and the publike good, he would leaue the company of Donna *Maria* of Padilla, and liue with the Queene Donna *Blanche* his wife, as God had commanded him, and common honeſtie required: and that he ſhould gouerne his realm by the good and faithfull councell of good men.

Maſter of S. Iames married

Donna *Leonora* his aunt, Queene Dowager of Arragon, preſented this petition vnto him, the reuerence of this Lady gaue the confederates hope to obtayne ſomething, but ſhe laboured in vaine: for the king was ſo much incenſed againſt the confederates,
D and on the other ſide did ſo doate on D. *Maria* of Padilla, as he made no accompt of this admonition: ſo as the whole Realme was in combuſtion, and the Princes, with others of their faction, came to Medina del campo, whereon they ſeazed. There Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque was poiſoned by an Italian Phiſition called *Paul Romain*, beeing hired thereunto by the king. He was Grand-child to Don *Denis* King of Portugal: within few dayes after there were aboue ſeuen thouſand horſe at Medina del campo, holding the Q. D. *Blanches* party: and the confederates preſented a new petition vnto the king, who had taken his way to Toro, and the chiefe of them ſpake vnto him about *Tejadillo*, neere vnto Toro, beeing fifty Knights in field of either ſide, but they preuayled nothing: for the king
E leauing all, went to Vruegna, where Donna *Maria* of Padilla was, to bee merry with her. Queene *Mary* the kings mother receiued the Confederates into Toro, and wrought ſo, as ſhe drew the king thither, where they began to make a kind of accord, and to diſpoſe of the Offices of the kings houſe, and of Gouernments and places, diſplacing ſome, and aduancing others, as they thought good: and namely, they diſappointed all them of Padilla, and their adherents: the which the king ratified, but againſt his will, as it appeared ſoone after: for he made a diſpatch from Tordeſillas, to Don *Pedro* Infant of Arragon, Earle of Ampurias, who gouerned the country of Arragon, the King his Nephew beeing then in Cattelogne, by the which he complayned of that his ſubiects had forced him vnto: intreating him by the bond of their allyance to be his friend: and thereupon he came
F to Segobia, in the beginning of the yeare 1355. and from thence to Burgos, where hee called a generall aſſembly of the Eſtates, in the which hee complayned greatly of the Queene his mother, and of the Princes and Noblemen confederates, ſaying, that they had detayned him priſoner in the citty of Toro, and had forced him to do many things againſt his will and dignitie: demanding mony from his ſubiects, that hee might make war againſt them, and puniſh them according to their merits, the which he obtained. After the

D. Iohn Alphonſo of Albuquerque poyſoned.

1355.

Murthers committed by Don Pedro king of Caſtile.

the end of the Eſtates he came to Medina del campo, where he cauſed to bee ſlaine in his owne lodging, one day in the holy weeke, *Peter Ruis* of Villega, Gouernor generall of the frontier of Caſtile, and *Sancho Ruis* of Rojas: and cauſed many to be put in priſon. Returning to Toro, he had an incounter with Don *Henries* men, who went to ioyne with Don *Frederic* his brother at Talauera, from whence they after marched to Toledo, and had meanes to enter, although their comming was not pleaſing to all the Cittizens, beeing the meanes to draw a warre uppon them, as it happened, for that the king followed them ſoone after, and entred as it were by force, conſtrayning them to depart. This was a meanes for him to haue the Queene his wife in his power, who was poorely defended by the diuided Toledains, ſo as ſhee was ſent to the caſtle of Siguença. The king cauſed about foure and twenty Burgeſſes to be executed in the cittie by Iuſtice, who had taken the Queenes part too openly: among the which a Gold-ſmith, about 80. yeares old, beeing condemned, and ready to be executed, his ſonne, a young man of eighteen yeares of age, preſented himſelfe, who (mooued with pietie and a filiall loue) beſought the king to do him the grace, not to ſuffer his father to end the dayes of his old age after that manner, offering to ſuffer death for him. The king (who had no royall part in him) accepted the condition, and cauſed this young innocent man to be executed, who in regard of his pietie did merit to ſaue his fathers life, and to liue himſelfe with honour and reward due to ſo great vertue: the name of this yong man through the negligence of Writers, is ſuppreſt. After theſe diſhonorable exploites, the king went to Cuenca, which held for Queene *Blanche*, but he could not take it: whereupon he marched againſt Toro, and brought all the warre into the territories of Leon and Biſcay, where his men were twiſe defeated, by D. *Tello*, and *Iohn* of Abendagno, with the death and impriſonment of many. The K being before Toro, he had newes of the death of Don *Iohn Garcia* of Padilla, brother to Donna *Maria*, his miſtris, being choſen maſter of S. Iames, againſt his brother Don *Frederic*, whereat he was much grieued.

Cruel executions in the city of Toledo.

Pietty of a ſon ill rewarded by D. Pedro.

During this heauines, there came vnto the campe, *William* Biſhop of Bolonia, Cardinall of Saint Marie in Coſmedin, Legate to Pope *Innocent* the ſixth, beeing ſent to pacifie the troubles of Caſtile, and to reconcile the King and Queene: but he loſt his labor, and obtayned nothing of him, but that hee procured the deliuerance of *Peter Barroſo*, a Doctor of the Lawes, and biſhop of Siguença, who was priſoner, for that he had held the Queenes party. The king wrought ſo, partly by force, and partly by parlees and promiſes, as hee was ſuffered to enter into Toro, vppon condition that hee ſhould not kill any man: the which he promiſed, and kept according to his faith: for he was no ſooner entred but he cauſed to be ſlaine within the caſtell, in the preſence of the Queene his mother, *Peter Stephen Carpinter*, Maſter of Calatraua, *Ruis Gonçales* of Caſtagneda, *Martin Alphonſo Tello*, and *Alphonſo Telles*, the which Queene *Mary* did ſo abhorre, as ſhee ſwounded, and was in danger of death: and ſoone after, not able to endure the ſight of her ſons cruelties, ſhe demanded leaue to retire into Portugall to her father king D. *Alphonſo*, who cauſed her to be ſlayne ſoone after, for that ſhee liued vnchaſt with Don *Martin Telles*. The King Don *Pedro* did alſo cauſe to be ſlaine in Toro, *Gomes Manriques* of Orihuela, *Diego Perez* of Godoy, *Alphonſo Gomes*, great Commander of Calatraua, and many others.

Queen mother vnchaſt.

The knights which defended the towne of Cuenca hearing of theſe bloudie executions left Caſtile, and retired into Arragon: others which held other places, diſtruſting their ſtrength, abandoned them, and paſt into France: wherefore the king thinking himſelfe now in a manner a conqueror, tranſported with a tyrannous hatred againſt the Nobility of his Realme, yea againſt his owne bloud, he reſolued to roote them out one after another, not truſting in any one of them. Hauing beſeeged Palençuela, he watched an oportunity to kill the two Infants of Arragon his couſins, Don *Frederic* his brother, who was partly reconciled, and Don *Iohn de la Cerde*: but by reaſon of the abſence of Don *Tello*, his brother (whom he would catch in the ſame net) he deferred it: and the better to ſurprize him, he made ſhew to pardon him, and Don *Iohn* of Abendagno alſo, and to remit all that was paſt. This Don *Iohn* of Abendagno was one of the chiefe Knights of Biſcay, and without whoſe aduiſe Don *Tello*, Lord of Biſcay, did not any thing. Notwithſtanding

as

A as the fauours of great men are vncertaine and wauering, Don *Tello* enuying him, for that he was rich, and welbeloued in the countrie, cauſed him to bee ſlaine awhile after in the towne of Bilboa. Palençuela being taken by compoſition, the king Don *Pedro* made a tourney at Tordeſillas, where he had reſolued to murther Don *Frederic* his brother, and others: notwithſtanding hauing by the ſame treaſon, cauſed two other Knights to bee ſlaine, the one of Toledo, the other of Vailledolit, he thought it ſufficient for this time, and deferred this execution vntill another oportunitie.

D. Tello Lord of Biſcay cauſeth D. John of Abendagno to be murthered.

Don *Henry* who was in the Aſturia's, ſeeing that all were brought vnder, and reconciled vnto the king, he demanded leaue afarre off, and obtained it (for hee would not truſt the king but vpon good termes) and went to ſerue the French king. Paſſing by the mountaines of Aſturia, he eſcaped many ambuſhes which the king had layd for him, notwithſtanding his aſſurance giuen, but he was ordayned to better fortune: wherefore beeing come into Biſcay, and hauing there conferred with Don *Tello* his brother, hee imbarked and landed at Rochel, from whence he went to Paris to King *Iohn* then raigning, who receiued him, and honoured him much. The king of Arragon was aduertiſed of all theſe troubles and alterations, beeing then reſident at Perpignan, for the which he was not ſorie. At that time there raigned three bad kings in Spaine, this Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile, Don *Pedro* of Arragon, and Don *Charles* of Nauarre, violent Princes, who whileſt they liued, did continually afflict both themſelues and their ſubiects, by tyrannies: ſo as they purchaſed the ſurnames of Bad and Cruell. 4.

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Charles the ſecond of that name, and the thirtith king of Nauarre.

5. LEauing the Eſtate of Caſtile at this time ſomewhat quiet, we will returne to the affaires of Nauarre, the which we left at the death of Donna *Ieanne*, wife to King *Philip* of Eureux: to whome of three ſonnes, *Charles*, *Philip*, and *Lewis*: *Charles* the eldeſt ſucceeded to the Crowne of Nauarre; who was ſurnamed the bad, by reaſon of the troubles D he cauſed, as well on this ſide, as beyond the Pyrenée mountaines, and of his ſtrange diſpoſition. Beeing called by the three Eſtates of the Realme, hee came in the yeare 1350. and was crowned in the cittie of Pampelona, in an aſſembly made to that end after the manner of his Predeceſſors, ſwearing to obſerue the lawes and liberties of the country. His coronation was accompanied with ſome bountie to the Cathedrall church of Pampelona, to the which among other things, he gaue a great croſſe of ſiluer, enameled with Flower de Luces azure. Nauarre

During his coronation, ſome of his people mutined, pretending a breach of their priuiledges, whome the king did puniſh ſo ſeuerely, cauſing many to be hanged, and to bee executed by other cruell puniſhments, as the cure farre exceeded the diſeaſe. With the E like violence he afflicted the Nobility of Nauarre, ſo as they decayed greatly: and he ſhewed himſelfe in all his actions inconſtant, wauering, and light of beleefe: If hee had any good in him, it was a certaine reſpect he bare to Clergie men, and to ſchollers. At his coming the king of Arragon ſent a Secretarie of his vnto him, called *Peter* of Tarrega, to confirme the League which was betwixt theſe two Realmes: and ſoone after hee ſent him another ambaſſage, by Don *Lope* Earle of Luna, and Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, *Caſtellan* of Amposta, for a more ample confirmation of the league and allyance betwixt them two: propounding vnto the king of Nauarre an allyance by marriage, to the end he might hold the kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon well vnited, for the king of Arragon F feared much, leaſt Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile, (who was a violent, dangerous, and faithleſſe Prince) ſhould breake the peace that was betwixt the two Realmes, imbracing the quarrels of the Queene dowager of Arragon and of her children, and ſhould ioyne with Nauarre, by ſome allyance which might be preiudiciall vnto him. Hereuppon the Ambaſſadors propounded a marriage betwixt Don *Charles* king of Nauarre, and one of the daughters of the king of Sicily, who was of the houſe of Arragon. And for that it was bruted, *Manners of K. Charles the 2.*

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The king of Nauarre beeing come into France, he beganne to make claime to many things, for beſides the Earledomes of Champagne and Brie, which he pretended to belong vnto him, hee made a title to the Duchie of Bourgongue, by reaſon of his mother Queene *Ieanne*, iſſued from that houſe of Bourgogne by her mother, with many other claimes, wherein king *Iohn* had no intent to do him right, finding it ſo by his Councell.

He had for his chief aduerſarie another *Charles* or *Iohn*, according to the French Hiſtories, who was Conſtable of France, of the houſe of Caſtile, Earle of Angouleſme, ſonne to Don *Alphonſo de la Cerde*, of whome wee haue often made mention, whereby there were great inſolencies, murthers, and rebellions committed throughout the Realme of France, as we will touch briefly in paſſing, for that theſe quarrels belong rather to the Hiſtorie of France then Spaine.

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Murther of the Conſtable of France by the king of Nauarsmen.

King *Iohn* had aduertiſed Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, of all thoſe proceedings, that he might ſee he had done nothing lightly, beeing a reaſonable thing, that Kings, how ſoueraigne ſoeuer, ſhould iuſtifie their actions, and to make them apparent, elſe they were to be reputed Tyrants, and to be hated of all the world, as violent and vniuſt. *Gaſton Phebus* then Earle of Foix, who had married *Agnes*, ſiſter to the king of Nauarre, was more diſcontented then any other at his impriſonment, who paſſing into Spaine, ſought to incenſe Don *Pedro* King of Arragon his brother-in-law, and to procure him to declare F himſelfe enemy to King *Iohn*, if he did not releaſe the King of Nauar, but the king D. *Pedro* wold not yeeld vnto it: for he held the friendſhip of France to be a firm ſupport for his Eſtates: beſides he ſtil feared a war betwixt him and D. *Pedro*; yet he promiſed to be an interceſſor for him to k. *Iohn*, and to intreat him to ſhew his clemency, & to intreat his priſoner without paſſion, but by the courſe of Iuſtice, & moreouer not to exact all his right of him,

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B *Rodrigo* of Vriz, D. *Iohn Ramir* of Arrellan, D. *Corbaran* of Leet, the Barrons of Garro and Antiede, and other Knights and ſouldiers of Nauarre. Hee was ſo farre from diſſembling this fact, as he confeſſed it, and did iuſtifie it to be done by his commandement, and that he had iuſtly ſlaine him: whereat the king, and the whole court were much troubled, ſeing the great impudencie of the king of Nauarre, the which was entertayned by many within the Realme which did adhere vnto him, beſides the league he had with the Engliſh, to the which he alſo ſought to draw D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, who notwithſtanding would not heare of it, for that he was allyed to the French king, whoſe friendſhip he reſolued to entertaine. To preuent the miſchiefes which might grow by ſuch furies, King *Iohn* was
C forced to diſſemble, and by promiſe of impunity, gifts, and yeelding of townes and places, according to the demands and pretenſions of the King of Nauarre, ſeeke to break the league which he had treated with the Engliſh, yea giuing him the Duke of Aniou his ſon in hoſtage, to draw him to Court, where being come, the king made a ſhew that he wold arraigne him, but it prooued a ieaſt: for hauing cauſed him to come before him on his knees, and to craue pardon, he patdoned him the Conſtables murther, and all that he had committed againſt the Crowne of France and his authoritie, Queene *Blanche*, widow to K. *Philip*, his ſiſter, and Qneene *Ieane* his wife beeing interceſſors for him: but this reconciliation was ſoone troubled: for the king of Nauarre thinking that the French king had rather diſſembled his diſpleaſure, then forgotten it, did not quit the allyances which he had made
D to the preiudice of France, but did ſtil intertaine ſecret practiſes both within and without the Realme: and as he was turbulent, and euer full of iealouſie and diſtruſt, King *Iohn* hauing called the Eſtates of his Realme, and ſhewed the neceſſities of war, demanding mony for the leuie of 30000. men, the King of Nauar ſought to hinder this ſubuention, and did contradict it with all his power: notwithſtanding it was granted. King *Iohn* being wonderfully incenſed at the King of Nauars impudency and pride, who in ſtead of aſſiſting him, like a good ſon-in-law, who had beene newly abſolued by him from ſo great a crime, ſhewed himſelfe a violent aduerſarie to his deſſeins, he ſought a fit occaſion to puniſh him, the which fell out opportunely in the city of Rouan, at the reception of the Daulphin *Charles* in Normandy, who had beene newly aduanced to that Duchie; whither came the
E Noblemen of the countrie, namely, the king of Nauarre, as Earle of Eureux, a member of the Dutchie, where as he with many others were ſurprized: the King was ſent priſoner ro the caſtle of Alleux in Pallueil, and ſome Noblemen were executed, as you may read at large in the French Hiſtorie.

Murther of the Conſtable of France by the king of Nauarsmen.

King *Iohn* had aduertiſed Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, of all thoſe proceedings, that he might ſee he had done nothing lightly, beeing a reaſonable thing, that Kings, how ſoueraigne ſoeuer, ſhould iuſtifie their actions, and to make them apparent, elſe they were to be reputed Tyrants, and to be hated of all the world, as violent and vniuſt. *Gaſton Phebus* then Earle of Foix, who had married *Agnes*, ſiſter to the king of Nauarre, was more diſcontented then any other at his impriſonment, who paſſing into Spaine, ſought to
F inceuſe Don *Pedro* King of Arragon his brother-in-law, and to procure him to declare himſelfe enemy to King *Iohn*, if he did not releaſe the King of Nauar, but the king D. *Pedro* wold not yeeld vnto it: for he held the friendſhip of France to be a firm ſupport for his Eſtates: beſides he ſtil feared a war betwixt him and D. *Pedro*; yet he promiſed to be an interceſſor for him to k. *Iohn*, and to intreat him to ſhew his clemency, & to intreat his priſoner without paſſion, but by the courſe of Iuſtice, & moreouer not to exact all his right of him,

in reſpect he was a king, and his ſon-in-law, and of the bloud of France: the which hee did with great affection; ſending ambaſſadors to that end to the French king: ſo as king *Iohn* as well by the interceſſion of the King of Arragon, as of the aboue-named Queenes, and other Noblemen of his Realme, gaue the king of Nauarre to vnderſtand, that hee ſhould prepare himſelfe to anſwer to the accuſations of his Atturney generall, and that he wold allow him to take learned councell vnto him, of what nation he would deſire, for his iuſtification, aſſuring him that he would not croſſe him in his defences: that if it were found he had done him any wrong, that he would make him ſuch ſatisfaction, as he ſhold reſt contented: but if on the other ſide he were found guiltie of high treaſon, it was in him to pardon him, or not, at his pleaſure. Hereupon they entred into proceſſe according vnto iuſtice, but within few dayes after King *Iohn* was taken in Guien by the Engliſh, which ſtayed theſe iudiciall proceedings. During his impriſonment, *Lewis* his yonger brother came into Nauarre, to gouerne the Realme, who was ſollicited by D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, and receiued ayde from him againſt the king of Caſtile, who had made ſharpe wars againſt him, as you ſhall heare. But neceſſity forceth vs to treat of the affaires of Arragon during the firſt yeares of the raign of D. *Pedro* of Caſtile, and D. *Charles* of Nauarre.

Arragon.

6 D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, being reaſonably quiet within his realm, by the laſt accord made in the fauor, & by the perſwaſion of D. *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, at the camp of Gibraltar, with his mother-in-law D. *Leonora* dowager of Arragon and her children, D. *Fernand* and Don *Iohn*: gaue himſelfe to ſome reformation of politicke things, and in the yeare 1350. he aboliſhed the vſe of *Cæſars Æra*, according to the which they did accompt the yeares, and did date their contracts and letters, gouerning all their negotiations in Arragon after the ancient manner of Spaine, commanding from thence-foorth to follow the computation of yeares taken from the Natiuity of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. This manner of computation by *Æra*, had bin brought in by the ancient Spaniards, to gratifie *Auguſtus Cæſar*, accompting their yeres from that time that they made a diuiſion of the world with *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*. Spaine among other Prouinces of Europe, was fallen to him alone, which was the 4. yeare of his Empire, and 38. yeares before the Natiuity of our Lord. The yeare 1351. following, D. *Iohn* his ſon beeing borne at Perpignan, of his third wife, D. *Leonora* of Sicile, or *Conſtance* according to ſome, hee inſtantly made him duke of Girone, & called him Prince of Girone, which title the eldeſt ſon of Arragon hath ſince caried, and gaue him to be bred vp to *Bernard* of Cabrera, one of his moſt truſty Councellers. Moreouer, he would haue the Eſtates ſweare vnto this Infant, in the towne of Perpignan, as heire preſumptiue of the Crowne: but he was diuerted from this deſſeine by the perſwaſions of D. *Pedro* of Xerica, D. *Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, Prior of S. *Iohn*, and of D. *Iohn Lopes* of Seſebio Iuſtice of Arragon: who aduertiſed him, that the oath accuſtomed to be made to kings children, and to kings themſelues, was alwaies firſt done in Arragon, and in the city of Sarragoſſa, and that to breake this order without vrgent occaſion, could not but breed confuſions. The ambaſſadors of *Iohn* the French king, came to him to Perpignan, who treated againe of a marriage betwixt *Lewis* of France duke of Aniou, and *Ieanne* 2. daughter to the king D. *Pedro*, the which took no better effect, then the other which had bin treated for D. *Conſtance* the eldeſt. There came alſo vnto this K. ambaſſadors from the Venetians and Geneuois, who were at great wars among themſelues, either of them affecting his fauor, but he inclined moſt to the common weale of Genoa, as the moſt profitable for his affaires, eſpecially in regard of the Iland of Sardinia: but by the perſwaſion of D. *Bernard* of Cabrera, laying before him the ancient hatred of the Geneuois againſt the Cattelans, & their many trecheries of their cittizens againſt the crown of Arragon, he made a league with the Venetians, & in their fauor armed againſt the Geneuois, commanding *Ponce* of S. Paix, Generall of the Cattelan army, to go into Sicily with 26. gallies well armed, the which he did, to whom there afterwards ioyned 20. Venetian gallies, in the port of Meſſina, commanded by *Pancrace Iuſtinian*. The Geneuois for their parts had rigged out 65. gallies, whereof *Perin* of Grimaldi was Generall: who being paſt a litle before, ſayling towards Conſtantinople: (againſt the walles of which citty the common-weale of Genoa held the town of Pera) were followed by the Arragonois and Venetian armie, beeing increaſed, beſides the gallies of *Iuſtinian*, by 16. other Venetian

AEra of Cæſar aboliſhed in Arragon.

1351. *Girone a principality for the eldeſt ſon of Arragon.*

League betwixt the king of Arragon & the Venetians.

galles,

A gallies, commanded by *Nicholas Piçan*: and of 4. of Valence, whereof *Ripol* a Cattelan had the charge: and moreouer of 9. gallies of *John Paleologue*, Emperour of Conſtantinople then raigning. The two armies coming to fight in the ſtreight of the Boſphore of Thrace, the Cattelans and Venetians had the victory, but very bloudy: for they loſt 14. gallies, yet moſt of the ſoldiers were ſaued. *Ponce* of S. Paix, chiefe of the Cattelans, with the toyle he had endured that day (and it may be by ſome wounds he had receiued) dyed ſoone after at Conſtantinople: *Ricol* was ſlaine in the fight. *Pancrace Iuſtinian* dyed alſo at Conſtantinople of the wounds he had receiued, and there dyed many other Gentlemen and Venetian ſoldiers during the conflict. As for the Geneuois, there were 24. gallies taken or ſunke, with all their burthens: the reſt of the Cattelans hauing repaired 11. gallies which remayned of their fleet, able to ſerue (for the reſt were ſo broken as they were altogether vnprofitable) mette at Negrepont, whereas 12. gallies of Cattelogne and Valencia, ſent for a ſupply by the King D. *Pedro*, did alſo enter: and there they alſo ioyned with the reſt of the Venetian gallies. Theſe two States being perſwaded by the Pope & Chriſtian Princes to make a peace, the king of Arragon in the end remayned an enemy to Genoa, for notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions of the Popes Nuncio, he ſtil anſwered, that he would haue no friendſhip with the common weale, vnleſſe they would quit vnto him the Iland of Corſica, and that their ſouldiers ſhould diſlodge out of Sardinia. To croſſe this peace betwixt the Venetians and Genouois, the king D. *Pedro* ſent *Raymondus Lullius*, in ambaſ-

Battel very cruell betwixt the Genouois and Venetians.

B

C ſage vnto Venice, he was ſon or kinſman to him that was the greateſt Philoſopher of his age. This was in the yeare 1352, in the which the Prince D. *Iohn*, the kings ſon, was ſworne heire, and ſucceſſor to the realme in the city of Saragoſſa, after the accuſtomed manner.

The Prince D. John ſworne heire preſumptiue.

There were ciuill warres, with ſtrange and trecherous reuolts at that time in Sardynia, where as the Geneuois held Alguer, and the caſtle Genouois, with whom many Sardinians ioyned, and *Marian* Iudge of Arborea (a great fauorer, vntill that time of the Arragon name in that Iland) with others, whom they ſuſpected not, fel from the king D. *Pedro*: ſo as D. *Rambaud* of Corbera the Gouernor, could hardly reſiſt ſo great a fury, to whome there arriued D. *Stephen* of Arragon, ſon to *William* Duke of Athens, being ſent by the K. D. *Pedro* with gallies and ſoldiers: and in the yeare 1353. D. *Bernard* of Cabrera was ſent

An. 1353.

D with 45. veſſels called Vxeres: who hauing ioyned with 20. Venetian gallies, whereof *Nicholas Piſan* was chief, they came to fight with an army of Genouois, led by *Anthony Grimaldi*, in the view of Alguer, where as the Genouois were defeated, with the loſſe of 35. gallies, and aboue 3000. priſoners: wherupon Alguer was then abandoned by the Dorian faction, of which family *Fabian Roſſo*, (found among the priſoners) was beheaded, for that he did rebell vpon euery occaſion. This rigour vſed to *Fabian*, did ſo incenſe him againſt the Arragonois, as hauing perſwaded them of Alguer to a new rebellion, and in ſteade of Iudge of Arborea, he cauſed himſelfe to be called king of Sardinia; which title he tooke at the inſtigation of *Timbor* of *Rocabertin* his wife, beeing deſirous aboue all the women of her time to be called Queene. D. *Bernard* of Cabrera did afterwards giue a defeat at land,

E to the reuolted Sardinians, neere vnto Cailleri, in a Bourg called Quarto: & hauing manned the fort of Cailleri, the town of Saſſeri, & other places, he returned into Cattelogne; leauing the gard of the Iland to D *Rambaud* of Corbera, and ouer the ſoldiers Count *Arnaud* of Pallars, who being preſt by the Sardinians, and the Genoa faction, were ſoone after ſomwhat fortified by 500. archers, 80. men at armes, and 20. light horſe, which D. *Michel Peres Zapate*, an old experienced Captaine, brought vnto them. The K. being much incenſed againſt the Genouois, who hee knew were aſſiſted by *Iohn* Archb. and Duke of Milan, hee held his reputation to bee ſo ingaged in this war of Sardinia, as hee reſolued to paſſe into that Iland in perſon, and to lead ſuch forces, as he might both root out all his enemies, and inuade Corſica, which he ſtill demanded for the price of any peace that was

F propounded vnto him with that common-weale by the Pope and other Chriſtian Potentates. He came with this deſſein to Barcelona, where in the yeare 1354. he cauſed the ſtandard royal to be diſplayed; a ſigne, that a royall army ſhould go to ſea. *Zachary Contarin* Ambaſſadour of Venice, did preſſe him to this expedition, for the which there were inrolled a thouſand men at armes, fiue hundred Genets or light horſe-men, and ten thouſand foote, all vnder the command of Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, who in this warre held

An. 1354.

the place of Seneſhall, which was that which we call Conſtable: and hee had in like manner the generall command ouer the gallies and ſhippes. The king left his Vncle Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, Regent or Gouernour in his abſence, and parting from Roſes with twenty great ſhippes, fiue Gallies, and many other veſſels, hee arriued in a port called Comte, three miles from Alguer in Sardynia, but with great difficultie by reaſon of the torment. There paſſed in his companie *Iohn Graille*, Captall of Buch, with many other Noblemen ſtrangers, and of his owne ſubiects, Don *Lope* of Luna, whome hee had made Earle of Luna, for his merits and good ſeruices: *Philip* of Caſtro, *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, *Iohn Martines* of Luna, *Fernand Ruis* of Thauſt, *Blaſco Fernandes* of Heredia, *Lope Gorrea*, Don *Stephano* of Arragon, ſonne to the Duke of Athenes, Don *Pedro* of Xerica, *Gilbert Scintilla*, *Olpho Prochita*, *Alphonſo Roger* of Loria, *Pedro Maza*, *Raymond Ruiſeco*, *Gisbert* of Caſtelet, *Mathew Mercier*, *Gonçal* of Caſteluis, *Pedro Lopes Otecia*: moreouer, Don *Hugues* Vicount of Cardona, *Bernardin* of Cabrera, ſonne to *Bernard*, *Andrew* Vicount of Cannet, *Othon* of Moncade, *Roger Bernard* Vicount of Caſtelbon, Don *Fernand* of Heredia, Don *Arnaud Roger*, and *Raymond* of Palliars, *Artal* of Foſſes, *William Bellera*, *Bernard Cruillia* the elder, and *Bernard Cruillia* the younger, the firſt famous for the warres of Italy, the other newly come from beeing a page, *Ponce Fenouillet*, *Francis Ceruia*, *Galcerand* of Pinos, *Galuian Angleſole*, with other Noblemen, Arragonois, Cattelans, and Valencians, whereof ſome had charge of men, the reſt followed the kings Cornet.

Marian (who cauſed himſelfe to be called King of Sardynia)) hearing of this great preparation, and fearing due puniſhment, ſent vnto the king, as he was readie to imbarke, to offer him all obedience, and to deliuer him the places which hee had taken, with a good ſumme of money: but the king paſt on. At his arriuall he found the enemies had taken the towne of Egliſe, a ſtrong place, and of importance, but the caſtell had beene defended and preſerued. This caſtell and that of Cailleri, Ioieuſegard, Aquafredda, the towne of Saſſeri, and the caſtell, with thoſe of Oria and Oſoli, were the forts which held for the Arragonois in the Iland. The ſeege was layd to Alguer, and that place was furiouſly battered and aſſaulted: to diuert which ſeege, there were ten gallies of Genoa, which ſhewed themſelues at ſea, and *Marian* with *Mathew D'Oria* vppon the land, hauing in his companie two thouſand horſe, and fifteene thouſand foote, who ſtriued in vaine: for Alguer *Alguer taken.* yeelded, notwithſtanding that the king fell ſicke, and his armie was grieuouſly afflicted with the plague, and *Marian* had no other fruites of his paines, but the taking of the caſtell of Quitra. *Marian* was allyed to Don Pedro of Xerica, the which diſappointed many good exploits, many conditions of peace beeing often propounded, whereunto the king was often drawne and inclined. During this ſeege there came thirty Venetian Gallies, to ioyne with the army of Arragon: and thither did *Abrahim* King of Tunes and Bugie, ſend an ambaſſage to the king D. *Pedro* to conclude a peace with him, in conſideration of a tribute of 2000. doublons, which he promiſed to pay him yearely. After the yeelding of Alguer, the king of Arragon paſt to Cailleri, where hauing called the Eſtates of Sardynia, at the leaſt from thoſe places which held his party, hee condemned *Gerard* Earle of Donoratico, as the motiue and fauourer of *Marians* rebellion: ſo as the famous family of Donoratico was extinct in Sardinia. Thoſe of Maleſpine were in like manner forced to retire to Nice, and other lands which they had in Prouence, and to leaue the Iland. *Marian* kept the field for a time, and had many light incounters with the kings men: but in the end by the intreatie of his friends, he obtayned a peace, excuſing his rebellion vpon the kings *Peace in Sardinia.* ſeuerity, and the vniuſt proceedings of his miniſters: and for that during theſe wars of Sardinia, the Pope had reconciled the two common-weales of Venice and Genoa, who had made him vmper of their controuerſies, the king ſhewed himſelfe more plyable to treate of peace with the Genouois, for the which he was wonderfull importuned by the Princes. Matters ſtanding vpon theſe termes, D. *Pedro* returned into Spaine, and from thence paſt to Auignon, where as the Pope propounded, that he ſhould leaue the Iland of Corſica in the Genouois hand, to enioy it quietly, vpon condition they ſhould hold it of the kings of Arragon, and do them homage for it, and paying him rent, the which the king yeelded vnto: but he demanded an exceſſiue tribute, that is, 50000. florins of gold euery yeare.

The

A The Geneuois reiecting this burthen, as too grieuous, did ſhew, that they had right to that Iland, aboue two hundred yeares before, by donations made vnto them by the Popes. The Duke of Milan dealt alſo in theſe treaties, and pretended the lands of Galluri in Sardynia, by hereditarie right, as deſcending from the daughter of *Nino* Iudge of Galluri, of the familie of Viſcontez.

All theſe controuerſies were left vndecided, neither could the Pope, nor other Mediators bring the parties to any concluſion: and vppon theſe occaſions the Iland of Sardynia was againe troubled with ſeditions and reuolts, whereof *Matthew D'Oria* was the chiefe author, who did alſo ingage *Marian* Iudge of Arborea. Whileſt the king was in Arragon, he made Denia an Earledome, to the which he did aduance D. *Alphonſo* of Ar-
B ragon, ſon to D. *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, and likewiſe Vich, the which he gaue to Don *Bernardin* of Cabrera, ſon to Don *Bernard*. After his returne into Spaine, the treatie of peace betwixt him and the Common-weale of Genoua was againe debated before the Pope, by the Ambaſſadours of both parties: but all came to nothing: wherefore the tumults increaſing in Sardynia, and *Mathew D'Oria* hauing forced the caſtell of Oria, the king ſent D. *Gilbert Chintilla* thither with what forces he could, and entred into a cruell war againſt Caſtile in the yeare 1356. the cauſe whereof was as followeth.

7 Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile beeing at ſome peace with his ſubiects, and ſoiourning in the cittie of Seuile, he went one day to Saint *Lucar* of Barameda, to ſee the fiſhing of Thuns, which is very plentifull in thoſe parts: where it happened, that as the army of Ar-
C ragon (conſiſting of ten gallies and ſome other veſſels) commanded by *Francis Perillos*, paſt along that Coaſt, to go into France, in fauour of King *Iohn*, againſt the Engliſh, they met with two ſhips of Genoa laden with oyles, which the gallies had purſued, and taken in the port of Saint *Lucar*: whereuppon the king of Caſtile (who was vppon the place) gaue the Admirall of Arragon to vnderſtand, that that prize was an injurie done vnto him, and therfore he ſhold reſtore the ſhips, with their ladings and furniture: wherof the Admirall *Perillos* made no accompt, ſaying, that they were ſhippes belonging to the enemies of his king: and the Arragon Authors ſay, that *Perillos* entred euen into the mouth of Guadalquibir, and their made prey of all he found: whereat the king of Caſtile beeing moued, he cauſed all the Cattelan ſhippes and Merchants to bee arreſted within
D his Realme, and ſeazed vppon all their goods and merchandiſe. And as he was cholericke and furious, not reſpecting peace, truce, league nor allyance whatſoeuer, hee ſent to denounce warre againſt the Arragonois, and began to put it in execution. Notwithſtanding that he offered to recompence vnto the Merchants, whome his Admirall had ſpoyled, and to make all other honeſt ſatisfactions accuſtomed betwixt Prince and Prince.

Caſtile and Arragon.

All this preuayled not: for about the end of the yeare 1356. hee ſent troups of horſe and foote to ſpoyle the territories of Valence, towards Murcia, and alſo of Molina, thruſt on by ſome about him, who were deſirous of ſtirres, thinking to aſſure and increaſe their Eſtates by the meanes of forraine warres: ſo as the king of Arragon found himſelfe ſud-
E denly engaged in a dangerous warre againſt a mighty enemy: to preuent the which, hee drew vnto him *Lewis* brother to the King of Nauarre, Gouernour of that Countrie, and had from thence ſuch ſuccours, as the Eſtate of their affaires could well beare: wherein *Lewis* ſhewed himſelfe ſo diſcreet and wiſe, as the King of Caſtile held him a neuter betwixt both parties. Moreouer, he called vnto him out of France, *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, baſe brother to the king of Caſtile, and much hated by him, who made himſelfe Vaſſall to the Crown of Arragon, and had from the King the lands of Villegraſſe, Montblanc, and others in Cattelogne, Arragon, and Valence, doing fealtie and homage: yea in a manner all that had beene held by Donna *Leonora* the Queene Dowager, and her children Don *Fernand*, and Don *Iohn* of Arragon, and was made Commander of the men of warre for the defence of the frontiers againſt Caſtile: which made the king of
F Caſtile to come into Arragon in perſon, with greater forces, and to make warre with all violence and extremity, where hee tooke Bordalua and Embite, and ſo preſt Taraſſone with the force of armes, as hee forced the Inhabitants to ſurrender and yeeld the place without oppoſition, vppon condition that they might retire to Tudele a towne of Nauarre.

An. 1356.

Entrance of the king of Caſtile in Arragon.

Beſides this he tooke Alcala of Firuela, Verrejon, and the caſtell of los Fajos, hauing in his armie nine thouſand horſe, and a great number of foote, againſt the which forces the Arragonois durſt not preſent themſelues: wherefore he marched as farre as hee pleaſed, and then returned to Taraſſone. There by the meanes and induſtrie of Cardinall *William*, the Popes Legate, there was a truce concluded for a yeare: whereuppon he took his way towards Seuile. Beeing yet at Taraſſone, he had newes that Don *Iohn de la Cerde*, and D. *Aluar Perez* of Guzman were reuolted from him, and had taken the party of Arragon, and that at that inſtant they had beene charged, and defeated by his men in Andaluſia, and Don *Iohn de la Cerde* taken, whome he commanded to bee ſlaine before his arriuall: then being come to Seuile, he ſpent the reſt of the yeare to prepare an armie at ſea for the future warre: for his intent was not to conclude a peace, neither would he yeeld the citie of Taraſſone into the Legats hands, according to the capitulations, nor performe any part of that which had beene treated, notwithſtanding that the king of Arragon had performed all on his part: whereuppon the Legate beeing at Tudele, in Saint *Maries* church he propounded a ſentence of Excommunication againſt Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile, and did interdict his Realme, in the preſence of the Biſhops of Cominges and Tarraſſone, and the Ambaſſadors of Caſtile and Arragon, the which put the king of Caſtile into a greater furie. The Legate beeing at Hueſca, publiſhed the Decree and Cenſure againſt the King of Caſtile and his Realme, by the which, beſides that which hath beene ſpoken, he was condemned in an hundred Markes of ſiluer to the Sea of Rome: and defence made to *Lewis* brother to the king of Nauarre, to the kings of England and Portugall, to all Chriſtian Princes, yea and to thoſe that did in any ſort belong by conſanguinitie to this excommunicated king, not to conuerſe with him, nor to giue him ayde nor ſuccours. Then was the Infant Don *Fernand* of Arragon perſwaded by ſome Noblemen of Arragon, to meete with Don *Pedro* king of Arragon his brother, in a valley, couered with trees, where they had a long and friendly diſcourſe ſo as the Infant returned, full of promiſes and hopes.

D. Iohn de la Cerd ſlaine by the kings commandement.

The Captaine of Taraſſone for the king of Caſtile, called *Gonçal Gonçales Luſio*, was alſo drawne by the perſwaſions of *Suero Garcia* of Toledo, who was fled into Arragon, ſonne to *Garci Suero*, to yeeld vp that place to the King of Arragon, vppon promiſe of fortie thouſand Florins, the which he did ſoone after execute. And for that the effects of the King of Caſtiles bad inclination appeared daily, there was a League made betwixt the King of Maroc and hee of Arragon to the preiudice of Caſtile, and Don *Tello* of Caſtile, and the Earle of Luna, entred with an armie towards Soria, where they ſpoiled the Countrie.

Thus theſe two Kings Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile, and Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, wilfull, cholericke, and madde, fell againe into a cruell and pernitious warre, to the ineſtimable prejudice of their ſubiects, and ſhame and diſhonor to the name of Chriſtians.

Whileſt the King lay idle in Andaluſia, beeing too much giuen to women, he courted Donna *Aldonça Cornel*, daughter to the deceaſed Don *Alphonſo Fernandes Cornel*, whom he had cauſed to be ſlain, and wife to D. *Aluar* Perez of Guzman, his rebell: but yet he did not forget D. *Maria* of Padilla. Beſides this vice, hee continued his cruelty againſt the Nobility: for that yeare 1358. he cauſed his brother D. *Frederic* Maſter of S. Iames, to be ſlain in the town of Carmona, being newly come out of Murcia, where hee had in his name recouered Iumilla, from the Arragonois who had taken it. There was alſo ſlaine by his commandement *Sancho Ruis* of Rojas: at Cordoua he alſo put to death *Peter Cabrera*, *Fernand Alphonſo* of Gates: and at Salamanca *Alphonſo Geoffrey Tenorio*: at Toro *Alphonſo Peres Fermoſino*: and in the caſtell of Moja, *Garci Mendez* of Toledo: and moreouer he cauſed *Lope Sanches* of Abendagno, great Commander of Caſtile, to bee put to death, and others in diuers places according to his humour and diſcontentment: yet ſeeking to couer theſe executions with a cloake of Iuſtice, publiſhing declarations, containing the crimes of ſuch as he had put to death, although it were apparent that they were but reuenges, for that all, or the moſt part of them had not approued his exceſſe, or had in ſome ſort oppoſed themſelues.

An. 1358. D. Frederic the kings brother and other Noblemen put to death.

In which murthers he employed two, who were much fauored by him, who afterwards fell

A fell into the ſame misfortune, for a recompence of their good ſeruices; as it happened to his couſin D. *Iohn* of Arragon, ſonne to the Queene D. *Leonora*, who being an actor in the death of D. *Fredric* maiſter of Saint Iames, did willingly follow the King in a voiage he made into Biſcay, to diſpoſſe D. *Tello* his other brother of that Lordſhip, and to kill him. The King being ſodainely arriued at Aguilar del Campo, he had ſurprized D. *Tello* being a hunting, and not dreaming of his comming, had he not beene aduertiſed by a Squire of his, called *Guttiere Guerra*; but through this aduertiſment he eſcaped and retired to Vermeo, the chiefe towne of Biſcay, where getting into a fiſher boate, he ſaued himſelfe at Saint Iohn de Luz, and from thence retired to Bayone. He was not farre at ſea before the King came to Vermeo, who hearing that he was diſlodged, he beganne to
B purſue him by ſea, and went as farre as Legueytio, but deſcouering nothing (and the ſea withall beginning to grow high) hee returned, and carried away priſoner D. *Ieanne* of Lara, wife to D. *Tello*; Inheritrix of Biſcay. The King being at Vermeo, D. *Iohn* of Arragon, who had married D. *Iſabella* of Lara the other ſiſter, beſought him to grant him that Lordſhip, ſeeing that D. *Tello* had ſhewed himſelfe contumacious, his wife being alſo priſoner, & that he had married the other ſiſter: to whom the King anſwered cunningly, that hee would haue the Biſcains aſſemble in the towne of Guernica, according to their ancient preuiledges, and there chooſe their Lord, and that for his part he would labour to haue him choſen; the which did ſatisfie D. *Iohn* for the preſent.

D. Ieanne of Lara Lady of Biſcay priſoner.

In the meane time the King did let the chiefe of the aſſembly vnderſtand, that when
C they were together, and the King ſhould propound vnto them for to chooſe D. *Iohn* of Arragon, they ſhould all cry out, that they would haue no other Lord, then the King himſelfe, and his ſucceſſors Kings, the which they did, as they had beene enioyned: ſo as D Iohn of Arragon found himſelfe fruſtrate of his hopes. This generall aſſembly of Biſcay, is called in the countrie language, *Batçaar*, which is as much to ſay, as an aſſembly of ancients. The King being come from Guernica to Bilbao, hee ſent for D. Iohn of Arragon to his lodging, and there commanded he ſhould be ſlaine in his preſence, and his body to be caſt out at the window which looked into the court (the which was ful of people) and crying with a loude voice: Behold your Lord of Biſcay who demaunded
D you: then he cauſed him to be carried to Burgos, and there to be caſt into the riuer, and would not ſuffer him to be buried: and for that his mother D. *Leonora* Dowager of Arragon, and his wife D. *Iſabella*, were greeued for this cruel act he cauſed them to be ſhut vp priſoners in the caſtle of Caſtro Xeris. This was the reward of Iohn of Arragon, who had, to pleaſe a tyrant, conſented to the death of many great perſonages, yea his neere kinſmen.

D. Iohn of Arragon ſlaine in the Kings loaging and in his preſence.

The King being come to Vailledolit, he had reſolued to ſacrifice ſome in that towne: but hearing that D. *Henry* of caſtile, Earle of Tranſtamara, and D. *Fernand* of Arragon, brother to D. Iohn, did ouerrunne the countries of Soria, and Almajan, and that of Murcia, he did forbeare, and hauing put great garriſons into the places about Soria, he came
E to Seuile, being reſolued to doe all acts of hoſtility both by land and ſea againſt the King of Arragon. He had made ready eighteene gallies with the which and great forces by land, he came and beſeeged Guardamar, and tooke it: and for that it did belong to the Infant D. *Fernand*, he burnt the towne, but he could not take the caſtle. But ſodainely a violent winde tooke his gallies vpon that coaſt, ſo as ſixteene of them ranne on ground: yet he returned againe into Murcia, and was nothing amazed thereat (for he was of a proude and haughty ſpirit) but cauſed many other gallies to be built at Seuile, and commanded that all the ſhips in Galicia, Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, ſhould come thether in the beginning of the yeere 1359. to inuade the Realmes of Valence, Cattelogne and Arragon.

An. 1359.

During theſe exploits of warre, D. Pedro King of Arragon charged him of Caſtille
F with diſloyaltie and treaſon before the Pope, and challenged him by *Bernard Gaiſeran* of Pinos, to whom the King of Arragon would haue giuen the title of King of Majorca, that he might be equal in quality to the King of Caſtile, but this was a mocquery. This yeere was married D. *Iſabel* daughter to the vnfortunate Don Iames King of Majorca, to Iohn Marquis of Montferrat, to whom the King of Arragon gaue fifty thouſand florins

Marriage of Iſabel of Majorca to the Marquis of Montferrat.

florins in dowry, vpon condition that ſhe ſhould renounce all her fathers rights, and ſo ſhe did. The King of Arragon being then at Saragoſſa, he renued and confirmed to the Nobility of that city, whom they call Ermunios, the preuiledge they haue not to goe to the warres, but when the King is in perſon ready to giue battaile, or to aſſaile ſome place, and declared that if any one of theſe preuiledged perſons had followed him beyond theſe limitations, that it ſhould be no preiudice to their rights. There he gaue the charge of the warre, for the preſeruation of the country, to the Archbiſhop of Saragoſſa. Whileſt that the confederate Noblemen of Caſtile, together with the Arragonois, did ruine and burne the country of Alaua; the King of Caſtile led a great power by land againſt Arragon, by the way of Almaçan, where he tooke Negaſta and Torrijo. During this warre D. *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara had a ſonne by his wife in the towne of Epila (the which at this daie belongs to the Earle of Arande) who was called *Iohn*, and raigned in Caſtile. Cardinal *William* being no longer fit to make a peace betwixt theſe two Princes, the Pope ſent Cardinal *Guy* of Bolonia, Biſhop of Portuenſe, this yeere of our Lord 1359. who preuailed as little as the other, but by his diligence and importunate purſute he incenſed the King of Caſtile more againſt the houſe of Arragon, and his rage proceeded ſo farre, as he condemned all the Knights of Caſtile that were in Arragon by proclamation: he cauſed the Queene D. *Leonora* his aunt to bee cruelly murthered, being widow to D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon: and hauing cauſed D. *Ieanne* of Lara, the Lady of Biſcay, to bee tranſported to the caſtle of Almodouar del Rio, and from thence to Seuile, he there alſo cauſed her to be murthered: ſuch was the diuiliſh fury of this monſter, who being once moued vpon any ſubiect, diſcharged his rage vpon al that came into his fantaſie: He did the like vnto D. *Iſabella* of Lara, widow to D. *Iohn* of Arragon, to whom by the death of her elder ſiſter, leauing no children, the Siegneurie of Biſcay did belong, but ſhee died not by the ſword, but by poiſon, which this tyrant cauſed to be giuen her. In theſe Ladies was extinct the ſucceſſion of the ancient Lords of Biſcay.

Cruelty more then deuiliſh of D. Pedro King of Caſtile.

The ſeaſon being fit for nauigation, the King of Caſtile went out of Seuile, or Saint Lucar, with foure ſcore ſhips, and one and forty gallies, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Valence and Cattelogne; he ruined the towne of Guardamar, and the caſtle againe, and preſented himſelfe in view of Barcelona: but the army of Arragon, which was but of forty foiſts and gallies hindred him from ſtaying at any place vpon the coaſt, and skyrmiſhing often with him, they forced him to bend towards Iuiza, and to way anchor in haſt from thence, and to ſaile towards Alicant and Carthagena, and in the end to retire himſelfe, hauing with this great preparation done nothing of import. The King of Arragon was in the meane time in the Iſland of Majorca, being aduiſed not to be in his army at ſea. The gallies of Caſtille retired to Seuile, and the ſhips of Guipuſcoa, Biſcay and Galicia, returned into their countries: as for the King of Caſtile, he went to Tordeſillas to viſit Donna *Maria* of Padilla.

The coaſt of Cattelogne and Valence was this yeere ill prouided of ſhips of warre: for that the King of Arragon was forced to entertaine many gallies continually in the Iſland of Sardynia, beeing ſtill ſubiect to reuolts, and moreouer he had ſent a good number into Sicile, to aide the King D. *Frederic* his ſon in law, againſt whom *Ieanne* Queene of Naples made warre.

D. Pedro alone of that name, the eight King of Portugal.

Portugal. 8 DOn *Pedro* ſurnamed the Iuſticer raigned in Portugal, who had ſucceeded his father D. *Alphonſo* the fourth, deceaſed in the yeere of our Lord 1357. Hee was about ſeuen and thirtie yeeres old when hee beganne to raigne, and therefore being ripe in yeeres, and of a good Iudgement he gouerned his realme with great equity, ſo as he purchaſed the name of Iuſticer, and was much vnlike in manners to the other two Kings of his

A his time, and of the ſame name. This King (his father being yet lyuing) was married to *Blanch*, daughter to D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile, ſonne to D. *Sancho*, who falling into a palſey, was left by him, and then he married D. *Conſtance Manuel*, daughter to D. *Iohn Manuel*, by whom he had theſe children following. D. *Lewis*, who liued little, D. *Fernand*, who raigned, Donna *Maria*, married in the life of D. *Alphonſo* her Grandfather, to D. *Fernand* Infant of Arragon, ſonne to the King D. *Alphonſo*, by his ſecond wife D. *Leonora* of Caſtile. D. *Conſtance* dying in the yeere of our Lord 1345. he married Donna *Agnes* of Caſtro, a gentlewoman which had followed her, and with whom they ſayd he had familiar acquaintance during her life, for ſhe was exceeding faire & amiable. The Infant

B D. *Pedro* (although ſhe were ſomewhat allied vnto him, and had chriſtened his ſon D. *Lewis*) maried her ſecretly, for feare of his father, in 1354. hauing enioyed her many yeeres, and the witneſſes of this matrimoniall promiſe, were D. *Gil* Biſhop of Guardia, and *Stephen Louat* Maiſter of his Wardrop, whom he commanded to keepe it ſecret. By her D. *Pedro* had three ſonnes: D. *Alphonſo*, who died in France, D. *Iohn* and D. *Denis*, who were afterwards expelled by their brother D. *Fernand* then raigning, and died in Caſtile. Of this Lady Donna *Agnes*, was alſo borne one daughter, called Donna *Beatrix*, who was married to D. *Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, baſe ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the thirteenth King of Caſtile. This clandeſtine marriage being vnknowne to the King D. *Alphonſo*, father to D. *Pedro*, and yet his loues knowne and blamed by all men, it was trea-

C ted of to marry him with ſome Princeſſe, but hee would not heare of it: wherefore the King tooke a cruell reſolution to kill D. *Agnes de Caſtro*, thinking he ſhould not otherwiſe withdraw his ſonnes loue. Being come to this effect to Coimbra where this faire Lady remained, whileſt that the Infant D. *Pedro* was a hunting, he cauſed her to be ſlaine by three of his gard, which were *Diego Lopes Pacheco*, *Peter Cuello*, and *Aluar Gonçales*, who did this execution in the old pallace of Saint Clare. This death being in the yeere of our Lord 1355. made the Infant rebel againſt his father, who with the aide of many of his friends, entred the country betwixt Duero and Minio, where he committed great ſpoile, and had done more, if many great perſonages had not labored happely to reconcile them. After that he loued an other Lady, called D. *Thereſa Gallega*, by whom hee

D had one ſonne, called *Iohn*, in the yeere 1357. He was firſt Maiſter of the Knights of Auiz, and afterwards King after D. *Fernand* his brother, and the ſame yeere 1357. died king D. *Alphonſo* the braue.

Genealogy of Portugal.

9 *D. Pedros priuat marriage with Donna Agnes of Caſtro.*

Cruel maſſaker of D. Agnes of Caſtro wife to the Infant D. Pedro.

D. *Pedro* being come to the crowne, he ſhewed himſelfe a iuſt Prince, obſeruing aboue all things the lawes and ordinances made by his father, for the ordring of his houſe and traine, the Officers whereof were expreſly forbidden not to moleſt his ſubiects, eſpecially puruoiers, nor to take any prouiſion for his houſe, before they had paied the price which the ſeller demanded, vpon great penalties, yea death in ſome caſes. Hearing that aduocates did multiply ſutes, and that of one they often made many, he diſcharged them all throughout his realme, and impoſed great puniſhments vpon Iudges that

E ſhould ſuffer themſelues to be corrupted with money or otherwiſe, yea loſſe of life, and confiſcation of their goods: he made many lawes for the ſhortning of ſutes, appointing fit men for Iudges: cauſing his ordonances to be executed with all rigor. Hee appointed great puniſhments for light offences, and if any one told him that he was to ſeuere, he anſwered, that it was the meanes to reforme vice, and that it was pleaſing vnto God; for if the wicked were not kept in awe with the feare of death, they would neuer bee reſtrained with leſſer puniſhments; Finally to haue the good liue in peace, it was neceſſary to puniſh the bad ſeuerely. As ſoone as the pleaders had made their demaunds, and pertinent anſweres giuen, they were preſently diſpatched if it might be: If by any trickes and deuiſes matters were delaied, the offenders were puniſhed, that is, the poore by the

F whip, and the rich by great fines: by reaſon whereof his realme floriſhed in peace and aboundance of all things, and he was honoured and beloued of his ſubiects as much as any Prince lyuing. Hee had often in his mouth the ſaying of the Emperour *Titus*. That he held that day loſt, wherein hee had not done good to ſome one. Hee did not greeue to be himſelfe in perſon at the deciding of cauſes, and did often aſſiſt at the examination and torturing of criminal perſons; he did ſo hate malefactors, as hee did often

10 *Diſpoſition of D. Pedro King of Portugal.*

times

times riſe from the table to haue them puniſhed, yea he tooke ſuch pleaſure to doe iuſtice, as he cauſed to be borne before him, or did carry himſelfe, a whip or rod wherewith offenders ſhould be puniſhed, to the end he might cauſe himſelfe to be feared, and Iuſtice more reſpected, ſo as to many this ſeuerity ſeemed to approch neere vnto cruelty: Moreouer he was carefull to diſpatch all ſorts of buſineſſe, with great breuity, eſpecially if a ſtranger came into his court, he commanded he ſhould be preſently diſpatched, to the end hee ſhould not conſume himſelfe in charges. With his royal vertues, hee loued hunting, dauncing and Ladies, and all other ſports, but not with ſuch exceſſe as the other Kings of Spaine of his time, neither was he free from deſire of reuenge, mixt with ſome infidelity: for his father being once dead, he affected nothing more then to reuenge the death of his beſt beloued D. *Agnes* of Caſtro, wherefore knowing that *Diego Lopes Pacheco*, *Peter Cuello* and *Aluar Gonçales*, who had ſlaine her, were in Caſtile, hee made an accord with his Nephew D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile, to deliuer vnto him in exchange, ſome Caſtillan Knights, who to flie the fury of this tyrant, were retired into Portugal, vnder his protection, ſo as they made this diſhonorable exchange, when as theſe three men were brought to Saint Iren, whereas the King was, hee would inſtantly haue them put to ſundry torments, but the Noblemen which were about him diſſwaded him: yet could he not forbeare to vſe outragious ſpeeches, yea hee ſtrooke *Peter Cuello* on the face, and notwithſtanding that they excuſed themſelues vpon the commaundement of the King his father, yet hee condemned them to cruel deaths. *Peter Cuello* and *Aluar Gonçales*, were executed firſt before the court gate, cauſing the one to bee opened by the breſt, and the other by the backe, to pul out their hearts. *Diego Lopes Pacheco* appointed to the ſame death had the hap to eſcape, flying in a pilgrimes weed into Caſtile, where he lay concealed vntil that Don *Henry* came vnto the crowne, whom hee ſerued, and was much beloued of him. They ſay he was the ſtem of the houſe of Pacheco in Caſtille, which gaue beginning to the Marquis of Villena, and Dukes of Eſcalona.

His diligence and equity.

His delights.

Deſire of reuenge moues the King of Portugal to betray them that were retired vnto his protection.

Family of Pacheco in Caſtile.

This cruel example ſhalbe followed by one more commendable; this King D. *Pedro* beeing in Lisbone, where they had made him a ſtately entry, and ordained a Tourney whereas many Knights both Portugals and ſtrangers did runne: hauing beene aduertiſed that a Knights wife of the city, called *Alphonſo Andre* abandoned her ſelfe to an other, he watched that day (which he held fit to execute ſuch vnlawful loues) theſe adulterers in ſuch ſort, as he ſurprized them together, the gentlewomans husband being in armes at the liſts with the reſt in the new ſtreet; who without making bruit, or ſuffring any to aduertiſe the husband of the wrong his wife had done him, hee cauſed her to bee burnt, and her adulterer to be ſlaine. If he deſcouered any baude, namely of ſuch as vnder collour of deuotion enter into houſes, to carry meſſages, or which vſe charmes, or giue loue drinkes, and ſuch like, he did puniſh them ſeuerely. He was like to haue ſlaine his Admiral in that towne, for that hee had imploied a woman of that trade, but hee fled and ſo eſcaped his fury, but hee cauſed the woman to be burnt. In the country of Vera he cauſed a married man to bee hanged, hauing children by his wife, for that hee had forced her beeing a maide, before hee had married her. If he puniſhed ſecular men ſeuerely, hee did no more ſpare prieſts and monkes, yea and prelats if they offended. Wherevpon being giuen to vnderſtand, that hee ſhould ſend them to their ſuperior Iudges, he anſwered, that ſo he did: for hauing once cauſed them to bee hanged, they went directly before God, who was the head Iudge of al, and did the laſt Iuſtice. Knowing that the biſhop of Porto, where hee then was, liued looſely with a married woman of that towne he ſent for him, ſeeming that he would confer with him of ſome buſineſſes. The biſhop being come, he cauſed euery one to depart the chamber, & hauing ſhut the doore, he began to purſue the biſhop, & handled him in ſuch ſort, as if ſome which ſtaied in the chamber, had not taken him out of his hands, he had ſlaine him. He was more ſeuere to his houſhold ſeruants then to any other: he cauſed a Secretary to be ſlaine, hauing taken money without the priuity of his Treſorer. This we read of the maners and cuſtomes of this king, who ſpared himſelfe ſometimes: as for the ſtately buildings which he left, they hold that the bridge and towne of Lima are of his foundation: he cauſed Santa *Maria* of Charneça to be built; he indowed the Monaſtery of Alcouaça with ſixe Chaplains, and appoin-

Adulterers puniſhed.

appointed ordinary maſſes: to which monaſtery his ſonne *Fernand* did afterwards giue the towne of Paredes, in the country of Leyra. Hee was bountifull and courteous to them that did him ſeruice, to whom hee gaue many guifts, and was accuſtomed euery yeere to put a hundred markes of ſiluer into plate, to giue for new yeeres guifts: he augmented the wages and penſions of the gentlemen of his houſe, and other ſeruants; hee honoured the Nobility that liued wel, and loued vertue, whereof he gaue good teſtimony when as hee made his good ſeruant D. *Iohn Alphonſo Tello* Earle of Barcellos, with ſuch pompe, as the like hath not been ſeene in Portugal in any age, for he had that night from the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike, which was in the place del Ruſio, vnto the place called Limonero whereas the Kings palace ſtood, fiue thouſand men holding fiue thouſand torches, by the light whereof they might ſee many tables couered with bread, meat and wine, whereas euery man might eate and drinke that liſt. And the King himſelfe laying aſide his royal ranke and grauity, led daunces through the city, and by his example the people, both of the city, and ſtrangers, which came thether by water, ſhewed al ſignes of ioy, to honour this new Earle. They ſay that this King taking delight to heare a ſiluer trumpet ſound, would then haue a deſire to daunce, and oftentimes when he could not ſleepe, he would goe out of his palace in the night, and haue daunces in the towne, whether his ſubiects came willingly, and did practiſe it much for the loue of him. This King hauing held the Realme ſome ſpace, hee would make a publike declaration, in a great aſſembly of Noblemen, what Donna *Agnes* of Caſtro had beene vnto him, and produced D. *Gil* Biſhop of Guardia, and *Stephen Lonat* Maiſter of his Wardrop, for witneſſes of their promiſes of marriage, who being publikely examined, did ſweare that D. *Agnes* had beene lawful wife to D. *Pedro* then Infant of Portugal and diſpenſations were ſhewed, which D. *Pedro* had obtained, for affinity, or other lets which might hinder this marriage, whereof a Regiſter was kept in the publike acts: and it was ordained that the children borne of this Lady ſhould bee called Infants of Portugal: her body, or beanes were tranſported from Coimbra, where they had beene buried, to the Monaſtery of Alcouaça, with royal pompe, & laied in a rich tomble of white marbe, whereon her Image was ſet carrying a crowne like a Queene.

His liberty.

Pompe at the Iuſtification of the Earle of Barcellos.

Declaration of the ſecret mariage betwixt the King D. Pedro and D. Agnes of Caſtro.

11 Such was the Eſtate of Portugal, about the time of the warres betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Arragon, and whileſt that D. *Charles* King of Nauarre was held priſoner in France, by the Daulphin his brother in law, in ſafe keeping, yet hee found meanes to eſcape, by the helpe of his brother *Philip*, and of *Iohn Pinquignac*, Gouernor of Arthois, with other Frenchmen, beeing accompanied by D. *Roderike* of Vrriz, D. *Corbaran* of Leet, D. *Charles* of Artieda, D. *Fernando* of Ayana, and by the Baron of Garro, who drew him out of the caſtle of Aleux in Palueil, where hee had beene priſoner eighteene monthes, which place they ſcaled by night, and ſlue the captaine and gard. This act was much commended, eſpecially in Nauarre: and in memory of this good ſeruice done vnto the King, the names of thoſe Knights were regiſtred in the chamber of accounts for the Realme of Nauarre. What paſt afterwards betwixt the Daulphin, and the King of Nauarre in France, I leaue it to the French Hiſtory, to the which it doth properly belong. After the returne of *Iohn* the French King from priſon in England, *Charles* King of Nauarre beeing reconciled to him and to the Daulphin his ſonne, hee went into his Realme of Nauarre, hauing had by his wife Queene *Ieanne*, one ſonne, in the towne of Mante, who was alſo called *Charles*, and ſucceeded him in the Realme.

Nauarre.

12 In the meane time the warre continued betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, and moreouer the King of Caſtile, as if he would ſcorne all the world, and ſhew himſelfe an enemy to all he encountred, had broken with the Venetians, and taken one of their ſhips, when as he was before Barcelona with his ſea army: and not content herewith hee had appointed twenty gallies to gard the Straight, and to take twelue other Venetian ſhips, in their returne, which had paſt into Flanders, but hee was deceiued: for the ſhips comming in conſort with a good gale, and helpt by the flood, they paſt almoſt vndeſcouered. Soone after the King had newes that his men had beene defeated neere vnto Moncayo, in the fields of Arauiana, by the Arragonois (where as in old time the ſeuen ſonnes of Lara had beene ſlaine) being led by D. *Henry* and D. *Tello* of Caſtile brethren,

Arragon and Caſtile.

The King of Caſtile ſpoiles the Venetians at ſea.

D. *Pedro*

Caſtillans defeated.

D.*Pedro* of Luna, D.*Iohn Martines* of Luna, and D.*Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, who being accompanied with eight hundred horſe Arragonois, defeated one thouſand and two hundred Caſtillans.

In this encounter died D.*Iohn Fernandes* of Hineſtroça, gouernor of that frontier for the King of Caſtile, vncle to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, D.*Fernand Garces Duzio*, D.*Pedro Ruis Oſorio*, *Gomes Suares* of Figueroa, great Commander of Saint Iames: and there were taken priſoners, D.*Inigo Lopes Oroſco*, D.*Fernand Ruis* of Villaloba, D.*Iohn Gomes* of Bahabou, D. *Hurtado Diaz* of Mendoça, and D. *Diego Sancho Porras*, all renowned Knights of Caſtile, whereat the King was much moued, but his griefe was moderated by a new ſonne, which Donna *Maria* of Padilla brought him, in the yeere of our Lord 1360. who was named D.*Alphonſo*, by reaſon whereof he came preſently to Tordeſillas. Being afterwards returned to Seuile, he cauſed D. *Garci Aluares* of Toledo to be created maiſter of Saint Iames, a Knight which had done him great ſeruices, both in the warre againſt Arragon, and in the ſeditions of Caſtille, to whom, beſides this dignity, hee gaue the office of Majordomo, or high Steward to his ſonne D.*Alphonſo*. This yeere continuing his cruelties, he cauſed two other of his brethren to be ſlaine, ſonnes to D. *Leonora* of Guzman, D.*Iohn*, and D.*Pedro*, hauing kept them long priſoners in the towne of Carmona; and they ſay, that hee diſpatched them, for that hee doubted they would bee no more faithful nor obedient vnto him, then their other three brethren. D.*Iohn* was ſcarce thirteene yeeres old, and D. *Pedro* but foureteene. The victorie which the Arragonois had gotten vnder the conduct of D.*Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, made the King of Caſtille more tractable in the negotiation of a peace, wherein Cardinal *Guy* of Bologne the Popes Legat laboured, who in the end drew the Deputies of theſe two Kings to meet in the city of Tudelo, in the realme of Nauarre, wherewith King *Charles* was very well ſatisfied.

D Pedro murthers two other of his brethren.

Thether came for the King of Caſtile, *Guttieres Fernandes* of Toledo, and for the King of Arragon, D. *Bernard* of Cabrera, chiefe councellor of State, and Admiral of Arragon; who together with the Legat, did conferre, and diſpute long of the meanes to make a peace, but they could not conclude any thing. And there being alſo aſſembled by the Legats care, in the towne of Sangueſſa, D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Majorca, Chancellor of the priuy ſeale for the King of Caſtile, and the ſame Admiral of Arragon for the King his Maiſter, they effected as little as at Tudelo. Whereupon the King of Caſtile beeing aduertiſed that his brother D. *Henry* would enter into Caſtile, ſeeing they could not conclude a peace, he came to Leon, where hee would haue ſlaine D. *Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, and ſome other Knights, which had left him, but they eſcaped: yet hee tooke *Pero Aluarez Oſorio* in Villaniebla, as hee was at the table with *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, maiſter of Calatraua. Comming afterwards to Burgos, he cauſed *Diego Arias Maldonado* the Archdeacon to be ſlaine, for that hee had receiued letters from his brother D. *Henry* of Tranſtamara.

Murthers committed by the King of Caſtile without reſpect of order or quality.

D.*Henry* with the army of Arragon, entred by Rioja, and tooke great ſpoiles from the Iewes inhabiting there, but eſpecially at Nagera: he alſo tooke the towne of Haro, and came as farre as Pancoruo, where he vnderſtood that the King of Caſtile came to encounter him, and was at Birbieſca, ſo as D.*Henry* retired to Nagera. The King of Caſtile paſſing by Griſalena, Pancoruo, Ameiugo, and Maranda of Ebro, he came to Saint Dominike de la Calçada, and then to Açofra. Here a religious man of the towne of Saint Dominike preſented himſelfe vnto him, and told him, that Saint Dominike had reuealed vnto him, and enioyned him to tell him, that if hee did not take good heed of D.*Henry* his brother, hee ſhould die by his hand. The King cauſed this religious man to be apprehended, and carefully examined, to finde out whether that which hee had ſaid had beene ſuggeſted vnto him by ſome one, or that it were a reuelation. The Monke maintained that Saint Dominike had reuealed it vnto him, and perſiſted in this anſwere, being often examined: But the King did not regard it, and for a reward of his prediction (the which he found in the end to be true) he cauſed him to be burned. There were many skirmiſhes about Nagera, betwixt the Arragonois and Caſtillans, whereas the Caſtillans had the better, being ſtil the more in number: but the King of Caſtile beeing not come

Prediction of a Monk to the King of Caſtile, who cauſed him to be burned for his reward.

come with ſufficient prouiſion to beſeege townes, leauing *Nagera*, and Cont *Henry*, hee returned to Saint Dominike, and from thence paſt by Logrogno. But the Legat, who alwaies treated a peace, procured a ceſſation of armes in thoſe quarters, ſo as D. *Henry* returned into Arragon by Nauarre: The King alſo tooke the way to Seuile, where beeing arriued he found that they had taken at ſea the General of the gallies which the King of Arragon had ſent into Barbary, to aide the King of Tremeſſen: his name was *Mathew Mercier*, whoſe head hee cauſed to bee cut off: there were foure gallies alſo taken with him. He alſo put to death there *Men Rodrigues Tenorio*, *Fortun Sanches Calderon*, *Fernand Gudiel* of Toledo: they were thoſe Knights, which being retired into Portugal had beene deliuered to the King of Caſtile, in exchange, by the king of Portugal, as hath bin mentioned. He alſo put to death D. *Pero Nugnes* of Guzman, who could not auoide his owne misfortune, and ſoone after in the towne of Alfaro, he cut off the head of D. *Guttiere Fernand* of Toledo, for that hee ſpake his minde too freely in matters which did concerne the good of State, and for the zeale he had to his honour and ſeruice: he cauſed as much to bee done to *Gomes Carillo* of Albornoz, beeing in a galley. Thus this ill aduiſed King tooke a delight to ſhed the bloud of his Nobility, neither did hee forbeare prelats, for if hee ſlue them not, he chaſed them out of his Realme with ignominy, and loſſe of their goods: but in the end his exceſſe procured the iuſt indignation of his ſubiects againſt him, which made him looſe both Realme and life. Hauing as wee haue ſaied, put to death D. *Guttiere Fernandes* of Toledo, hee bent his fury againſt his brother D. *Blaſco* Archbiſhop of Toledo, but hee durſt not dip his hands in his bloud, for that hee was of the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction: wherefore hee ſent *Mathew Fernandes* Chancellor of his priuy ſeale to Toledo, to commaund him in his name to depart his country, and to retire into Portugal: the which this prelat was forced to doe in ſuch haſt, as hee had no leiſure to take any of his ſtuffe, but went as hee was appareled, without companie, or any commoditie for his voiage. And the ſame daie that hee departed, the King came to Toledo, the which did much afflict all thoſe that had the gouernment of the towne.

Knights of Caſtile executed.

The Archbiſhop came to Coimbra in Portugal, where ſoone after hee ended his daies in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike, with an example of notable patience, from whence his body, by the Kings permiſſion, was carried to Toledo, and there interred. Don *Gomes Manrique* was choſen Archbiſhop of Toledo in his place, and Primate of Spaine, beeing numbred for the three ſcore and one Prelat, or according vnto ſome three ſcore and two of that Church.

Samuel Leui a Iew, high Treaſorer, was committed to priſon in Toledo, by the Kings commandement, with all his kindred, who were carried to Seuile, where he cauſed them to bee put to death, after they had beene cruelly tortured, to make them confeſſe where their goods were; of whoſe confiſcation the King got aboue foure hundred and three ſcore thouſand doublons of gold, and foure thouſand markes of ſiluer, beſides many rich iewels and ſilkes. Beeing in that city in the yeere of our Lord 1361. the King had an intent for to make warre againſt the Moores, but hee deferred it for a time, beeing preſt by that of Arragon: for about that time the treatie was effected, which had beene long before practiſed with *Gonçal Gonçales Luſio*, Gouernor of Taraſſone, which place hee deliuered to the King of Arragon, and had the florins aboue mentioned in recompence: And moreouer hee married with *Violant* daughter to Don *Ximenes* of Vrrea, and to Donna *Eluira Cornel*, with the Lands of Biote, Face and Aſinios in dowrie. Don *Pedro Ximenes* of Sampero was put in garriſon into Taraſſone. The warre betwixt theſe Potentates after ſome ſmall exploites, was in the end concluded by a peace, which the Cardinall aboue named did mediate at Deça. By the which the Caſtillans which were retired into Arragon, had their Conge, and reſtitution of places was promiſed of either part, for the performance whereof hoſtages were deliuered to the King of Nauarre, or to his brother *Lewis* then viceroy in Nauarre.

A large ſpoile of a Iew condemned.

An. 1361.

Taraſſone yeelded by practiſe.

This peace laſted not long; for the King of Caſtile beeing incenſed that the Cardinal, by the Apoſtolike authoritie, had diſanulled the ſentences which hee had giuen

againſt his brother D. *Henry*, and other Noblemen and Knights of Caſtile, hee brake it ſoone after.

An. 1361. And this yeere 1361. to the end he might not forget any thing that might proue himſelf inhumaine aboue all men, he cauſed his wife D. *Blanche* of Bourbon to be ſlaine, beeing kept in priſon at Medina Sidonia, but it was by poiſon, whoſe body was afterwards carried away by the French, who vpon this occaſion entred into Caſtile, in fauour of the Earle D. *Henry*, and ſhe was buried at Tudela in Nauarre. Soone after the death of this miſerable Princeſſe, Donna *Maria* of Padilla died at Seuile, by whom the King had one ſonne, called D. *Alphonſo*, and three daughters, D. *Beatrix*, D. *Conſtance*, and D. *Iſabel*: the King did her royall honours, and afterwards declared that hee had married her, producing witneſſes of great authority. They ſay that ſhe by her wiſdome and diſcreet perſwaſions, did many times diuert the King from great effuſions of bloud. This King D. *Pedro* had by an other Lady, called D. *Iſabel*, two other ſonnes, D. *Sancho* and D. *Diego*, who are interred in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike the Royall at Toledo. And moreouer being fallne in loue with a gentlewoman which did ſerue Queene *Mary* his mother, called Donna *Thereſa* of Ayala, beeing exceeding faire, and not able to winne her but by a promiſe of marriage, hee plighted his faith vnto her, and had by her one daughter, called Donna *Maria*: notwithſtanding this Donna *Thereſa* became a Nunne, in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike: thus did the King D. *Pedro* in all ſorts abuſe the lawes. The King of Caſtile (before he would aſſaile him of Arragon) had a great deſire to fall vpon the Moores of Granado, who were then in great combuſtion amongſt themſelues, and who had fauored the Arragon partie, during the laſt warres.

Murther of Queene Blanch by the commandement of the King of Caſtile her husband.

Moores. 13 To ſhew their Eſtate, wee ſay that after the death of King D. *Alphonſo* before Gibraltar, they had peace with Caſtile, for that the King D. *Pedro* following his priuat paſſions, and thirſting after the bloud of his Nobility, yea and his owne, hee was continually buſie, killing and murthering men and women of all ſorts and degrees throughout his Realme, not regarding the warre againſt the Moores, but made a truce with *Ioſeph* King of Granado. This King had ſome time after receiued D. *Iohn de la Cerde*, ſonne to D. *Lewis*, into Granado, being ſonne in law to D. *Alphonſo Fernandes Cornel*, and had giuen him meanes to paſſe into Affrike, where hee was an actor in the vnnaturall and bloudy quarrels betwixt *Albohacen* King of Maroc, and his ſonne *Alboanen*, taking the ſonnes part againſt the father: where hee made proofe of his vertue and valour, giuing a notable defeat vnto King *Albohacen*, and hee had beene happie if hee had not gone from thence into Spaine, where hee ended his daies miſerably. King *Ioſeph* thinking to bee at peace within his Realme, found himſelfe plunged in ſedition and conſpiracies made againſt him by his owne ſubiects, whereof an vncle of his called *Mahomad*, or *Mahumet* was the chiefe, who beeing deſirous to raigne, cauſed him to bee ſlaine, in the yeere of our Lord 1354. the one and twentith of his reigne, and of the Arabians ſeuen hundred thirty and ſeuen.

Mahomad Lagus the eight King of Granado.

THis *Mahomad* or *Mahumet*, ſurnamed *Lagus*, which is as much to ſay, as the old, ſucceeded, by this murther, in the Kingdom of Granado: he was brother to King *Iſmael*, of whom wee haue made mention, and ſonne to *Ferrachen* Gouernor of Malaga, and held his Eſtate with great trouble and difficulty: for beſides that the Arabians are by nature inconſtant, and enemies to reſt, it was then the cuſtome in Granado, and hath alwaies beene, that the Kings haue beene inſtituted, maintained, or reiected at the will of the knights Granadins, and of ſome gouernors of chiefe places, as of Malaga, Almery, Baſa and Guadix, ſome times rayſing one, ſome times an other, and reiecting and killing them according to their paſſions and priuate intereſts.

This

A This King *Mahomad* already old, beeing in poſſeſſion of the Realme of Granado, hee entertained the friendſhip of Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile, whom hee furniſhed with foure gallies well appointed, to ioyne vnto his army, when as he went in perſon before Barcelona. as we haue ſaid. But it happened, that in the yeere 1360. ſome Knights and captaines Moores, finding themſelues ill intreated and little fauored by King *Mahomad* the old, they had intelligence with an other *Mahumet*, called *Vermeil*, or *Aben Alhamar*, who deſcended (as hee ſaid) from the firſt Kings of Granado, and wrought ſo with the aide of the children of Ozmin, and eſpecially with him who was called *Ezdriz Aben Balua*, as being ſeized vpon the fort and caſtle of Alhambra, they chaſed away *Mahumet* the Old, and raiſed *Vermeil* in his place, ſo called for that his face was very red: and
B they did not onely diſpoſſeſſe *Lagus* of the city of Granado, but of moſt of the ſtrong places of the country, to the which they were the more imbouldned, ſeeing D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile very buſie in the warres Arragon.

The King thus diſpoſſeſt retired to Ronda, then held by the King of Maroc, or Fez, and there kept himſelfe for a time: ſo as at that time in the country of Granado, there raigned three Kings Moores: that is this King diſpoſſeſſed, who held yet ſome places, King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, and *Alboanen* King of Fez, who alſo enioyed ſome townes in Andaluſia. King *Vermeil* fearing that his aduerſary *Mahumet* the Old, would finde aide in Caſtile, to bee reſtored, and finding himſelfe vnable to reſiſt the King D. *Pedro*, he ioyned with Arragon, and ſought friendſhip and ſupport there, the which hee ob-
C tained: ſo as when the Arragonois preſt their enemies in Caſtile, the king of the Moores ran into Andaluſia, and the country of Murcia. Notwithſtanding *Mahumet* the *Vermeil* ſought afterwards to aſſure himſelfe of the King of Caſtile, by ſome accord, from whom he obtained a truce, and they were friends in ſhew: but the King D. *Pedro* concealed his ſpleene vntill a fit oportunity, as one that did neuer forget an iniury. The Moore (being wel informed of his diſpoſition) did not greatly truſt him, and therefore hee ſought to draw *Alboanen* King of Maroc into a league, whereof the Affrican King excuſed himſelf, for that hee was in league with the King of Caſtile, and much bound vnto him, neither could the King of Granados perſwaſions preuaile, that ioyning with him, and the King of
D Arragon, they might ſoone ruine the King of Caſtile: but nothing could alter the King of Maroc, but he continued firme in the friendſhip of Caſtile, from whence he had been aided with ſome gallies and ſoldiers in his conqueſts, and warre againſt his father: and withall he aduertiſed the King D. *Pedro* of all theſe practiſes, who for theſe conſiderations was the more eaſily perſwaded to make a peace with Arragon, to the end hee might puniſh him of Granado, againſt whom he beganne to raiſe an army in the yeere 1361. to which end he came to Seuile. King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* ſeeing theſe preparations, did alſo prouide for his part, but he was preuented by the King of Caſtile, who hauing ſent for the diſpoſſeſſed King, and drawne him to Seuile, made an accord with him, that whatſoeuer either of them ſhould take in the Realme of Granado ſhould re-
E maine to the taker: Theſe two Princes, D. *Pedro* of Caſtile, and *Mahumet* the Old of Granado came and beſeeged Antequera, but they could not take it: wherefore they began to ouerrunne the champian country of Granado, thinking that many of the horſemen Moores would come and ioyne with them, and take part with King *Mahumet* the Old, but it ſucceded otherwiſe: for the army of Granado ſtood firme at the bridge of Vilollos, and came couragiouſly to incounter the Caſtillans, yet with diſaduantage and loſſe.

The Chriſtians purſuing the victory came to the bridge of Pinos, with the ſame hope that the Granadins would reuolt, but they made no ſhew of it: wherefore the King D. *Pedro* returned with his army to Alcala of *Benzaide*. At this retreat the Moores of King *Mahumet* the *Vermeil* tooke courage, ſo as there parted from their campe about
F ſix hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, who did ouerrun the gouernment of Caçorla, ſackt Peal of Heſero, tooke many priſoners, and brought away a great number of cattel: but as they returned with this prey they were incountred about Linueça by *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, Maiſter of Calatraua, Don *Henry Henriques* Gouernor of the frontier, and *Men Roderiques* of Biedma, captaine of the Biſhoprike or territory of Iaen, who put them

Three Kings in Granado.

The Moores defeated.

them to rout, killing and taking many of them, the reſt ſaued themſelues in the rockes. A

An. 1362. The yeere following 1362. the Chriſtians, incouraged which this victory, entred the Moores country, and preſented themſelues before Guadix, where there were ſix hundred horſe Moores, and about foure thouſand foot, which King Vermeil had lodged there, being aduertiſed of the Chriſtians deſeigne. Theſe Moores kept themſelues cloſe, making no ſhew nor offring to ſally forth, ſo as the Chriſtians, thinking the garriſon to be weake, diuided their forces, leading a part of them towards the valley of Alhama: which the Moores diſcouering, they ſallied forth vpon the remainder, and defeated them eaſily, where (among others) D. *Diego Garcia* of Padilla maiſter of Calatraua, was taken priſoner, who being led to Granado, was not onely wel entertained by King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, but alſo ſet at liberty without ranſom, and preſented with many rich guifts: the King deſiring to make him his friend, and by his meanes to purchaſe ſome fauor with the King of Caſtile, and the Noblemen of his court; among the which D. *Diego Garcia* (as brother to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, and vncle to the children which the King D. *Pedro* had had) was in great credit and authority. Being returned into Caſtile, the King was glad of his liberty, but he did not much eſteeme the bounty of the Mooriſh King: for D. *Pedro* was cruell and implacable by nature, and reproched the maiſter, that by his indiſcretion he had beene the cauſe of the route of his men, and of his owne impriſonment. The King entred afterwards in perſon into the country of Granado, and tooke Iſnaiar, Ciſnaiar, Ambra, Benamexir and Zagra, and then returned vnto Seuile: but King *Mahumet* the Vermeil brought his army preſently to Zagra, and aſſaulted it in ſuch ſort, as *Fernand* of Gadillo, captaine of the garriſon, was forced to leaue it: whereat the King D. *Pedro* was ſo moued, as (notwithſtanding that he had defended it as much as he could and ought, according to the reaſons of warre) he cauſed his head to bee cut off: and to reſtraine the Moores, he returned inſtantly into their country, where he tooke Hardeles, Turon, Cueuas and other caſtles: king *Mahumet* the old being alſo in field. As this warre was long, and hard for the Granadins to maintaine, againſt ſo great a power as that of Caſtile: ſo it began to be troubleſome to moſt of the knights Moores: ſo as in Granado, and in the court, there was nothing to be heard but murmuring, & words of diſcontent; wherevpon King Vermeil grew very doubtful of his ſubiects, who obiected continually, that, for the quarrel of two men, the townes and forts of the realme were made a prey vnto the Chriſtians. King *Vermeil* being in this perplexity, and fearing leaſt they ſhould recal his competitor *Mahumet* the old, and that he ſhould be ignominiouſly chaſed away, or ſlaine, was aduiſed by his chiefe and moſt confident friends (eſpecially by *Ezdriz Aben Balua* who had greatly fauored him in getting the crowne) to quit Granado, and to retire himſelfe to his enemy the king of Caſtile, thinking, that hauing ſhewed himſelf liberal & courteous vnto *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, he ſhould alſo finde ſome fauor in the court, and (at all euents) that the King of Caſtile would be glad to be Iudge and arbitrator betwixt him and *Mahumet* the old; and that this aſſurance and confidence which he ſhewed, comming to yeeld himſelfe vnto him, would auaile him ſomething. This was a fooliſh and E raſh reſolution of his, knowing what a monſter in nature the King D. *Pedro* was, how greedy he was of reuenge, and how glad to ſhed bloud. This il-aduiſed king came to preſent himſelfe with foure hundred horſe, and about twenty hundred foot, before Baena, where as D. *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo Prior of Saint Iohn commanded, who wondring much at this vnexpected chance did accompany him vnto the court at Seuile, where as the king D. *Pedro* receiued him very gratiouſly at his arriual, and heard the oration that was made vnto him in this kings behalfe quietly, tending that hee would be pleaſed to take knowledge of the affection which had moued him to come and yeeld himſelfe vnto him, grounded vpon the remembrance that his anceſtors had beene vaſſals to the king of Caſtile, the which he would neuer haue contradicted, had not the fauour which F he had ſeene done vnto his aduerſary *Mahumet Lagus*, or the old, driuen him into diſtruſt: notwithſtanding hauing in the end conſidered that hee ſhould finde equity and iuſtice in the king D. *Pedro*, not willing to perſiſt (for his part) in any rebellion, he had reſolued to come and yeeld himſelfe vnto him, and to referre vnto his good iudgement, the controuerſies which were betwixt him and his aduerſary, to the end that hee might determine

Chriſtians defeated by the Moores.

Rigour of the King D. Pedro.

A determine them according vnto reaſon: That as for himſelfe, beeing of the blond of the firſt Kings of Granado, whoſe royall ſeat the race of *Farrachen* had vſurped, he thought he had done nothing againſt the duty of a man of honour, to haue ſought to recouer his Grand-fathers Kingdome, beſeeching him to haue regard thereof: and if he ſhould finde it good to depriue him of his crown (the which he could not beleeue) hee beſought him to giue him, and his, meanes to paſſe into Affrike, into the Moores country. The King D. *Pedro* made ſhew to heare theſe reaſons without any paſſion, and aſſured him that he would reconcile him with his competitor, cauſing his lodging to be made in the Iewes place of the city of Seuile; but being diſpleaſed with the practiſes
B which he had made to his preiudice, with the Kings of Arragon and Maroc, hee burnt with a deſire to be reuenged. Being afterwards aduertiſed that this King *Vermeil* had brought many iewels, and great ſtore of gold from Granado, he was ſo farre tranſported with a deſire to ſpoile him of this treaſure, as without any further deliberation, he commanded *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, his chamberlaine, to goe and take him priſoner, with all thoſe that were with him, and to put them into the Ataraçana, or Arçenal: then ſeeking an occaſion to diſpatch him, he cauſed his proceſſe to be made, for that he had beene an actor in the death of King *Iſmael*, brother to King *Mahumet* the old, and condemned him to die, with ſeuen and thirty other Knights, which were taken with him; according to which ſentence he cauſed him to bee drawne out of the Ataraçana, and the
C ſeuen and thirty knights with him, who were led to the field of Tablada, and there executed, in a great aſſembly and concourſe of people from all parts. This miſerable King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, being brought vpon an aſſe, clad in a roabe of ſcarlet, was the laſt which ſuffred: but hee had this conſolation, that D. *Pedro* himſelfe, was his executioner, who reproching him with the alliance he had had with the King of Arragon, thruſt him through with a launce, at which blow *Mahumet* cried out in his owne language. *Ha* Pedro, *thou haſt done a poore exploit, and purchaſed a ſhameful triumph this day*: afterwards he made an end of him, and cut off his head: This was the ſecond yeere of the raigne of this Moore, and the 745. of the Arabians. King *Mahumet Lagus*, or the old, being aſſured by this death, returned to Granado, ioyful to be thus freed of his enemy, whoſe head
D the King D. *Pedro* ſent vnto him: The Granadins receiued him without contradiction, in the yeere 1362. And he to recompence the King of Caſtile for the goodly preſent hee had made him of his Competitors head, deliuered all the Knights and Caſtillans which had beene taken at the incounter of Guadix, without any ranſome. *Ezdriz Aben Balua* chiefe councellor to King *Mahumet Vermeil*, remained priſoner with the King of Caſtile, with many others, whereof ſome were redeemed for money; others were exchanged for other priſoners in after times, and ſome died miſerably in priſon. The truce betwixt Caſtile and Granado was renued, and new homage ſworne by *Mahumet* the Old to the King D. *Pedro*, paying the tribute which had bin paied to the kings his predeceſſors. Theſe things thus ended, the king of Caſtile ſtaied not long to begin warre againſt Arragō.

E 14 For the effecting whereof, with greater aduantage, he ſought to ingage the king of Nauar in this war, being newly come out of France, into his owne realme, in 1361. much deſired, and well receiued, as one that had beene long abſent. He rewarded the Noblemen and knights, which had ſerued and ſuccored him in his affaires of France, bountifully, among the which the moſt remarkable were, D. *Roderigo* of Vrris who had for his good ſeruices, the gouernment of the iuriſdictions of Sangueſſe, Olite and Tudelo: The Baron of Garro was recompenced in an other ſort, beeing a wandring knight, and fought imployment in the warres, ſo as being loath to ſtay in Nauarre, hee returned into France. As all things had beene reſonablie quiet in Nauarre vntill that time, there was an occaſion offered to trouble all, by the comming of *Inigo Lopes* of Orozco, and *Arrias Gon-*
F *çales* of Valez, Ambaſſadors for D. *Pedro* king of Caſtille, who came in their maiſters name, to congratulate king *Charles* his comming, to ſeeke his friendſhip, and a new league, and to procure an interview of theſe two kings. King *Charles* was glad of this Ambaſſage, and as hee had alwaies an intent to haue warre with the French King, vntill that hee had reſtored him the lands which hee pretended to bee his, hee did much eſteeme the friendſhip of Caſtile, to make vſe thereof at ſuch a neede. Hee

Cruelty, coue-
teouſneſſe a l
in fidelity of l-
Pedro King of
Caſtile.

Nauarre.

Charles King
of Nauarre
practiſed by
him of Caſtile.

therefore promiſed the Ambaſſadors to come to Soria in Caſtile, and hauing firſt concluded with the Ambaſſadors a kind of peace, he went thether in the yeere 1362. hauing in his company his brother *Lewis*, Captal of Buche (a great Nobleman of Guienne) the Abbot of Feſcain, and others, as well Nauarrois as French. The King of Caſtile came to the place aſſigned, and receiued him with great demonſtrations of loue, where for the firſt act they confirmed the Articles of peace, conteyning an offenſiue and defenſiue league againſt al men. After ſome daies ſpent in feaſts, ſports and exerciſes of armes, the King of Caſtile hauing inuited the King of Nauarre to a great banquet, he told him, that he had ſome thing to ſay vnto him: wherevpon being retired into a gallery, the King of Caſtile vſed theſe words, in the preſence of D. *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, maiſter of Saint James, *Inigo Lopes* of Oroſco, *Martinianes* of Seuile, high treaſorer, *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, great Chamberlaine, *Mathew Fernandes* Chancellor of the priuy ſeale, all of his priuy councel, and of the chiefe Noblemen and Knights which had accompanied King *Charles*; Brother (ſayd he) ſeeing we haue made an oth to aide one an other againſt our enemies, I will let you vnderſtand, that the peace I haue with the King of Arragon, was made againſt my will, and to the preiudice of mine honour: for *Aben Alhamar* King of Granado, beeing confederate with him, ſpoiled my country of Andaluſie, which made me yeeld vnto a peace that I might puniſh this Moore: and now that I haue had my reuenge, I am not bound to obſerue this peace, vnleſſe the places which I yeelded vp bee reſtored me againe, and the charges of the warre, cauſed by the King of Arragon, paied: wherefore according to the promiſe which you haue made me, and ſworne, I ſummon you to aide me with your forces, and perſon, in this warre. The King of Nauarre was much amazed at this ſpeech, being thus ſurprized, and knew not what to anſwer: for he preſumed the King of Caſtile had not had any enemies, when he ſware this peace and league. In the end he ſeemed deſirous to doe what the King of Caſtile would haue him but he demaunded time to conferre priuatly with his councellors which attended him, Al were of opinion he ſhould obay the King D. *Pedro*, elſe it would be dangerous, that being in his power he would doe him ſome affront, being raſh, cruel, and without reſpect: beſides, the country of Nauarre being then vnfurniſhed, and the forces of Caſtile round about them, it was to be feared, that if he ſeemed vnwilling to doe that which he required, with his detention, he would cauſe his men to ouerrunne his country, to the great preiudice both of himſelfe, and the Nauarrois his ſubiects. He beleeued them, and made anſwer to the King of Caſtile, that both himſelfe and his meanes were at his commandment; prouided, that he yeelded the like vnto him, if he receiued any diſcommodity by making himſelfe an enemy to the King of Arragon, his brother in law. The allyance of Caſtile which he ſo much ſought, to make vſe thereof againſt the French, brought him into this error, that he made no difficulty to put himſelfe into the hands of the moſt diſloyall Prince liuing.

Caſtille.

In the peace made betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, there had beene propounded, that D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile, ſhould marry D. *Ieanne* ſecond daughter to the King of Arragon: for D. *Conſtance* the eldeſt had beene married to D. *Frederic* of Sicile; but the Ambaſſador of Caſtile by his maiſters commandment, made a motion for the marriage betwixt D. *Alphonſo* ſon to D. *Maria* of Padilla, and D. *Leonora* the yongeſt daughter of Arragon, the which was concluded vpō condition, that the king of Caſtile ſhould cauſe his ſon D. *Alphonſo* to be declared lawful heire of the Realmes of Caſtile, Leon &c. and that he ſhould giue him preſently the Siegneury of Molina, with the towns of Almazan and Medina Celi, whereof D. *Garci Aluares* of Toledo, maiſter of S^t. Iames, and his high Steward, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion, and that the pretended marriage betwixt the king, and D. *Maria* of Padilla, ſhold be proued by him to haue bin done after the deceaſe of Queen *Blanch*: the King of Arragon promiſing for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, that if after the deceaſe of Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile, there ſhould be any queſtion made vnto D. *Alphonſo* his ſonne in law, touching the ſucceſſion, he ſhould aide and aſſiſt him with all the forces of Arragon. Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile, to haue this declaration made, and his ſonne *Alphonſo* acknowledged for lawful heire, had called the Eſtates to Seuile, and there the fact being propounded by him, it was receiued, & allowed, & future obedience ſworn

vnto

A vnto the Infant, by the Eſtates, as heire after his father: conſenting that Donna *Maria* of Padilla deceaſed, ſhould be called Queene, and her daughters D. *Beatrix*, D. *Conſtance*, and Donna *Izabella*, Infants of Caſtile: but neither of the marriage, nor of any thing thereon depending, was there any accompt made, after the interview of the kings of Nauarre and Caſtile at Soria: but without all reſpect of accords, promiſes or oathes; aſſoon as theſe two kings were parted, he of Caſtile came with a great power into Arragon, and tooke Ariça, Ateça, Terrer, Moros, Cerina and Alhama, and layed ſeege to Calatajub, the which he tooke, and put to route many knights which came to ſuccour it: by reaſon whereof, Aranda with other townes and caſtles yeelded. Then hauing left Don *Garci Alnares* of Toledo, Maſter of the knights of Saint *Iames*, vppon the frontier, he returned to
B Seuile.

Peace broken by the Caſtilian with Arragon.

On the other part, the King of Nauarre, becauſe hee would not faile of his promiſe made at Soria, ſent to denounce warre againſt the king of Arragon, his brother-in-law, for that during his affaires and impriſonment in France, he would not ſuccor him: whereunto the king of Arragon offering to ſatisfie him with good reaſons, he would not heare any. Hauing therefore aſſembled his forces, he came to beſeege the towne of Sos, and tooke it; then Saluaterra, running by the vallies of the Pyrenees, vnto the town of Iacca, where as the king of Arragon had placed *Peter* of Pomar for Gouernor. The king Don *Charles* being returned into his countrie, he had ſoone after a ſupply of two thouſand
C men at armes ſent him out of Caſtile, which he diſpoſed with his Nauarrois vppon the frontiers of Arragon, whereas they did ſpoyle, burne, and murther. In the meane time the Infant D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile, who ſhould haue beene ſonne-in-law to the king of Arragon, dyed. In the yeare 1363. the king of Caſtile doubting that the French would bee reuenged for the death of Queene *Blanche* of Bourbon, whom he had cauſed to bee poyſoned, after that he had intreated her vnworthily many yeares, ſeeing alſo a peace made betwixt them and the Engliſh, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Edward* king of England, and to the Prince of Wales his ſonne, to demand their allyance and friendſhip, the which they willingly granted.

War declared by the K. of Nauar againſt Arragon.

An. 1363.

The king of Arragon vnderſtanding well that the warre which the king of Nauarre
D made againſt him, was forced, he ſought by ſubtill meanes to diuide him from his allyance with Caſtile. And knowing that king *Charles* had alwaies beene in quarrell with the French king, for the Dutchie of Bourgogne and other lands, he ſent Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, in ambaſſage to King *Iohn*, who being come into Auignon, and hauing had many conferences with the Lords of the French kings Councell, he preuailed ſo much as they were content to referre all controuerſies to the arbitrement of the king of Arragon his Maſter, and to ſixe Cardinals: for which cauſe the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, began from that time to haue ſecret intelligence one with another, to the preiudice of Caſtile. Notwithſtanding the army of Caſtile returning into Arragon, the king of Nauarre ſent his brother *Lewis*, with many Nauarrois and Gaſcons, among others Don *Martin*
E *Henriques* of Lacarra, Standard-bearer of the Realme, and Captal of Buch vnto them. Siege was layed to Tarraçone, and the place taken, in the which was *Albert* a Knight of S. *Iohn*. *Boria* was alſo taken, and *Iohn Ximenes* of S. *Piren*, with other Knights which were within it: the caſtle of Vaguena was burnt, with the Captaine which defended it, called *Michel Barnabas*, whoſe ſonne, carrying the ſame name, was for this cauſe made noble by the king of Arragon, with all his poſteritie, by a decree made by the Body of the State. *Cariniena* was alſo taken, where as Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile vſed horrible cruelties vppon the inhabitants; for thoſe that he left aliue, were afflicted with torments more grieuous then death: of ſome he cut off the hands, of others the feete, and of ſome the noſes and eares. *Magallon* and the Vicount of Iſle which defended it, Teruel, caſtle Habib, Ademus,
F Villel, and the towne of Segorue were alſo made ſubiect to the king of Caſtile. Don *Pedro Maca* was taken in the caſtle of Segorue, and *Ximen Doriz* at Xerica. After which the K. of Caſtile tooke Mormedro, Almenara, Bugnol, Macaſta, Benaguazil, Alpuche, with many other places and forts, euen to the gates of Valence, where as Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Earle of Denia commanded. There the king of Caſtile and Don *Lewis* camped, and had many skirmiſhes: but hearing that the king of Arragon, and Don *Henry* and Don

Tello

Tello brethren to the king of Caſtile, (beeing baniſhed) came with three thouſand horſe, A to fight with them, they diſlodged, and retired to Moruiedro, refuſing a battell, for that the army of Caſtile was much leſſened, hauing left garriſons in as many places, as they had taken. Don *Gil Fernandes* of Carauallo, Maſter of Saint Iames of Portugal, was in that army.

Nauarre and Arragon.

After this retreat the Abbot of Feſcan, Legate for the Pope, laboured to make a peace betwixt theſe Princes, and obtained of the king of Caſtile, that D. *Lewis* of Nauarr ſhould be employed, who went to conferre with the king of Arragon at Burriana, and brought Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Earle of Denia, to the king of Caſtile, being at Moruiedro: he was afterwards made Conſtable of Caſtile, and Marquis of Vilena: with him came

15. B

The perfidie of Don Pedro of Arragon againſt the earle of Trāſtamara

Don *Bernard* of Cabrera with others, but all their indeauours were vaine. For the King of Caſtile would not heare ſpeake of a peace, vnleſſe the king of Arragon would promiſe to kill Don *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, and Don *Tello* his brethren, with Don *Fernand* of Arragon, the which he refuſed to do in the beginning, ſeeming to haue horrour of ſo wicked an act, as to betray them which had fledde to him for protection, and had ſerued him: yet afterwards hee made no conſcience thereof, ſeeing himſelfe preſſed, and his countrie ſo ſpoiled by the King of Caſtile, but agreed with the king of Nauarre to kill Don *Henry*, the which God would not permit; for he had appointed him for the Realme of Caſtile and Leon, and to be an exemplarie ſcourge for the tyrant Don *Pedro*, who promiſed to giue the towne of Logrogno to *Charles* king of Nauarre, if he would aſſiſt C him in this murther.

For the effecting hereof, the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon concluded an interview at Sos: King *Charles* pretending that he would quit the allyance of Caſtile. For aſſurance and guard of the towne, where theſe two kings ſhould meete, there was choſen for Gouernour, Don *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan, a knight of Nauarre, Chamberlaine to king *Charles*, who tooke for his Lieutenant his brother *Ramir* of Areillan, with thirtie men at armes, thirtie Lances, twenty Croſſe-bowes, and other ſouldiers. The kings entred into Sos, either of them with two men: whither Don *Henry* and Don *Tello* had bene ſent for to come: Don *Henry* came accompanied with eight hundred horſe; the which hauing left without the towne, he entred with two more as the kings had done. There en- D tred alſo the Abbot of Feſcan, but ignorant of what was intended againſt Don *Henry*. The kings hauing treated long of their affaires in ſhew, thinking it a fit time to diſpatch Don *Henry*, they talked ſecretly with Don *Iohn Ramires*, perſwading him with great promiſes to execute this murther: but this knight who was noble and vertuous, would neuer yeeld vnto it, ſaying, that he had rather die an hundred times, then to blemiſh his good name with ſo execrable a crime.

The kings ſeeing that their hopes were vaine to make him the miniſter of their treaſon, they knew not what to do, but to diſſemble their enterpriſe, and retire into their countries, impoſing ſilence to D. *Iohn Ramires*; who merited immortall commendation for this generous act: beſides, that God did greatly honour him afterwards, hauing directed E him into Caſtile, at ſuch time as D. *Henry* raigned, of whom he was beloued and cheriſhed, and obtained from him the Segneurie of los Cameros. From him are deſcended the Earles of Aguilar of the family of Areillan. This buſineſſe ill attempted, and not able to be executed, was for that time diſſembled. There had paſt many former treaties and accords betwixt this D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, and his brother D. *Fernand* Marquis of Tortoſa, to the preiudice of D. *Henry*, for that they found him deſirous to raigne in Caſtile, of which Realme D. *Fernand* was the lawfull heire, if D. *Pedro* the cruell died without children begotten in lawfull matrimony: but the king of Arragon had neuer any intent to do good vnto his brother D. *Fernand*, nor to procure him any honour and aduancement: but as he was a man full of diſdainfull enuie, and without loue or reſpect of any that did F him ſeruice: ſo he ſpared no man, and diſſembled with all men for his preſent commoditie.

Don *Henry* who knew him well, could alſo diſſemble for his part, and ſtand vpon his guard: he could handle him ſo cunningly, as by the meanes and forces of Arragon, hee made himſelfe a way to attaine vnto his deſſeignes.

16 Soone

A 16 Soone after there was a new and ſtrict League made with him, whereupon Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, and *Francis* of Perillos, Captaines to the king of Arragon, were ſent with money into France to leuie men.

During theſe treaties and practiſes, there was no ceſſation of armes, at what time it Caſtile.
fell out, that the king tooke foure gallies of Caſtile, their king beeing at Moruiedro, from whence he parted to come into Caſtile, at which time there was a ſonne borne him at Almaçan, of a Lady called Donna *Izabella*, which ſonne he named Don *Sancho*: ſoone after returning to the warre, more enraged then euer againſt the king of Arragon, he marched into the countrie of Valence, hauing alwaies in his company *Mahomad* the Moore, king of Granado; he tooke Alicant, Xixona, Gandie, Oliue, and other places, but hee was in
B danger to haue beene ſuddenly ſurprized, and defeated in his retreat by Don *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, had he not beene aduertiſed by one of Caſtro of Ordiales. Hauing eſcaped this danger, this religious king went in pilgrimage in his ſhirt, with a halter about his necke to a place called our Ladie of Puch.

The king of Caſtile entred many times into Arragon and Valence: neither could the king of Arragon hinder him from forcing of many places, the which he left manned with good garriſons of Caſtillans; and at ſea he had not alwaies the worſt, although the Arragonois were the more expert marriners: from whome the Caſtillans tooke in the yeare 1364. fiue gallies, which were carried to Carthagena, and the captaines, mariners, and ſouldiers (for the moſt part) put to death by the kings commandement.

C 17 The king of Arragon being deſirous to be freed from this war, ſought all meanes Arragon.
by the king of Nauarre, to draw the king of Caſtile to ſome good accord, but it was labour loſt: wherefore the kings of Nauar and Arragon reſolued to make a league betwixt them; for confirmation whereof, they concluded a marriage betwixt the Infant Donna *Ieanne* ſiſter to king *Charles*, and Don *Iohn* Duke of Girone, the heire of Arragon, being then foureteene yeares old. And moreouer, the king of Arragon bound himſelfe to giue lands and reuenues to Don *Lewis* brother to king *Charles*, and to prouide him a wife, and to giue fifty thouſand florens to vngage certaine townes, which king *Charles* had pawned to *Gaſton Phebus* Earle of Foix his brother-in law, and to intertayne him a certaine number
D of men againſt any enemy whatſoeuer: namely, ſixe hundred horſe-men of the country of Nauarre, if it were againſt Caſtile; but if it were againſt France, then to entertaine him a thouſand, and to ayde him at need with all his forces both by ſea and land: and moreouer he quit vnto him for euer, and to remaine to the Crowne of Nauarre, Saluatierra, and the place called the Terme of Real. For aſſurance of theſe things which were very honorable for the king of Nauarre, he of Arragon promiſed to lay in *depoſito* the towne of Iacca, Vncaſtilla, Sos, Exea, and Thermael, which ſhould be committed to the fidelitie of *Raymond Allemand* of Ceruillon, a knight of Arragon, who for this effect ſhould be diſcharged of his oath of homage and vaſſailage, which he ought vnto the king of Arragon; and ſhould ſweare fealty to him of Nauarre, to deliuer him the places put into his hands, if
E the aboue-mentioned accord ſhould be broken by the king of Arragon. The king of Nauarre promiſed for his part to quit the allyance of the king of Caſtile, and to make warre againſt him and his children: and for his part he layed in pawne the towne and caſtle of Sangueſſe, Gallipiençó, Vxué, Aybar, Caſeda, Pitellas and Penna, and moreouer the perſon of *Arnaud* Lord of Luſe, his Chamberlaine, who was much fauoured by him: which articles were ſworne at Vncaſtillo, in the preſence of the Earles of Tranſtamara, Ribagorça, and others, whome the Kings commanded to keepe this league ſecret. It was not ſufficient for theſe two Kings to fortifie themſelues againſt the attempts of the king of Caſtile, for their ſafeties and defence, but they would alſo diuide the Beares skin before they *Diuiſion of the Realme of Caſtile before they had conqueredit.*
had taken him, ſharing the Realme of Caſtile in ſuch ſort, as the king of Nauarre ſhould haue the cittie of Burgos, with all old Caſtile, all the country of the mountaines of Oca
F vnto the limits of Nauarre, and the Ocean ſea: comprehending therein the Prouinces of Guipuſcoa, Alan, and Biſcay, and moreouer the townes of Soria and Agreda: And for the king of Arragon were aſſigned the Realmes of Toledo and Murcia. They did alſo conſpire the death of Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile: the king of Arragon offering to him of Nauarre 200000. florens, and the proprietie of the townes and caſtles of Sos, Vncaſtel, Exea

and

and Tiermas, if he ſlue him, or deliuered him priſoner vnto him, and without it hee offered him preſently the cittie of Iacca, with the territorie and vallies. The better to diſſemble theſe practiſes, they ordained that Don *Lewis* the king of Nauarres brother, ſhould make a roade into Arragon, but he ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to bee taken priſoner by Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Ribagorça; the which was done: but *Lewis* of Nauarre was ſoone deliuered, and the king of Nauarre did ſo diſſemble his intentions, as the king of Caſtile could not diſcouer any thing. A

This laſt deſſeigne was thus plotted betwixt the two kings without the priuitie of any man, in regard of Don *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, with whom the king of Arragon had other practiſes. For Don *Henry* affecting openly the Realme of Caſtile, vppon hope of the fauours which he attended from France, promiſed vnto the king of Arragon, that if he aſſiſted him, he would giue him to hold in Soueraigntie, the ſixth part of the lands hee ſhould conquer by his ayde in Caſtile, whereunto the king of Arragon gaue eare, being alwaies vniuſt vnto his brother Don *Fernand*, Marquis of Tortoſa, to whom the Realme of Caſtile did belong by right, if Don *Pedro* the cruell died without lawfull heires. Theſe bargaines were not ſo ſecret, but the Infant Don *Fernand* had ſome notice thereof, for the which he was ſo tranſported, and made ſuch a ſtirre, as the king of Arragon, and the Earle of Tranſtamara reſolued to diſpatch him, of which councell was Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, the which was ſoone after executed: for the Infant Don *Fernand* ſeeing that himſelfe was no more ſecured in Arragon then in Caſtile, and therefore deſiring to retire himſelfe into France, the King of Arragon his brother found meanes to ſtay him, and to kill him in the caſtle of Buriane, in the territorie of Valence. B C

Death of Don Fernand of Arragon.

An. 1363. In the yere 1363. *John* the French king died, being returned into England, for to deliuer the hoſtages which he had giuen, not being able to enduce the States of the kingdom to accompliſh the capitulations with the Engliſh. *Charles* King of Nauarre hearing theſe newes, hee made preparation to paſſe into France; to which Realme *Charles* the fift his brother in-law had ſucceeded, but this warre of Arragon had ſo intangled him, as hee could not: ſo as his affaires proſpered not well on this ſide the Pyreneé mountaines.

An. 1364. *King of Navar open enemy to the king of Caſtile.* In the yeare 1364. the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, renewed their league, but with ſome alteration, the King of Nauarre hauing alreadie diſcouered himſelfe an enemy to the king of Caſtile. To this end they met at Sos, where they agreed to continue this warre againſt Caſtile, and that it ſhould not be lawful for the one to make any peace or truce without the conſent of the other. That the king of Nauarre ſhould make no accord with the French king, but he of Arragon ſhould be comprehended. They gaue hoſtages one vnto another for aſſurance of their conuentions. The king of Arragon gaue his ſonne D. *Martin*, and he of Nauarre a ſon of D. *Lewis* his brother, and the children of Don *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan, of Don *Martin Henriques*, of the Lord of Grammont, of Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, *Fernand Gil* of Aſian, *Martin Martines* of Oriz, and of *Michel Sanches* of Vrſua. Theſe articles were ſworne by the chiefe knights and townes of either part: and for that the ſummes of mony promiſed to the king of Nauarre, at the capitulation of Vncaſtello, were much augmented, it was ſayd, that the K. of Arragon ſhold deliuer him 50000. florens preſently in Sos, and for the reſt he ſhould haue deliuered him in pawne the citty of Iacca, Sos, Vncaſtello, Tiermas, and Exea. Another priuat accord was made betwixt the king Don *Charles*, and Don *Henry* of Tranſtamara, in whoſe hands the hoſtages ſhould remaine. The king of Nauarre promiſed to enter in perſon into Caſtile, and there to make warre, and to be aſſured of Don *Henry*, hee would haue in hoſtage for his part, his daughter Donna *Leonora*, who was afterwards Queene of Nauarre, and a baſe ſonne of his called Don *Alphonſo Henriques*. The Earle promiſed, that if at any time he ſhould get the realme of Caſtile, he would ſuffer the King of Nauarre to enioy the lands of the ancient patrimonie of Nauarre, vſurped by the Kings of Caſtile, with diuers others. D E F

Arragon. Theſe treaties betwixt the king of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, were ſecret and vnknowne to the king of Arragon, who gouerned himſelfe for the moſt part, by the aduice of Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, a wiſe Knight, and of great experience, by whom he was often perſwaded from that which the other would haue him yeeld vnto. for

the

A the which he was hated by the king of Nauarre, and Don *Henry*: beſides, beeing a priuie Councellor, and of greateſt authoritie, he was enuied by the other Noblemen of Arragon, who were leſſe fauoured: wherefore theſe Princes beeing againe aſſembled at Almudear, the king of Nauarre, and the Earles of Tranſtamara and Ribagorça, conſpired to deprriue the King of Arragon of this Councellor, and wrought ſo, as they brought him into diſgrace with the king. Don *Bernard*, beeing aduertiſed that they meant to apprehend him, ſought to retire himſelfe, and flying came into Nauarre to Cârcaſtillo, the inhabitants whereof, ſeeing that he was pourſued by *Garci Lopes* of Seſe, ſhut their towne gates: but beeing ſummoned by *Garci Lopes* in the name of the two kings, to deliuer Don

B *Bernard*, they ſtayed him, attending the kings commandement, who willed them to deliuer him vnto *Garci Lopes*, who conuayed him to Murillo, where he remayned ſome time in hope to be deliuered: by which he was ſo hated by the king of Nauarre, and Earle of Tranſtamara, as they neuer ceaſed by importune accuſations, vntill they had put him to death.

D. Bernard of Cabrera in diſgrace with his King.

This *Bernard* of Cabrera had before the yeare 1346. beeing forced to come to Court, and to employ himſelfe in great affaires of State, wherein he was very iudicious, when as (wearie of the world) he had reſolued to become a Monke. The king had cheriſhed and aduanced him, and receiued many good counſels, and profitable ſeruices from him, as well in the ciuill wars within his owne Realme, as in that of Sardinia and Caſtile. But as

C Courtiers, the more they ſeeke the greatneſſe and honour of their Prince, and are by them the more honoured and beloued, are the more ſubiect to enuie, ſo fared it with him; for hauing beene faithfull to the king his maſter, he purchaſed the hatred of all the Princes and Noble-men of the Realme: ſo as when he was taken by the practiſes of the king of Nauarre and Earle of Tranſtamara, there was not any one that did fauour him: but as it were by a common conſpiracie, his proceſſe was made, and the Infant Don *Iohn* Prince of Girone, whome he had bred vp, made his Iudge, where ſitting in Iuſtice, and hauing for aſſiſtant *Dominicke* of Cerdagne, chiefe Iuſtice of Arragon, (who by his charge and office ſhould defend the oppreſſed) pronounced ſentence of death againſt this poore decrepite old man.

D They write, that his ſentence being read by Don *Berenger Apilia*, and *Iames Monelia* Vice chancelor, he complayned greatly, that he ſhould be condemned without hearing, or in a manner any forme of proceſſe: but *Apilia* anſwered him, that he ought not to hold it ſtrange, ſeeing that by his owne Councell, that cuſtome had beene brought into Arragon: and that he ſhould remember the proceſſe which was too ſummarily made againſt *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, and *Raymond Marquet*, accuſed to haue ſlaine *Raymond* of S. Vincent; who, by the kings commandement, and in a maner without any forme of proceſſe, had beene put to death. He was led vnto the market place of Sarragoſſa, and there beheaded, and his head was carried vnto the king, beeing at Barcelona. Such rewards many times haue the moſt faithfull Councellors, of their ill aduiſed Princes. Thus miſerably dy-

Bernard beheaded.

E ed one of the greateſt perſonages in nobility, iudgement, and vertue, which had beene of long time in Arragon, who without the king his maſter had executed great matters, and the king without him did neuer any thing of worth. All his goods were confiſcate to the king, whereby he pourchaſed great diſhonor, and rightly, both for his death, and for that of his brother Don *Fernand. Bernardin* of Cabrera, ſon to *Bernard*, had married *Marguerite* of Foix, daughter to the Vicount of Caſtelbon, by *Conſtance* of Luna, ſiſter to D. *Lope*, a Lady of the bloud royall of Arragon: for ſhe was daughter to *Artal* of Luna, and to D. *Conſtance Perez*, who was daughter to Don *Iames Perez*, baſe ſonne to the king Don *Pedro* the third. At that time the Prince Don *Iohn* did not much exceed fourteene yeares, yet he was employed in great affaires within the Realme, as well for warre as iu-

F ſtice, with a diſpenſation for his age, beeing aſſiſted by Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, (who hauing renounced the world in his old age, had taken vppon him the habit of Saint *Francis*) and moreouer, by Don *Pedro* of Vrgel, ſonne to the Infant D. *Iames* the Kings brother, and by the Vicount of Cardona for the warre: and for iuſtice and other affaires of the Realme, he had for his Councellors *Berenger Apilia*, *Bernard Sous*, *William Guymerand*, and *Thomas Marzan* of Cattelogne.

During

During this laſt warre betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, preſt by neceſſity, took the reuenues of many benefices, without demanding leaue from the Pope, and the more inconſideratly, ſay they, for that *Vrban* then raigning, had neuer refuſed him any thing: wherefore he was in great danger to be excommunicated, and deiected from the rights of his Realmes, eſpecially from that of Sardinia, which hee held in fee of the Church: the ſouueraignty whereof many of the Cardinals were of aduice to giue to the Iudge of Arborea. The king for this cauſe ſent his vncle D. *Pedro*, ſometimes Earle of Ribagorça, and then a Friar, and *Gaſpar Tregure*, Doctor of the lawes, vnto the Pope: who declared in open Conſiſtorie, *That in like neceſsities and miſeries, as the Realm of Arragon was then in, it had bin lawfull for kings, not only to vſe the temporall reuenues, but alſo to lay hands vpon the relicks, and holy veſſell of the Churches: adding, that the Eccleſiaſticall Eſtate was no leſſe bound to the preſeruation of the common-weale, then other Eſtates: and that kings might freely vſe their meanes in ſuch extremities, ſo as he promiſed to make them reſtitution in a conuenient time.* Whereupon the Pope conſidering of the cauſe, did not pronounce any ſentence. The Iudge of Arborea, hauing either practiſed the fauour of the Conſiſtory, or elſe moued with a deſire to raigne, attempted thereuppon to make ſharpe warre againſt the Arragonois in Sardinia, a turbulent Iland, which continually bred new matter of charge and loſſe to the kings of Arragon, who had a little before ended all quarels with the Genouois, and by the meanes of *Iohn* Marquis of Montferrat his allye: but to leaue a marke of puniſhment for the Rebels of Sardinia, he had ſuppreſt the name of *Galluri*, the which was wont to be one of the members thereof, with the title of a Iudge, ordayning that from thence-foorth that country ſhould bee confuſed, betwixt the Cap of Cailleri and of Lugudori.

Reuenues of Churches taken without the Popes leaue.

A B C

Nauarre. To returne vnto the promiſes and capitulations made betwixt the two kings of Nauar and Arragon, there was no due execution thereof, neither were the hoſtages, which had beene promiſed, deliuered: for it is no ordinarie thing in ſuch treaties, to haue deedes follow words, theſe Princes beeing in continuall iealouſie and diſtruſt one of another: wherefore the King of Nauar, receiuing no mony from the king of Arragon, he did not furniſh him with men to oppoſe againſt the army of Caſtile, which was entred into the territories of Valence, beginning withall to thinke of many deſſeins, nothing fauourable for the king of Arragon. If the king of Nauar, hauing deceiued the king of Caſtile, ſought to do the like vnto him of Arragon; the king of Arragon for his part did no leſſe vnto the king of Nauarre: for he had ſent his ambaſſadours into France, who treated a league at Tholouſa, with the Deputies of *Charles* the fifth the French king, and with *Lewis* D. of Anjou his brother, by the which the French promiſed to ayde the king of Arragon to conquer the realme of Nauar, and to ſpoile K. *Charles*, and hauing conquered it, they bound themſelues to furniſh him alwaies with 500. lances, againſt any one that ſhould ſeek to diſpoſſeſſe him. The K. of Arragon promiſed alſo for his part to ayde the French to conquer Guienna, and to expell the Engliſh. Theſe accords were made in the yeare 1364, *Charles* the fifth the French king, and *Charles* 2. king of Nauar being enemies. But as they were Frenchmen, and brothers-in-law, they were reconciled afterwards, & concluded a peace: ſo as the king of Arragon loſt his paines, and the allyance which he had ſought in France, ſerued him to no vſe, yet the war continued that yeare betwixt the French, and the partiſans of the K. of Nauar in France: but in the yeare 1365. Queen *Ieanne* wife to the king of Nauar, made haſt to come to the French Court, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings; wherof the one was her husband, and the other her brother: for the K. of Arragon did importune the French king, to effect the league concluded the yeare before at Tholouſa, eſpecially for the conqueſt of Nauar; for which reaſon he had ſent new ambaſſadours vnto him that yeare. The k. of Nauar being aduertiſed of all theſe things, preſt the Queene his wife to go this iourny, notwithſtanding that ſhe was with child. Her voyage for that time did produce nothing but a good truce, but afterward there was a peace made by the great care of the two Queens, *Ieanne* wife to the k. of Nauar, and *Blanche* his ſiſter, & by the dexteritie, iudgement, and wiſedome of Captal of Buch, then priſoner to the French, for the factions of Nauar. The Q. of Nauar being at Eureux in the yeare 1366. ſhe was deliuered of a ſon called *Peter*, he had the title of Earle of Mortaing: after her vp-riſing ſhe returned into

Princes in continuall diſtruſt

D E F

An. 1365.

An. 1366.

F

A into Nauarre, carrying her eldeſt ſon *Charles* who was but foure yeares old with her, and that which was newly borne.

Theſe kings of Nauar and Arragon, being thus buſied, and irreſolute in their deſſeines, durſt not inuade one another, and in the meane time he of Caſtile purſued the war, with al violence in the country of Valence, and took Orihuela, where there was ſlaine D. *Alphonſo Perez* of Guzman Lord of S. Lucar, ſon to D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman, and grand-child to D. *Alphonſo Perez* of Guzman the good. To him ſucceeded his brother D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman. The Arragonois alſo for their part tooke Moruiedro, for want of victuals, D. *Gomes* of Porras Prior of S. *Iohn* the Gouernor, yeelded it, vpon condition, that he and his ſhould be ſafely ſent into Caſtile: yet the Earle D. *Henry* who was at this ſeege, B preuailed ſo by his honeſt perſwaſions and promiſes, as the Prior was content to ſtay with him, who by that means retained about 600. men, laying before them the fury of D. *Pedro* K. of Caſtile, who excuſed nothing, and puniſhed as well thoſe which had behaued themſelues valiantly in the yeelding of ſuch places, as thoſe which had ſhewed themſelues baſe and cowards. Theſe were the laſt exploits of war betwixt Arragon and Caſtile. Arragon.

At that time there was brought into Spain the body of the Cardinal of S. *Clement* ſometimes Archb. of Toledo, & Legat *à latere* in Italy, who died at Viterbo, hauing gouerned the affairs of the Romane ſea, to the great content of Pope *Vrban* the 5. who did wonderfully grieue for him, and made all the ſhewes of mourning which Popes are accuſtomed to do at the death of their faithfull friends. This Prelate during his legation, prepared the C Popes acceſſe into the citty of Rome, and was the means to bring the papall ſeate thither againe: for hee ſuppreſt many tyrants in Italy, and brought them to the obedience of the Roman ſea, ſo as *Gregory* the 11. ſucceſſor to *Vrban*, came to Rome in the yeare 1366. This Cardinal had ordained by his teſtament, that his body ſhould be buried in the city of Toledo, if it might be ſuffered by the K. D. *Pedro* then raigning, or his ſucceſſor, the which was executed, and his bones which lay in the towne of Aſſiſi, in the monaſtery of S. *Francis*, were carried by land to Toledo, many offering to carry the Beere wheron this dead carcas lay, in hope to get pardon of their ſins, for that the Pope had granted vnto them, that ſhold employ themſelues in this ſeruice, the like indulgences as are giuen vnto them that do viſit the churches of S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, at Rome in the yeare of Iubile. Caſtille.

18. *Returne of the Popes Court to Rome.*

D The time approched when as the King Don *Pedro* ſhould be puniſhed for his exceſſe and ſerue as a witnes to the world, that the feare of ſubiects, gotten by the cruelty of Princes, is a bad gard for their maieſty, and a weak aſſurance of their Crowns. The death of Q. *Blanche* of Bourbon, whom the king D. *Pedro* had poiſoned, after that he had intreated her a long time moſt barbarouſly, miniſtred the occaſion of his ruine: for being for this cauſe odious to all the French, D. *Henry*, Earle of Tranſtamara, (who was vigilant to embrace all things that might ſerue him to reuenge the death of his mother and brethren, & of ſo many iniuries which hee had receiued of this wretched king) found fauour and helpe in France. And it fell out very fitly, that the wars being ended in France, as well againſt the E Engliſh, and King of Nauarre, as betwixt the Earles of Montfort and Blois, contending for the ſucceſſion of Brittanie: this Realme was then wonderfully ouer-charged with idle ſouldiers, which kept the fields, and committed many ſpoyles and inſolencies, beeing gathered together in ſuch great numbers, French, Engliſh, Brittons, Flemmings, and of other nations intermingled, as they were fearefull to Princes, yea and to the Pope himſelfe reſiding in Auignon: ſo as they demanded but an occaſion of ſome long voyage, to conquer and ſubdue Countries, or to be there defeated, beeing impoſſible without great danger and diſorder, to be otherwiſe ridde of them.

19. *Expedition of D. Henry of Caſtile againſt his brother D. Pedro, and his victorie.*

Vppon theſe continuall complaints of the impieties and cruelties which Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile committed daily, beeing alreadie pronounced by the Popes Legate, and confirmed by him, an vtter enemie to God and men: and at the inſtance and pour- F ſute of the king of Arragon, and of *Henry* Earle of Tranſtamara, Baſtard of Caſtile, who (as ſome write) were come to this effect in perſon, to Auignon; the French King, Pope *Vrban*, and other Princes, thought good to haue theſe people dealt withall, (whome they commonly called Malandrins) to go and make warre in Spaine againſt Don *Pedro* ſurnamed the Cruell: and *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, a valiant and hardy Knight of *Malandrins.*

Brittany,(who was then a priſoner of war,for the factions of *Montfort* and *Blois*)was cho- A
ſen to lead them, who for this cauſe was put to ranſome,and deliuered. *Bertrand* wrought ſo,as theſe companions were willing to follow him: whereupon ſome of their Captaines came to Barcelona, did capitulate, receiued mony, and promiſed to ſerue Don *Henry*, wherof *Bernard Baſtard* of Bearne, ſonne to *Gaſton Phebus* Earle of Foix, was one of the chiefe: which D.*Pedro* King of Caſtile vnderſtanding,he retired his troupes, and came to Burgos, where he called a generall aſſembly;whither came the Lord of Albret,a knight of Gaſconie well accompanied, who aſſured him for a certaine number of ducats,to draw away a good part of thoſe ſoldiers which D.*Henry* and the king of Arragon had entertayned, and wrought ſo,as they ſhold abandon them,and come to ſerue him: but it grieued B
the king to ſpend his treaſure, which notwithſtanding was very great: wherfore reiecting the Lord of Albrets good counſell,he ſought other prouiſions,which ſerued him to ſmal purpoſe. Theſe men paſt into Spaine,being eſteemed to be 10000. horſe, and an infinite number of foot, beſides thoſe ſouldiers which the Earle and the king of Arragon had: to whome were ioyned many great perſonages,both French and others, among the which the French Hiſtorie names *Iohn* of Bourbon Earle of March, coſin to the deceaſed queen *Blanche* of Caſtile, *Anthony* Lord of Beauieu, *Arnold* of Andreghen Marſhall of France, *Begue* of Villenes, *Euſtace* of Aubercourt, *Hugh Caurelee*, *Gualter Huet*, *Mathew* of Gournay,and *Perducas* of Albret,who with many other famous men, made this voyage: *Bertrand* of Gueſclin being chiefe leader of them all, by reaſon of his valour and great ex- C
perience. The K.of Arragon with theſe ſuccors did preſently recouer all that the king of Caſtile had taken from him, the Caſtillans hauing abandoned their garriſons. The bodie of the army which D.*Henry* ſhould lead,was made at Sarragoſſa,from whence they marched directly to Calaotra, and entred without reſiſtance,in the month of March,this yere 1366;D.*Henry* being receiued by D.*Fernand* biſhop of that place,and by D.*Fernand Sanches* of Tobar,vpon condition they ſhould be intreated as friends: for the towne was not ſtrong.There he was ſollicited by D.*Alphonſo* of Arragon Earle of Denia and Ribagorça,
and by the Arragonois, to take vpon him the title of King of Caſtile and Leon, which at the firſt he did refuſe: but being preſt and importuned, in the end he yeelded, ſo as from that time he had more need of a bridle to reſtraine him,then a ſpurre. Being thus proclai- D
med king,and hauing aduanced his royall Standard, the Knights which were there preſent, began to demand gifts & recompences in the countrie which they had not yet conquered, but were in good hope, to whome hee gaue contentment with many promiſes. Paſſing on,they tryed Logrogno,which place they found ſtrong,and well manned: wherfore not to loſe time,they marched on,and hauing ſeized vppon Nauarret and Birbieſca, they came to Burgos,whereas the king D.*Pedro* was, who made all the haſt hee could to diſlodge.The inhabitants ſeing him parting, beſought him not to abandon them,offering him all the mony that was in the towne,and their perſons with great fidelity; but this king being terrified,there was no meanes to ſtay him: and in truth we ſeldome ſee valour and crueltie lodge together: wherefore the inhabitants of Burgos proteſted to prouide for E
the ſafety & preſeruation of the citty the beſt they could: ſo as he was forced to quit them of the oath and homage they ought him, and preſently tooke his way to Toledo, where hauing left a good garriſon, he went to Seuile. The inhabitants of Burgos ſeeing themſelues abandoned by their Prince,opened the gates to Don *Henry*,whom,in the capitulation they made, they called Earle, promiſing to title him king,when he ſhould be entred into the citty.

Mo'andvins paſſe into Spaine.

D Henry takes the title of K. of Caſtile.

Don *Henry* parting from Birbieſca, ſome eight leagues diſtant from Burgos,hee made his entrie into the citty, to the great contentment of many, who hated the violent diſpoſition of the king D. *Pedro*: where he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king of Caſtile and Leon, in the royall Monaſterie of Huelgas, this yeare 1366; and within fiue and twentie F
dayes after his coronation,almoſt all the townes of Caſtile and Leon put themſelues vnder his obedience and protection: ſaying,that according to the example and ancient cuſtome of the Gods,they might retire themſelues from a tyrant king, and chuſe another: without hauing any regard vnto the ſucceſſion, nor his family whom they ſhould leaue. Then began D.*Henry* to diſtribute townes, caſtles, offices and dignities, vnto the Noblemen

A blemen and Knights which had followed him. He gaue to D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Denia and Ribagorça, the Marquiſate of Villena, the patrimonie of D. *Ieanne Manuel* his wife: to *Bertrand* of Gueſclin the Lordſhip of Molina; D. *Tello* brother to the new king, was maintained in the Segneurie of Biſcay, the inheritance of his deceaſed wife D. *Ieanne* of Lara, and moreouer he gaue him Aquilar del Campo, and to his other brother D. *Sancho*, all that which had belonged vnto D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, adding thereunto the townes of Haro, Briones, Villorado, Cerezo in Rioja, and the towne of Ledeſma. To other knights hee gaue gifts, and confirmed and augmented the auncient priuiledges of townes which yeelded willingly vnto him. Thinking himſelf now to be in ſure poſſeſſion, B he cauſed his wife D. *Ieanne*, his ſon D. *Iohn*, and D. *Leonora* his daughter, to come out of Arragon into Caſtile: and hauing diſpoſed of the affaires of Burgos, of Caſtile the old, and of Leon, he went to Toledo, where he found ſome oppoſition, yet in the end he was receiued and ſaluted as king: and after the example of this ſtately citie, many other towns of that Realme yeelded vnto him. The King D. *Pedro* ſeeing himſelfe abandoned, put a great quantitie of money, and other treaſure into a gally, and retired into Portugal: but fearing his couſin D. *Fernand*, Infant of that Realme, who loued him not, he paſt in great doubt vnto S. Iames in Gallicia, where he cauſed D. *Suero* of Toledo Archb. of that place, and D. *Pedro Aluarez* of Toledo, Deane of the ſame church, to be ſlaine, and adding ſacriledge to this murther, he ſpoiled their houſes, and caried away their goods, which was the C chiefe cauſe why he ſlue them. Being doubtfull what to do, he reſolued in the end to go by ſea to Bayone in France: wherefore parting from the Groine with 22. ſhips and one gally, carrying with him his three daughters, *Beatrix*, *Conſtance*, and *Izabel*, hee came to S. Sebaſtians in Guipuſcoa, where he had ſome thouſands of double ducats, and other riches, the which he took with him, and ſet ſayle towards Bayonne. A gally which followed him, in which was *Martin Ianes* his Treaſurer, with much mony, & other precious things was ſtayed by the Inhabitants of Seuile, which cittie beeing greatly affected vnto D. *Henry*, put themſelues vnder his obedience, ſoone after the kings departure; and the cittie of Cordoua did the like. So hatefull was the king D. *Pedro*, and ſo pleaſing was the mild diſpoſition of Don *Henry*, as in a ſhort time hee found himſelfe King of a great and migh- D tie Kingdome, almoſt without ſtriking ſtroake, the people ſtriuing who ſhould bee firſt receiued.

Beauty of D. Henry the new King.

Flight of the king D. Pedro out of Spaine.

Don *Henry* being at Seuile, he confirmed the peace with the Kings of Portugall and Granado: but he was deceiued in this proſperitie, being too confident of his new ſubiects, ſo as although he knew well that his enemy was retired to the Engliſh, with great ſtore of treaſure, and that he might well coniecture, that he would draw ſuccors from thence, to trouble him in the poſſeſſion of this Realme newly conquered, yet he diſmiſt his ſtrangers well ſatisfied which were all his force, and retayned onely *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, and *Bernard* baſtard of Foix with ſome 1500. horſe French and Engliſh. The country of Gallicia oppoſed it ſelfe moſt againſt D. *Henry*: that being pacified and ſubdued, he aſſembled E the Eſtates at Burgos, the which (beſides that they did ſweare fidelitie vnto his ſon D. *Iohn* as heire vnto the Crowne) did grant vnto him the tenth peny of all the merchandize they ſhould ſell within the Realme, and ſo much the more willingly, when as they vnderſtood that the king D. *Pedro* prepared to returne into Spaine with a great power of Engliſh. D. *Henry* to gratifie the cittie of Burgos, gaue vnto it in that aſſembly, the towne of Miranda of Ebro, the which did belong to the Church of Burgos, it did alſo ſerue to recompence the towne of Birbieſca, belonging to the citie, which he had giuen to D. *Pedro Fernandes* of Velaſco his great Chamberlaine. To the Church of Burgos in recompence of Miranda, he gaue a penſion of ſixtie thouſand marauidis, vppon the tenths due from the ſea, to bee employed in the ordinary diſtributions for the ſeruice which is done there day and F night.

Don *Dominicke* was then Biſhop of Burgos, the eight and twentith Paſtor in number, who obtayned this Biſhoppricke after a manner worthie to be related: for the Chapter beeing diuided and at controuerſie about the election of a new Biſhoppe, after the death of Don *Fernand* the third who had newly left and abandoned that ſeate, and not able to agree and determine vppon two chiefe perſons propounded in that aſſembly,

they concluded to referre the nomination to *Dominick*, then Chanoine of that Church, A
beeing held a man of a good and holy life. This good Chanoine hauing accepted the nomination, bethought himſelfe of a meanes to diſpleaſe neither party: ſaying merily vnto them, that if it were their pleaſures hee ſhould name a Biſhop, hee was of opinion, that himſelfe ſhould be the man, the which he deliuered with ſo good a grace, as the Chapter could not take it ill: wherefore *Dominick* the Chanoine became preſently Biſhop, hauing neuer before once dreamed to aſpire to that dignitie: and his election was ſoon after confirmed by the Pope. This Biſhop was a good ſeruant to D. *Henry*. At that time D. *Tello* brother to Don *Henry* married a Gentle-woman which was called Donna *Ieanne* of Lara, as his firſt wife, who was Lady of Biſcay: by reaſon whereof many did beleeue it was B
the ſame that was daughter to Don *Iohn Nugnes* of Lara, who (they ſay) had beene ſlain by the King Don *Pedro*: and this perſwaſion continued among the people of Biſcay ſome time, being nouriſhed by Don *Tello*. Donna *Ieanne Manuel*, wife to Don *Henry*, was ſent him into Caſtile by Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, who would that Donna *Leonora*, Infanta of Arragon, future wife to Don *Iohn* the eldeſt ſonne of D. *Henry*, ſhould accompanie her. But before he diſmiſſed them, he cauſed Donna *Ieanne Manuel* (who intitled her ſelfe Queene of Caſtile and Leon) to ſweare, to do her beſt to cauſe Don *Henry* her husband, to giue him the citties of Soria and Cuenca, the townes of Molina, and Medina Celi, and the Realme of Murcia, as they had agreed, and hee had promiſed before this Conqueſt. And moreouer, he demanded remburſement of certaine ſummes of mony which hee had C
lent him: whereunto Don *Henry* (who had newes of the armie which was preparing by the Engliſh, in fauour of Don *Pedro* his competitor) made an honeſt anſwer: for it was reaſonable, ſayd he, to attend the end of this great preparation, which was made againſt him.

Biſhop of Burgos choſen by himſelfe.

Nauarre.

The King of Nauarre in this firſt warre had not ſhewed himſelfe a fauourer to either of theſe contending Princes: but knowing that the King Don *Pedro* was retired to Bayone, diſpoſſeſſed of his Realme, he came to ſee him, and was there preſent at the accord and promiſes which paſt betwixt *Edward* Prince of Wales and him. The Princes ſupping together, held this order: the King Don *Pedro* was on the right hand, and next to him the Prince of Wales, and on the other ſide was the king of Nauar alone: who being returned D
into Nauar, he was much ſollicited by Don *Henry*, to be of his partie, but he was already ingaged by promiſe to Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile, and to the Prince of Wales, to giue them free paſſage through his countrie. The k. of Arragon aduertiſed of all theſe things, preſt the French king by his ambaſſadors, to make warre againſt the Engliſh, and alſo againſt the king of Nauarre, promiſing to ioyne for his part, to diuert the ſtorme which was comming vppon Don *Henry* the new king of Caſtile, whom he ought to haue receiued into this league: and in the meane time there was continuall war vppon the frontiers of Arragon and Nauarre. Notwithſtanding theſe things aboue-mentioned, D. *Henry* did ſo labour the king of Nauar, as he made him forget the promiſes he had made at Bayone, to D. *Pedro* king of Caſtile, and to the Engliſh, comming to meet with D. *Henry* at Santa E
Cruz of Campeço, where hee promiſed and ſware to bee of his ſide, and to do his beſt to ſtop the paſſage of the Engliſh army through Nauarre, which would haue auayled him much to breake the deſſeines of the diſpoſſeſſed king: for in the paſſage of the Pyrenee hilles, hee had nothing to fauour him, but the Townes of Saint Sebaſtian and Guetaria in Guipuſcoa.

At theſe promiſes ſollemnly made by the king of Nauarre, vnto Don *Henry*, there aſſiſted Don *Gomes Manrique* Arch-biſhop of Toledo, D. *Lopes Fernandes* of Luna, Arch-biſhop of Sarragoſſa, Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Earle of Denia, and Marquis of Villena, *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, and many other great perſonages of Caſtile, France, and Arragon. And a league was concluded betwixt the kings of Arragon, Nauarre, and Don *Henry*, F
for their common defence againſt all men. And the king promiſed to be readie with the forces of his countrie, and to be in perſon at the Battaile which they thought would be giuen, for aſſurance whereof there was deliuered into the Arch-biſhops hands of Sarragoſſa the caſtle of Garde, and that of S. *Vincent* to *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, and that of Buradon was giuen in gard to D. *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan.

In

A In recompence of the good offices which D.*Henry* expected from King *Charles*, he promiſed to giue him the towne of Logrogno, to him and his for euer. It was likely that D. *Henries* affaires ſhould ſucceed better then thoſe of Don *Pedro*, and therefore K. *Charles* made choice to hold with the ſtronger, as he thought. The diſpoſſeſſed king of Caſtile, and the Prince of Wales vnderſtanding of this league, found it very ſtrange: and the Engliſh being more familiar with the king of Nauarre, he complained much vnto him, and ſought to reduce him to his firſt promiſes, the which he did: making him againe, with the note of great inconſtancie, to quit the party of Don *Henry*, and of the king of Arragon, in regard that they had promiſed to giue him, beſides Logrogno, the citie of Victoria, which did yet hold for the king Don *Pedro*: for the which he bound himſelfe by oath, to
B giue them paſſage, and to be in perſon with his troupes, in the battell, in their fauor: excuſing his lightneſſe, for that the Realme of Caſtile did by right belong vnto the King D. *Pedro*: and withall he had a deſſeine to make vſe of the friendſhip and forces of the Engliſh in the quarrels and pretenſions he had with the French King, who did much trouble his affaires.

The conditions which D. *Pedro* king of Caſtile made with the Prince of Wales, were theſe: He gaue him from that time the Segneurie of Biſcay, & Caſtro of Ordiales, & promiſed to pay the ſoldiers which he led into Spaine, leauing his three daughters in hoſtage with the Engliſh: he promiſed the citie of Soria to *Iohn Chandos*, Conſtable in Guienne for the Engliſh, and to many other Noblemen and knights other places and townes in
C Caſtile. Vpon theſe accords, being full of good hope, ſeeing they had the king of Nauar their friend, they marched with a great and mighty armie in the Spring-time 1367. to repoſſeſſe the king D. *Pedro* in his Realme. King *Charles* whether troubled in conſcience for the oaths which he had ſo often broken, or for ſome other conſideration, would not bee in perſon at this incounter betwixt the king D. *Pedro* and D. *Henry*, as hee had promiſed, but vnder colour of going a hunting, he cauſed himſelfe to bee taken priſoner, by a plot and accord made with *Olyuer* of Manny or Maulny a Britton Knight, who held the caſtle of Borja for *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, who had it by gift from the king of Arragon, in the which he was ſhut vp: and for that he would not ſhew himſelfe altogether diſloyall, hee left Don *Martin Henriques* of Lacarra, the maſter of his horſe, and his Standard-bearer,
D at Pampelona with three hundred Lances, commanding him to ioyne with the Engliſh armie, and to fight in it.

20. *Conditions betwixt D. Pedro and the Prince of Wales*

An. 1367.

The Engliſh armie arriued at Cuenca, or Combe of Pampelona, about the beginning of March this yeare 1367. from whence it paſt into Alaua: beſides, the Prince of Wales, and Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile, there were in it *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, brother to the Prince; D. *Iames* of Maiorca, ſon to the king Don *Iames*, who had come for refuge to this Engliſh Prince being at Bourdeaux. *Iohn Chandos* Conſtable of Guien, *Robert Felton* great Seneſhall, *Richard* of Angle, and *Stephen* of Conſentone Marſhals of Guien: moreouer, the Earle of Armaignac and Albret, who offered and brought to this warre a
E thouſand complet lances of his ſubiects and friends: but they were reduced (to his great griefe) to two hundred by the Prince, beeing ſo aduiſed by ſome other, or of his own proper motion, and for enuy: which vice ſome write did often blemiſh the great vertues that were in him. For euen ſome affirme, that this voyage which he vndertooke into Spaine, was not for charity, nor any loue he bare to the diſpoſſeſſed king D. *Pedro*, but for that the honor and reputation which *Bertrand* of Gueſclin had gotten, to haue made D. *Henry* K. of Caſtile, would not let him ſleepe. Beſides, the aboue named, there did accompanie the Prince of Wales in this expedition, the Earls of Perigort and Cominges, the Vicont of Carmain, *Bernard* and *Perducas* of Albret, Captal of Buch, the Lord of Cliſſon, the Seneſhals of Xaintong, Rochel, Querci, Limoſin, Agenois, and Bigorre, with many other Noblemen, and renowned knights of England, Poitou, Brittaine, Gaſconie and other con-
F tries, and among them ſome which had a litle before ſerued D. *Henry*, vnder the command of *Bertrand* of Gueſclin: which Gueſclin did not fayle at need, but came to D. *Henries* army with a good number of Knights and ſouldiers, to ayd him to maintaine his conqueſt.

Caſtile.

Vpon the newes of this mighty army, D. *Henry* had gathered together all his good ſubiects: ſo as according to the French Authors (it may be exceeding in their computations)

he made accompt to haue 7000. men at arms, 20000. light horſe, and 40000. foot, wher- A
of many were armed with ſlings, much feared in thoſe dayes: with theſe forces hee came
to incounter his enemie, and lodged betwixt S. *Dominike* of Calçada and Bagnares, the
enemy being camped about Saluatierra, who approching towards Logrogno, he came to
Calderan. The Captaines were of opinion, that D. *Henry* ſhould not fight, but only coaſt
the enemy, and keepe him in continuall feare, cutting off their victuals and other commo-
dities, whereby they ſhould be ſoone forced to breake of themſelues: & ſo had the French
king aduiſed him to do: but hee (who was a Prince of a great ſpirit, and more reſolute in
ſuch actions, then was fit for the head of an Eſtate, and incouraged by ſome ſmall aduan-
tage gotten of the fore-runners of the Engliſh, by D. *Tello* and D. *Sancho* his breethren, B
Prince of Wales writes to D. Henry. who had taken *Thomas* Felton, a knight, and ſome others) gouerned himſelfe after his own
humor; who raiſing his army, came to Nagera, ſeing the Engliſh approch to Nauarret.
From hence the Prince of Wales did write vnto D. *Henry*, terming him Earle of Tranſta-
mara, which letter was full of courteſie and good words, perſwading him to quit the title
of King, and to yeeld vnto his brother D. *Pedro*, the lawfull K. of Caſtile, aſſuring him hee
would be a meanes that he ſhould haue a good compoſition: and aboue all, that he ſhold
auoid to come to a battell, the euent whereof muſt needes be his ruine, ſeeing they did
much exceede them in number, their ſouldiers in valour, and their Captaines in leading.
D. Henry's anſwer. To the which D. *Henry* made anſwer, that he could not hearken to any accord with him, C
who had againſt the law of Nature taken delight to murther ſo many of the bloud royal,
and other great perſonages of Caſtile: who had no reſpectiue regard of the lawes of the
country, and much leſſe of God, falſifying his oath and promiſes, hauing no other rule in
his actions, but his tyrannous paſſions: and with his excuſes, hee gaue many good words
in regard of the Prince of Wales, proteſting that he came with griefe to fight, and that he
would willingly haue auoyded the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, which he prepared to ſee.

D. Henry deſe-ted in battell. Theſe Princes being thus diſpoſed, the armies preſented themſelues one before ano-
ther betwixt Nagera and Nauarret; where they incountred with ſuch fury about Aleçon,
neere to the Bourg of Açofra, as after great effuſion of bloud, D. *Henries* men were put
to flight, the diſorder beginning on D. *Tellos* ſide, and many were taken priſoners by the
Engliſh, French, and Nauarrois: againſt ſome of which the K. D. *Pedro* being incenſed, did D
execute his rage, cauſing them to be murthered in his preſence: among others, the firſt
maſter of the Knights of S. *Bernard*, & the laſt alſo, being taken in this defeat, had his head
cut off by the kings commandement. It was a military order ſprung vp in Biſcay, to which
knights ſhould be aſſigned the lands called Beetries, which lay neere: but it was ſuddenly
extinct by reaſon of theſe wars, and by this exceſſe of the King D. *Pedro*. Many were re-
conciled by the mediation of the Prince of Wales, of which number was D. *Sancho*, bro-
ther to the Erle D. *Henry*: others were ſtreightly impriſoned, among which were *Bertrand*
of Gueſclin, *Arnold* of Andreghen, and *Begue* of Villaines. D. *Henry* eſcaped from the bat-
tell, and poſting towards Nagera, his horſe being tyred and out of breath, hee met with a
Squire of the Prouince of Alaua, called *Ruy Fernandes* of Goana; who knowing him, E
mounted him vpon a good Genet, with the which he came into the K. of Arragons coun-
trie, to whom he would not go, remembring the miſeries which follow afflicted Princes
fallen from their fortunes, and the ſmall faith that is in friends in ſuch extremities, euery
one drawing backe, and ſeeking to excuſe himſelfe vnto the Victor, to pleaſe whom, ma-
ny times the vnfortunat is deliuered vp to ſacrifice. Wherefore hee paſt the mountaines,
D. Pedro of Luna, a knight of Arragon, future Pope. and retired into France, leauing the townes and Noblemen of Caſtile, which had follow-
ed his party in great perplexity, with him there retired that D. *Pedro* of Luna a Cattelan,
who of a knight as he was then, carrying armes, became a Clergie man, was a Cardinall,
and in the end Pope, during the great Schiſme, which did ſo much trouble the Church of
Rome. F

After this great victorie which hapned the third day of Aprill 1367. the king D. *Pedro*
entred in great pompe into Burgos, from whence D. *Ieanne Manuel*, called Queen of Ca-
ſtile, wife to D. *Henry*, her children, and daughter-in-law, were a little before retired, and
fled in all haſt into Arragon, where they were receiued, but not ſo chearefully as before:
for the king of Arragon ſtudied how he might recouer the fauour of Don *Pedro* King of
Caſtile,

A Caſtile, being therein aſſiſted by the Prince of Wales, and aduiſed to abandon D. *Henry*, who was vanquiſhed. D. *Romero* Biſhop of Lerida, D. *Pedro* Earle of Vrgel, the Vicont of Cardona, D. *Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, and others, were of this opinion, who were ſent Ambaſſadors to D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile: and *Raymond Pegnera*, and *Iames Elfaro* went to the Prince of Wales.

Some ſay that the Prince of Wales beginning to deſcouer the ingratitude of D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile, there was in this Negotiation a plot laid betwixt him and the king of Arragon to diuide the king of Caſtile betwixt them, and to giue ſome part of the booty to the kings of Nauarre and Portugal, and ſo wholy to reiect the tyrant D. *Pedro*.

The King of Nauarre hearing of the victory which the King of Caſtile had obtained, Nauarre.
B thought it now time to creepe out of his denne, preſſing *Oliuer* of Maulny to ſet him at liberty: but the difficulty was, this knight would be paied for his good ſeruice, hauing taken the king priſoner. King *Charles* gaue him D. *Pedro* his ſecond ſonne in hoſtage, aſſuring him that if he would come to Tudelo, he would giue him all that hee had promiſed, and more. This good knight tooke the Infant D. *Pedro*, and put him into the caſtle of Borja, deliuered the king, and ſoone after, through his great ſimplicity, followed him to Tudelo: but he was no ſooner arriued, but they layed hold of him, and put him in priſon, vntil that he had yeelded the hoſtage. A brother of his ſhould haue beene taken with him by the kings commandement, but ſeeking to flie away ouer a houſe, hee was ſlaine by them that purſued him. King *Charles* did write preſently to the king of Arra-
C gon, complayning of the wrong which the Britons (holding the caſtle of Borja and Magallon) had done him, and that they detained and withheld his ſonne, whom hee had beene forced for to giue them in Oſtage, hearing that they ment to carry him into France, the which hee intreated him to preuent, ſetting good gards vpon the paſſages of his country. He ſayd moreouer, that he threatned to inuade his country of Nauarre, relying vpon the ſupport they had of Arragon: wherefore hee intreated him not to giue them forces, nor any aide in ſuch enterpriſes, and not take it ill if hee led an army before Borja, to deliuer his ſonne from priſon. *Garci Sanchez* Prior of Ronceual, was ſent of this Ambaſſage into Arragon, who not onely executed his charge, but alſo entred into a treaty of marriage betwixt *Charles* the eldeſt ſonne of Nauarre, and D. *Leo-*
D *nora* daughter to the King of Arragon. The King of Arragon who had no need of any enemies, for that he feared the King of Caſtile, cauſed the trouble of Borja to ceaſe, and commanded the Brittons to deliuer the Infant D. *Pedro*, who beeing carried to Tudelo, *Oliuer* of Maulny was alſo deliuered. As for the marriage, although the King of Arragon did much deſire it, yet the King of Nauarre, hauing retired his ſonne, did not much care for it, meaning firſt to ſee what ſhould become of the broiles of Caſtile.

Oliuer of Maulny deliuers the King of Nauarre, and remaines priſoner himſelfe.

21 The King D. *Pedro* the cruell, victorious, but inſolent and treacherous as of cu- Caſtile.
ſtome, could not conteine himſelfe within the bounds of modeſty and reaſon, neither to his ſubiects, nor to ſtrangers, Engliſh, French and others, who had ſeated him in his King-
E dome: There were great controuerſies amongſt them for priſoners and ranſomes, and the ſouldiars pay, yet after much diſputing there was ſome kinde of agreement. D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile ſent D. *Pedro Fernandes Peres* of Ayala, with the Deputies of the Prince of Wales, to put them in poſſeſſion of the Lordſhip of Biſcay, and Caſtro of Ordiales, according vnto their accords: but the Biſcains beeing aduertiſed that what the King did, was onely to content the Prince of Wales, and to ſhew that hee had a will to performe his promiſe, but not that he had any meaning to maintaine it: beſides that of their owne diſpoſitions they did abhor the command of ſtrangers, they would neuer receiue theſe Deputies, nor conſent that they ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their country, which was the cauſe of great troubles. The King ſeeming to bee much diſcontented at theſe difficulties, made a ſollemne oth in the chiefe Church of Burgos, that hee would put the
F Prince of Wales in poſſeſſion of the Siegneuries of Biſcay. D. *Pedro* ſeeing himſelfe reſtored to his Realme, he deſired to know what the deſtynies did promiſe him, and therefore he demanded aduice of a counſellor to the King of Granado, called *Aben-Hatin*, a great and learned Aſtrologian and Phyloſopher, who ſent him a letter full of learning, ſaying, that hee muſt looke vnto his owne carriage, and how hee gouerned his ſubiects,

D Pedro King of Caſtile diſcontents the Engliſh and other ſtrangers.

for

Holy aduertiſments of a Philoſopher Moore to D. Pedro.

for thereon depended the continuance of his raigne, either long or ſhort, and the continuance of the ſcepter in his family: adding many precepts, the which if hee had duly obſerued, without doubt he had raigned ſecurely in peace: but hee fel into his frenezies and cruelties, the which did ſo eſtrange the hearts of thoſe, which abhorred his forepaſſed tyranies, as his fall muſt needes bee miſerable. Hee parted from Burgos, and went to ſeeke meanes to content the Engliſh, commanding that as ſoone as he ſhould bee out of the city, they ſhould put to death *Ruy Ponce* Palomeque and ſome others, whom hee had cauſed to be put into the caſtle of Burgos. Being come nere vnto Toledo, he would haue hoſtages of the Inhabitants for his aſſurance, and there hee put to death ſeuenteene of the chiefe of the city; then hee went to Cordoua, from which place he ſent to Seuile, that they ſhould put to death *Gil Bocanegra*, D. *Iohn* Ponce of Leon Lord of Marchene, and *Alphonſo Aluares* of Quadros, with an other called *Alphonſo Fernandes*: Hee cauſed many to be diſpatched at Cordoua before hee came to Seuile, where beeing arriued, hee cauſed Donna *Vrraca Oſorio*, mother to D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman, to bee ſlaine, and *Martin Iames* his high treaſorer, taking great delight in his murthers, and reuenges vpon theſe miſerable creatures, for that he had not found them ready to follow his fortune, or for ſome other diſcontentment; forgeting that for ſuch inhumanities and tyranies, he had beene once caſt out of Spaine. He cauſed D. *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, maiſter of Calatraua, to be apprehended, and would haue put him to death, but the King of Granado demanded him in guift, and did ſo much, as he ſaued his life. He had done more, if time and meanes had permitted, but God preuented him, for D. *Henry* ſtayed not long to depriue him both of realme and life.

A Moore more kinde then D. Pedro a Chriſtian King.

After the loſſe of the battaile, D. *Henry* came into the county of Foix, where beeing well entertained by the Earle, and furniſhed with all things befitting ſuch a knight, hee went to Auignon, whereas Pope *Vrbain* the fifth did raigne, who did loue, and eſteeme him much, and therefore he receiued him courteouſly, and delt with *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, brother to the French King, and Gouernor of Languedoc, to giue him meanes to raiſe a new army, to returne into Spaine, whether many friends recalled him, aſſuring him that the cruelties which the King D. *Pedro* continued, prepared him the way to recouer his good fortune, and that now there was not any difficulty to ſettle him firmely; neither need they feare that D. *Pedro* ſhould finde fauour or ſuccors with the Engliſh, whom he had defrauded of their pay and recompences promiſe, and ſent home diſcontented. D. *Ieanne* wife to D. *Henry*, and his children, finding themſelues not very ſafe in Arragon by reaſon of the friendſhip that was betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Prince of Wales, they had paſt into France, whereas they remained in the caſtle of Perapertuſe, vnto the end of the warre, ſuch was the diligence of D. *Henry*, and of his friends, as hee obtained from the King fiue thouſand pounds ſtarling in ready money, and liberty to leauy ſouldiars within his Realme. Hee had alſo ſuccors both of money and men from the Duke of Aniou, from *Guy* Cardinal of Bologne, and other Noblemen of France, beeing incenſed againſt the King D. *Pedro*, the murtherer of Queene *Blanche* of Bourbon his wife: notwithſtanding D. *Henry* found many great difficulties; an ordinary thing for thoſe that are in aduerſity: for the French King feared leaſt the Engliſh ſhould take it ill that he gaue ſuccors vnto their enemy: and to make ſuch a preparation for warre, as was neceſſary, hee had neede of a great maſſe of money, which was the greateſt hindrance of his affaires. Some therevpon write that in one day hee cauſed all the money to be ſeized on, that was in Auignon, in marchants, and Banquers hands, the Pope giuing his conſent, and hee promiſing vpon the faith of a Prince to reſtore it. In the end he had meanes to raiſe a good army, but before he began to march, he had certaine newes that the Prince of Wales was returned into Guienne much diſcontented with the King D. *Pedro*: and moreouer that all the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, except Saint Sebaſtien and Guetaria, the townes of Biſcay, Segobia, Vailledolit, Palence, Auila, Guadalajara, Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Toro, Almedo, Arenalo, Coca, Madrigal, Carrion, Sepulueda, Aillon, Atienca, Illeſcas with many other forts held his party.

D. Henry baſtard of Caſtile aided againe by the French.

...ragon.

Whileſt that D. *Henry* prepares to paſſe into Spaine, ſome of the Engliſh and French ſouldiars,

A ſouldiars, returning from the ſeruice of D.*Pedro* King of Caſtile, by the pace betwixt Nauarre and Arragon, ſpoiling the valleies, they attempted to enter into Iacca. Againſt theſe men the Inhabitants of the country, both Nobles and Commons armed, ſo as after diuerſe skirmiſhes, whereas many were ſlaine of both ſides, theſe ſtrangers beeing aboue fifteene thouſand men, paſt the Pyrenes, and returned into their countries. The King of Arragon, before the Prince of VVales his retreat had ſought by his meanes to recouer Sauueterre, and Real of Rueſte, which the Nauarrois held ſince the warre of Caſtile, but he could not.

As for the King of Nauarre, hee recouered the places which hee had left in depoſito, Nauarre.
B when as he made a league with the King of Arragon, and D. *Henry*, wherein hee was aſſiſted by D.*Pedro* King of Caſtile, and through fauour of the victory, which hee had obtained: but yet hee could neither get Logrogno from him, nor the towne of victoria, which he had promiſed him; neither could hee retire out of the hands of D. *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan (a Knight of honour) the place of Buradon, whereof he had beene choſen Gardien, ſaying, *That hee did not follow the fortune, and paſſions of princes, but the equity of the faith, which was promiſed and ſworne*. This good Knight had retired himſelfe into Arragon after the battaile loſt, when as D.*Henry* ſaued himſelfe in France, to whoſe ſeruice he returned ſoone after. *Integrity of D. Iohn Ramires of Arcillan.*

The Prince of VVales before he went out of Spaine, had practiſed a firme league be- *Leagues ful of*
C twixt the Kings raigning then in Spaine, and himſelf, but with diuerſe deſeignes, wherein *infidelity of*
he aſſured himſelfe that the King of Nauarre would bee faithfull, and furniſh him with a *the Princes*
good number of ſouldiars. As for him of Arragon, he imbraced the league as it ſeemed with great affection, thinking hee could not then doe better, then to ioyne with the victorious King of Caſtile, and the Engliſh. To conclude this league, a day was appointed for the Deputies of all theſe Princes at Tarbes: in the meane time the treachries of D.*Pedro* King of Caſtile, were ſo hatefull vnto the Prince of VVales, as he returned to Bourdeaux diſcontented. The Deputies of the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and of the Prince of VVales, came to Tarbes, at the day appointed, where there alſo arriued ſome from Caſtile. The diſpoſitions of theſe Princes were ſuch, as the King of
D Arragon would willingly haue ioyned with D. *Henry*, if hee had durſt, but hee followed fortune: he of Nauarre was more inclyned to the Prince of VVales, but whatſoeuer it were, euery one ſought to make his proffit of theſe troubles, and to draw ſome thing from Caſtile: the King of Arragon would haue Murcia, and ſome other townes: hee of Nauarre demanded the prouinces of Guipuſcoa, and Alaua, namely Victoria, Saueterre, Treuigno and many townes in Rioja: the Prince of VVales pretended Biſcay, Caſtro of Ordiales, and many other places, all promiſing to bandy themſelues againſt D.*Henry*, and to ſtop his paſſage into Spaine, if theſe things were performed by D. *Pedro*: if not they were as ready to enter into league with D. *Henry*, if hee made them the like promiſes. Thus the Realme of Caſtile was ſet to ſale. On the other ſide King *Ed-*
E *ward*, father to the Prince of VVales, and the King of Arragon, had their practiſes apart, to diuide the realme of Caſtile and Leon betwixt them, and to giue ſome part vnto the King of Nauarre. Thus theſe Princes laboured to diuide that betwixt them, which God had appointed for an other, and their propoſitions and diſputes at Tarbes, were ſuch and of ſo many things, as not able to conclude any thing, they referred their aſſembly to Oleron, where they did leſſe.

22 During theſe Negotiations, D.*Henry* entred with his French army into Arra- Nauarre.
gon, which made euery one to thinke of his affaires, with D. *Henry* was *Bernard* baſtard to the Earle of Foix, who had beene taken in the battaile of Nagera, and redeemed from *Second Entries D. Henry baſtard of Caſtile, into Spaine.*
the Engliſh: and although that the King of Arragon ſought to diuert this paſſage, yet
F D.*Henry* went his courſe, and by Nauarre alſo, finding not any oppoſition. Hauing paſt the riuer of Ebro with his whole army, marching in the country of Caſtile, hee fell on his knees, and making a croſſe vpon the ſand, hee ſware, that no toile nor misfortune ſhould euer make him goe out of Caſtile. Hee entred into Calaorra without contradiction, the eight and twentith of September, this yeere of our Lord 1367. whether many Knights, Squiers and other men, came vnto him, flying the furie of the King D.*Pedro*.

Being

Being aſſured of Calaorra, hee came to Logrogno, where hee found great reſiſtance, A
wherefore he paſt on by Rioja and Bureba, and came to Burgos, where the Inhabitants receiued him with great affection, and although the caſtle and the Iewes place made ſome reſiſtance, yet he brought them to obedience and tooke within the caſtle D. *Iames* of Majorca, who defended it. Hee was ſonne to the laſt King of Majorca, and had eſcaped from a hard priſon, where hee had beene long detained in the new caſtle at Barcelona, ſince the yeere of our Lord 1362. then beeing come to Naples, hee had the happe to marrie Queene *Ieanne* of Naples, whom they called Duke of Calabria, and not King of Naples.

Many townes yeelded vnto Don *Henry* in fewes daies, and about the beginning of B
the yeere of our Lord 1368. he got the city of Leon: wherefore hauing much blemiſhed the name and authority of his aduerſary in old Caſtile, hee marched with his army towards Toledo, which city hee beſeeged making a bridge of wood ouer the riuer of Tayo, to paſſe and repaſſe his army, as occaſion ſhould ſerue. The Inhabitants were deſirous to receiue D. *Henry*, but for that Don *Pedro* held many of their men in hoſtage, fearing leaſt hee ſhould kill them, they durſt not declare themſelues. At this ſeege, the French Kings Ambaſſadors preuailed ſo with Don *Henry*, as hee ſware to compromit the controuerſies which hee had with the King of Arragon, hauing that charge from their maiſter, who deſired to reconcile theſe two Princes: at this promiſe there were preſent Don *Pedro* of Arragon, the Kings vncle, the Archbiſhop of Toledo, Don C
Pedro *Fernandes* of Velaſco, *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, *Diego Gomes* of Toledo, *Gonçal-Meſsie* of Pont, and others. Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile hauing fortified and manned the towne of Carmona, parted thence, to come to Eccia, hauing in his company *Mahumet* King of Granado, called the old, with all the forces of his Realme, conſiſting of ſeuen thouſand horſe, and foure ſcore thouſand foot, whereof twelue thouſand were Croſſe-bowes, or as ſome write thirtie thouſand, to whom the King Don *Pedro* did ioyne fifteene hundreth horſe, and ſixe thouſand foote, of his ſubiects and partiſans Spaniards; and with this army he came and laied ſeege to Cordoua which had reuolted: but not able to take it, after ſome ſallies and incounters, the Moores returned to Granado, and the King Don *Pedro* to Seuile. Yet the King of Granado ſtaied not long D
before hee returned to Iaen, the which hee tooke and burned, and came againe and camped before Cordoua, but hee diſlodged ſoone, and went towards Vbeda, where hee did as hee had done at Iaen, and making his proffit of theſe reuolts, hee tooke many other places, did great ſpoile in Andaluſia, and carried away an infinite number of Chriſtians priſoners. Whileſt that Don *Henry* preſt Toledo, the townes of Victoria, Saluatierra, Alaua, and Logrogno, which held for the King Don *Pedro*, beeing tired with the continuall warre which the Guipuſcoans, and others of their Neighbours (which held Don *Henries* partie) made againſt them, they yeelded to *Charles* King of Nauarre.

Army of the King D. Pedro.

Townes in Caſtile yeeld to the King of Nauarre.

In this reddition the King of Nauarre was much aſſiſted by Don Tello, who held E
Biſcay, and was then in bad termes with his brother Don *Henry*. They ſay that the Inhabitants of theſe townes hauing acquainted the King Don *Pedro* with their neceſſities, intreating him that hee would not take it ill, if they put themſelues into the hands of the King of Nauarre, who was his friend and allie, hee willed them to hold out as long as they could, and when as they ſhould bee no more able to defend themſelues they ſhould rather yeeld to Don *Henry* his brother, without diuiding themſelues from the crowne of Caſtile, then vnto the King of Nauarre, who would diſmember them from that body: moreouer that hee had no reaſon to gratifie him, for hee had not receiued any aſſured ſuccors from him. But it fell out otherwiſe, and the King of Nauarre was ſeized thereon, who to make money at that time, ſold many preuiledges to the F
townes of Nauarre, and among others to the towne of Viana hee ſold the duty called Fouſadera, and ſold them moreouer the place called Agoncillo, and the Borroughs of Vrllicilla, and Lacagurria, with their appurtenances, for a certaine ſum of money, by letters granted at Olite, the ſeuenth of Auguſt, this yeere 1368.

In the meane time D. *Henry* continued his ſeege to Toledo, the loſſe whereof D. *Pedro* fearing

A fearing, he reſolued to come and ſuccour it and to raiſe the ſeege. Hauing therefore left D. *Sancho* and D. *Diego*, his baſe ſonnes in Carmone, with great ſtore of money and precious ſtones, and a good garriſon, hee marched againſt the beſeegers. Being vpon his march, hee receiued letters from *Aben-Hatin* the Moore, who foretold him of his approching death: yet for all this he ſtaied not, leading in his army three thouſand horſe, whereof fifteene hundred were Moores, which the King of Granado had ſent him. Being come to Montiel, and there making ſome ſtay, hee was abandoned by many of his men; whereof D. *Henry* being aduertiſed, hee thought it time to come to his laſt tryall, which of them two ſhould raigne in Caſtile: wherefore he left at the ſeege of Toledo D. *Gomes Manriques*, Archbiſhop of that city, with moſt of his forces, and he with three
B thouſand horſe went to incounter the King D. *Pedro*, being reſolued to giue him battaile. He was ouertaken vpon the way in the towne of Orgaz, by *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, who being newly redeemed from the Engliſh, for tenne thouſand pounds ſtarling, which the French King had paied, came to ſerue him in this conqueſt with ſixe hundred launces. Being fortified with this troupe, D. *Henry* marched with all ſpeed, and came to Montiel, whereof the King D. *Pedro* (who had no good ſpies) did not dreame, where as his men making a ſhew of fighting, beeing in tumult and confuſion, (as men ſurprized) they were by the councell of *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, ſodainely charged with ſuch fury, as they were all put to flight, abandoning their King, who ſeeing himſelfe reduced to that extremity, ſhut himſelfe into the caſtle of Montiel, which ſtands vpon the ſide of a hill,
C aboue the towne.

The King D. Pedro foretold his death.

Defeat of the King D. Pedros men.

Martin Lopes of Cordoua, captaine of the men which were within Carmone, was vpon the way to come and ſuccor the King D. *Pedro*; but hearing of the defeat of thoſe that were with him, and that he was ſhut vp into the caſtle of Montiel, he returned. The Earle D. *Henry* did preſently caſt a ditch about the towne and caſtle of Montiel, that his prey might not eſcape; but D. *Pedro* being beſeeged, and in want of all things ſought to corrupt *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, by the meanes of *Men Rodrigues* of Sanubria, promiſing him the townes of Soria, Almacan, Atiença, Montagu, Beça and Seron, and moreouer two hundred thouſand doublons of gold, if hee would vndertake to ſet him in
D a place of ſafety: whereunto *Bertrand* ſeeming to conſent, he aduertiſed D. *Henry*; then hauing giuen an houre and place to *Men Rodrigues* (who was borne at Tranſtamara) to bring forth the King, he came out of the caſtle in the night, hauing in his company D. *Fernand* of Caſtro, and D. *Diego Gonçales* of Ouiedo, and went all armed towards the lodging of *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, who came to meet him, and ſaid vnto him, that it was time to ſpur; but as he was ready to goe to horſe, hee was ſtaied by ſome that followed *Bertrand*, and forced to come into his tent, where hee found D. *Henry* his brother, armed, who at the firſt ſight did not know him; and beeing aduertiſed by them that were about him, that it was the King D. *Pedro*, his enemy, yet was hee in doubt, for hee had not ſeene him in many yeeres. The King D. *Pedro* ſeeing himſelfe betraied, tranſported with fu-
E ry, began to cry out aloude, *I am, I am in deed* D. *Pedro*. Then D. *Henry* drawing out his dagger ſtabbed him in the face, the King graſpled with him, and they both fell to the ground, but D. *Henry* vnderneath; who being helpt by *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, and others, freed himſelfe, and got the King D. *Pedro* vnder him, whom he ſlue with his dagger. Thus D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile ended his daies miſerably, for his exceſſe and tyranies; fulfilling the prediction of the Monke of S^t. Dominike of Calçada, whom he cauſed to be burned, and of the Philoſopher *Aben-Hatin*. His death was in the yeere 1368. the two and thirtith of March, for the which many blame *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, as hauing falſified his faith and promiſe to ſet him in a place of ſafety: others diſcharge him, ſaying, that the King D. *Pedro* deſpayring, came and put himſelfe raſhly into his enemies hands. His body was interred in the Monaſtery of Saint Dominike the Roial at Madrid. Hee had
F raigned nineteene yeers, and died beginning the fiue and thirtith of his age.

Bertrand of Gueſclin betraies the King D. Pedro.

D. Henry baſtard of Caſtile kils the King D. Pedro.

D. Fernand

A

D. Fernand alone of that name, ninth King of Portugal.

Portugal 23 DVring the warres of the two Princes of Caſtile, brethren, we doe not read that D. *Pedro* king of Portugal tooke part with either of them. He died in the yeere 1367. the ſeuen and forty of his age, hauing raigned almoſt eleuen yeere. To which Realme ſucceeded D. *Fernand* his ſonne, being at his coronation ſixe and twentie yeere old, and B ſome monthes, in whom the direct and lawfull line of D. *Henry* of Beſançon, or of Lorraine, failed, as ſhal appeere. He was preſent in the towne of Eſtremos, when as his father died, and was there acknowledged, and proclaimed King, taking an oth from ſuch of his ſubiects as were then preſent.

Arragon. D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, hearing the ſucceſſe of D. *Henries* victory, began to feare him, ſending *Francis* of Perillos and *Iames Elfaro* Ambaſſadors into France, who procured an offenciue and defenciue league, the French King promiſing to aide him of Arragon, in his warres of Sardyina, yea and againſt D. *Henry*, if hee did not referre vnto him the queſtion for the realme of Murcia, and other lands promiſed, as hee had informed him. And for that the warres betwixt the French and Engliſh were reuiued, *Francis* of C Perillos being held the beſt captaine at ſea in his time, was granted vnto the French king, who entertained him, notwithſtanding that the King of Arragon his maiſter, had great need of him, for the warres of Sardynia, the which was continually entertained, by *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, who this yeere had taken many places from the Arragonois, and defeated in a ſallie which he made, being beſeeged in the caſtle of Oriſtagno, the army of Arragon, commanded by D. *Pedro* of Luna and his ſonne, the which did ſo diſquiet the King, as he reſolued to go thether in perſon: but new affaires hindred him, for he was inuaded from the county of Roſſillon by ſome Frenchmen, who notwithſtanding were but vagabond troupes, running vp and downe the country without warrant: and he was alſo kept backe by the controuerſies which he had with the new King of Caſtille: wherefore D he ſent D. *Berenger* of Carrozo, Earle of Quirra, thether with an army, yet giuing it ſtill out that he ſhould goe thether himſelfe, keeping the Standard royal diſplaied on the top of the caſtle of Barcelona, after the accuſtomed manner, in ſigne that the King would goe to the warre: the which kept theſe ſeditious people ſomewhat in awe. Hee cauſed an Edict to bee publiſhed, by the which hee granted reſpight to all that were indebted, and repeale for baniſhed men that were of Sardynia. Being come to Valence, he made his ſonne D. *Martin* Seneſhall of Cattelogne, who commanded ouer all armes, vniting vnto that dignity that of the Conſtable of the realme, as well on this ſide, as beyond the ſeas: and then it was decreed, that from that time the children of the Kings or Princes of Arragon ſhould be called to that degree. E

The end of the fifteenth Booke.

F

THE

THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE
of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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A

B

In this ſixteenth Booke mention is made of the Kings.

15 D. Henry *of Caſtile,*
16 D. Iohn *his ſonne,*
36 *of Leon, ſecond of that name.*
37 *of Leon, firſt of that name.*

C

D. Henry, called de la Merced the fifteenth King of Caſtile, and ſixe and thirty of Leon.

I Caſtile.

D. Henry ſurnamed the Gratious.

AFter the death of the King D. *Pedro*, the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon, remained to D. *Henry*, without any great difficulty. He got by his vertue and mildneſſe, what his brother had loſt by his pride and cruelty. Hee was a friend to the vertuous, nobly minded, bountifull, valiant, and ſtrong of his perſon, although he were but of a ſmall ſtature: He was ſurnamed the liberall, or gratious, by reaſon of the bounty he ſhewed to them that had ſerued him. The greatneſſe and good fortune of this King was ſuſpected vnto the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, who made a league this yeere, reſtoring one vnto an other certaine townes and caſtles, that is, Arragon deliuered to Nauarre, Herrera of Moncayo: and Nauarre to Arragon Saluaterra and Real, they pacefied the controuerſies which were betwixt them of Sangueſſa and Real, by a definitiue ſentence of Merins and Gouernors of Tudelo and Saragoſſa: Queene *Ieanne* gouerning the realme of Nauarre, and dealing in all theſe affaires, in the abſence of King *Charles* her husband, who was gone into France, vpon the reuiuing of the warre betwixt the French and Engliſh, that ſame yeere. Nauarre and Arragon, began then to make many practiſes with the Kings of Portugal and England to diſpoſſeſſe the King D. *Henry* of his new conqueſt, in the which Carmona in Andaluſia, Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo in Caſtile, with a good part of Galicia, refuſed to obey him, al the reſt acknowledging him for King. For Toledo, as ſoone as D. *Pedros* death was knowne yeelded: Seuile opened her gates, the caſtle of Montiel was deliuered him, where and in other places, hee foũd great ſtore of treaſure, iewels, ſilks, tapſtries & other rich mouables of the deceaſed king. The townes of Logrogno, Victoria, Saluatierra of Alaua, and S^t. Cruz of Campeço, were yeelded to the king of Nauar. & he of Arragon had ſeized on Molina, Cagnet & Requegna, hauing corrupted *Garcia* of Vera, and *Aluar Ruis* of Eſpejo, captains of theſe places. D. *Henry* ſought to make ſome accord with thẽ of Carmona, demanding fridẽſhip and

D

E

F

A and offring a truce to the King of Granado, the which the King of Caſtile had neuer done, but he could not effect it. *Mahumet* the Old, King of Granado, anſwered, that hee would be a friend to the King D. *Pedro* dead, as hee had beene in his life time: wherefore the King leauing good order vpon that frontier, and appointing D. *Gonçalo Mexia*, maiſter of the Knights of Saint Iames, Gouernor thereof, with other Noblemen and Captaines, he parted from Seuile, to come to Toledo. Then he cauſed a certaine coine to bee made, called croyſez, of the value of a marauedis, and an other kinde called rials, of the value of foure marauidis. Euery marauidis in thoſe times being worth ten of the leſſer at this daie.

Truce offred by the King D. Henry, and refuſed by him.

Money currant in Caſtile.

The firſt that began to quarrel with him for the ſucceſſion of the realme, was D. *Fer-* Portugal.

B *nand* King of Portugal, who pretended to be lawful heire, as Grandchild to D. *Beatrix* of Caſtile, daughter to D. *Sancho* the Braue: he was animated, in this ambition, by the Inhabitants of Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo, frontier townes of Portugal, who would not acknowledge D. *Henry*, but called in D. *Fernand* to raigne ouer them, as it ſeemed all the country of Galicia had the like intent, the towne of Corunna (commonly called the Groine) hauing voluntarily ſubiected it ſelfe to the king of Portugal. To preuent which inconueniences, the king D. *Henry* marched with a great army towards Zamore, to beſeege it, but finding it ſtrong and wel manned, he paſt on into Galicia; D. *Fernand* finding himſelfe inferior, both in number of men, in valour, and in experience of warre, vnto D. *Henry*, would not attend him, but imbarked, and returned into his country by ſea, leauing a good garriſon in the Groine. The King D. *Henry*, accompanied by *Bertrand* of

Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo contrary to the King D. Henry.

C Gueſclin, entred into Portugal, betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, where he tooke Braga and Bragança, and ouerrun al that country, in view of the enemies, who durſt not preſent themſelues in battaile, and had done worſe, if he had not beene called backe, by the newes which he receiued of the Moores attempts, and of the taking of Algezire, by the King of Granado, who hauing intelligence with the King of Portugal, had beſeeged, taken and razed this place, euen vnto the ground, in hattred of the great loſſes, which the Moores his predeceſſors and their confederats had receiued by reaſon thereof. At that time there raigned at Fez, in Affrike, and in Algarue, or the plaines of Affrike, a prince of

Warre by D. H. ſtir. Fer. K. of Portugal.

Moores take Algezire.

D the race of the Merins, called *Abayfer Abdelaziz*, to whom the Kings of Arragon and Granado (hauing conſpired againſt D. *Henry*) ſent their Ambaſſadors, in the yeere 1370. to treat a peace, and league with him, the which they did for fiue yeeres: and in the mean time the King of Granado ceaſed not to annoy the country of Andaluſia, and to doe all the ſpoile he could, giuing it out that it was in fauor and aide of D. *Pedros* children, who were in Carmona well manned and fortefied.

An. 1370.

The King D. *Henry* went to field againſt this Moore, who in paſſing attempted Ciudad Caſtille.

Roderigo, but he could not take it. Being come to Medina del Campo, where the Eſtates were aſſembled, he was aſſiſted with great ſummes of money, wherewith hee contented ſtrangers which had ſerued him: and withal hee receiued for the ranſome of D. *Iames* of

E Majorca, who had beene taken in the caſtle of Burgos, 70000. ducats, paied by Queene *Ieanne* of Naples his wife. They hold, that *Bertrand* of Gueſclin and others receiued there aboue ſixe ſcore thouſand doublons, beſides the townes and places which hee gaue them; as to *Gueſclin* the townes of Soria, Almaçan, Atiença, Montague and Seron, and moreouer the Siegneury of Molina, which the King of Arragon held, that hee might breed a iarre betwixt them. There *Bertrand* of Gueſclin tooke his leaue, and returned into France, where he was made Conſtable, and managed the warre againſt the Engliſh. The King D. *Henry* being come into Andaluſia, hee was to arme himſelfe againſt the Moores, againſt them of Carmona, & againſt the gallies of Portugal, who did trouble that coaſt, ſtoping the mouth of the riuer of Guadalquibir, ſo as the towne of Seuile was much anoied. The King was nothing well prouided of gal-

F lies & ſhips of warre, yet he gaue ſuch order, as in a ſhort time he had a good army made ready in Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, whereby the ſea was aſſured; the Generall of this armie, was called *Pero Gonçales* of Aguero. During theſe actions, D. *Tello* the Kings brother, beeing reconciled, and left by him in Galicia, to make head againſt the Portugals, died, and was buried at Saint Francis of Palencia, the Siegneuries of Biſcay

and Lara held by him, were afterwards giuen by the King vnto his ſonne D. *Iohn*, who being come vnto the crowne, did incorporat them vnto it for euer. A

An. 1371. In the yeere 1371. Carmona was ſtraightly beſeeged, and after many aſſaults, yeelded by D. *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, maiſter of Calatraua, vpon certaine conditions. During the ſeege there was ſo furious a ſally made, as they came vnto the Kings tent, where he was in great danger; wherewith being incenſed, and at many other bad offices of this maiſter, he cauſed him to be ſlaine afterwards at Seuile: paſſion ſurmounting the religion of othes and promiſes. There was great ſtore of the deceaſed D. *Pedros* treaſure, found by the King. And at the time of this ſeege D. *Pedro Fernandes* of Velaſco, great Chamberlaine to the King, tooke Zamora; and in Galicia many rebels were ſubdued, by D. *Pedro Manriques*, gouernor general of Caſtile, and D. *Pedro Ruis Sarmiento* gouernor of Galicia. B

Carmine yeelded to the King D Henry.

Portugal 2 This good ſucceſſe made the King of Portugal yeeld to the will of God, who ſhewed plainely that D. *Henry* muſt raigne: wherefore theſe Princes made a peace at Alcantin, treating a marriage betwixt D. *Fernand* King of Portugal, and D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, daughter to the King D. *Henry*: although it tooke no effect, no more then two others, which D. *Fernand* had contracted two yeeres before, with the houſe of Arragon: when as this King of Portugal, with thoſe of Arragon, Nauarre and Granado (iealous of the greatneſſe of the new King of Caſtile) had made a league together. For confirmation of this league, the King of Arragon had ſent D. *Iohn* of Villaragut, and *Bernard* of Miragle Ambaſſadors to theſe Princes, who being in the court of Portugal, propounded a marriage betwixt the Infant D. *Iohn* of Arragon, Duke of Girone, and D. *Maria* ſiſter to the King of Portugal, the which was ſo pleaſing vnto the King D. *Fernand*, as for a final concluſion thereof, he ſent D. *Iohn Alphonſo Tello*, Earle of Barcellos, his greateſt fauorit, into Arragon, with a good number of gallies, and many Iewels and rich preſents. C

The Earle treating with the King about this marriage of the Infants, he entred alſo into ſpeech to marry the King D. *Fernand* his maiſter, with D. *Leonora* of Arragon, his daughter: wherevnto the King D. *Pedro* gaue eare, and vpon this hope, their league againſt D. *Henry* King of Caſtile was the more confirmed: as theſe marriages were for ſome conſiderations delaied, in the end, they were by this peace betwixt Caſtile and Portugal quite broken: and in like ſort that which was concluded at Alcantin, betwixt the King D. *Fernand*, and D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, was diſapointed by the diſordred paſſions, wherevnto the King D. *Fernand* did abandon himſelfe, to enioy D. *Leonora Teiles* of Meneſes, his owne ſubiect, wife to D. *Laurence Vaſco* of Acugna, a knight of Portugal, taking her from her husband, and kept her to himſelfe, like vnto *Octauius Cæſar*, who tooke Liuia, the wife of *Tiberius Nero*, with whom he was in loue. D

Caſtile. 3 By the peace made betwixt Caſtile and Portugal, the King D. *Henry* recouered all the townes of Caſtile and Galicia, which had beene held by the Portugal faction. The Eſtates were then aſſembled at Toro, where they were about to make many lawes in this new raigne. Among others, the Iewes and Moores inhabiting in the townes of Caſtile, were enioyned to weare a marke vpon their garments, to diſtinguiſh them from others. About that time, D. *Philip* of Caſtro, being of the bloud royal of Arragon, was ſlaine by his owne ſubiects, ſtriuing to get the poſſeſſion of the Siegneury of Paredes, belonging to his wife D. *Iean* ſiſter to the King D. *Henry*, daughter to D. *Leonora* of Guzman. D. *Philip* left one only daughter for his heire. E

Eſtates at Toro.

Orders for Iewes apparel.

Murther of D. Philip of Caſtro.

Arragon. Vpon the good agreement which was at the time betwixt the French King and him of Arragon, there was a marriage concluded betwixt D. *Iohn* duke of Girona, and D. *Iean* of France, daughter to King *Philip* of Valois, whom he had in his latter daies by Queene *Blanch* his ſecond wife, daughter to *Philip* of Eureux King of Nauarre. At that time there was a confederacy made in Cattelogno: al the Nobility of that Prouince taking armes, againſt the Earles of Vrgel and Ampurias, and the Viconts of Cardoua and Caſtlebon; who pretended to be the chiefe and Lords of the Nobility in Cattelogno, and maintainned that all the reſt of the Nobility were their ſubiects: but the King taking the quarrell in hand, ſaid, that the Nobility did not acknowledge any ſuperior but himſelfe, and ſuppreſt their deſeignes. F

The

A The Arragonois affaires in Sardinia, being almoſt ruined, were ſomewhat repaired by *Warre in Sardynia.* *Brenvenu Graphie*, a captaine of ſome Sicilian gallies, who paſſing vpon occaſion along that ſhoare, releeued Cailleri and Alguer, and gaue meanes to the Earle of Quirra, Gouernor for the King of Arragon, to victual Ioyeuſegarde, Aquafredda, Saint Michel and Quirra. Then was Francaleon of Oria brought vnder the King of Arragons obedience, and oppoſed to *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, who notwithſtanding was ſo fortunate, as had he beene any thing aſſiſted by the Geneuois, hee had quite chaſed the Arragonois out of the Iſland, but that ſtate hauing made a peace with the King of Arragon, they maintained it faithfully, *Dominike* of Campofregoſo, being Duke of Genoua.

B D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, thinking his honour much interreſſed if he did not puniſh this Iudge *Marian*, who troubled him ſo much, entertained a great number of Engliſh, and other ſtrangers, both horſe and foote, to ſend into Sardynia: for the payment of which troupes and other neceſſary charges of this warre, he impoſed great tributs vpon his ſubiects of Arragon, Valence, and Cattelogne, by a decree of the Eſtates, where- *Complaint of the Arragonois.* with the people found themſelues greuouſly oppreſſed, by reaſon whereof there were complaints and murmuring throughout the whole realme: What a miſerable thing, ſay they, was the guift of this curſed Iſland to our Kings, of this barren and now vnmanured ſoile, bearing no fruite, full of woods and mariſhes, vnder a peſtilent and vnholeſome aire, inhabited by ſauage people, treacherous, and full of vanity, which hath

C conſumed and ſwallowed vp ſo many braue and valiant men of Arragon, and waſted ſo much treaſure? Let the King leaue it with a miſchiefe to the Geneuois for a perpetuall ſubiect of quarrels and warre, both among themſelues, and with their neighbours, and ſo hee ſhall take a large reuenge for the Realme of Arragon, both of them, and of the Sardyniens. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcontentments of the people, the King D. *Pedro* did what he could to keepe the Iſland.

As for the affaires betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre, the new King D. *Henry* found many Nauarre. difficulties, by the abſence of the King of Nauarre, Queene *Ieanne* his wife, who gouerned the country, refuſing to conclude any thing touching the reſtitution of the townes of Logrogno, Saluaterra, Alaua, Victoria, and Santa Cruz of Campeço, vſurped from

D the crowne of Caſtile, for the King D. *Charles*, knowing ſince the yeere 1370. that the Engliſh and French would fall againe to armes, thinking it a fit occaſion to recouer the lands and rights which hee pretended to bee of his ancient patrimony, and held by the French King, he paſt the mountaines, and went to Cherbourg in Normandy, not once approching neere the court of France, hauing no confidence in his brother in law King *Charles* the fifth. At his departure hee had left Queene *Ieanne* his wife Gouerneſſe of his Realme, and for councell hee had giuen her D. *Bernard Foucault* Biſhop of Pampelone, and D. *Iohn Cruſat* Deane of Tudele. The townes of Saluaterra and Real, were reſtored by the Queene Gouerneſſe to the King of Arragon, and a league treated with this King, hauing ſent Doctor *Iohn Cruzat*, with others to Tortoſe.

E Their accords tended to the preiudice of Don *Henry* King of Caſtile, with whom afterwards the Kings of Portugall and Granado ioyned, as wee haue ſayd, all which things were ratefied and confirmed by the King Don *Charles*, who was in France: who beeing ſome-what pacefied by the French King, made a peace with him, which continued about fiue yeeres: by reaſon whereof hee prepared himſelfe to returne into Nauarre, in the end of the yeere of our Lord 1372. *An.* 1372.

Attending whoſe returne, the Queene his wife beeing ſollicited for the townes of Victoria, Saluaterra of Alaua and others, which had yeelded themſelues to the King of Nauarre, could finde no better expedient to content the King Don *Henry*, then to conſent that Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth, who had newly ſucceeded *Vrbaine*

F the fifth, ſhould bee Iudge of this difference, and that vntill hee had ſent a Cardinall with ſufficient authority to determine, the townes ſhould remaine in the hands of D. *Iohn Ramires* of Areilan, a Knight of great vertue and eſteeme, who ſhould keepe them in depoſito, in the Popes name.

This the Queene yeelded vnto, to the end the Realme might be in quiet at her huſbands returne: but notwithſtanding this accord the King Don *Henry* ſought to get

theſe places by force: ſo as Saluaterra of Alaua and Saint Croix were reduced vnder A
his obedience: but Victoria and Logrogno remained in the cuſtody of D.*Iohn Ramires* of Areillan. King *Charles* complained to Pope *Gregory* the eleuenth, at Auignon, of this exceſſe done by the King D.*Henry*, then he came with all ſpeed into his Realme of Nauarre, to defend it againſt the army of the King D. *Henry*, who threatned to enter into his country, if hee did not reſtore him the townes of Logrogno and Victoria. King *Charles* gaue him to vnderſtand, that ſeeing it had beene agreed to put their controuerſies to compromiſe to the Pope, who had ſent a Legat into Spaine, which was Cardinal *Guy* of Bologno, Biſhop of Portuenſe, that (for his part) hee was well content hee ſhould determine thereof, the which the King D. *Henry* did alſo yeeld vnto: wherefore the Legat being come to Saint Dominike, and hauing beene made acquainted with the B
rights and pretenſions of both Kings, hee made a peace betwixt them, vpon theſe conditions: That the townes of Logrogno and Victoria, ſhould be reſtored to the King of Caſtille: That the Infant D.*Charles*, eldeſt ſonne to the King of Nauarre, ſhould take to wife Donna *Leonora* Infanta of Caſtille, daughter to D. *Henry*, with a dowry of a hundred thouſand doublons at the celebration of the marriage: and moreouer beſides the ſaid ſumme, King *Henry* ſhould pay at the ſame time, twenty thouſand doublons to the King of Nauarre, for his charges during the time he had held the ſayd places: That for aſſurance of the accompliſhment of this marriage, the Infant D. *Pedro*, the younger ſonne of Nauarre, ſhould remaine in hoſtage in Caſtile, in the hands of the C
Queene D.*Ieanne*, vntill that the Infant D.*Charles* ſhould bee of ſufficient age. Theſe things thus determined, the two Kings met at Briona, where they did confirme what had beene formerly concluded; being come into Nauarre, hee preſently ſent his ſonne D. *Charles* to bee made ſure to the Infanta D. *Leonora*, who came to Briona, well accompanied by the chiefeſt Noblemen of Nauarre, where this ceremony was done with great pompe: the townes of Victoria and Logrogno, were reſtored, and after the returne of the Infant D.*Charles*, D.*Pedro* his brother was ſent vnto the Queene of Caſtile, to remaine there in hoſtage, according to the accord.

A couenant betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre.

The King of Nauarre hauing giuen order for this buſineſſe, hee examined their actions, which had gouerned his Realme during his abſence; and hauing found that ſome D
faults had beene committed by the Biſhop of Pampelone, and the Deane of Tudelo, whom he had left for councellors to the Queene his wife, they fearing to bee puniſhed, abſented themſelues. The Biſhop tooke his way to Rome, where hee arriued ſafely, and there ended the remainder of his daies; but as for the Deane, who ſought to ſaue himſelf in Caſtile, he was purſued, and taken nere vnto Logrogno, and there ſlaine by the Kings commandment. Soone after Queen *Iean* returned into France, where ſhe liued not long.

4 About the end of this yeere 1373. the King D.*Charles* and his eldeſt ſonne, came to Madrid to ſee the King D. *Henry*, whom the King of Nauarre let vnderſtand, that to auoide a great trouble in his affaires, which might grow by the meanes of *Edward* King of England, and *Edward* Prince of Wales his ſonne, he ſhould imbrace their friendſhip, E
the which he had charge to offer him, vpon conditiõ he ſhould breake the league he had with the French king, their enemy, in regard whereof they promiſed to giue no aide vnto the daughters of the deceaſed King D.*Pedro*, who were in England, making great ſute vnto King *Edward*, and to the Prince of Wales, to reſtore them to their fathers Inheritance: and moreouer that *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter had married D. *Conſtance* the one of them, by reaſon whereof he pretended the Realme of Caſtile to belong vnto him, as holding the place of the eldeſt, being declared lawful, and receiued in that quality by the Eſtates of the realme, her ſiſter, D.*Beatrix* being dead. All which pretenſions ſhould bee relinquiſhed by the Engliſh, if he left the alliance of France, & paied a certaine ſum of money vnto the Prince of Wales, the which the D.*Pedro* his brother did owe him. The F
King of Nauarre propounded theſe things, as hauing charge from the Engliſh Princes, who were enemies to France, whoſe party he had alwaies held, for the wrongs which hee pretended had beene done him by the French King his brother in law: giuing many reaſons, to induce the King D. *Henry* to incline to this party: but hee (who held not the crowne of Caſtile of any other after God, but of the French) would not ſhew himſelfe

The King of Nauar ſeekes to draw the King of Caſtile from the frienſhip of France to ioyne with the Engliſh.

vnthanke-

A vnthankfull, but anſwered reſolutely, that he would neuer quit the friendſhip of France: but if the queſtion were to diſburſe money to content the Engliſh, that he was well content to do it: the which the King of Nauarre ſayd was not ſufficient, and that he muſt of neceſſitie breake the League he had with France; but if he held it not fit to do, hee intreated him not to take in ill part what he had ſayd vnto him, ſeeing he had it in charge from the King of England, to whom he was bound to do all good offices. The king Don *Henry* thanked him for the paines he had taken, to come ſo farre into Caſtile, ſaying, that he could not take that ill which he had ſpoken, but (for his part) he wold perſiſt in his firſt reſolution: ſo as the King of Nauarre returned into his Realme, and the king Don *Henry* into Andaluſia.

Don Henry K. of Caſtile perſiſts in the amity of France.

B The king of Nauarre aduertiſed the Engliſh Princes of the anſwer he had receiued, the which did much diſcontent them: for the king of Caſtile did much ballance their affaires, by the ſuccours he gaue by ſea vnto the French, hauing ſent a good number of ſhips of warre, vnder the command of *Ambroſe Bocanegra* a Genouois, his Admirall, who ſtopped the paſſage in ſuch ſort betwixt France and England, as beſides many ſmall prizes which he had taken, he defeated a fleet of Engliſh, about that time, and tooke ſixe and thirty of their veſſels neere vnto Rochel; by which victorie Rochel came vnder the obedience of the French king, and the greateſt part of the prey and priſoners were carried into Spaine; among the which was the Earle of Pembrooke Generall of the army. Beſides which ſuc-

Rochel yeelded to the French.

C cours, the king Don *Henry* being come from Burgos to Saint Ander, he ſent Don *Ruy Diaz* of Rojas into the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, to make ready a new army of 40. ſhips, the which he ſent ſoone after vnder the command of the ſame *Ruy Diaz* to the French K. who came to Rochel, and hauing ioyned with a French Captaine called *Iohn Calais*, who had about twenty Barkes, all together came and ſet vpon another fleet of Engliſh, whom they likewiſe put to rout, and then Don *Ruy Diaz* returned a victor into Spaine: ſo as the Engliſh had reaſon to ſeeke to diuide the king of Caſtile, from him of France, and to draw him vnto their partie. Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth preſumed to interpoſe his authoritie in theſe Princes quarrels, the which did not pleaſe them. Hauing made an accord betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Nauarre, he would alſo reconcile the controuerſies that were

D betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, and to this end hee ſent the Cardinall of Cominges into Spaine, who preſt the two Kings to ſend their Deputies to debate their cauſe before him. Don *Henry* named for his part the biſhop of Burgos, and Don *Aluar Garcia* of Albornoz Lord Steward of his houſe: the king of Arragon deputed the biſhop of Lerida, and Don *Raymond Alamin Cerullon*, who agreed that the Colledge of Cardinals ſhould determine this controuerſie. But theſe Princes beeing better aduiſed, that it was not fit their quarels ſhould be decided by the Court of Rome, they tooke a better courſe to agree betwixt themſelues. The towne of Tuy which had for many moneths refuſed to obey D. *Henry*, now ſubmitted about this peace of Arragon.

But the warre was renewed betwixt Caſtile and Portugal, by reaſon of many prizes ta- Portugal.

E ken in the port of Lisbone, and at ſea, of ſhips and merchants of Biſcay, Guipuſcoa and Aſturia: and alſo for that the King Don *Fernand* gaue a retreat vnto the baniſhed men of Caſtile, concerning matters of State; and alſo that hee had contemned the marriage concluded betwixt him and Donna *Leonora* of Caſtile, to marrie Donna *Leonora Telles* of Meneſes, Neece to the Earle of Barcelos, a Lady of great beautie, but much inferiour in qualitie to the Infanta Donna *Leonora* of Caſtile, and Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, whom he might haue had with great profit to his Realme, and to himſelfe honour. Hee contemned theſe marriages, which had beene very beneficiall to himſelfe, and to his Realme of Portugall, to marrie this Ladie, offending God and all good lawes: for he tooke her violently from her husband *Laurence Vaſques* of Acugna, forcing him to flie into Caſtile,

5.
Marriage vnlawful of the king of Portugal, taking away his ſubiects wife.

F where he paſt the remainder of his dayes in exile, carrying commonly hornes of ſiluer on his hat, to witneſſe the luſt and infamy of his Prince; yet ſome, to excuſe this fact, write, that the king cauſed this marriage to be diſſolued by the Popes authoritie, as vnlawfull, by reaſon of the neereneſſe of conſanguinitie: of the which (notwithſtanding) there was iſſued one ſonne, called *Aluaro* of Acugna. The king was made ſure vnto her in the preſence of the Earle of Barcelos, and a ſiſter of hers, called Don *Mary*, who had mannaged this

this marriage, and to whom the king had imparted his loues. When this marriage was A
publiſhed in Lisbone, the inhabitants incenſed (that the king had left ſo profitable and
Tumult at Liſbon for the kings mariage. honorable a marriage, as that of Caſtile) began to mutine, and hauing taken *Fernand Vaſques* of Acugna for their Captaine, they ſent 300. armed men about the kings pallace, and gaue the king to vnderſtand in the behalfe of the citty, that hee ſhould leaue this woman, elſe they would take her, and do vnto her as their Predeceſſors had done to the king D. *Sancho Capello* in the like caſe. The king fearing the furie of this multitude, anſwered them mildly, that in what they did, they were good ſubiects, being iealous of his honour, and thanked them for their good will: but he let them vnderſtand, that D. *Leonora Telles* was not his married wife, and intreated them to retire vntill the next day, when he would B
talke to them more amply of that buſineſſe, in the Monaſterie of S. *Dominicke*. This blaſt being blowne ouer, the king parted by night out of Lisbone, and carried D. *Leonora Telles* with him into the countrie betwixt Duero and Minio: and retiring towards Porto, he lodged neere vnto it in the Monaſterie of Leza, where he married this Lady publikely, not caring how his ſubiects tooke it. He commanded that all men ſhould acknowledge her, and call her Queene, and gaue her the townes of Almadra, Sintra, Torreſuedras, Atogna, Ouiedos, Alanguer, Abrantes, Villa vicioſa, and many other places. All in the end yeelded to it without murmuring, ſeing it was the kings pleaſure, and D. *Leonora* had the title of Queene giuen her by all men, but by D. *Denis* the kings brother, who would neuer kiſſe her hand, ſaying, That it was her duty to kiſſe his: whereat the King D. *Fernand* was C
ſo incenſed, as if Don *Denis* had not retired preſently by the meanes of thoſe that were then preſent, he had ſtab'd him with his dagger: for this cauſe the Infant retired himſelfe for euer after into Caſtile. When as D. *Leonora Telles* ſaw her ſelfe inſtalled Queene, ſhee made a diligent ſearch who had bin the chiefe motiues of the mutiny at Lisbon, and vnderſtanding that they were of the family of *Vaſques* of Acugna, ſhe ceaſed not to purſue them with a deadly hatred, vntill ſhe had forced many of them to flie into Caſtile.

Genealogie of Portugal. Of this marriage betwixt the king D. *Fernand* and D. *Leonora Telles* iſſued D. *Beatrix*, who was married to D. *Iohn* the firſt King of Caſtile, borne at Coimbra, and afterwards a ſon and a daughter who died yong: ſome Authors hold, that they were borne in adulterie, committed by the Queene with D. *Iohn Fernandes* of Andeiro, a knight of Gallicia, D
borne at Corunna. Moreouer the king before this marriage, had a daughter called D. *Izabel*. The king D. *Henry* hauing theſe cauſes of diſcontent againſt the king of Portugall, he gaue him to vnderſtand by his ambaſſadors, that he could not take it in good part, that he had retired his rebellious ſubiects, of which he demanded ſome: and moreouer, that he ſhould deliuer the ſhips and merchants of Aſturia, Biſcay, & Guipuſcoa with their goods, which he had taken and ſtayed: whereof the K. D. *Fernand* made no accompt, wherefore the king of Caſtile prepared to armes. *Diego Lope Pacheco* a knight of Portugal, was then in Caſtile, who was retired thither, by reaſon of the death of D. *Agnes* of Caſtro, flying the fury of the king D. *Pedro*: and had bin ſo fauored by the king D. *Henry*, as he had got great reuenues & honors. This Knight had left many friends in Portugal, by whoſe means E
he was aduertiſed of all that was done in D. *Fernands* Court: and as he was a moſt affectionat ſeruant to the king of Caſtile, ſo he ſought to draw vnto him all thoſe that were valiant in Portugall: and if any one were perſecuted, he perſwaded him to come into Caſtile, declaring vnto them the bountie of the king D. *Henry*. He had had intelligence of all that had paſt touching the marriage of D. *Leonora Telles*, and of the diſcontent betwixt the K. and his brother D. *Denis*, and them of the houſe of Acugna, and the city of Lisbon: wherfore imbracing theſe occaſions fit for the war, which was like to grow betwixt theſe two kings, *Diego Lope Pacheco* wrought ſo, as he drew D. *Denis* to come and put himſelfe vnder the protection of the king D. *Henry*, & entertayned by all means ſuch Gentlemen as were ill affected to their King, to be reuenged of the wrongs he had done them. Matters beeing F
thus prepared, and the ambaſſador being returned, who had bin ſent to ſummon the king D. *Fernand* to deliuer the baniſhed men which he had in his Realm, & to make reſtitution of the prizes which had bin taken by him, the king D. *Henry* entred into Portugal with an
War betwixt Caſtile and Portugal. army, and hauing ſent D. *Alphonſo* his ſon to Coimbra (a caſtle in Gallicia where the baniſhed men had fortified themſelues) the place was taken.

The

A The king on his ſide ſeized of Almorda, Panel, Cillonico and Linares, and there Don *Denis* ioyned with him, with other Noblemen of Portugal, who were liberally intreated, and much honoured. Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth reſiding in Auignon, hearing of the troubles betwixt theſe two kings, was carefull (like a good paſtor) to ſend a Legat, which was Cardinall *Guy* of Bologno, with full authoritie to reconcile them. But before that hee could draw the parties to any friendly compoſition, the king Don *Henry* made a new entrie, tooke Viſeo, and ranne vp the countrie as farre as S. Iren, finding no reſiſtance: for Don *Fernand* was not ſo able to maintain a quarrell, as he was ready to breed one: wherfore keeping himſelfe within Saint Iren, the king Don *Henry* had the paſſage free and open to go vnto Lisbone, where he ſpoyled and burnt the lower part of the towne, as the
B new ſtreet, and ſome other places, for that he neither found walles, nor any reſiſtance: the quarter called Sus, held good, being walled in, and well manned; for all the inhabitants were retired thither: during the which, the ſea-armie of Caſtile entred into the mouth of the riuer, which is large and ſpacious, where they did not onely recouer the ſhips of Biſcay, and others which had beene taken; but many veſſelles of all ſorts, which were fit for ſeruice, were carried away by the Caſtillans, and the reſt burnt. In the meane time the Legate laboured what he could to end theſe miſeries, wherein he preuailed ſo much, as hee reduced the two kings to a peace, the which was concluded to the great aduantage of the king of Caſtile; after which the kings met neere vnto Saint Iren, either of them in a barke
C vppon the riuer of Tayo, where they finiſhed their accord and capitulations: among the which there was a marriage concluded betwixt Donna *Beatrix*, ſiſter to the king D. *Fernand*, and Don *Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, brother to the king of Caſtile, and of Donna *Izabella* baſe daughter to the king Don *Fernand*, and Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, baſe ſonne to the king Don *Henry*. The mariage betwixt Don *Sancho* and Donna *Beatrix* was celebrated; the places taken were reſtored, the peace was proclaimed, and the king of Caſtile returned into his countrie, leading his daughter-in-law Donna *Izabella* with him, being but eight yeares old, who was afterwards married to the Earle of Gijon, to his great griefe.

Lisbon ſpoiled and burnt by the King of Caſtile.

Peace betwixt Caſtile and Portugal.

The quarrels betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, being not well ended, they were forced to come to a new compromiſe, wherein the Duke of Anjou brother to the French king was
D a dealer, but with ſo bad ſucceſſe, as he became enemie to the K. of Arragon. At that time were celebrated the mariages of D. *Iohn* D. of Girone, the heire of Arragon, and *Martha* daughter to the Earle of Armaignac, who had fifteene thouſand pounds ſtarling in dowrie: and of Don *Martin* of Arragon, the kings youngeſt ſonne, with Donna *Mary*, daughter to Don *Lopes* Earle of Luna, and Lord of Segorbe. The ſame yeare 1372. Don *Pedro* king of Arragon finding too late, how eaſie he had beene to beleeue falſe reports, and repenting himſelfe of the vnworthie death of *Bernard* of Cabrera, hee reſtored his Grand-child *Bernardin*, ſonne to *Bernardin* of Cabrera, to all his goods, except the Earldome of Vic, which he kept to himſelfe. The father of this young Nobleman dyed in Caſtile, in the ſeruice of the king Don *Henry*, notwithſtanding, that hee had ſought his fa-
E thers death. There were this yeare ſeene in Arragon horrible Earthquakes, with the ruins of mountaines about Ribagorça, where as many villages were ouerthrowne, and great multitudes of people periſhed.

Arragon.

In Caſtile the king Don *Henry* was preſt by Donna *Maria* of Lara, Counteſſe of Alençon, to do her right for the Lordſhips of Biſcay and Lara: ſhe had many ſons which were all aduanced in France: the firſt was Earle of Alençon, the ſecond of Eſtampes, the third of Perch, and two of the Church. The king Don *Henry* made anſwer, that ſhe ſhould ſend him two of her ſonnes to remaine in Spaine, and that he would giue the Lordſhip of Biſcay to the one, and that of Lara to the other. He preſumed that ſhe could not do it: all her children being ſo well aduanced in France, and for ſome other reaſons.

Caſtile.

Biſcay belongs to the houſe of Alenſon.

F *Edward* king of England, and his ſonne *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, (who intitled himſelfe King of Caſtile and Leon, in the right of his wife Donna *Conſtance*, daughter to the king Don Pedro the Cruel) ſent Ambaſſadors to the king of Arragon, in the yeare 1373. to treat a League with him: beeing reſolued to ſend a great army into Caſtile, to conquer that Realme, wherof the Duke of Lancaſter ſhould be Generall, as belonging to his wife: offering

1373.

Pretenſions of Iohn Duke of Lancaſter to Caſtile.

offering great conditions to the king of Arragon, if he would adhere to their partie. The A
king of Arragon demanded the Realme of Murcia, the townes of Requegna, Otiel, Moya,
Cagnete, the citty of Cuenca, and the Segneurie of Molina, with other places vppon the
frontier of Caſtile, whereof he held ſome: but hoping he ſhould haue a better compoſi-
tion with the king D. *Henry*, he kept himſelfe betwixt both, being doubtfull what to do,
ſo as nothing was concluded for that time with the ambaſſadors of England.

During theſe reuolutions in Spaine in temporall affaires, religion was managed by di-
uers ſects of Monkes, eſpecially by the begging Friars of Saint *Dominick* and Saint *Fran-*
cis, who this yeare incenſed the people againſt a new Order which had riſen in Spaine in
the time of the king Don *Pedro*, through the deuout ignorance of certaine Italians of B
Sienna, religious Hermits, who had heard one of their companions, called Friar *Thomas*,
7. ſay dying, by a Propheticall ſpirit, ſayd they, that within few dayes the holy Ghoſt
Order of Saint Ierom in Spain ſhould come into Spaine, and that he had this by reueſation: wherfore all theſe religious
men thinking that the holy Ghoſt did not frequent much in Italy in thoſe times, and that
it was ſomething which they muſt ſeeke farre off in a ſtrange countrie: they left Italy, and
came into the countrie of Toledo, hoping to get the grace of the holy Ghoſt, and therby
ſaue their ſoules.

The fame of theſe men being ſpred ouer Spaine, a biſhop of Iaen called D. *Alphonſo*
Pecha, and Don *Pero Fernand Pecha* his brother, Chamberlaine to the king Don *Pedro*,
Hernando Ianes Chanoine of Toledo, and chiefe Chaplaine of the chappell of the aunci- C
ent Kings, with many other Chriſtians, commending the reſolution of theſe Friars, and
their ignorance, being deſirous to liue in that contemplation, ioyned with them, leauing
Biſhoprickes, Chanonries, Benefices and Eſtates, and chuſing their aboads in caues and
woods farre from the ſocietie of men, where they began to liue a wonderfull auſtere life,
ſaying, that it was according to the rule of Saint *Paul*, that they muſt ſuffer many diſcom-
modities, to liue like Chriſtians, and that it was the meanes to gaine Paradice. This ſect
beeing in great eſteeme, the begging Friars began to blame the people for following of
theſe men, who had no ſetled Order nor diſcipline among them, and (which did more im-
port) had no approbation from the Pope. For theſe reaſons the inconſtant multitude be-
gan to retire themſelues, and to abate much of their deuotion, which theſe good Her- D
mits finding, to their great griefe, they tooke councell among themſelues to ſend vnto
the Pope, to get authoritie from him for a name, rule, profeſſion, order, and aboade. The
meſſengers were Friar *Peter Fernandez* of Guadajara, and Friar *Peter Romaine* of their
company: who beeing come before the Pope, expoſed their deuotion vnto him, their
Approbation of the Order of S. Ierome by the Pope. maner of life, exerciſes in religion, their means and merits, beſeeching him that he would
bee pleaſed to approoue their Order and profeſſion, giuing them for Patron the great
Doctor Saint *Ierome*, to whome all were moſt addicted.

The Pope made no difficultie to allow of them, hauing had ſome former information
of that which they had ſayd, appointing them to liue vnder the rule of S. *Auguſtine*, hee
preſcribed what manner of garment they ſhould weare, and ſent backe theſe Deputies in- E
to Spaine, with Buls, in October, 1373. By this approbation from the Pope, theſe Monkes
crept into credit, and did build their firſt conuent in a place called Lupiana, in the Arch-
biſhoppricke of Toledo, two leagues from Guadalajara, dedicating it to Saint *Bartholo-*
mew, the which was ſince the chiefe of the Order: the Prior of which Monaſterie is Gene-
rall of the Order for three yeares, and is bound to reſide in that Monaſterie during his
charge. Since by the bountie of the Princes of Spaine, theſe Hermits haue built many
Conuents, and haue greatly inlarged their poſſeſſions. Their exerciſe is more in ſinging
then ſtudying, the which they do neglect expreſly, to the end they might not be diuerted
from their ſimple contemplation, notwithſtanding there haue beene ſome great Prea- F
chers found among them, and men of vnderſtanding in great affaires of State.

Returning to politicke worldly affaires, the king D. *Henry* beeing aduertiſed of the
practiſes betwixt the Engliſh and the king of Arragon, he ſought to entertain the hope
of compromiſe propounded by the Cardinall *Guy* of Bologne, who by the Popes com-
mandement, was a mediator to make this peace. In the meane time hee had intelligence
with *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, Gouernor of Languedoc; and concluded, that hee ſhould

preſſe

A preſſe the Engliſh towards Bayone, and the duke of Aniou vppon the limits of his gouernment, and then hauing ioyned their forces together, they ſhold annoy them all they could in Guienne: for he had intelligence that *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter had imparted his enterpriſes, and ioyned his forces with thoſe of *Iohn* of Montfort Duke of Brittaine, making preparation to enter into Caſtile: the which he thought fit to preuent, and to aſſaile him in Guienne, whileſt that *Philip* the Hardy, Duke of Bourgongne, and brother to the French king, made warre againſt the Engliſh in Artois and Vermandois: and to this effect the king D. *Henry* gaue order to rayſe an armie in Rioja. Whileſt that the troupes were leuying, the Court being at Burgos, there fell a quarrell betwixt the ſeruants of D. *Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, the kings brother, and them of D. *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoça
B for their lodgings, whether the Earle running to pacifie this broyle, (whereof neither hee, nor D. *Pedro* were guilty) he was thruſt through with a lance and ſlaine, by one that knew him not. The king parting from Burgos, came to Rioja, where hauing muſtred his army, he found 6200. horſe, whereof 1200. were Genets, with the which he paſt to Bayone, being aſſured by the Duke of Aniou, that he would come and ioyne with him. And to keepe the king of Arragon in awe, Don *Iames* Infant of Majorca, husband to *Ieanne* Queene of Naples, was come to Narbone with good troupes, threatning to enter into Cattelogne.

8. *Preparation of Iohn duke of Lancaſter to warre againſt D. Henry of Caſtile.*

The K. D. *Henry* paſſing by Alaua and Guipuſcoa, entred into the territorie of Bayone,
C where he found no great reſiſtance, for the armie of Engliſh, which had beene hotly purſued by the Duke of Bourgongne, beeing come to Bourdeaux, was much diminiſhed. There he ſtayed ſome dayes for the Duke of Aniou, hauing ſent *Pero Fernandes* of Velaſco, his Lord Chamberlaine, and Don *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan, to haſten him: but they found him buſied in taking of townes and caſtels from the Engliſh, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, ſo as the king Don *Henry* returned with his army into Spaine, hauing done no great exploite.

D. Henry of Caſtile entres Guienne with an armye againſt the Engliſh.

Paſſing through Guipuſcoa, Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, Lord of Ognate, who had done him great ſeruice, made ſute vnto him to giue him the towne of Mondragon, whereof the Inhabitants beeing aduertiſed, they ſent their Deputies to informe the king
D what wrong he ſhould do himſelfe, if hee ſhould alienate ſuch a place from the Crown, the which (beſides the great commerce, by reaſon of the forges of Iron and ſteele, which were continually ſet a worke thereabouts) was a fort of great conſequence, vppon the which there might be many deſſeines made: for the Caſtell (which was then entire) was impregnable: beſeeching him to be an eye witneſſe, and to paſſe by the place, remembring that the Inhabitants of Mondragon had beene alwaies faithfull vnto him, and that during the warres betwixt him, and the King Don *Pedro*, they had alwayes followed his partie. The king promiſed to paſſe by their towne, wherefore the Inhabitants thereof, and of the countrie thereabouts beganne to make the lower way, which goes from that towne to Ognate, whereas before they were forced to paſſe the mountaine called Bacue,
E to the end the King ſhould not be tyred with paſſing ouer it. This paſſage is at this day called Euripide, a corrupted word, in ſted of Erreguevide, the which in that countrie language ſignifies a way for the king.

The King Don *Henry* hauing viewed the ſituation of the towne and fort, with the commodities thereof; and conſidered of the Inhabitants reaſons, he would not yeeld vnto the petition of Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, but he gaue him in recompence the valley of Leniz, with all iuriſdiction, both ciuill and criminall. This valley was wont to depend vppon Mondragon, but then it was taken from it, and the ſayd *Bertrand*, and his ſucceſſors haue enioyed it for the ſpace of an hundred, foureſcore, and two yeares, or there-abouts, vnto the yeare 1556. when it was vnited vnto the Crowne, by a decree of the Kings Councell
F of Caſtile. The king parting from Mondragon, returned to Burgos, from whence he paſt to Leon, and then to Seuile.

Whileſt that the king of Arragon was attentiue to the warre againſt the Engliſh, the Infant Don *Iames* of Majorca, husband to the Queene of Naples, entred into Cattelogne with fifteene hundred lances, beeing aſſiſted by the Kings of France and Caſtile, and by the Duke of Aniou, where he did much harme. On the other ſide *Bernard* baſtard of Foix,

Arragon.

Foix, firſt Duke of Medina Celi, and *Geoffrey Rechon*, a Knight of Brittanie, Lord of A- A
guilar del campo, allyed, and friends to the Infant of Majorca, ſpoyled the countrie of Arragon, by Medina Celi, the which did wonderfully trouble the King of Arragon, and made him ſtudie how hee might ſpeedily end the controuerſies which he had with the king Don *Henry*.

The Infant Don *Iames* of Majorca hauing ſpoyled Cattelogne, paſt into Arragon, to do the like: but he was forced to retire for want of victuals, leading his armie into Caſtile, where he fell ſicke and dyed in Almaçan, in the beginning of the yeare 1375. His troupes returned into Gaſconie, with *Iohn* of Maleſtit, their chiefe leader. In this armie was *Icanne* of Majorca, Marqueſſe of Montferrat, ſiſter to the deceaſed Don *Iames*, who B
paſt alſo into Gaſconie.

Some were of opinion, that this attempt of the Infant of Majorca, was not without the intelligence of ſome great men of Arragon, who had drawne him into the countrie, whereof the king made diligent informations. At that time there was ſo great a dearth in Arragon, as they were forced to begge a paſſage for corne out of Affricke and Maurita-nia, the which did warrant the country from this inuaſion, more then any reſiſtance that the king D. *Pedro* could make.

An. 1374. Caſtille. This yeare 1374. the King of Caſtile redeemed from *Bertrand* of Gueſclin, Conſtable of France, the towne of Soria, and the rights of Molina, which he had giuen him, paying him 240000. doublons, and moreouer he gaue him the Earle of Pembrooke, an Engliſh C
man, who was a priſoner, and ſet at 10000. pounds ſterling for his ranſome, and the Lord of Piene for 3400. pounds, with many other knights and Captains Engliſh, or their parti-ſans, as well for this redemption, as for the remainder which was due to him & his troups. And holding alwaies good correſpondencie with the French K. during the war againſt the Engliſh, he ſent him a good armie by ſea, whereof D. *Fernand Sanches* of Touar was Admirall, the which beeing ioyned vnto the French, did much annoy the Engliſh coaſts.

The practiſes of a peace betwixt Caſtile and Arragon being continued, the ambaſſa-dors of both kings met at Almaçan, whether came the Queene of Caſtile, and her ſonne D. *Iohn*. There were for Caſtile, the Biſhops of Plaiſance and Palence, and D. *Pedro Gon-çales* of Mendoça, Lord Steward to the Infant of Caſtile, with his brother D. *Iohn Hurta-do* of Mendoça Standard-bearer alſo to the Infant, & *Pedro Fernandes* of Velaſco, Cham-D
berlaine to the king. For the king of Arragon came the Archb. of Sarragoſſa, and D. *Raymond Alaman Ceruillion*, who treated of the differences betwixt the two kings, with great eagerneſſe, in the preſence of the Queene of Caſtile. The king D. *Henry* demanded, that the Infanta D. *Leonora*, daughter to D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, ſhould bee deliuered to the Infant D. *Iohn* his Son, to whom ſhe was made ſure. The king of Arragon anſwe-red, that the king of Caſtile muſt performe that which he had promiſed and ſworne, when he came firſt out of France into Caſtile, by Arragon, which was to giue him the lands of-ten before mentioned: whereunto he of Caſtile replyed, that he was no more bound, for E
that the king of Arragon had beene ſince in League with the Prince of Wales his ene-mie, and had had many treaties with other Princes to his preiudice: Moreouer, that re-turning the ſecond time out of France he had not giuen him free paſſage through Arra-gon. Beſides theſe maine articles, there were others of leſſe conſequence, all which were reconciled by theſe Deputies.

9. *Accord betwixt D. Henry King of Caſtile and D. Pedro king of Arragon.*

The accord was made the twelfth of Aprill 1374. in the Monaſterie of Saint Francis of Almaçan, as followeth: That the Infanta Donna *Leonora* of Arragon ſhould bee giuen to the Infant Don *Iohn* of Caſtile, as his lawfull wife, with a dowrie of two hundred thou-ſand Florens of the coyne of Arragon, which ſumme the king Don *Henry* ſhould hold for receiued, for the charges which the king of Arragon might haue beene at in the firſt F
paſſage which hee made through Arragon into Caſtile. The King of Arragon ſhould reſtore Molina, Almaçan, and other places which he had gotten during the troubles of Spaine: aud to auoyde all future controuerſies betwixt the parties, Don *Henry* king of Caſtile ſhould pay vnto him of Arragon an hundred and eighty thouſand Florens, at dayes appointed.

For

A For aſſurance whereof the forts of Requegna, Otiel and Moya ſhould be left *in depoſito* in the hands of the Arch-biſhop of Sarragoſſa, and of Don *Raymond Alaman* of Ceruillon. Theſe things thus concluded, the King D. *Henry* came to Soria, with the Queene his wife and children, whither the Infanta D. *Leonora* of Arragon was ſent: thither alſo came Don *Charles* Infant of Nauarre, ſo as there were two marriages celebrated in that cittie, betwixt Don *Iohn* of Caſtile, and D. *Leonora* of Arragon, and betwixt Don *Charles* of Nauarre, and D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, but there was a moneths reſpite betwixt the one and the other. Spaine being at peace within it ſelfe, by theſe accords and allyances made betwixt Caſtile, Arragon, Nauarre, Portugal, and Granado, it were fit to treat of the employments of the Princes and people of thoſe countries, touching arts, ſciences, lawes,
B and ciuill gouernement, but the records of ſuch things are very defectiue. Wee reade briefly, that the king Don *Henry* appointed companies, which they call *Hermandades*, which are aſſemblies of Commonalties in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, where they treat of affaires and negotiations concerning their Princes ſeruice, and the preſeruation of the countrie.

As for the King of Nauarre, who was turbulent and an enemie to reſt, hee forged and Nauarre.
inuented a new quarrell againſt the King Don *Henry*, vppon the payment of an hundred and fiftie thouſand Doublons which hee had promiſed for the marriage of his daughter Donna *Leonora*: for the King of Nauarre refuſed an hundred and fiftie thouſand Reals of
C ſiluer, which was part of this payment, ſaying, that the king of Caſtile was bound to pay him the ſumme in gold. Theſe Reals remayned long in the towne of Logrogno, and in the end were loſt for the king of Nauarre, by reaſon of the quarrels and tumults which enſued.

The Infant Don *Pedro*, the ſecond ſonne of Nauar, who had beene in hoſtage, was deliuered. At that time the king of Nauarre was aduertiſed, that Don *Rodrigo* of Vrris, a knight which had done him great ſeruice in all his affaires both in France and Spaine, had ſecret intelligence with Don *Henry*, king of Caſtile, who had a deſire to ſeaze on Tudele vppon Ebro, and vppon Caparoçe, notwithſtanding the accords and allyances con- 10
tracted with him. Of which places Don *Rodrigo* was Gouernor, who beeing ſollicited to *Treaſon of D. Rodrigo of Vrris diſcouered and puniſhed by the king of Nauarre.*
D this end, had a promiſe from the king Don *Henry* of a great recompence in Caſtile, and to giue him his owne Neece to wife, beeing daughter to one of his breethren, with other great aduancements: an vſuall thing in Princes, when they ſeeke to draw any one vnto their ſeruice. King *Charles* informed hereof, was much grieued, for hee loued Don *Rodrigo*: who to diuert him from this trecherous practiſe, ill befitting a knight of honour, he let him vnderſtand, that he had intelligence of the marriage which hee treated in Caſtile, aduiſing him not to giue eare to it in any ſort, without the conſent of his Councel: this meſſage was deliuered vnto him by *Martin* of Vrris his brother, and *Iohn Renaud* Captaine of Tudele, and by Don *Sancho* of Vrris, one of the kings Councell.

Don *Rodrigo* thinking that the king was ignorant of his other practiſes, but had only
E ſome intelligence of his marriage, neglected what they had ſayd vnto him, and went on his way, as it were, to be married: beeing come to Pampelona, hee was ſtayed by the kings commandement; where beeing examined vppon the treaſon, and not able to diſproue what was auerred againſt him, hee was condemned to looſe his head, the which was executed, yet ſecretly, to preſerue the honour and eſtimation of his family and kinſfolkes, to whome the bodie was deliuered, and interred by them in the Monaſterie of Saint *Auguſtine* at Pampelona.

Many other knights of Nauarre were ſo terrified with this death, to whom the carriage and behauiour of king *Charles* was neither pleaſing nor profitable, as they left their Countrie, and retired themſelues, ſome into Caſtile, ſome into other places, where they were well receiued and entertayned. Such were the effects of the peace and concord be-
F twixt the Princes of Spaine then raigning. This happened in the yeare 1376. when as D. *Bernard Foucault* Biſhop of Pampelona, dying in Italy there ſucceeded him D. *Martin* of Salua, a great Doctor in the ciuill and canon Lawes, equalled in that knowledge, yea preferred by the Spaniards to *Baldus*, who liued in his time. This biſhop was a defender of the eccleſiaſticall rights, & did much good to his church, retiring the lands belonging therto,

out of the hands of many lay-men which had vſurped them: namely, thoſe of Villa Toro, A
Villa Major and Montreal, with other tythes. This yeare the townes of Pampelona, Puente la Reyna, Gatde, S. Vincent, Arcos, and Saint Iohn of Pie de port, allowed of the marriage betwixt the Infant Don *Charles*, and D. *Leonora* of Caſtile, with the oaths and ceremonies vſed in thoſe times, acknowledging for their Prince, and heire to the Crown, the firſt borne ſon of that marriage, the which king *Charles* did procure, that he might the better confirme the future ſucceſſion.

11. Arragon.

The affaires paſſing after this manner in Spaine, the king of Arragon, who thought himſelfe freed from all troubles by the peace made with Caſtile, and the deceaſe of the Infant D. *Iames* of Majorca, found himſelfe intangled in new croſſes, and of greater conſe- B
quence then any of the precedent: for D. *Ieanne* Marqueſſe of Montferrat, ſiſter and heire to the Infant of Majorca, beeing paſt into France, after the deceaſe of her brother, had made ceſſion vnto *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, the French kings brother, of all the rights which ſhe pretended to the Realme of Majorca, Countie of Roſſillon and Cerdagne, Colibre and Valiſper, which Segneuries the duke pretended to recouer by armes, ſeeing that the king Don *Pedro* would not come to any friendly compoſition: ſo as he ſtayed onely for the concluſion of a peace, which was treated with the Engliſh, before he entred in hoſtile manner into Cattelogne, with the forces which hee had vnder his charge and iuriſdiction, which were foure thouſand Lances: wherewith the King of Arragon beeing much troubled, he called a generall Aſſembly of the Eſtates of Arragon, Valence, Cattelogne, C
Majorca, and his other Dominions and territories, at Monçon, to preuent this warre, which did threaten him.

Ceſſion of the rights of Roſſillon, Cerdagne, &c. to the houſe of Anion.

Iewes and Moores of Spaine bare the extraordinary charges of the warre.

The Eſtates made anſwer vnto the King, who demanded money, that the ſubiect could not contribute any more, beeing ruined by the great charges which they had borne ſome yeares before: and that the ancient cuſtome was, that the Iewes and Moores which were ſubiects to the Kings of Arragon, ſhould beare the extraordinarie charges of the warre, if need required: wherefore he ſhould addreſſe himſelfe vnto thoſe men. At the aſſembly the Vicount of Cardona tooke the title of Earle, by a decree of the Eſtates. The affaires of Sardinia did augment the king of Arragons cares, for all went from bad to worſe, ſo as the Gouernor of Cailleri was driuen to that deſpaire, as hee was readie to ſet fire of the D
towne, and to flie away by ſea, being vnable to reſiſt *Hugh* the ſonne of *Marian*, the new Iudge of Arborea, his father being lately deceaſed: who ſhewed himſelfe a more violent enemie againſt the Arragonois, then his father had beene: the which was the more to bee feared, for that the Geneuois hauing broken the peace made and confirmed by *Iohn* Marqueſſe of Montferrat, with the king of Arragon, had entred into the Iland of Sardynia, and ioyning their forces with them of the Iudge, had attempted Pole neere to Cailleri, and done many other acts of hoſtility.

An. 1377.

This yeare 1377. *Philip* the Hardy, Duke of Bougongne, went in pilgrimage to Saint Iames of Galicia, paſſing, he viſited the king Don *Henry* at Segobia, who receiued him honorably, and gaue him many rich preſents. About the ſame time D. *Gomes Manrique* E
Arch-biſhop of Toledo being dead, this great and rich liuing was affected by many, by reaſon whereof the Court of Caſtile was diuided into factions, euery one fauouring his kinſman or friend, that aſpired to this dignitie, not to be Miniſters of the word of God, and to inſtruct the people in Chriſtian Religion, but to be worldly great, rich and mighty, companions to Kings, and commanders ouer armies, according to the cuſtome of that age. The King Don *Henry* did much fauour D. *Iohn Garcia Manrique* Biſhop of Siguença, whoſe ſiſter D. *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan had married. Vpon this election, where there were ſo many pretendants, D. *Iohn Ramires* thinking he had need of the Popes fauor and authoritie, went to Auignon well accompanied with Noblemen, his friends and kinſmen, F
but he did not obtaine that which he pretended: for Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth then raigning, declared Don *Pedro Tenorio* Biſhop of Coimbra, Arch-biſhop of Toledo. Thus theſe Pretendants loſt this rich bootie which they expected: much vnlike vnto Don *Martin Martines* of Calaorra, Arch-deacon of Calatraua, in the church of Toledo, who beeing choſen ſome yeares before by the Chapter, and a generall conſent, to bee Biſhop of Calaorra, hee excuſed himſelfe, and would not accept of this dignitie, which

is

A is one of the richeſt, and of greateſt iuriſdiction in Spaine, next to Toledo. Don *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan returning by Cattelogne, hee was deſirous to kiſſe the king of Arragons hands, beeing at Barcelona, whither came the Vicount of Rueda, who in the kings preſence accuſed Don *Iohn Ramires* of certaine crimes, offering him the combate if hee ſhould deny it: Don *Iohn Ramires* regarding his honour, accepted of this challenge: for the performance whereof, the King of Arragon aſſigned ninetie dayes, at which time Don *Iohn* ſhould preſent himſelfe to the combate, or elſe they would proceede againſt him, according to the lawes and orders of combats.

Don *Iohn Ramires* returned in the meane time into Caſtile, and made relation vnto the
B King Don *Henry* how he had beene challenged, and that he muſt preſent himſelfe in Arragon at the day appointed, whereas his enemie was much fauoured by the king Don *Pedro*: the which the king of Caſtile hauing well conſidered, and fearing that Don *Iohn Ramires* (whome he loued dearely for his integritie and vertues) ſhould receiue ſome indignitie, in a countrie where he was not beloued, he reſolued to ſend a gentleman to the King of Arragon, to let him vnderſtand, that no man liuing was better acquainted then himſelfe, with the qualities and conditions of Don *Iohn Ramires* of Areillan, and how that he had carried himſelfe like a Knight of honour in all his actions, euen when hee was Chamberlaine to the ſame king of Arragon, and employed by him in the warre againſt Don *Pedro* king of Caſtile: wherefore he intreated him to cauſe this appeale made by the
C Vicount to ceale: whereof the King ſeeking to excuſe himſelfe, the Ambaſſador replyed: *Sir, ſeeing it is your pleaſure that this combate ſhall be fought, vnderſtand, that the King of Caſtile my Lord is reſolued to ſend at the time you haue appointed three thouſand Lances, to accompanie* Don Iohn Ramires, *to the end that hee may be no way inferiour, neither for the ſafetie of his perſon, nor for ſupport, vnto his aduerſarie, ſeeing that the quarrell muſt be decided in a ſtrange Countrie, where as the Prince ſhewes himſelfe partiall.* The King Don *Pedro* taking theſe words in ill part, fell into a great diſpute with this Gentleman, who made him a diſcreet anſwer: wherefore fearing that this might kindle a new fire betwixt Caſtile and Arragon, after much conſultation, hee commanded the Vicount to deſiſt from his challenge, declaring that Don *Iohn Ramires* was a good Knight. Thus paſt the
D affaires betwixt Caſtile and Arragon in the yeare 1376.

Ambaſſadors ſpeech to the King of Arragon.

Nauarre. 12. *Detention of the Prince of Nauarre.*

At which time Don *Charles* Infant of Nauarre, beeing deſirous to viſite the Court of France, did ſo importune the King his father, as hee got leaue, from the which hee was much diſſwaded by the King of Caſtile his father-in-law, who aſſuredly knew what reaſons the French King had to hate the King of Nauarre. For beſides, that hee had perſwaded him to leaue and abandon the league of France, and to adhere vnto the Engliſh, as wee haue before ſhewed, hee had ſince ingaged and deliuered vnto them the Towne of Cherbourg in Normandy, and entertained many practiſes, to the preiudice and diſcommoditie of France, whereof the French King was particularly aduertiſed.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Infant Don *Charles* went on his intended and determi-
E ned iourney, preſuming that hee had not offended any way the King his Vncle, and that he would not make any queſtion vnto him, concerning the controuerſies and oppoſitions which were betwixt him and his father: and that whatſoeuer ſhould happen beyond his expectation, hee would retire himſelfe to thoſe places which the king his father had in the confines of Normandie, and not approch neere the Court, without promiſe of aſſurance.

With this reſolution hee left Nauarre, very well attended on with a companie of gentlemen, and men of councell, among the which were *Baldwin Belloferant*, Captaine of many places in Normandy belonging to the king of Nauarre, the which he held by homage: *Iames* of Rue, a knight, and Chamberlaine to the king, the Seigneur of Ortubia,
F Captaine of the Infants Guard, a Basque by nation, within two leagues of Fontaraby: *Peter* of Eſtampes, a Doctor of Diuinity, and Councellour to the king, with diuers others. The French king beeing aduertiſed before-hand of this voyage, as ſoone as they were entred into France, he cauſed *Iames* of Rue to be taken, who was found ſeazed of certaine papers and inſtructions, which did much augment the iealouſie of the French: being put to the racke, he confeſt that the king his maſter had plotted with the Engliſh,

and that he had charge to ſay vnto the King of England, that if he wold promiſe the duchy of Guienne to the king of Nauar, and entertaine him 2000. lances, he would make warre againſt the French, and employ all his forces of Nauarre, and of his lands in Normandie and other places: whereupon he was put into ſafe-keeping. The Infant beeing much diſcontented at the taking of this knight, not knowing what he had confeſſed, came to the king at Senlis, hauing a ſafe conduct, and beſought him to deliuer this priſoner: to whom the king anſwered, that he wold not deliuer him, but would cauſe his proceſſe to be made and his fathers alſo, meaning to confiſcate all the lands he had within his kingdome: and moreouer, he commanded him not to depart from Court without leaue. He alſo called *Baldwin Belloferant* before him, and inioyned him to deliuer into his hands, or of his captaines, all the places and forts which he held for the king of Nauarre: the which *Baldwin*, not able to auoid, promiſed to do, and tooke an oath: notwithſtanding the king gaue him a guard, vntill he had performed what he had promiſed, *Fernand* of Ayanes, a knight of Nauarre, and Gouernor for the king of Nauar of his lands in Normandie, was alſo apprehended, with many others, who were ſent to Paris, with *Iames* of Rue, and *Peter* of Eſtampes. Thereupon the king did write vnto all Princes and Potentates ſtrangers, touching theſe impriſonments, making great complaints of the king of Nauar his brother-in-law: and ſoone after he began ſharpe war againſt the Nauarrois in Normandie: whereof *Philip* the Hardy, duke of Bourgongne, the kings brother, *Lewis* duke of Bourbon, and the conſtable *Bertrand* of Gueſclin were the chiefe Commanders, who in a ſhort ſpace tooke moſt of the townes and forts which the king of Nauarre held in that countrie, there remaining nothing in a manner but Cherbourg; the which beeing held by the Engliſh, maintained the ſeege 7. moneths, and yet the French could not take it. In the mean time the king cauſed D. *Pedro* the ſecond ſon of Nauarre, and his daughter *Mary* to bee taken at Breteuil, whom notwithſtanding he kept in a free priſon, and very honorably. At the ſame time there was a Secretary of the king of Nauars, called *Peter* of Tertre, taken in the caſtle of Bernay, of whom by tortures they diſcouered many practiſes of the king his maſters. He with *Iames* of Rue were condemned to die, and their bodies being quartered, were hanged in diuers places entring into the citie of Paris.

The Infant of Nauarre ſtaid.

A B C

Theſe newes heard in Nauarre, the king D. *Charles* was wonderfully troubled, as well for the impriſonment of his children, as for the loſſe of his countrie, and the Infanta D. *Leonora* his daughter-in-law, was no leſſe afflicted: and that which did moſt diſquiet him, was, that the king to iuſtifie the impriſonment of his children, had informed all Chriſtian Princes of his actions, and had incenſed them againſt him, eſpecially D. *Henry* king of Caſtile, againſt whom he had caried himſelfe diſdainfully in all his actions, notwithſtanding the alliances and accords made newly betwixt them. And as he was of a harſh diſpoſition, raſh, and without gouernement, he beganne to contriue many bad deſſeines, to preuent ſuch as he feared: and now he repented the death of Don *Rodrigo* of Vrris, from whome hee had drawne ſo many good ſeruices, and the baniſhment of many other knights, of whom he had then great need: but he hoped the Engliſh would bee a good ſupport for him at all euents: and vpon this ground he reſolued to ſurprize the towne of Logrogno, which was the Rampier of Caſtile againſt Nauarre, preſuming that he ſhould amaze the king Don *Henry* by this exploite, if it ſucceeded, or hinder him greatly, and let others vnderſtand that he was not altogether daunted: but ſeeing that the place was well manned, and carefully guarded by Don *Pedro Manriques*, Gouernor of that frontier, hee ſought to corrupt him with promiſes of great aduancement in Nauarre, and twentie thouſand doublons in hand. Don *Pedro* who was a faithfull ſeruant to the king of Caſtile his maſter, and withall a Knight of honour, aduertiſed the king Don *Henry*, who was then at Seuile, of all this practiſe: which newes the king receiued at the inſtant when as the French kings ambaſſadours came to Seuile, to preſſe him to make warre againſt the king of Nauarre: which made the king Don *Henry* more tractable to yeeld to that which they demanded: writing to Don *Pedro*, that he ſhould entertaine this bargaine with the king of Nauarre, and that hee ſhould ſeeke to take him in Logrogno, and there to keepe him priſoner.

Deſperate diſpoſition of Charles king of Nauarre.

D E F

Don *Pedro* hauing receiued this anſwer, made all poſſible demonſtrations, that he deſired

A ſired to ſatisfie the king of Nauarre, and appointed him a conuenient time to deliuer him the towne, receiuing part of the double Ducats. In the meane time he drew ſecretly into Logrogno a good ſupply of ſoldiers: and the better to aſſure the execution of this enterprize, without hazard, the king D. *Henry* cauſed Don *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoça, to enter into Nauarret with ſixe hundred Lances, who gaue it out, that he had a quarrell with Don *Pedro Manriques*.

Matters being thus diſpoſed, there remained nothing but for the King of Nauarre to ſhew his indiſcretion, and to enter into Logrogno: the which he was reſolued to do, ſo blind he was in his deſire, notwithſtanding that all his Councell had diſſwaded him, aſſuring him that Don *Pedro* was not a Knight that would commit ſuch a trecherie againſt his
B King and Lord: and that of neceſſitie he muſt beleeue he meant to deceiue him; yea they did wholly oppoſe themſelues againſt this enterpriſe, ſhewing him the miſchiefe which would enſue by his breach of peace with the king of Caſtile. Notwithſtanding all this good aduice, King *Charles* failed not to come at the time appointed to the bridge of Logrogno with foure hundred lances, *Martin Henriques* carrying the Standard royall. Don *Pedro Manriques* came foorth to meet him, and drew the kings men into the Town, without any brute, where their lodgings were alreadie made, and expecting to bring in the king, he inuited him very courteouſly: but ſuddenly bethinking himſelfe of the miſchiefe whereinto he runne, and repenting that he had drawne ſo many men into danger, he retired from the bridge towards Viane, telling D. *Pedro* that he wold not enter for that time
C in perſon, but it ſhould be the next day, and that there were ynough to execute that which they had concluded. This was a happy inſpiration, for if hee had entred, he had neuer returned with libertie nor Crowne. Don *Pedro Manriques* ſeing that the prey was eſcaped, cauſed all the Nauarrois that were entred, to be ſtript, whereof ſome were ſlaine, and others priſoners; yet many eſcaped, leaping ouer the wals and rampiers by the riuer, and other paſſages which they found: yea *Martin Henriques*, who carried the Standard, ſeing the alarme, and how they were circumuented, keeping his Standard faſt, hee recouered the bridge, where he was enuironed round about by the enemie, but he defended himſelf very valiantly. In the end ſeeing he had no meanes to make his paſſage, he threw himſelfe
D off the bridge into the riuer, with his Standard, and ſo eſcaped by ſwimming, as the Lord of Oloagui had alſo done, who came vnto the king their Lord, and related the entertaynment they had found at Logrogno: whereat he did not maruaile, as hauing fore-ſeene, though too late, what would ſucceed: notwithſtanding he was much diſcontented, for he had loſt many good men. By this attempt the peace betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre was plainely broken.

The Nauarrois ſpoiled in Logrogno.

The king Don *Henry* being at Seuile, was aduertiſed of all that had paſt, and diſpatched his ſonne Don *Iohn*, a Prince in the flower of his age, deſirous of honour and fame, who rayſed an armie, to enter ſuddenly into Nauarre. King *Charles* beeing aduertiſed of theſe preparations, hauing conſulted with his Eſtates, he paſſed to Bourdeaux, to craue ayde
E of the Engliſh, who had then ſome ſuſpenſion of armes with the French. *Richard* the 2. being newly come to the Crowne, (the which fell out happily for him) who returned with 600. lances Engliſh and Gaſcons, vnder the command of *Thomas Trenet* an Engliſhman, and the Seigneur of Berbecin a Gaſcon, to employ them in the war againſt Caſtile, the which was very violent that yeare 1378. The king of Nauar had placed garriſons in all the fronter townes, the Engliſh at Tudele, with their Captain: the Gaſcons at Eſtella: the Segneur of *Seres* a Nauarrois at S. *Vincent*: he put other good Captaines into Viane, Arcos, Lerin, Sangueſſa, and other places: the charges of which war were ſo great, as hee waſted all his treaſure, ſo as his ſonne *Charles* coming to raigne, he found not one ducat in his fathers coffers. *Thomas Treuet* the Engliſh Captaine, was ſlaine in the towne of Puente la Reyna, by the inhabitants, by reaſon of ſome inſolencies. D *Iohn* Infant of Caſtile, hauing
F drawne together about 4000. lances, and a number of foot out of Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, entred in arms into Nauar, being accompanied by D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, and earle of Denia, D. *Alphonſo* of Vruegna, D. *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara, Princes of the bloud of Caſtile, D. *Ruy Diaz* of Rojas, Gouernor of Guipuſcoa, with other Noblemen and Captaines of note.

VVar betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre.

The King of Nauar hath recourſe vnto the Engliſh. An. 1378.

Exploites of D. Iohn and the Caſtillan armie in Nauar

They made a ſhew to beſeege Saint *Vincent*, but the place being ſtrong both by nature and art, and well manned, they returned to make a muſter at Logrogno, where as Don *Pedro Henriques* ioyned with them, and then all together entred into Nauar, where they found not any one in field to make reſiſtance: for king *Charles* was retired on this ſide the mountaines, and attended the ſucceſſe of the warre at Saint Iohn de Pie de port, ſtanding onely vpon his defence: wherefore the Caſtillans burnt Larraga, Artaxona, with many other places, euen vnto the ports of Pampelona, before which cittie the Caſtillan armie ſtayed a whole moneth, D. *Iohn* beeing lodged in the village of Gorraiz: during which abode the caſtle of Thiebes was yeelded vnto Don *Pedro Manriques*, who burnt it: It was a caſtle built by king *Thibaud* the firſt, as in a place of ſtrength and great ſafetie, they had kept the titles and records of the Realme, all which were now burnt, to the great preiudice of the Common-wealth. Wherefore it is no wonder if many of the antiquities of this Realme be at this day vnknowne. Thoſe which yeelded this fort, were a knight called *Berrio*, *Ruy Diaz* of Torres, and *Solomon Prouoch*, Captaines to King *Charles*. The Caſtillans finding that they had not forces ſufficient to take Pampelona, they diſlodged and beſeeged Viane; which place they tooke by compoſition, after many incounters, vpon condition the defendants ſhould haue their liues and goods ſaued: Guarde was alſo taken.

Records of Nauarre burnt at Thebes.

Thus the Caſtillans hauing done all the ſpoyle they could in the countrie, Don *Iohn* reſolued to retire with his armie into Caſtile, before that winter (which approched) ſhould incommodate him. In a certaine incounter which they had with the Gaſcons, *Ruy Diaz* of Royas was ſlaine, which was the greateſt loſſe the Caſtillans had in this expedition. Don *Iohn* went to the King Don *Henry* his father, beeing at Toledo, to whom hee gaue an accompt of that which he had done, and then they came together to Burgos, where there was order giuen for a new army, to returne into Nauarre in the Spring. We find by ſome remembrances of thoſe times, that the king of Nauar, complained much of many knights which had not ſhewed themſelues faithfull in this war, yea hauing bin called home by him from baniſhment, graced and reſtored to their honours and charges: among the which is named Don *Ramir Sanches* of Aſiayn, and Don *Iohn Ramir* of Areillan the younger: theſe with ſome more retired themſelues one after another to the king of Caſtile, where they found a kind and gracious reception, in ſtead of the harſhneſſe and rigour of King *Charles*: ſo as in thoſe dayes the Nobility of Nauarre was much decayed, and in a maner extinct. King *Charles* beeing on this ſide the mountaines, his Realme was gouerned by *Iohn* of Freſnay, a knight of France, and his Chamberlaine, who aduertiſed him of this new preparation of warre which was made in Caſtile: whereon hauing duly conſidered, finding himſelfe weake, and without money, and ill ſerued by his owne ſubiects, he reſolued to pacifie the king Don *Henry*, ſending an Ambaſſadour vnto him to Burgos, to mooue him to ſome accord, the which he did not refuſe, but anſwered, that if he ſent him his Ambaſſadors and Deputies with ſufficient authoritie to treate a peace, that he ſhould not find him vntractable to yeeld to any thing that ſhould bee held reaſonable. Wherefore the king of Nauarre did againe employ D. *Ramir Sanches* of Aſiayn, and ſent him to Burgos, with the Prior of Ronceuaux, men of learning and authority. Theſe Ambaſſadours were heard by the king Don *Henry*, and entertayned with great courteſie: where hauing diſcourſed, and ſomewhat debated vppon the articles of the peace, in the end it was concluded, That there ſhould bee a perpetuall amitie ſworne betwixt the kings and Realmes of Caſtile and Nauarre, without binding him of Caſtile to alienate himſelfe in any ſort from the league which he had with the French King. That the ſtrangers, Gaſcons, and Engliſh, ſhould be ſent out of Nauarre: That the townes taken by the King of Caſtile from him of Nauarre, ſhould bee reſtored; That the king of Caſtile ſhould preſently lend twenty thouſand ducats vnto the King of Nauarre, to pay the ſouldiers which were to bee diſmiſſed: for aſſurance whereof, the King Don *Henry* ſhould keepe the towne of Guarde in pawne: That the king of Nauarre for aſſurance of the entertainement of theſe Articles of peace, and that he ſhould not breake it in any ſort, ſhould leaue twentie ſeuerall places of his Realme of Nauarre in pawne, in the cuſtodie and conſeruance of Don *Iohn Ramires* of the towne of Areillan, namely, the Caſtle of Eſtella,

Peace betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre.

the

A the garriſon whereof ſhould be paied by the King of Nauarre, and that Tudelo ſhould receiue a garriſon of Caſtillans: that Larraga, Miranda and Saint Vincent ſhould bee of the number of thoſe twenty places; the which ſhould bee thus held for tenne yeeres, and that expired, without any breach, all ſhould be reſtored to the King of Nauarre, or his ſucceſſor. Theſe Articles being concluded, and ſworne, the warre ceaſed, to the general good of both Kingdomes.

13 *Schiſme in the Church.*

During the warre betwixt theſe two Princes, there grew troubles in the Church, to the ſcandale of all Chriſtendome, Pope *Gregory* the eleuenth, had reſtored the papall ſeate to Rome, in the yeere 1376. ſeuenty two yeeres after it had beene diſtracted by Pope *Clement* the fifth, who had beene crowned at Lions. About two yeeres and foure
F monthes after this returne, *Gregory* dying at Rome, hee left the conſiſtory of Cardinals in great combuſtion, as well among themſelues, as with the people of Rome, who would haue a Romaine, or at the leaſt an Italian choſen Pope, whereof there followed a moſt dangerous Schiſme, for all the Eſtates of Chriſtendome for many yeeres, were tranſported with paſſion, and not with any zeale of religion: for euen then, and before, there was ſuch corruption, as in the gouernment of Clergy matters, there was nothing but ambition, couetouſneſſe, and deſeignes for temporall commodities: Princes cherriſhing Popes, and Popes being hirelings to Princes, to draw fauour, authority and ſupport one from an other, in their affections. After much contention, *Vrbain* the ſixth came out of the Conclaue, choſen by ſixteene Cardinals, being before Archbiſhop of Bari, borne
C at Naples, his name was *Bartlemew Prignan*: whoſe election hauing beene much contradicted by the French Cardinals, then allowed, and ſoone after reiected, in the end fifteene of them (not able to agree well with the Pope) being retired to Naples, through fauor of Queene *Ieanne*, they entred into the Conclaue, and did chooſe an other Pope, whom they named *Clement* the ſeuenth, called before *Robert* Cardinal of Geneua, or as ſome write of Cambray, of the title of the twelue Apoſtles, who retired to Auignon, and there held his ſeat, as *Vrbain* did at Rome.

Caſtile.

As Princes in acknowledging of theſe Popes, were diuided and carried away with their priuat paſſions, *Vrbain* the ſixth ſeeing that his competitor was ſupported by the French King, ſent Ambaſſadors to D. *Henry* King of Caſtile, to ſeeke his fauor, who
D finding him at Cordoua, deliuered vnto him the reaſons iuſtifying the election of *Vrbain*, and condemning that of *Clement*, intreating him to beleeue that *Vrbaine* was the true and lawfull Paſtor, a friend to peace, and deſirous of the good of all Chriſtendome. To theſe words, they added a preſent of three peeces of fine ſcarlet, one for the King, an other for the Queene, and the third for the Infant D. *Iohn*, giuing preſents alſo, in the Popes name, vnto many noblemen of the court, promiſing the King not to conferre the benifices of Spaine to any other prelats, then to ſuch as were borne in the country. In the end they intreat him to diſclaime the Antipope *Clement*. The King D. *Henry* hauing conferred with his councel, Doctors, Diuines, and other
E chiefe men of his Realme, vpon the pretenſions of *Vrbain*; hee made anſwere vnto the Ambaſſadors, that he would let them vnderſtand his minde at Toledo, whether he was then going, where being arriued, there came Ambaſſadors from the French King, who being heard before he had made anſwere to them of Pope *Vrbain*, they croſt all: for hauing giuen the King of Caſtile to vnderſtand, that the election of *Vrbain* was forced, by the importunity of the Romains and the partiality of the Cardinals, and that *Clement* had beene choſen with the better title as they pretended. King *Henry* reſolued not to acknowledge any of them for Pope, ſending Doctors into France, to informe themſelues of the matter, and to report vnto him what they ſhould finde, being wonderfully perplexed in minde, not knowing how he ſhould gouerne himſelfe, with a good conſcience, in this Schiſme: but he was ſomewhat pacefied, vpon the determination which
F ſhould be made by a General councel, and in the meane time he commaunded that all the money due for Annates, or other proffits, belonging, or accuſtomed to be receiued by the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome, in Spaine, ſhould be laied in Depoſito, vntill it were declared by the Catholike church, who was lawfull Pope, with this anſwere the Ambaſſadors of either part returned: The like reſolution was taken in Arragon, touching this Schiſme.

Caſtile acknowledgeth no Pope.

Profits of the court of Rome ſtaied in Spaine.

Schiſme. From Tolledo the King of Caſtile came to Burgos, where a peace with Na- A
uarre was concluded, as we haue ſaid: after which the King of Nauarre came to Alfaro, to viſit the Infant D. *Iohn* of Caſtile, and there he accompliſhed ſome part of the capitulation. The King of Caſtile being come from Burgos to Saint Dominike of Calçada, he was alſo viſited by *Charles* King of Nauarre, with great ſhewes of loue, of either ſide, and there they finiſhed that which remained of their accord, the which was very preiudicial for the King of Nauarre, reaping the fruits of his turbulent ſpirit, as he had done in France. The King D. *Henry* neuer parted from Saint Dominike, for he was poiſoned by the treachery of *Mahumet* the old, King of Granado. This Moore ſeeing that the King of Caſtile was at peace with all other Kings his neighbours, and knowing B
him to be warlike, and a great vndertaker, hee was in feare leaſt he ſhould inuade his country of Granado: wherefore he ſent a captaine to his court, ſaying that he was baniſhed. This Moore ſeeming to flie his Princes wrath, came and preſented his ſeruice vnto the King D. *Henry*, and offred him in guift many pearles and precious ſtones, with other goodly preſents, amongſt the which there was a paire of rich buskins, infected with poiſon, the which were ſo pleaſing vnto the King, as he would preſently put them on: but ſoone after he beganne to finde himſelfe ill, and within few daies died. He commanded his ſonne to entertaine the amity of France, whileſt he liued, and to follow the French in that which concerned the Schiſme of the church. He was interred in the ſame chappell which he himſelfe had cauſed to be built, in the great church of Toledo, C
the which ſince hath been augmented with reuenues, by the Archbiſhop D. *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca, in the time of our fathers, and they cal it the chappel of the laſt Kings. It is worthy obſeruation, that this King hauing alienated from the crowne, many townes and other places, to recompence the ſeruices which he had receiued from Noblemen and Knights of Caſtile, and others, in the conqueſt of the Realme, he put a clauſe in his will, which did afterwards breed many complaints and controuerſies in Caſtile: which was, that ſuch donations made by him ſhould goe vnto the eldeſt, the which is called in Spaine Majorazgos, the which they haue interpreted, as if no collateral heire might inherit them: according to the which in ſuch controuerſies many decrees haue beene made in the Chancery, and the Kings councell, anexing ſuch lands vnto the crowne. D. D
Alphonſo biſhop of Carthagena, ſaith, that this King died of the goute, making no mention of any poiſon, whereof it may be this author was ignorant. Being neere his end, he deſired to be attired in the habit of Saint *Dominike*, and to die in it. He raigned tenne yeeres and two monthes, and was ſix and forty yeeres old.

14 *Death of the King D. Henry by poiſon.*

Clauſe in the King D. Henries will touching fees, which they call Majorazgos.

Granado. If this King of Granado practiſed his death, he did not long enioy this content, for the ſame yeere 1379. the ſame *Mahumet* called the old, and old in effect, died the nine and twentith yeere of his raigne, and 762. of the Arabians.

D. Iohn firſt of that name, the ſixteenth King of Caſtile, and ſeuen and thirtith of Leon. E

An. 1379. Caſtile. THe happineſſe which did accompany the King D. *Henry* the ſecond, father to Don *Iohn*, did not continue in his poſterity: for God, to let men vnderſtand that it is hee which doth raiſe and pul downe at his pleaſure, hauing from nothing aduanced D. *Henry* to the Scepter of Leon and Caſtile, and confounded the forces of that Realme, allied to the Engliſh and Moores; he did in a manner ouerthrow this greatneſſe in his ſonnes time, by the forces of the petty Eſtate of Portugal, to the which he aduanced a baſtard, without any humaine ſupport; notwithſtanding that the armes of France were ioyned with the forces of Caſtile, as ſhall appeere by the diſcourſe of the Hiſtory. By ſuch examples the mighty are admoniſhed not to truſt in their forces, and the weake not to deſpaire, eſpecially if he be vniuſtly purſued. F

15. *Genealogie of Caſtile.* D. *Iohn* who ſucceeded his father D. *Henry*, deſcended by the mothers ſide, from the Infant D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, eldeſt ſonne to Don *Alphonſo* the Philoſopher: for of Don

A Don *Fernand* came D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Fernand*: Of the younger D. *Fernand*, and of D. *Ieanne* of Lara, his wife, iſſued D. *Blanch*, who was married to D. *Iohn Manuel* (who had had to his firſt wife a Counteſſe of Sauoy) ſonne to D. *Manuel*, brother to D. *Alphonſo* the Philoſopher, of which marriage was borne D. *Ieanne Manuel*, Queene of Caſtile, wife to the King D. *Henry*, and mother to this King D. *Iohn*, the firſt of that name, who was two and twenty yeeres old, or there abouts, when he began to raigne: a Prince of a good diſpoſition, and religious, according to the time, but vnſound of his body, and vnfortunate in warre. *Diſpoſition of King Iohn.*

He was crowned after the example of his Predeceſſors, in Burgos, in the Monaſtery of Sancta Maria de las Huelgas, where to ſolemnize his coronation, did arme aboue a
B hundred Knights, which were of Noble families; and gaue many guifts and preuiledges to commonalties, and to priuat perſons, to make his firſt entrance more remarkable and pleaſing: He gaue vnto the city of Burgos the towne of Pancoruo in Bureua: he cauſed Villa-Real of Saint Nicholas of Orio in Guipuſcoa to bee walled in, giuing it the preuiledges of Saint Sebaſtian, with many others. When he was Infant, beeing in poſſeſſion of the Siegneury of Biſcay, hee vnited it for euer vnto the crowne, at his comming to it.

He remembred his fathers charge, to entertaine a ſtrict league of friendſhip with the houſe and crowne of France, the which hee ſent to confirme by his Ambaſſadors: And
C hauing ſent his gallies this yeere of our Lord 1379. in fauour of the French; commanded by D. *Fernand Sanches* of Touar, they tooke from *Iohn* of Montfort duke of Brittan, the caſtle of Roche Gaze at Cap de Late, for that hee held the Engliſh party, by a decree of the court of parliament at Paris, and his Dutchy with all his goods declared forfeited to the King, vntill that time the Iewes dwelling in Spaine, had the preuiledge to take knowledge of crimes committed by them of their ſect: but this yeere a Iew, called *Ioſeph Pich*, dwelling at Seuile, hauing beene ſlaine in the Iewes place at Burgos, being a man of great reputation, for his wealth, and the ſeruices which hee had done vnto the deceaſed King D. *Henry*, as treaſurer generall, the new King tooke from them this prerogatiue, and forbad them to deale in any crime, where there was murther, cutting off any
D Limbe, or effuſion of bloud. In the beginning of his raigne, God gaue him a ſonne, by his wife D. *Leonora* of Arragon, who ſucceeded him.

As ſoone as the Infant was borne, D. *Fernand* King of Portugal, who had in the yeere 1378. made his daughter D. *Beatrix*, ſure vnto D. *Frederike* duke of Benauent, baſe ſonne to the deceaſed King *Henry* of Caſtile, by D. *Leonora Ponce*, repented himſelfe, and ſent vnto the King D. *Iohn*, intreating him to conſent vnto a marriage betwixt his ſonne newly borne, and his daughter D. *Beatrix*, with certaine conditions which did nothing diſpleaſe King *Iohn*, ſo as this other marriage was accorded betwixt them, which proued the fire-band of future warre betwixt Caſtile and Portugal: for among other conditi- 16
ons, theſe two princes made a mutuall donation of their Realmes vnto the ſuruiuor, in Portugal.
E caſe they died without lawfull heires of their bodies, the which was concluded and ſworne in the yeere of our Lord 1380. but it was not executed, for God had otherwiſe decreed. This Infanta D. *Beatrix*, was daughter to D. *Leonora Telles* of Meneſes, of *An.* 1380.

whoſe vnfortable marriage, we haue before treated, and whoſe proceedings were as vn- 17
reaſonable: for this woman being exceeding faire, and prouided of armes fit to ſway a *Art of D. Leonora Telles of Meneſes.*
diſpoſition that was faint and weake, could make ſuch vſe of her alurements, as ſhe kept the King her husband alwaies ſubiect, and a ſlaue to her affections: ſo as hee refuſed not any thing that was pleaſing vnto her, forgetting often his ranke and royall dignity. All which had diſliked of her marriage, or had in any ſort diſpleaſed her, were by her practiſes purſued, chaſed away, or vtterly ruined: her friends and kinſmen were aduanced to the
F greateſt honours and dignities of the Realme: and as ſhe was cunning in all her actions, ſo ſhe could finde meanes to reconcile vnto her, thoſe who through their greatneſſe, wealth, or alliance within the Realme, ſeemed hard to ruine; binding them vnto her by her bounty and fauours, making them of enemies to become her friends. Shee gaue the gouernment of the caſtle of Lisbon, to her vncle D. *Iohn Alphonſo Tello*, Earle of Barcelos, Lord Steward of the Kings houſe. She alſo aduanced a brother of his called

Don

Don *Iohn Alphonſo Telles*, to be Admirall of the Realme: an other brother called D. A
Gonçalo Telles, was at her requeſt made Earle of Neyua. To the Earle of Barçelos ſon, ſhe procured the ſuruiuance of his fathers Eſtate, in the ſame county or gouernm the of *Barçelos*: a brother of hers was made Earle or Gouernor of Viane, and D. *Henry* her brother in law, Earle of Seaa. To D. *Lope Diaz de Soza* her Nephew, ſonne to Donna *Maria Telles* her ſiſter, and to *Aluar Diaz de Soza*, ſhe cauſed to bee giuen the dignity of great maiſter of Chriſt.

Don *Henry* of Albuquerque, whoſe ſiſters were married to the brethren of this Queene D. *Leonora Telles*, was by her fauor maiſter of Saint Iames. She cauſed D. *Ieanne Telles* of Meneſes her baſtard ſiſter, who was commandereſſe of Sanctos, to be married B
to D. *Iohn Alphonſo Pimentel*, and Bragança to be giuen vnto him: She married D. *Agnes Botello*, one of her gentlewomen, and her kinſwoman, being of a Noble family to *Pero Rodriguez* of Fonſeca giuing him the caſtle of Oliuencia: She alſo concluded the marriages of D. *Mencia Vaſquez Coutina*, with *Martin Gonçales* of Tuy; and of D. *Thereſa* of Meyra, with *Fernand Gonçales* of Soça, giuing vnto the laſt the caſtle of Chaues, and to the other that of Portel: She made D. *Atuar Peyre* of Caſtro, Caſtellan, Earle or Gouerner of Aroyolos, and procured many fauours and graces for D. *Fernand* de Caſtro his elder brother.

They ſay, that by her meanes the King on a time ſent a preſent to *Iohn Alphonſo* of Muxica, beeing in the towne of Ebora, of thirty horſe, thirty armors com- C
plete, thirty mulets, thirty pounds of gold, a hundred and thirty markes of ſiluer, and foure mulets laden with tapiſtry, and other rich furniture, adding therevnto, as an hereditarie guift, the towne of Torreſuedras. Such alſo was the fauour ſhee bare vnto Don *Fernand* of Andeiro a Knight of Galicia, who was come to ſerue the King her huſband, in his laſt warres againſt Caſtile, as beſides that hee was made an Earle, hee had the neereſt place next to her ſelfe, in the Kings fauour: ſo as by his meanes many Gentlemen were gratefied and aduanced in Portugal: and moreouer hee liued in ſuch familiarity, as hee lodged in the ſame lodging with the King and Queene, and did often remaine alone with her a long time, whereat many murmured, and grew iealous: ſaying that their conuerſation was not honeſt, and the Portugois did beleeue, that the D
children which ſhee bare, were not the King D. *Fernands* (a Prince which was vnſound, and of a weake complexion (but begotten by ſtealth by this Earle of Oren. Finally ſhe wrought ſo, as all the dignities, honours and forts of Portugal, were in the hands of her kinſmen, friends and allies.

But to what fury doth the deſire of commaund thruſt a woman vnto? The Portugal authors write, that the Infant Don *Iohn*, the Kings brother, beeing in loue with Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneſes, the Queenes ſiſter, who had managed the loue betwixt the King and her, a widow woman, and mother to Don *Lope Diaz* of Soça, but faire, and pleaſing, hee ſerued her and ſought her loue, the which ſhee could not refuſe, Don *Iohn* beeing a Knight in the floure of his age, goodly alſo and full of grace: yet E
ſhee was thus farre diſcreet, that before ſhee would yeeld to that which hee deſired, hee promiſed to marrie her ſecretly, the which beeing afterwards made knowne vnto the Queene, ſhee was much diſcontented: it may bee deſiring that Don *Iohn* (who was much beloued of the Portugalls) ſhould marrie Donna *Beatrix* her daughter: fearing that if the King her husband ſhould die, hee ſhould bee choſen King, and her daughter reiected, or that ſhee her ſelfe did beare him ſome good will, and ſeeing her husband ill diſpoſed, had an intent to marry him, if her husband died, that ſhee mought reigne ſtill: wherefore being tranſported with theſe paſſions, ſhe began to practiſe the death (by a notable cruelty and deteſtable ſtratagemme) of her who had raiſed her vp, conſpiring with Don *Iohn Alphonſo Telles* her brother, Admirall of Portugall, F
to perſwade the Infant Don *Iohn*, that Donna *Maria Telles*, who ſaid ſhee was his wife, abandoned her ſelfe to other men, to his great diſhonour, in whom they wrought ſuch an impreſſion, as this ſimple and ill aduiſed Knight, tranſported with extreame iealouſie, came in a morning to Coimbra, where this Lady did remaine, where entring furiouſly into the houſe after that hee had forced her chamber doore, finding

Pollicy cruell and deteſtable of the Queene D. Leonora Telles.

not

A not any ſignes of that which had beene told him, he ſlue his miſerable wife moſt barbarouſly, who called to God for aide, but in vaine, holding vp her hands to her inraged husband.

This was the reward which Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneſes had, hauing beene the broker of that vnfortunate marriage, and as it were the Gardien of the Queene Donna *Leonoras* loues, who not content therewith came to complaine vnto the King of Don *Iohn*, for the death of her ſiſter, and preuailed ſo, as he was forced to abſent himſelfe from court, and to keepe himſelfe ſecret in places of hard acceſſe, for his ſafety, yet finding not himſelfe well ſecured, he retired into Caſtile: for *Gonçal Telles*, brother to the deceaſed, and her ſonne D. *Lope Diaz de Soſa*, the Earle of Barcellos, and his brother the Earle
B of Viana, with other of her kinſfolkes, ſought to kill him, to reuenge the death of Donna *Maria*. Beſides theſe exceſſes, the Queene Donna *Leonora* attempted the death of D. *Iohn* maiſter of *Auiz*, the King her husbands baſe brother, a Knight of great valour, who had neuer offended her: but only in conceit, that he onely did croſſe her deſeignes. To effect her wicked intent, ſhee cauſed letters to bee counterfetted in the name of the maiſter, and of a gentleman called *Gonçalo Vaſques* of Azebedo, his couſin and very familiar, beeing of the Kings councell, whom ſhee would alſo draw into this danger. Theſe letters were directed to the King of Caſtile and did treat of matters againſt the ſeruice of the King D. *Fernand*, whom ſhe did aduertiſe that they had beene ſurprized vpon the frontiers.

Treachery of the Queene D. Leonora against the maiſter of Auiz.

C The King giuing credit to her malice, after that he had taken councell of his wife, and of D. *Iohn Fernandes* of Andeyro, he commanded that the maiſter of *Auiz* and *Gonçal Vaſques* ſhould be apprehended, and put into the tower of the caſtle of Ebora, where they were kept rigorouſly in chaines, the maiſter being ignorant of the cauſe of this his miſery. As for D. *Gonçal Vaſques*, he remembred that hee had giuen eare vnto his wife, telling him that on a time D. *Gonçal Telles* the Queenes brother, and D. *Iohn Fernand* of Andeyro her mignon, entring into her chamber all ſweating, ſhee gaue them a kerchiſe ſhe had vpon her, to wipe themſelues withall; and that D. *Iohn Fernandes* approching neere vnto her ſpake certaine laſciuious words, which being heard by the wife of Don *Gonçal Vaſques*, and reported by her vnto her husband, hee was ſo indiſcreet as to tell
D the Queene thereof, aduertiſing the Queene of the Earles ſmal reſpect vnto her, and of his impudency, whereof ſhe, who wiſhed him well, did not ſeeme to care: wherefore D. *Gonçal* doubted that this was the cauſe of his impriſonment, and that the Queene would diſpatch him before the King ſhould be aduertiſed thereof.

Impriſonment of the maiſter of Auiz and of D. Gonçal Vaſques.

Being thus impriſoned, the Queene did counterfet letters from the King, vnto *Vaſco Martines* of Merlo, captaine of the caſtle of Ebora, by the which he was commanded to murther theſe two perſonages: but being a diſcreet man, and conſidering the quality of the priſoners, thinking that he muſt not proceed ſo lightly to the execution thereof, hee forbare, vntill he had ſpoken with the King, to whom he went the day after this charge,
E to know if it were his pleaſure, that the maiſter of *Auiz* and *Gonçal Vaſques* ſhould bee put to death. The King anſwered that he knew not of it, commanding him not to touch them, and ſo he ſent him backe, enioyning him to kepe it ſecret, and ſoone after he went from Ebora, whereas the Queene remained; who ſeeing that her deſeignes did not ſucceed, ſhe tooke a milder courſe, and ſought to bee reconciled to theſe two perſonages, who were freed from their irons, and within few daies after ſet at liberty. Some time after, the Queene being at maſſe, ſhe cauſed them to come vnto her, ſhewing them the beſt countenance they could deſire, and inuited them to dinner, the which they did vnwillingly accept, fearing ſhe would cauſe them to be poiſoned: yet they did eate in the Queenes lodging, in the company of the Earle of Oren, to whom after dinner, diſcourſing of her rings and iewels, ſhe gaue (in their preſence) a Ring, ſet with a rich ruby, preſ-
F ſing him to take it, although he excuſed himſelfe, to the end ſhe might not forget any thing to be held very impudent.

Impudency of the Queene D. Leonora.

Amideſt theſe tumults, D. *Iſabella* the Kings baſtard daughter, who had beene made ſure by the laſt treaty of peace, to D. *Alphonſo* of Caſtile, Earle of Gijon, baſe ſonne to King *Henry*, was married at Burgos, whereat the Earle was much greeued: an vnfortunat marriage,

marriage, of which there was one ſonne borne, who was called D. *Henry*. But the marriage which was made betwixt D. *Beatrix* ſiſter to the King D. *Fernand*, and D. *Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, was bleſſed of God: ſo as a daughter which they had, called D. *Leonora*, the ſole heire of her fathers great Eſtates, was married to D. *Fernand* Infant of Caſtile Lord of Lara, and Duke of Pennafiel, ſonne to the King D. *Iohn* the firſt, then raigning, which D. *Fernand* came afterwards to be King of Arragon and Sicile. Shee was Queene of theſe realmes, and mother of fiue children, renowned by the Hiſtories of Caſtile and Arragon, of whom we ſhall heereafter make mention. This King *Fernand* of Portugal being in good peace with his neighbours, conſidering what had happened in the city of Lisbone, in the laſt warre of Caſtile, for want of good walles, he cauſed it to be fortified and walled about from Saint Catherins gate vnto Saint Vincents. And as hee was carefull of this publike worke ſo hee did gratefie the Franciſcan Friars of Saint Iren, cauſing the quier of their church to be built, with other workes of deuotion.

Buildings made by D. Fernand King of Portugal.

An. 1380. This is all we finde in Hiſtories of the affaires of Portugall, vnto the yeere of our Lord 1380. that the aboue mentioned marriage betwixt Don *Henry* ſonne to King *Iohn* the firſt of Caſtile, and Donna *Beatrix* the daughter of Portugal, was concluded with the aboue named conditions, for the ſucceſſion of the two Realmes, by the ſuruiuance of the two Kings.

Caſtile. About the end of this yeere, Donna *Leonora* Queene of Caſtile was brought in bed, at Medina del Campo, of her ſonne D. *Fernand* aboue named, who came to be King of Arragon, as we will ſhew.

18. At that time Spaine was a Neuter, in regard of the obedience which the two Popes pretended, and did affect in the Chriſtian common weale, continuing ſome time in this Neutrality, by reaſon of the diſagreement of the Prelats, who were aſſembled for that cauſe onely, at the inſtance of the Ambaſſadors of the two Popes, *Clement* and *Vrbain*: but ſoone after it was declared by a ſentence giuen by the King of Caſtile, and his councell, that his countries ſhould acknowledge *Clement* the ſeuenth, for Pope, and Chriſts Vicar, he being reſident at Auignon, the King D. *Iohn* inclyning therein, as in other things to the French. The deuotion of men in Spaine, and other places, in thoſe daies was contrarie to that of more ancient times: for whereas before they thought they could not giue ſufficient to the Clergy, to augment their houſes and reuenues, now euery one ſought to ſpoile them, and to vſurpe their lands and reuenues: whereof the Abbots and Conuents of the Order of Saint Benet in Spaine, hauing complained, they had a notable ſentence by Iudges deputed by the King for that buſineſſe, againſt many Noblemen and Knights which detained their goods: yet they ſtill incroched vpon them all they could.

The King of Caſtile acknowleageth the Pope at Auignon.

An. 1381. In the yeere of our Lord 1381. died D. *Ieanne* Queene of Caſtile, mother to the King D. *Iohn*, who through great deuotion had in a manner all her life time carried the habit of Saint Claire, and died in it, and appointed ſhe ſhould be buried in it: A great argument of the religion of that time. She lies at Toledo, in the Chappell of the laſt Kings.

19 Portugal. The peace betwixt the Kings D. *Iohn* of Caſtile, and D. *Fernand* of Portugal, was broken, by the bad councell of a Knight, who had beene accuſtomed to bee often ſhut vp with the Queene of Portugall, and was her fauorite, hee was Earle of Oren. To giue ſome collour and beginning to this warre, the King D. *Fernand* ſent to *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, perſwading him, that as husband to D. *Conſtance*, daughter to the deceaſed King D. *Pedro* of Caſtile and Leon, hee ſhould purſue his right which hee pretended to thoſe Realmes. The Engliſh Prince relying vpon the fauour of Portugal, with the conſent and aide of King *Richard* his Nephew, raiſed a thouſand men at armes, or Launces, and a good number of foote, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother *Edmond* of Langley, Earle of Cambridge, who led them into Spaine, for that the Duke could not goe in perſon to this warre. The Engliſh army arriued vpon the coaſt of Portugal, whereas the warre was already violent; for the King of Caſtile beeing aduertiſed of this practiſe, had led his army into the country, and taken the towne of Almoyda: And at ſea, euen vpon the arriuall of the Engliſh army, *Fernand Sanches* of Touar Admirall of Caſtile had taken twenty gallies of Portugal, with their Admirall D. *Alphonſo Telles*, Earle

Mignon of Queene Leonoras puts Caſtile and Portugal in war.

A Earle of Barcellos the Queenes brother, the which fell out vnhappily for the King Don *Fernand*, who beeing ſodainely tranſported with hatred againſt Caſtile, receiued this Prince *Edmond*, with al ſhewes of loue and royall pompe: and the more to gratefie him, he made a promiſe of a future marriage, betwixt Donna *Beatrix* his daughter (who had beene twice before contracted) and *Edward* his ſon, a young child, which hee had had of Donna *Iſabella* his wife, the third daughter of the deceaſed King Don *Pedro* of Caſtile, there preſent; yea he made them to marry and lie together, and to confirme this marriage, they performed al accuſtomed ceremonies, except the conſummation, which could not bee, by reaſon of the tender age of both parties, the Bridegroome beeing not full

King of Portugal makes and breakes his daughters, marriage at his pleaſure.

B ſixe yeeres old. During their ſtay, the Engliſh (before they were led to the warre) ſpared not the Portugals, but made ſpoile of their goods, as if they had beene in the country of Caſtile: So as the Portugals in ſteed of one warre, found themſelues ingaged betwixt two enemies, hauing the Caſtillans abroad, and the Engliſh within their houſes.

In the yeere of our Lord 1382. the King D. *Fernand* went to field, with the Earle of Cambridge, and came and lodged his army at Yelbes: On the other ſide the army of Caſtile camped at Badajos, whereas hauing continued ſome daies without any exploite of armes, a peace was concluded, and Donna *Beatrix* Infanta of Portugall was the fourth time promiſed to Don *Fernand* the younger ſonne of Don *Iohn* King of Ca-

An. 1382.

C ſtile, the King of Portugall beeing glad this marriage ſhould take place, to the end his Realme ſhould not bee vnited to the crowne of Caſtile.

In the meane time Donna *Leonora* Queene of Caſtile died, in the towne of Cuellar, beeing brought in bed of a daughter, which died alſo. The Queenes bodie was carried to Toledo, and interred in the chappell of the laſt Kings. This Princeſſe is honoured for her vpright and good conſcience aboue all the Ladies of her time, whereof ſome authors bring this example: Certaine Iewes deputed from the Sinagogues of them of their ſect, dwelling vpon the Queenes Lands, beeing come for ſome affaires vnto the court, beeing mooued with good will vnto their Ladie, by reaſon of her vertues, and good behauiour, came vnto her Confeſſor beeing an Arragonois,

Caſtile.

Integrity of the Queene D. Leonora.

D a verie religious man, of a good life, and tould him, that they vnderſtood the Queene had occaſion for to vſe a certaine ſumme of money, and knowing how much the Iewes, dwelling in her countrie, did honour her, they intreated him to let her vnderſtand that ſhee ſhould demaunde what money ſhee pleaſed of their Sinagogues, beeing aſſured it ſhould bee verie willingly furniſhed; and that withall hee ſhould certefie her, that the Iewes deſired to doe her this ſeruice, for that ſince the time ſhee had beene their Ladie ſhee had neuer imployed them. The Confeſſor thinking to bring pleaſing newes vnto the Queene, made report of the Iewes ſpeech, and perſwaded her by all meanes for to make vſe of their kinde offer, aſſuring her that ſhee might take with a good conſcience that which they did willingly preſent vnto her. But the

E Queene anſwered him, that ſhee would neuer doe any ſuch thing, and that God forbidde that ſhee ſhould exact money, or any other thing of any perſon, for the which the King, ſhe or their children might be curſed: And notwithſtanding any reply the religious man could make ſhee would not yeeld vnto it, but willed him for to thanke the Iewes.

Don *Fernand* King of Portugal, hearing of the death of Donna *Leonora* Queene of Caſtille, hee beganne to practiſe a fifth marriage for his daughter Donna *Beatrix*, with the King Don *Iohn* himſelfe; ſending ſodainely vnto him, beeing then at Pinto, three Leagues from Madrid, to know his minde therein. The King Don *Iohn* made no delaie, but (with the aduice of his good ſeruants) entred preſently into capi-

Portugal.

F tulation with the Ambaſſadours of Portugal, who were therein duelie inſtructed: Amongſt other Articles it was agreed that the children iſſuing of this marriage, ſhould bee Kings of Portugal.

And ſome daies after hee married Donna *Beatrix* Infanta of Portugall, hauing eſcaped many other parties of leſſe preferment. The marriage was celebrated, at Badajos, or at Yelbes, according vnto ſome, in the yeere of the Incarnation 1383.

D. Iohn King of Caſtile marries the Infanta of Portugal.

the Queene Donna *Leonora Telles* de Meneſes her mother being preſent, the King Don *Fernand* remayning at Lisbon very ſicke, where within few daies after hee died, hauing raigned but ill ſixteene yeeres and nine monthes, the three and fortith yeere of his age. His body was buried at Saint Iren, in the Franciſcans church, where as D. *Conſtance Manuel* his mother is alſo interred. A

Death of D. Fernand King of Portugal.

20. Caſtile.

After the marriage betwixt Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, and Donna *Iſabella* of Portugal, againſt the liking of Don *Alphonſo*, hee did neuer loue the King his brother, ſome times hee rebelled, and cauſed reuolts, and then was reconciled, but it laſted not long. At this ſecond marriage of the King Don *Iohn*, hee was in the Aſturiaes, where hee put all into combuſtion, againſt whom the King ſent ſome companies of men at armes. B

Rebellion of D Alphonſo Earl of Gijon.

Æra of Cæſar what it was.

This yeere of our Lord 1383. was held a generall aſſembly of the Eſtates at Segobia. And for that vnto that time they had accounted the yeeres according vnto the *Æra* of *Cæſar*, which differed eight and thirty yeeres from the accounts which was then in vſe in other Chriſtian Kingdomes, it was ordained that the Caſtillans ſhould take the beginning of their yeeres from the natiuity of Chriſt: the which was more fit for Chriſtians, then to retaine this memory of *Cæſar Auguſtus*. This manner of accounting by the *Æra* had beene long before left in Nauarre and Arragon, but was retained for ſome time in Portugal. The cauſe of this name of *Æra* is diuerſly related, but the moſt probable is, that the ancients hauing accuſtomed to write theſe wordes. *Annus erat Auguſti centeſ.* or ſome other number, by abreuiation thus, A. E R. A. C. the vulgar people ioyning theſe letters together pronounced *Æra*. C. the which was afterwards vſed vnto that time. They ſay that the laſt letters which were diſpatched in the court of Caſtile, where the *Æra* of *Cæſar* was obſerued, were two preuiledges granted by the King Don *Iohn*, the one to the towne of Santa Cruz of Ceſtone; the other to Villa Real of Vrrechua, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1421. of the *Æra*, anſwering to that of our Lord 1383. from the birth of Chriſt. C

21 Portugal.

The King Don *Iohn*, before his departure from Segobia, did celebrat the funerals of his father in law, in which Realme, by an Article made in the treaty of marriage of the Infanta Don *Beatrix*, Queene of Caſtile, and heire proprietarie thereof, the Queene Donna *Leonora Telles* her mother ſhould remaine Regent. The chiefe of the Nobilitie of Portugal were of diuerſe humours touching the ſucceſſion of the Realme: for ſome (amongſt which was the maiſter of the Knights of Auiz, baſe brother to the deceaſed King) would maintaine the right of Donna *Beatrix*, and called Don *Iohn* King of Caſtile her husband, to come and take poſſeſſion of the Realme, which did belong vnto him: others did abhorre the Caſtillans commaund, and could not endure that Portugal ſhould bee vnited to Caſtile. The King Don *Iohn* ſollicited by many letters and meſſages to come into Portugall tooke aduice of his councell, whether hee ſhould enter in hoſtile manner, or peaceably. The worſt councell was followed by him, which was, force: Wherefore he ſpeedily gathered together al the forces hee could, and firſt of all hee ſtaied Don *Iohn* of Portugall, one of the brethren of the deceaſed King Don *Fernand*, who hauing retired himſelfe out of Portugal, by reaſon of the murther of Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneſes, and the mallice of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, had ſerued the crowne of Caſtile faithfully. But fearing leaſt hee ſhould cauſe ſome troubles in Portugal, hee cauſed him to bee put priſoner in the caſtle of Toledo, from whence hee was afterwardes remooued to Almonacid, three leagues from the citie. Hee alſo cauſed Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon to bee impriſoned, who ſtirred vppe ſeditions in Caſtile: and then with thoſe ſmall forces which hee had, hee marched to La Garde, where hee was receiued by the Biſhop of that place; but the captaine of the fort would not acknowledge him, knowing the diuerſe diſpoſitions of the Nobilitie, and vnderſtanding all the troubles which had happened at Lisbone ſince the Kings death. D E F

Diſpoſition of the Nobiemen of Portugal.

King of Caſtile enters armed into Portugal, and is not well received.

The Queene widowe did reſide in this chiefe Cittie of the Realme, beeing aſſiſted by Don *Henry Manuel*, Earle of Sintra, Vncle to the deceaſed King by the mothers ſide; by Don *Iohn* Maiſter of Auiz, and others which did fauour the Queene Donna *Beatrix*, and

A and had ſet vp the armes of Caſtile and Portugal quartered, as the Don *Iohn* had taken them: but the iealouſie which was bred in the hearts of the Noblemen, and people, by the too great familiarity which was betwixt the widow Queene and Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Andeyro Earle of Oren, mooued the maiſter of Auiz (who remembred ſtill his impriſonment) to enter into quarrell with him, the which proceeded ſo farre, as the Earle was ſlaine in the Queenes lodging, which was at a place called Limonero: and inſtantly (as if it had beene a thing premeditated) the people of the city fell in ſuch a mutiny, as not any one durſt burie the Earle Don *Fernandes* body, in the day time, but they were forced to ſtaie till night, to put him ſecretly in the ground at Saint Martins, Queene *Leonora* beeing ſo amazed, as ſhee ſought all meanes to flie out of Lis-

Earle of Oren the Queene of Portugals Minion ſlaine.

Mutiny at Liſbon.

B bon: And the rage of this multitude was ſo violent, as they fell vpon Don *Martin* their Biſhop, who blaming them for their inſolencies and rebellion againſt the Queene, they chaſed him into a tower of his church, into the which this poore prelate had fled to ſaue himſelfe from the rage of the people, where they beſeeged him, and entring into the tower, caſt him downe head-long pouring forth a thouſand iniurious words againſt the Queene Donna *Leonora*, the Earle and the Biſhop: whoſe bodie beeing ſtript, they drag'd it by the heeles to the place of Ruſio, where this miſerable ſpectacle laie all that day, and the next night following, and then they buried it in the market; the furious multitude not ſuffering it to haue Chriſtian buriall.

Biſhop of Liſbon ſlaine by the mutines.

In the meane time the Queene Donna *Leonora* got away, and leauing this mutinous

C city, retired to Alanquer, and from thence to Saint Iren, where as ſhee vnderſtoode that many other townes, eſpecially Ebora had done the like, taking armes tumultuouſly againſt her and her faction. At Ebora the heads of the multitude were *Vincent Ianes* a Taylor, and one called *Gonçill Ianes*, who committed ſtrange inſolencies, as it is the cuſtome of a mutinous multitude. Amongſt others, knowing that the Abbeſſe of Saint Benet was allied to the Queene Donna *Leonora*, they entred into her Church and pulled her from the Altar, holding that which keepes the Hoſte in her armes, imploring in vaine the aide thereof, and the mercie of the commons, and ſo drew her into the market-place, where they murthered her moſt cruelly.

The Portugall authors write, that in that cittie, a little ſemall Infant beeing in the

D cradell, in the houſe of one *Stephen Ianes*, did riſe three times out of her ſwadling clothes, and ſtretching out the armes, cried, *Portugal, Portugal, for the King* Don *Iohn*; the which was then ambiguous, but afterwardes (by reaſon of the euent) was applied to the maiſter of *Auiz*, who was alſo called Don *Iohn*. The King of Caſtile beeing aduertiſed of all theſe diſorders, went to Saint Iren, to his mother in law, about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1384. where to free her ſelfe from trouble and daunger, and to gratefie the King her ſonne in law, ſhee yeelded vnto him all the right ſhee had to the Gouernment of the Realme. Hether came many Noblemen and Gentlemen holding the partie of the King Don *Iohn*, to doe him homage: who by this good be-

Prodigie at Ebora.

An. 1384.

E ginning conceiued great hope that all would ſucceed well and wiſhfully, and that hee ſhould reſtore his mother in law to her dignity. Don *Iohn* of Portugall maiſter of Auiz, a young Prince, but vertuous, hauing beene prouoked by the diſhoneſt conuerſation of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, with the Earle of Oren, to take armes, knowing the nature of this woman, by former experience, with the hazard of his life; hee would no more fall into her power, but aſpired to the regencie of the Realme, and wholy to depriue both her and the King D. *Iohn* her ſonne in law of all gouernment.

D. Iohn maiſter of Auiz aſpires to the gouernment of Portugal.

In this deſeigne hee found ſuch fauour and ſupport of the Nobility and townes, who had long deteſted the manners of the Queene, and the deceaſed King her huſband, as hee had meanes to reſiſt the attempts of the King of Caſtile, and to make himſelfe a way to the crowne. And to make the name of Caſtile more odious to them who deſired not the vnion of theſe two Realmes, he cauſed a ſtandard to be made, in the which was painted D. *Iohn* of Portugall his brother, a priſoner, ſtanding at a grate in the Caſtle of Toledo, cauſing it to bee diſplaied in the city of Lisbone, in view of all the people, who were alreadie mutined, which made them to arme with great reſolution againſt the forces of Caſtile, who ſoone after came and preſented themſelues before

Act of the maiſter of Auiz to make the Caſtilians odious.

the city, in which army there were one thouſand launces complete, and great ſtore of foote led by D. *Pedro Fernandes Cap de Vache* maiſter of Saint Iames, Don *Pero Fernandes de Valaſco*, Chamberlaine to the King, and D. *Iohn Pero Ruis Sarmiento* Gouernor of Galicia, and ſoone after the King came thether in perſon: where they laied ſeege, and planted their batteries, but without any great effect, for the beſeeged made no ſallies.

Lisbone beſeeged by the Caſtilians.

In the meane time they of Ebora, who were of this rebellious faction, receiued into their towne Don *Nugno Alnares Pereira*, a valiant captaine, being but foure and twenty yeeres old, vnder whoſe conduct they came and affronted D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla, D. *Diego Gomes* maiſter of Alcantara, and D. *Fernand Sanches* of Touar high Admirall of Caſtile, beeing ſent by the King D. *Iohn* with great troupes againſt them, but they put them to rout, and ſlue the maiſter of Alcantara, and many men of marke. The King hearing of theſe newes, ſent ſupplies with D. *Iohn Pero Ruis Sarmiento*, Gouernor of Galicia, to whom they of Ebora, with their captaine D. *Nugno Aluarez*, preſented battaile againe courragiouſly, but they retired themſelues, fearing the like ſhould happen vnto them as had done to their companions, and came vnto the King, who thinking that hee might ſeize vpon Coimbra without any contradiction, in the caſtle whereof was *Gonçal Telles*, Earle of Neyua the Queenes brother, and *Gonçal Mendez* of Vaſconcello, her vncle, hee marched thether, leading with him D. *Beatrix* his wife, and the Queene Donna *Leonora*: but the Caſtillans name was ſo hatefull vnto the Portugals, with the behauiour of the widow Queene, as they were not only kept out of the towne, but alſo they of the caſtle ſhot at them, whereas the King and Queenes were in great daunger of their liues.

Caſtillans defeated by them of Ebora.

The King Don *Iohn* beeing diſcontented with the Queene Donna *Leonora*, for that her neereſt kinſmen holding the fort of Coimbra, had ſo ſhamefully repulſed him, hee grew iealous that ſhee had ſome intelligence with them: wherefore hee cauſed her to bee taken, and ſent into Caſtile to the caſtle of Tordeſillas, from whence ſhee neuer returned more into Portugall, yet ſhee by commaundement from him was ſerued and honoured there as a Queene, and dying was buried at Vailedolit, in the Monaſtery of the religious of the Order of the Merced. The King beeing returned to the campe before Lisbone, hee preſt it all hee could, both by water and land, but by reaſon of the infection which crept into his campe, and the comming of the ſea armie of Portugal, which approched neere vnto the city, together with the reſolution of the beſeeged, who then made many ſallies vpon the Caſtillans, hee aduanced little. There were ſome propoſitions of an accord made; but Don *Iohn* maiſter of the Auiz beeing reſolute to haue the ſole gouernment of the Realme of Portugal, and Algarbe, vntill that the King of Caſtile had children by Donna *Beatrix* his wife, there was nothing concluded.

King Iohn and the Queenes of Caſtile and Portugal repulſt from Coimbra.

The Infant Don *Charles*, heire of Nauarre, came to the King Don *Iohn* at this ſeege, to aide and fortefie the King his brother in law: but the plague continuing with great loſſe of the Nobility, which died miſerably at this ſeege, the King Don *Iohn* was conſtrained to riſe and to returne into Caſtile, hauing put good garriſons into thoſe places which had receiued him. The loſſe of his men in this voiage was very great, and therefore hee had reaſon to giue ſome reſt vnto the remainders, and prepare for the raiſing of a great army for the next yeere.

22 Nauarre.

Before wee returne into Portugall, it is expedient to make mention of the affaires of Nauarre, and ſhew how the Infant Don *Charles* (who came newly to the campe before Lisbone) was deliuered, whom wee had left priſoner in France. During the life of *Charles* the fifth, the French King, there was no meanes of reconciliation betwixt him, and his brother in law *Charles* King of Nauarre, wherefore his ſonne *Charles* continued priſoner vnto the Kings death, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1380. leauing his ſonne *Charles* the ſixth of that name, ſucceſſor to the Realme, beeing young and vnder the gouernment of *Iohn* duke of Berry, and *Philip* duke of Bourgondie his vncles, who ſhewed themſelues ſo oppoſite to the King of Nauarres purſutes, for his reconciliation and the deliuery of his ſonne, which made them

A them reſolue to poiſon them both, wherefore hauing found an Engliſhman, fit for his intent, they ſent him to the French court with poiſon, to kill theſe princes, promiſing him many great rewardes, if hee did effect it giuing him alſo good ſtore of gold in preſent.

Deteſtable enterpriſe of King Charles the bad.

This Engliſh man did what hee could, to execute his charge, but his often comming and going into the dukes kitchins, beeing alſo an Engliſhman, made him to bee ſuſpected: ſo as beeing taken with his poulder, and hauing confeſſed that hee was ſent to kill the dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, for that they oppoſed themſelues againſt the deliuerie of the Infant of Nauarre, hee was beheaded. This errour did very much

B diſpleaſe *Charles* King of Nauarre not knowing by what meanes to recouer his ſonne.

During the Kings diſcontent, there fell out a quarrell betwixt *Fillot* of Gramont, Lord of Gramont, on this ſides the mountaines, and Don *Ramir Sanches* of Aſiayn, for matters concerning their Princes ſeruice: Don *Ramir* was accuſed by the Lord of Gramont, to haue attempted againſt the Kings owne perſon: ſo as comming to the triall of armes, by the order of Iudges, deputed by the King, and theſe Knights appering to fight at the day appointed, the importunity of the kinſmen and friends of either ſide was ſuch, as the combate was ſtaied, and they both remained at the Kings pleaſure, who cauſed them to bee put in priſon, the Lord of Gramont in the caſtle of Saint Iohn of Pie de Port, and the other in Tafalla. The Lord of Aſiayn hauing

Quarrell betwixt the Lord of Gramont and D. Ramir Sanches of Aſiayn.

C beene ſome ſpace priſoner in this towne, beeing garded by certaine ſouldiars Picards, hee found meanes to corrupt them, ſo as hee ſeized vpon the captaine of the caſtle, and the place it ſelfe.

This accident beeing bruted through the towne, the Inhabitants went preſentlie to armes and beſeeged the caſtle, the which by the treaſon of one of thoſe ſouldiars which had betraied the captaine and the place, was recouered, with Don *Ramir Sanches* of Aſiayn, and his confederates, whoſe head the King, as well for this, as for many other former offences, cauſed to bee cut off, and forfeited his goods, and the ſouldiars were euery one executed that had aſſiſted him to ſeize vpon the fort, or caſtle of Tafalla. As for *Fillot* of Gramont hee continued three yeeres in priſon, and then

D was deliuered.

In the meane time the King Don *Charles* beeing in great care for the detention of his ſonne in France, hee cauſed Don *Iohn* King of Caſtile to bee ſollicited by Donna *Leonora* his daughter in law, who was retired into Caſtile to the King her brother, who was ſtrictly allied and a friend to the French, to bee a meadiator for the deliuery of the Infant Don *Charles*. The King of Caſtile deſirous to gratefie his ſiſter, imployed his beſt meanes to the young French King and his Gouernors, and did ſo importune them by meſſages, letters and Ambaſſages, as they ſet the Infant Don *Charles* of Nauarre at libertie. As for Don *Pedro* his younger brother, and Donna *Maria* his ſiſter, they had beene releaſed before. Don *Charles* ſoone after his deliuery hee

Deliuery of Prince Charls in fauor of the King of Caſtile.

E went into Nauarre, to the great content of all the Nauarrois. It was a great hatred and mallice in the King Don *Charles* the Father, for to attempt ſuch a wickedneſſe againſt the princes of France, who ſhewed their generoſitie, in conſenting to the deliuerie of the Infant, who was not guilty of his fathers offence, who in all his actions was of ſo ſower a diſpoſition, as hee could not purſue his rights, nor treat of any affaires with other princes, but in choller, and diſdaine: and whereas he could not obtaine and bring to paſſe what hee pretended, hee had recourſe to ſyniſter and vnlawfull practiſes, deſiring to reuenge himſelfe of thoſe that did him any iniury, by what meanes ſoeuer.

Diſpoſition of D. Charles King of Nauarre.

Hee had one ſiſter called Donna *Agnes*, married vnto *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, called

F *Phebus*, who for the wrongs hee had done vnto her husband, was verie ill intreated by him, ſo as ſhee was forced to leaue his companie, and to retire into Nauarre, who was ſoone after followed by a ſonne ſhee had by him, called *Gaſton*, where both beeing receiued, and honoured by King *Charles*, conferring often with his ſiſter of her husbands bad vſage, hee conceiued ſuch a hatred againſt the Earle *Gaſton*, as hee

drew young *Gaſton* their ſonne to poiſon his father and gaue him a venimous poulder to that end, telling him that it was a remedy to make him change the hatred hee bare him and his mother, into loue. This young Nobleman beeing ſimple and ill aduiſed beleeuing what the King his vncle had ſaid vnto him, he returned into Foix, to his father, with an intent to ſeaſon him ſome meate with this poulder, but hee could not ſo play his part, but caſting the poulder into the meate, it was perceiued by the cookes, or otherwiſe diſcouered: wherefore the Earle commanded his ſonne and onely heire to bee taken, cauſing him to die miſerably in priſon, ſo as after him hee left none but baſtards, which did not ſucceed in the Earledome of Foix: one of them was *Bernard*, who ſerued *Henry* the ſecond King of Caſtile, in the conqueſt of the realme againſt the King D. *Pedro*, and was rewarded by him, and endowed with lands and Eſtates in Caſtile, from whom deſcended the dukes of Medina Celi, or Zelim, who by the mothers ſide belong to the bloud of Caſtile, according to the order which followeth.

Miſerable death of young Gaſton of Foix.

Beginning of the houſe of Celi or Zelim.

D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, eldeſt ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, or the Philoſopher, left two ſons, D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Fernand*: of D. *Alphonſo*, married into France, came D. *Lewis* Earle of Clermont, and D. *Charles*, or *Iohn*, according vnto ſome, Conſtable of France, and Earle of Angouleſme. D. *Lewis* Earle of Clermont married in Andaluſia, Don *Leonora* of Guzman, daughter to D. *Alphonſo Peres* of Guzman, and was Lord of Hulua, and of Port Sancta Maria, and other lands in the right of his wife: of which marriage iſſued Don *Lewis*, Don *Iohn*, and Donna *Iſabella de la Cerde*. This Donna *Iſabella* was by the King Don *Henry* the ſecond, being ſetled in the realme of Caſtile, married to *Bernard* baſtard of Foix, and had in dowry Medina Celi, with the title of an Earle; of them came D. *Gaſton*, ſurnamed *de la Cerde*, leauing the name of the houſe of Foix, and Bern. Hee was the ſecond Earle of Medina Celi, and married Donna *Mencia* of Mendoça, daughter to Don *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoça, a great Nobleman in Alaua: by her hee had one ſonne called Don *Lewis*, who was the third Earle of Medina Celi, and married with Donna *Iean Sarmiento*, daughter to *Diego Peres Sarmiento*, from whom came Don *Gaſton de la Cerde* the ſecond, and forth Earle of Medina Celi, who married Donna *Leonora* of Mendoça, daughter to Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, Marquis of Sentillana, from whom deſcended Don *Lewis* which ſucceeded him in the Earldome, in whoſe time it was made a Dutchy, D. *Lewis* married Donna *Anna* of Nauarre and Arragon, baſe daughter to D. *Charles*, Infant of Nauarre and Arragon. This is the Genealogy of the houſe of the dukes of Medina Celi.

King Charles a Leaper.

Such, as wee haue ſayd, were the actions of *Charles* King of Nauarre, whom in the end God ſtrooke with a Leaproſie, which made him to leaue all care of the affaires of this world, and to giue himſelfe to workes of piety, according to the manner of thoſe times, which was to build chappels, to ordaine Maſſes and Anniuerſaries for his deceaſed parents, and to adde rents and giue entertainement to Clergy men and Prieſts which did the ſeruice: but aboue all hee labored to liue in peace with Chriſtian Princes.

The Infant *Charles* beeing come into Nauarre about the beginning of the warre betwixt Caſtile and Portugal, the King Don *Iohn* demaunded ſome ſupplies of ſouldiars out of Nauarre, to lead with him, whereunto the King of Nauarre conſented willingly, remembring the good Offices hee had done with the French for his ſonnes liberty, whom hee ſent well accompanied to this warre, beeing vnable to goe in perſon, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. The Infant made ſome ſtay with his wife Donna *Leonora*, who was in Caſtile, and then paſſing on, hee came to the King beeing incamped before Lisbone, where hee ſtaied not long, the King Don *Iohn* beeing forced to raiſe the ſeege by reaſon of the plague which ruined his armie, and returne into Caſtile, as wee haue ſaid, diſmiſſing the Infant his brother in law, with all loue and content.

23. Portugal.

Affaires of the King of Caſtile ſucceed well in Portugal.

The yeere 1385. beeing come, the King D. *Iohn* preparing to returne into Portugall, hauing alreadie ſent ſome ſhips and gallies againſt Lisbone, hee had newes that the ſouldiars which hee had left in Saint Iren, had defeated ſome troupes of Portugal, whoſe leaders were the maiſter of the Knights of Chriſtus, and the Prior of Saint Iohn, by reaſon of which victorie, many places within the Realme had planted the Standard of Caſtile.

A Caſtile: wherefore he made all the haſt he could to enter into Portugall, beeing loth to let ſlip this occaſion. Before his departure, he propounded in councell to put his brother the Earle of Gijon to death: but he was perſwaded by many graue reaſons and examples to forbeare.

Don Iohn Maſter of Auiz, a baſtard, the firſt of that name, and tenth in number, choſen King of Portugal.

B

IN Portugal his aduerſaries loſt no time, but prouided for all that was neceſſarie for a future warre: for the better managing whereof, they were of aduiſe to chooſe one, who ſhould haue ſoueraigne authoritie among the reſt: for the effecting whereof, the Noblemen and Knights of the Realme, who reiected the gouernement of Caſtile (among the which the moſt eminent were, Don *Iohn* Maſter of Auiz, and Don *Nugno Aluarez Pereira*) aſſembled in the cittie of Coimbra, and there held a kind of Parliament, whither alſo came the Deputies of the townes of their partie: there it was debated whether they C ſhould chooſe a Regent or a King. Many were of opinion they ſhould chooſe a king, and gaue their voices, ſome to Don *Iohn* Maſter of Auiz, baſe ſonne to the king Don *Pedro*: others ſayd, it was more reaſonable to make Don *Iohn* lawfull ſonne to the king Don *Pedro*, king, who was priſoner in Caſtile.

Aſſembly in Portugal for the election of a king.

Many conſidering the wrong they did therein to the Queene D. *Beatrix*, were of opinion, that it was better to ſeeke ſome good accord with Don *Iohn* king of Caſtile her husband: whereunto ſome did oppoſe, ſaying, that the Queene D. *Leonora Telles de Meneſes* could not be lawfull wife to king *Fernand*, hauing taken her by force from her huſband *Laurence Vaſques* of Acugna: and therefore D. *Beatrix* was no more legitimate then the Maſter of Auiz, and that being both baſe, it were better to acknowledge him for king, D then her: that as for the Infant D. *Iohn* a lawfull ſon, to whom the crowne of Portugal did rightly belong, that his deliuerie was vncertaine, and therefore they muſt not ſtand vpon it, the Portugals hauing then need of a free king, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the attempts of Caſtile who ſought to oppreſſe them. This opinion preuailed, and they all conſented to chooſe D. *Iohn* Maſter of Auiz, for king of Portugal, and ſo he was proclaimed eighteene moneths after the interregne, in the Monaſterie of Saint *Francis* of Coimbra, in Aprill, this yeare 1385. the people crying out, that it was that king which was prophecied by the Infant at Ebora, whereof mention was made.

D. Iohn Maſter of Auiz choſen king of Portugal.

This king is called by the Portugals (of happie memorie) for that he freed the country from the Caſtillans, whoſe gouernement was exceeding hatefull vnto them: he was alſo E ſurnamed the Baſtard, for that the king D. *Pedro* begat him out of marriage. He ſhewed a great courage and generoſitie in the reception of this great charge, to defend a Realme diuided, againſt the power of the king of Caſtile, being allyed to France and Nauarre: but a Royaltie, and the liberty of his country, did ſufficiently requite the perill and danger which he did vndergo. The king D. *Iohn* being aduertiſed of that which the Portugals had done at the Eſtates at Coimbra, he ſent D. *Pedro Tenorio* Archbiſhop of Toledo, a Portugal borne, with ſome troupes, to retaine in their fidelitie ſuch as followed his party in Portugall. This Prelate entring the countrie by Viſeo, made a miſerable ſpoile where hee paſt, for which he ſmarted ſoone after, beeing incountred and defeated by the Portugals nere to Troncoço. On the other ſide, the inhabitants of Algarbe, following the new kings F partie, had ſeazed vpon the towne of Mertola, and as they battered the caſtle, they were ſuddenly charged by them of Seuile, and put to flight: the leader was D. *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, Gouernor of that city, a yong Nobleman of 18. years of age: and in a manner at the ſame inſtant the Caſtillans tooke a great quantitie of victuals and munition, which they of Yelbes and Eſtremos kept in Ronchez. The king of Caſtile reſoluing to beſeege Lisbon againe, had prepared many veſſels both for war, and to carrie victuals, the which came

Caſtillans defeated at Troncoſo.

came neere vnto Lisbon, and kept the mouth of the riuer, ſo as no man could go in, or A
come out from Lisbone. All this did not daunt the new king of Portugal, but hauing
Exploits of the new king of Portugal. ſpeedily aſſembled his forces, he went to aſſaile Guimaranes, the which was valiantly de-
fended by *Arias Gomes* of Silua a Portugal,, who was affected to the king of Caſtile, yet
it was yeelded vppon a good compoſition: after which he tooke the cittie of Braga, pont
de Liuan, with other places and forts.

Whileſt theſe things paſt in Portugal, the king of Caſtile, burning with deſire to ſee
himſelfe king of this other Realme, made great preparations, and notwithſtanding that
his Councellors vppon his returne into Portugal were of diuers opinions, yet he yeelded
to thoſe that perſwaded him to enter: wherefore leauing Donna *Beatrix* his wife at Auila, B
he marched towards Portugall, and layed ſeege to Cillorico de la vera, where during
his ſtay, conſidering the doubtfull euents of warre, eſpecially againſt Rebels, the vſurpers
of Realmes, who ſhew themſelues alwaies violent, hee made his will, and ſent it to the
Arch-biſhop of Toledo to keepe, by the which hee ordayned many things, the which
ſhall be ſpecified in the life of his ſonne and ſucceſſour Don *Henry*, which bred much trouble within the Realme, for that hee gaue out, whileſt he liued, and after the making of
this will, that he meant to alter many things, and yet he made no other will, whereof the
chiefe witneſſes were Don *Pedro* of Arragon, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the firſt Conſtable of
Caſtile, and Marquis of Villena, D. *Iohn cap de Vaca* Biſhop of Coimbra, *Peter Gonçales* of
Mendoça, Lord Steward of the kings houſe, *Diego Gomes Manrique* great Gouernour of C
Caſtile, *Pedro Lopes* of Ayala, Standard-bearer of the Order of the Band, with *Tello Gonçales Palomeque*, and other men of marke. The Caſtle of Cillorico was taken, from whence
the armie marched towards Coimbra, burning all the villages thereabouts, and ſo paſſing
on by Leyra, they came and camped at Soria, whereas a meſſenger ſent by Don *Nugno Aluarez Pereira* newly created Conſtable of Portugal, came vnto the king, intreating him
in his maſters name, to auoyd the battell, which ſhould be ſoone preſented vnto him, and
that it might be there would be meanes to come to ſome good accord, if it were earneſtly
ſought.

This was but the Conſtables pollicie, to ſtay the king of Caſtile, for that the king of
Portugalls armie was not ſtrong enough to encounter their enemies: whereunto the king D
made a gracious anſwer. The new king of Portugal was in Arbantes very penſiue, ſeeing
himſelfe much inferiour to his enemie, who beſides the Caſtillans, which were in great
numbers, had many Noblemen of Portugal in his armie, the which beeing within a
league and a halfe of that of Portugal, there were many things propounded, to end their
quarrels without a battell, but they were all without effect: for the king of Caſtile finding
himſelfe ſtrong, had a deſire to fight, promiſing vnto himſelfe all aduantages, and yet his
captaines were of another opinion; and among others, Monſieur *de Rie*, Chamberlaine to
the French king, and his ambaſſador with the King of Caſtile, a Gentleman 70. yeres old,
and a captaine of great experience, ſaying, that his men were wearie, and it was late, and
that the Portugall army, in the which were 2200. men at armes, and 10000. foote, were E
camped in a place of ſtrength: from whence, if he would haue patience, hee ſhould ſee
them ſoone diſlodg for want of victuals, beeing aduertiſed that they had not any meate,
but for that night: that vppon their diſlodging he ſhould haue better oportunitie to fight
with them: & if they went to affront them in the place where they were, it was likely they
ſhould reape more ſhame then honor. But notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, hee would
Battel of Aliubarot and the Caſtillans defeated. needes fight: wherefore the Caſtillans hauing put their armie in battell, they were receiued courageouſly by the Portugals, along the mountaines of Maos, in the fields nere vnto the village of Aljubarot, where at the firſt charge, notwithſtanding all the indeauour
of the Portugall fore-ward, they gaue ground to the Caſtillans: but the new king of Portugal flying thither with his ſquadron, not onely fortified his men, but alſo charging the F
enemie with great courage (who thought they had won all, and fought without order, & careleſly) he brake them, and put them to a ſhamefull flight with great ſlaughter, the king
of Caſtile himſelf being in danger, who fled 11. leagues that night vnto S. Iren, where he
arriued at the breake of day in great perplexity, and then recouering the ſea-ſhoare, hee
cauſed himſelfe to be carryed to Seuile.

Polydore

A *Polydore Virgil* in his Hiſtorie of England, failes in the diſcourſe of this battell, ſaying, that *Edmond* Earle of Cambridge was there with good troupes of Engliſh for the new king of Portugal againſt him of Caſtile, and giues the honour of the battell to the Engliſh: but it appeares by all the Spaniſh Writers, (more credible in matters of Spaine then ſtrangers) that the comming of the Earle of Cambridge into Portugall was not at that time, but in the life of king *Fernand*. Neither were there any French troupes for the king of Caſtile, as ſome Authors make mention. Vpon the place of battell there was an Hermitage built to S. *George*, who is held to be the patron and protector of Portugal, as alſo of Arragon, as S. *Iames* is of Caſtile: and this victorie is more celebrated by the Portugals, then any they euer had: for that by reaſon thereof they were freed from the ſub-

B iection of Caſtile: it is called the battell of Aljubarote, or of S. *George*. In this battell there dyed many Noblemen of Caſtile; and among others Don *Pedro* of Arragon, ſonne to the Conſtable of Caſtile, D. *Iohn* of Caſtile, Lord of Aguilar del campo, ſon to D. *Tello*, L. of Biſcay, D. *Fernand* of Caſtile, a yong Prince, ſon to D. *Sancho*, Earle of Albuquerque, *Peter Dias Damas* Prior of S. Iohn, D. *Diego Manrique*, Gouernor generall of the fronter of Caſtile, D. *Pedro* of Mendoça, a Lord Steward of the king of Caſtiles houſe, Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Touar high Admiral, D. *Diego Gomes Sarmiento* Gouernor of Galicia, *Pedro Carillo* Marſhall of Caſtile, D. *Aluar Gonçales* of Sandoual, and his brother *Fernand Gonçales*, D. *Iohn Ramir* of Areillan, *Iohn Ortiz* of Cueua, *Gonçalo* of Cerbantes, *Ruy Braue*, and *Fernand Carillo*: and of the Portugals following the partie of Caſtile, D. *Iohn Alphonſo*

C *Sello*, Admirall of Portugall, brother to the Queene D. *Leonora*, D. *Pero Aluarez Pereira*, Maſter of the Order of Calatraua, and his brother D. *Diego Aluarez Pereira*, brothers to D. *Nugno Aluarez* Conſtable of Portugal, *Gonçal Vaſques* of Azeuedo, with *Aluar Gonçales* his ſonne, and others. There dyed alſo in this defeate Monſieur *de Riè* Ambaſſador for the French king, and his Chamberlaine. Great was the ſpoile of the Caſtillans campe, & many priſoners caryed away by the Portugals, who hung vp their enſignes & other ſpoils for trophees in the Monaſterie of Alcouaça, and in the chiefe church at Braga, and at the Carmes at Lisbon, the which were afterwards founded by the Conſtable D. *Nugno Aluarez Pereira*, and among others the royal Standard of Caſtile was taken. As for thoſe which

D eſcaped the battell, ſome gathered themſelues together in S. Iren, and ſome of them recouered Caſtile, as well as they could. They of S. *Iren* hauing paſt the riuer of Tayo, with D. *Gonçal Nugnes* of Guzman, Maſter of Alcantara, (who was ſince made Maſter of the Calatraua) they ioyned with the forces of Nauarre and France, which the Infant Don *Charles* of Nauarre brought to the king of Caſtile his brother-in-law, but too late: wherfore they returned all together into Caſtile, hauing made all the ſpoile they could in the Realme of Portugal: the which by this battel of Aljubarote remained aſſured for the king Don *Iohn* the tenth in number, and the firſt of that name, hauing attained to that royall dignitie, to the which in the beginning he did not aſpire, and that with the conſent of the Nobilitie and States of the countrie.

Noblemen of Caſtile ſlaine in the battell.

Portugals ſlain of the Caſtillans ſide.

E

The end of the ſixteenth Booke.

THE

THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK
of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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D

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Portugal.	Nauarre.	Arragon.	Caſtile *and* Leon.
10 D. Iohn *Maſter of Auiz.* 1.31	D. Charles 3.14	D. Iohn 1.17	D. Henry 3.83.

E

F SVCH as are to rule ouer Nations, and eſpecially where there is great ſtore of Nobility, muſt be carefull how to gouerne their affections, leſt by their too great libertie they force their ſubiects, either in regard of their honours, or for their iuſt defence to haue recourſe to armes. For it is often ſeene when a warre is kindled, and that they which are tearmed Rebels, haue gotten any aduantage, they do no longer containe themſelues within the bounds which at the firſt they had propounded, but they proceed, and ſeeke a totall change of the Eſtate, thinking they cannot be otherwiſe aſſured:

aſſured: or that the ſuperior whom they would make their equall (which is the true effect of armes) can euer be a true and perfect friend. Such are chiefly poſſeſſed with this iealouſie and diſtruſt, as are to contend with men that are giuen to reuenge, and of baſe diſpoſitions, as women and effeminate perſons, who ſeeke to maintaine their exceſſe by the name and credit of a Soueraigne degree wherin they are placed, thinking that this greatneſſe doth purchaſe them a priuiledge in any thing they do, and giue authoritie to their cruelties and impieties, wherin they pleaſe themſelues, although they be many times deceiued. It is moſt certaine, and verified by infinit examples, that neither force, nor greatneſſe can auayle a Prince, whoſe bad life makes him hatefull to his ſubiects. And on the other ſide, there is no ſuch guard, as the loue of ſubiects, the which is conceiued by the opinion of vertue. Opinion followes the effects: and therefore a Prince ſhould be alwaies carefull what opinion men ſhould haue of him, and remember ſtill the precept of the wiſe: That a man muſt be alwaies ſuch as he would be eſteemed. If he be giuen to iniuſtice and voluptuouſneſſe, with the oppreſſion and ruine of his ſubiects, let him aſſure himſelfe, that good men wil hate and deteſt him and his actions, and eſtrange themſelues from him: ſo as he ſhall remaine ingaged among flatterers, where many times he is ſmothered, but at the leaſt he is for euer infamous. The name of Rebell is iuſtly deteſted, but the common people iudge by the euents, and the wiſe and well-aduiſed according to the cauſes.

And there is nothing more certaine, whatſoeuer the flatterers of Court ſay, that neuer any Conſpiracie againſt a ſoueraigne Magiſtrate was durable, or could take roote, if the hearts of the ſubiects were not formerly diſtracted by the Princes owne guilt and exceſſe. But if it pleaſeth God to ſtirre vp ſome noble courage, who imbraceth the publike cauſe, then ſhall a tyrant hardly auoid his due puniſhment, whereof Spaine affoords vs aſſured proofes in Don *Pedro* King of Caſtile, and D. *Leonora Telles* of Meneſes, widow to king *Fernand*, and Regent of Portugall, who by her vnchaſtneſſe and tyrannie, as we haue formerly related, ruined her ſelfe, and did fruſtrate Donna *Beatrix* her daughter of that Crowne, ſetting it vppon the head of Don *Iohn* the Baſtard, Maſter of the Order of the Knights of Auiz her enemie, who had no lawfull right, and (it may bee) neither thought nor hoped to attayne vnto it, but when hee ſaw himſelfe armed and followed.

1 Portugal.

This King notwithſtanding his victorie, was alwayes called the Maſter of Auiz, by the Caſtillans, who would not aduow him for king, to the preiudice of their Queene Donna *Beatrix*: and the king D. *Iohn* his aduerſarie intitled himſelfe king of Caſtile, Leon, Portugal, Toledo, Gallicia, Seuile, Cordoua, Murcia, Iaen, Algarue, Algezire, and Lord of Lara, Biſcay and Molina, ſome few daies after this great victorie wonne by the Portugals. S. Iren yeelded, with all that countrie, there remaining not any place on this ſide the mountaines, that held for the king of Caſtile. At Saint Iren D. *Nugno Aluarez* of Pereira Conſtable of Portugall, was made Earle of Oren, in recompence of his valour and faithfull ſeruice: and the new king D. *Iohn* vſed great bounty vnto all the Caſtillans that were priſoners, ſending them home free without any ranſome. After that time, leauing the conduct of the warre to his Conſtable, he employed his time in workes of pietie, and giuing thankes to God for the victorie which he had giuen him, that is, he went in pilgrimage on foote to Saint *Mary* of Oliuera of Guimaranes, which is foure daies iourney from S. *Iren*. In the meane time the Conſtable paſſing Guadiana, entred into Caſtile with two thouſand lances, comprehending the light horſe and genets, and good troupes of foote, where he got another victorie againſt the Caſtillans: whereof the king his maſter was aduertiſed being at Porto; who to reward the Conſtable, and to incourage him to do better, he gaue him the title of Earle of Barcelos. This Conſtable, beſides that hee had in him the chiefe parts and ornament which make Nobility, hee was iſſued from one of the nobleſt families in Portugal: for his father Don *Aluar Gonçales* had beene Prior of S. *Iohn*, or of Crato, as the Portugals ſay, being at the battaile of Salado or Tariffa, wonne againſt the Moores, in the yeare 1340. by the kings D. *Alphonſo* the 12. of Caſtile, and D. *Alphonſo* the fourth of Portugal, he founded our Ladies Church of Fleur de Roſe, and the ſtrong caſtle of Ameyra, with the pallace of Bonjardin.

Liberalitie of the new king of Portugal.

This

A This Prior beſides many other children (for ſome ſay he had 32.) had this Don *Nugno Alnarez* of Pereira, Conſtable of Portugal, a great and famous Captaine, the founder of the houſe and ſtate of Bragance: whoſe mother was called *Heira Gonçales* of Caruahal, he being borne in the yeare 1360. At the age of ſeuenteene yeares he married the widow of *Vaſco Gonçales Baroſſo*, a chiefe Nobleman in Portugal: of which mariage beſides two ſonnes which dyed young, iſſued one daughter named D. *Beatrix*, who was heire to her fathers Eſtate, and was married to D. *Alphonſo* of Portugal, baſe ſonne to this king Don *Iohn*, who was borne whileſt he was Maſter of Auiz, of a miſtris of his called D. *Agnes*, ſhe being afterwards made commandreſſe of Santos. This Conſtables Grandfather was D. *Gonçalo Pereira*, Arch-biſhop of Braga, a Prelate of a royall magnificence in his manner of liuing, and exceeding bountifull. The Conſtable hauing charge to continue the war, whileſt that the King D. *Iohn* was otherwiſe employed touching the gouernement of the realme, he paſt into the Prouinces beyond the mountaines, where hee reduced to the new kings obedience, Chaues, Bragance, Almeyda, and other places, which held yet for the Queene D. *Beatrix*, and her husband the king of Caſtile, ſo as there remayned few which were not made ſubiect, and brought vnder the iuriſdiction of Don *Iohn* king of Portugal.

But for that ſuch quarrels are not determined by one or two victories gotten by the weaker, againſt one more mighty, the new king duly conſidering all this, and with good counſell, thought it neceſſarie, that D. *Iohn* king of Caſtile ſhould be quite ruined, that he might the better maintaine his new conqueſt, and to this end he called the Engliſh with the pretext of apparent right: for as we haue ſayd, the Duke of Lancaſter, Vncle to king *Richard* the ſecond then raigning, hauing married D. *Conſtance* daughter to the deceaſed king D. *Pedro* of Caſtile, pretending that the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon did belong to him, and carried the title and armes. Wherefore Ambaſſadors were ſent vnto him, to ſummon him to come into Spaine, with aſſurance and promiſe, that he ſhould be aſſiſted with all the forces and meanes of Portugal, proteſting that if he let ſlip this goodly occaſion, beſides the loſſe, he ſhould reape diſhonor, and be ſcorned of all the world. On the other ſide, D. *Iohn* king of Caſtile, hauing beene viſited by the Infant of Nauarre, who came expreſly to Seuile, and receiued letters from Pope *Clement* at Auignon, full of conſolation, he came to Vailledolit, and there held a generall aſſembly of the Eſtates of his Realmes, from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Charles* the ſixth the French king, intreating him to ſend him ſuccours to recouer his Realms of Portugal and Algarbe, his wiues patrimonie, which were detayned from him by a baſtard rebell. Thus theſe two princes called in ſtrangers to the preiudice of Spaine.

Iohn King of Portugal cals the Engliſh into Spaine.

D. Iohn King of Caſtile cals in the French.

The Duke of Lancaſter paſſed into Portugal with fifteene hundred Lances, and as many Archers on foot: and *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon the kings Vncle, was ſent out of France with two thouſand Lances in fauour of D *Iohn* king of Caſtile. The Engliſh armie running along the coaſt of Galicia, tooke ſixe gallies of Caſtile, and came to the Groine on Saint *Iames* day, in the yeare 1386. In the meane time the king of Portugal had led his armie into Caſtile, and beſeeged the towne of Coria, but could not take it. It was then that he ſayd, He had need of the good Knights of the round table, to which hee was anſwered by *Men Rodrigues* of Vaſconcellos, that they had alſo need of a king *Arthur*, who could diſtinguiſh and reward good Knights: the which the king D. *Iohn* turned to a ieaſt and would not ſeeme to be touched.

At this ſeege hee had newes, that the Duke of Lancaſters armie was landed: wherefore hee preſently diſlodged, and came to receiue and entertaine them at pont du Maure, neere vnto the Towne of Porto: The Duke had brought with him his wife Donna *Conſtance* of Caſtile, and two daughters, the one by her, whoſe name was *Katherine*, the other by his firſt wife, called *Philippe*. At this enterview, a marriage was treated betwixt the King Don *Iohn* and that Ladie *Philippe*, who was then deliuered into the hand of the King, her future husband, and ſoone after they were married, with ſuch pompe as conforted with their perſons and dignities.

Hauing conſulted concerning the warre, they beganne to ſpoyle the Countrie of Galicia, where they took ſome places: but the heat of the plague, which conſumed both the

countrie people, and the Engliſh armie ſtayed the courſe of theſe conqueſts. The King of Caſtile had fortified and manned the cittie of Leon, Benauent, and other places in Gallicia with good Garriſons, vntill he went to field, vppon the comming of thoſe ſuccours which hee expected from France and Nauarre. In the meane time hee cauſed the Duke of Lancaſter to bee dealt withall about an Accord, but hee continued conſtant in his demands to haue the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon: Whereuppon the King ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him, to let him vnderſtand publikely, that hee ſhould content himſelfe with that which hee had done, and not to vexe the Countrie any more: and that if hee pretended any wrong were done vnto him by him, hee defied him to the combate, man to man, and hee that vanquiſhed ſhould bee King of Caſtile: but vnder hand the Ambaſſadours had charge to propound other conditions vnto him, whereuppon they came to treate of a marriage betwixt the Infant Don *Henry* of Caſtile, and *Catherine* the Dukes daughter, by Donna *Conſtance*, with many offers, which were not accepted, at the leaſt it did not then appeare ſo: for the Portugals hauing ioyned with the Engliſh armie, they marched farther into the territories and iuriſdictions of Leon, in the yeare 1387. and beſeeged Benauent in vaine, they paſſed by Villalobos, Pialas, and Valderas, the which they took: from whence returning by Ciudad Roderigo, they retired into Portugal, wanting victuals, and beeing preſſed with the plague: and moreouer they had newes that the French ſupplies had paſſed Nauarre, and were entring into Caſtile: the which aduanced the concluſion of a peace betwixt the King of Caſtile, and the Duke of Lancaſter, the which was made at Troncoſo with theſe conditions:

An. 1387.

Accord betwixt the king of Caſtile and the Duke of Lancaſter.

That the Infant Don *Henry* the eldeſt ſonne of Caſtile, ſhould marrie *Catherine*, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaſter, and of his wife Donna *Conſtance* of Caſtile, for whoſe dowrie the king D. *Iohn* ſhould aſſigne certaine places: That the cittie of Guadalajara, with the townes of Medina del campo, and Olmedo ſhould be giuen to the Dutcheſſe D. *Conſtance*, to enioy the reuenues thereof during her life: That the king ſhould pay ſixtie thouſand pounds ſterling to the Duke, and to D. *Conſtance* his wife at certaine dayes: and moreouer, foure thouſand pounds penſion during their liues, and the longer liuer of them. In conſideration whereof, the Duke of Lancaſter and Donna *Conſtance* ſhould renounce all rights, actions and pretenſions which they challenged to the Realmes of Caſtile, Leon, and their dependances, and that the places taken in Gallicia ſhould be reſtored. This accord beeing thus concluded, the Duke retired himſelfe into the towne of Porto, where he made his accord alſo with the King of Portugal: to which treaties it ſeemes the Duke had bene forced by the plague, which had conſumed two third parts of his men. The duke of Lancaſter then hauing for the fruites of his voyage married his two daughters to two kings, he returned into Guienne in the yeare 1387. not very well ſatisfied with the King of Portugal, nor the king with him. Of the marriage of Don *Iohn* king of Portugal, and of D. *Philippe*, there came this iſſue: firſt, they had a daughter called D. *Blanche*, which dyed young in Lisbon: then the Infant D. *Alphonſo* borne in the yeare 1391. at S. Iren, who liued not aboue two yeares: their third child was Don *Edward* borne in the Towne of Viſeo, and ſucceeded in his fathers Realme. Moreouer, they had the Infant D. *Pedro*, borne at Lisbon in the yeare 1392. he was Duke of Coimbra, and Lord of Mont Major the old, and of Amero: then the Infant Don *Henry*, of whome the Queene was deliuered at Porto, he was Duke of Viſeo, and Maſter of the Knights of *Chriſtus*, and it was he which firſt diſcouered the Ilands of Madera in the Ocean ſea. Of this marriage alſo came Donna *Izabella*, borne at Ebora in the yeare 1397. who was Dutcheſſe of Bourgongne, and Counteſſe of Flanders, wife to *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie: by her was built the Monaſterie of Prolonga neere vnto Sintra, of the Order of Saint *Ierome*. They had beſides theſe the Infant Don *Iohn*, who was Maſter of Saint Iames, borne at Saint Iren in the yeare 1400. hee was Conſtable of the Realme, and beeing married with Donna *Izabella* daughter to Don *Alphonſo* Duke of Bragance his baſtard-brother, he was grandfather by the mothers ſide to D. *Izabella* Queene proprietarie of Caſtile and Leon. And in the end the king Don *Iohn* and Donna *Philippe* his wife had the Infant Don *Fernand*, borne in the yeare 1402. at Saint Iren, who was Maſter of Auiz, a zealous prince to the Chriſtian Religion, and full of charity.

Genealogie of Portugal.

Before

A Before that the king Don *Iohn* came vnto the Crowne, beeing but Maſter of Auiz, he had two baſe children by a Gentlewoman called Donna *Agnes*, that is, Don *Alphonſo*, who married the daughter and heire of Don *Nugno Aluares Pereira*, Earle of Oren and Barcelles, and Duke of Bragance, called D. *Beatrix*: and one daughter named alſo Donna *Beatrix*, who was married to *Thomas* Earle of Arondel. This is the iſſue of the King D. *Iohn* the firſt of Portugal, who had yet a quarrell for the Realme with the King of Caſtile, the pourſuite whereof was deferred for a time: for the king of Caſtile beeing to performe his promiſe to the Duke of Lancaſter, and to pay him great ſummes of money, he made choice at that time to ſend backe the French forces, and not to ſuffer them to ſtay B in his countrie, giuing them part of their entertaynment, and good aſſurance for the reſt. Then hauing held an aſſembly of the Eſtates at Birbieſca, by reaſon the plague was at Burgos, he propounded the neede he had of money to pay the Engliſh Duke: and therefore he attempted to impoſe a generall Tribute vppon the Clergie, Nobility, and third Eſtate without exception, wherein he was croſt, being forced to ſeeke ſome other expedient. From Birbieſca he came to Soria, and then to Calaorra, where he heard the French Ambaſſadors, and ſent others to Bayone, to the Duke of Lancaſter, to confirme their accord: and then it was concluded anew, that from thence-foorth the Infant Don *Henry* ſhould be called Prince of the Aſturia's, and his wife Princeſſe, after the manner of England, whereby the kings eldeſt ſon is called Prince of Wales: and then began the cuſtom C to call the eldeſt of Caſtile Princes, whom before they called Infants, and it is an error to entitle them Princes of Caſtile or of Spaine: for they are not called Princes for any other occaſion, but that they haue the Aſturia's for their portion and intertaynment, the which was made a principality, firſt in this D. *Henry*, and his wife D. *Catherina*: to the patrimony of which principality, Iaen, Vbeda, Baeça, and Andujar haue beene ſince annexed. It is an error alſo to thinke that this title of principalitie is giuen to the Aſturia's of Ouiedo, for that in that region was the beginning of the recouerie of Spain: for it proceeds not from any thing elſe, but from this marriage betwixt *Henry* of Caſtile, and Donna *Catherina* of Lancaſter. Before the king Don *Iohn* of Caſtile parted from Calaorra, *Charles* the third king of Nauarre, brother-in-law to king *Iohn*, came to viſit him, with the Queene Donna D. *Leonora* of Caſtile his wife.

French ſuccors fruitleſſe for Caſtile.

Title of Prince firſt giuen in Spaine to the King's eldeſt ſonne.

This prince had ſucceeded king *Charles* the Bad his father, in the yeare 1386. beeing dead at Pampelona of a Leproſie, as the Spaniards ſay, and the French Hiſtories, of a diſeaſe he got by his incontinencie, whereof he languiſhed long. It is he of whom they write that the Phiſitions hauing him in cure, applying *Aqua-vita* to reſtore him, they ſet fire of it, which tooke hold of the bed, ſo as he was burnt and could not be releeued: Others ſay, that he was ſowed vp in a ſheet ſteeped in *Aqua-vita*, and that the Surgeon ſeeking to cut the threed, holding a waxe light, the ſheet was ſuddenly ſet on fire and burnt the king: but howſoeuer, hee ended his daies in great ſickneſſe at Pampelona, in the yeare 1386, the fiue and fortith yeare of his raigne, hauing raigned 73. His body was interred E in the Cathedral church of that cittie, where the heart of the Queene his wife lyes, who dyed in France in the yeare 1378. his bowels were buried at Saint *Maries* of Ronceuaux, and his heart at S. *Maries* of Vxue. The ſame yeare he dyed, his daughter *Ieanne* was firſt married to *Iohn* of Montfort Duke of Brittany, by whom ſhe had foure ſonnes, and three daughters, and afterwards to *Henry* King of England. Before his death he pacified the ſeditions which they of Pampelona had raiſed among themſelues, cauſing the authors to be puniſhed: among which, one of the chiefe was called *Andrew* of Turilles, who was executed.

4 *D. Charles the 3. of that name and 31. of Nauarre.*

F

A

Charles the 3. of that name, the 31. King of Nauarre.

THis *Charles* ſucceeded to the Realme of Nauarre, beeing called the Noble, for his bountie, affabilitie, and other vertues, which made him to be eſteemed by all Chriſtian Princes his neighbours, and generally beloued of all men. Hee was 25. yeares old, when he came to the Crowne. At the deceaſe of his father, he was at Pennafiel in Caſtile, B with the King D. *Iohn* his brother-in-law, of whom he tooke his leaue with infinit teares, vppon the receit of theſe newes. And ſuch was the loue and ſingular affection which the k. of Caſtile bare him, as from the beginning of his raigne he granted him full reſtitution of the townes and caſtles of Tudele, S. *Vincent*, Viana, Guarda, Eſtella, Miranda, Larraga, and other places, which were in *depoſito* ſince the laſt pacification made with Don *Henry* king of Caſtile, although the ten yeares capitulated were not yet expired: moreouer he forgaue him 20000. doublons of gold, which had beene lent to the deceaſed king his father, and did diſcharge him of the promiſe of two thouſand pounds ſterling, which he had made for the libertie of *Perlas* of Tortui an Engliſhman beeing priſoner in Caſtile. C Such and greater was the bountie of D. *Iohn* king of Caſtile to *Charles* the third king of Nauarre his brother-in-law, and likewiſe to the Queene D. *Leonora* his ſiſter, and to their daughters who were at that time in Caſtile: and moreouer hee cauſed the king to bee accompanied into his Realme by the chiefe of his Nobility, who beeing come to Pampelona, and there receiued with great pompe and ioy by the Eſtates of the Realme, the firſt act he did for the gouernment thereof, was to reſolue with his ſubiects and Councellors, to adhere to Pope *Clement* the 7. remaining at Auignon, and to reiect *Vrbane* the ſixt, as the kings of France and Caſtile had done, yet with this proteſtation, that hee would not ſeparate himſelfe from the holy Apoſtolike church, but obey that which ſhold be decreed by a generall Councel concerning the Schiſme. Then he ſought the allyance of neighbor D Princes, ſending ambaſſadours vnto them, eſpecially into Arragon, where hee made a league with the duke of Girone, the heire of Arragon, and treated the marriage of Donna *Ieanne* his elder daughter, with D. *Iames* eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Girone, hauing an intent to vnite the crowne of Nauarre to that of Arragon, for that hee had no ſonnes, but this marriage tooke no effect.

King of Nauar during the ſchiſm adheres to the Pope of Auignon.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

In the beginning of the yeare 1387. Queene *Leonora* his wife fell into a long and languiſhing ſickneſſe, which bred much trouble betwixt them. He had by her theſe children following: D. *Ieanne* the eldeſt, who was wife to *Iohn* of Foix, ſonne to *Archambault*: D. *Maria* who dyed a virgin at Pampelona, D. *Blanche*, who was Queene of Sicily and Nauarre, D. *Beatrix* Counteſſe of Marche, wife to *Iames* of Bourbon, and D. *Izabella*, who E dyed alſo a mayd. After theſe fiue daughters they had Don *Charles* their ſonne, who dyed a child, and Don *Lewis* which liued but ſixe moneths. Theſe be the lawfull children of the king Don *Charles* the third. He had out of marriage one ſonne called *Godfrey* of Nauar, who was Marſhall of the Realme, and Earle of Cortes, and one daughter named Donna *Ieanne* of Nauarre, who was married to *Inigo Ortiz* of Eſtuniga, ſonne to *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga.

Of theſe children mention is made in this kings teſtament, the which is in the Cathedrall church of Pampelona, in the which his breethren are alſo named: *Peter* Earle of Mortaing, and Leon a Baſtard, and Donna *Maria* alſo a Baſtard, married to the Earle of Denia. F F

In the the yeare 1387. the warre betwixt Caſtile and Portugal beeing hote, the French troupes, led by *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon to the ſuccour of King *Iohn*, paſt through Nauarre, where they were furniſhed with all neceſſaries by King *Charles*, who after their retreat and accord made by the king of Caſtile with the Duke of Lancaſter, hee came to Calaorra, as wee haue ſayd, to reioyce with the King Don *Iohn*, for this pacification.

Retur-

A Returning to the treatie of this warre, we ſay, that the Princeſſe *Catherine* hauing followed her father into Guienne, was after a new confirmation of the accord, ſent by him to Fontaraby, and there deliuered to the Prelates and Noblemen deputed by the king of Caſtile, to receiue her, who conducted her to Palence, where the marriage betwixt her and the Prince D. *Henry* was ſolemnized, he being but ten yeares old, and ſhee nineteene. The Dutcheſſe of Lancaſter, mother to the Princeſſe, paſt afterwards into Spaine, and came to the king D. *Iohn* her couſin at Medina del campo, to whome among other preſents ſhe gaue a rich Crowne of gold, ſaying, that the duke her husband had cauſed it to be made, hoping to be crowned king of Caſtile: but ſeeing they were agreed otherwiſe then he expected, it was his due, and therefore ſhe preſented it vnto him. The king receiB ued it with great ioy, and requited the Dutcheſſe with other gifts of price, putting her in poſſeſſion of the townes promiſed by the accord, whereunto he added Huete. The Dutcheſſe paſt afterwards to Guadalajara, hauing had a promiſe of an enterview betwixt the king and the Duke of Lancaſter her husband, at Fontaraby or Bajone. The king ſtayd not long to come to Victoria for this meeting, and the Dutcheſſe went before to draw her husband to Fontaraby: but he excuſed himſelfe by reaſon of his apparent indiſpoſition, and vpon the ſharpeneſſe of the winter, which made the paſſage of S. *Adrian* difficult. D. *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, Biſhop of Oſma, and *Fernand* of Illeſca were ſent vnto him from the king to whome he propounded an allyance which he deſired to make betwixt Caſtile and England, and to induce the King D. *Iohn* to quit that of France, whereof the ambaſſadors C excuſed their maſter. The interview being hindred by this occaſion the king D. *Iohn* came to Segobia, to giue order for the warre of Portugal, which had beene ſomewhat quenched ſince the duke of Lancaſters retreat: for the pacifying whereof *Fernando* of Illeſca, of the Order of the preaching Friars, and the Kings Confeſſor, had laboured much, but could not conclude any thing. 5 Caſtile.

The King of Portugall falling ſicke in his pallace of Cordal, gaue ſome hope that matters would turne fauourable for Caſtile: for his ſickneſſe was ſo violent, as all men deſpayred of his life: whereat the Queene Donna *Philippe* was much grieued, ſo as ſhee was deliuered of her firſt child before her time, which made them doubt ſhee would not haue any more: but midwiues rules are not alwaies true; for ſhe had afterwards thoſe chilD dren whereof we haue made mention. Portugal.

Friar *Fernand* and others, who treated a truce betwixt theſe two kings, being not able to effect that which they pretended, the King of Portugal being recouered, he entred into Galicia, and ſpoiled the countrie, and tooke Tuy by Intelligence, and Saluaterra: after which ſpoiles the Confeſſor *Fernand* returned into Portugal, and renewed the treatie, where he wrought ſo, as he yeelded to a truce for ſixe yeares, in the yeare 1389. by the which Tuy, Saluaterra, and all the Portugals had taken from Caſtile, was yeelded. By this pacification which continued long, Don *Iohn* King of Portugal, had meanes to ſettle him ſelfe in his Royaltie, and wholly to exclude D. *Beatrix*. 6. *Exploits of the K. of Portugal in Spaine.* 1389.

As for the affaires of Arragon, we find that before the war betwixt Caſtile and PortuE gall, the king D. *Pedro* being very old, married the fourth time with D. *Sibilla*, widow to *Artal* of Foſſes, whom he cauſed to be crowned at Sarragoſſa, in the yeare 1381. whether the Eſtates were called to that effect. At the which the Noblemen which had ſubiects that were no Gentlemen, maintained that they had ſoueraigne power ouer them, their goods and liues, and that it had beene long practiſed in Arragon. This action was begun vpon the complaints made by the Inhabitants of Anzanego, againſt D. *Pedro Sanches* of Latras their Lord: but it was prohibited, and a ſentence was giuen by way of prouiſion, that the Noblemen ſhould enioy the rights which they had accuſtomed, although they were not according to the common law or written law: and although they could not ſhew any priuiledges granted vnto them in that behalfe, yet ſhould it not be lawfull for the king to F draw them into queſtion, for any violence or bad vſage done vnto their ſubiects, but the puniſhment of any exceſſe done by the ſuperiors to their ſubiects, ſhould be left to God, the which gaue way to infinit wickednes. Theſe Eſtates ended with trouble & confuſion, for that D. *Briande* of Luna, hauing left D. *Lopes Ximenes* of Vrrea her husband, and married D. *Lewis Cornel*, theſe two Noblemen went to armes, and kept the field. 7. Arragon.

As for the Eſtate of Sardynia, the Arragonois were in a manner reduced to deſpaire, by the Sardynians and Geneuois their adherents: but it falling out, that *Hugh* Iudge of Arborea had, by reaſon of his tyrannies, beene cruelly murthered by his ſubiects, the partie of Arragon began to be in more eſteeme. *Brancaleon* of Oria came then to Monçon, to the king D. *Pedro*, hauing a paſ-port. The Eſtates beeing there aſſembled, he was receiued and honoured with the title of Earle of Monçon: this Lord had married *Leonora* ſiſter to *Hugh* of Arborea. In the meane time the Sardynians deſirous to ſhake off the Arragonois yoake, and to ſubmit themſelues to the Geneuois, held all the Ports of the Iland: whereas *Leonora* of Arborea, wife to *Brancaleon*, ioyning with the Geneuois, made her ſelfe head of the partie: which made the king to ſtay *Brancaleon*, notwithſtanding his paſ-port, whereupon he was ſent into Sardynia, and kept priſoner in the caſtle of Cailleri, during the life of the King Don *Pedro*.

Hugh Iudge of Arborea murthered by his ſubiects.

Eſtates in Arragon.

There was another aſſembly of the generall Eſtates called at Monçon, in the yeare, 1383. where as the Infant D. *Martin*, Earle of Xerica and of Luna, in the name of the Eſtates, made complaint of many concuſſions and violences which had beene committed throughout the Realme, beeing countenanced by the Duke of Girone, the kings eldeſt ſonne, and Gouernor of the Realme: from whoſe counſell proceeded many vniuſt Ordonances, charges and exactions vppon the people, by the which the Eſtate was decayed. He ſayd moreouer, that ſome of the Dukes Councell had ſecret intelligence in Caſtile, and other places, yea with the Rebels of Sardynia, with *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, the Geneuois, and with the enemies to the Arragonois partie in Sicily; and had fauoured the attempts of the Infant of Majorca, who had ſome yeares before made roades into Cattelogne and Arragon: requiring that information might be made, and the offendors puniſhed: the which the king ordayned. Wherupon the Vicount of Roa, *Gaſton* of Moncade, *Americ Scintilla*, *Iohn Bellera*, and *Fernandes* of Heredia, Biſhop of Vic, were commanded to leaue the aſſembly, being ſuſpected: the which bred great troubles and ſeditions, and ſome Noblemen were chaſed from Court, and from the Duke of Girones houſe, who by reaſon therof grew in bad tearmes with the King his father, and worſe with the Queen D. *Sibilla*, his mother-in-law, by whom he was pourſued, as the king D. *Pedro* his father had beene by D. *Leonora* of Caſtile. The marriage with this Infant D. *Iohn* Duke of Girone made then with *Violant* daughter to the Duke of Bar, againſt his fathers liking, who deſired he ſhould marry the heire of Sicily, put him more into diſgrace, and gaue the Queen meanes to keepe him out of fauour: ſo as the gouernment of the Realme was taken from him: and for that Don *Iohn* Earle of Ampurias, with other Noblemen were diſcontented, the king ſent to ouer-runne the territorie of Ampurias, and to beſeege Chaſtillon, where the Earle was, who was forced to flie by ſea into Prouence. The Earle of Vrgel was for the ſame reaſon pourſued in hoſtile manner: and ſuch were the practiſes of Queene *Sibilla*, as the Prince with his wife D. *Violant*, were forced to retire themſelues farre from Court, to Caſtelfolit, where as the Biſhop of Vic, and the Vicounts of Liſle and Roccabertin kept him company. Among other perſons of the Dukes houſe, whom the king hated, was D. *Conſtance*, widow to D. *Francis* of Perillos, who was the guardien of all his ſecrets, and of the Dutcheſſe *Violant* his wife, wherefore the king did ſtill command that ſhe ſhould be chaſed away.

By reaſon of the Duke of Girones abſence from Court, Queene *Sibilla* had meanes to giue many places, and to aduance her friends, yea ſhe got a promiſe, by oath, from the chiefe townes of Arragon, to defend her life and goods againſt the Duke; who, notwithſtanding the king had forbidden him to meddle with the affaires, carried himſelfe ſtill for Gouernor of the Realme: and the King ſeeking to force him, hee appealed to the Iuſtice Major of Arragon. This Magiſtrate beeing of great authoritie, ſtayes all matters of fact, vntill he hath giuen ſentence vpon the appeale or oppoſitions. In the meane time the Earle of Ampurias, who had fledde to Auignon, and had employed all his meanes and friends to leauie men in France, arriued in the Countie of Roſſillon with eight hundred horſe, whereof *Iohn* Earle of Boullen was the Leader: But the King beeing aduertiſed of his deſeins, had ſo well prouided for all things, as the French ſeeing that all exploites of warre would be very difficult, returned, and abandoned the Earle of Ampurias.

Authority of the Iuſtice Major of Arragon.

This

A This King D. *Pedro* being in peace with Caſtile, and other potentats of Spaine, he was then to contend for the Iſland of Majorca, the country of Roſſillon and Cerdagne, Colibre and Valiſper, with *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, ſonne to *Iohn* the French King, who pretended a right to thoſe Eſtates, by vertue of a ceſſion made vnto him by the Marqueſſe of Montferat, ſiſter and heire to Don *Iames* the laſt King of Majorca; but they came not to armes for theſe things, the Duke of Aniou being diuerted by the affaires of Italy, hauing being adopted by *Ieanne* Queene of Naples, and crowned King of Naples, by Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, in Auignon. Who paſſing into Italy with an army, died there. So as Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, was freed from the feare of warre, which hee expected from France.

Pretenſion of Lewis Duke of Aniou.

B About that time, or little before, *Frederic* the third King of Sicile, whom they ſurnamed the Simple his ſonne in law, died, without any heires male, who leauing but one onely daughter, called Donna *Maria*, hee pretended that the Realme belonged to the crowne of Arragon, according to the teſtament of *Frederic* the ſecond King of Sicile, who was of the houſe of Arragon, and alſo for other rights which he pretended. By the Teſtators will, if there were no iſſue male of the direct line, the women were excluded from the ſucceſſion of the Realme, willing that it ſhould be vnited to the crowne of Arragon, vpon theſe pretenſions the King Don *Pedro* made great inſtance in the court of Rome and in the end made Ceſſion of the right which hee pretended to his ſonne, Don *Martin* of Arragon, Earle of Xerica and of Luna, and afterwards duke of Momblane.

Pretenſions of the King of Arragon to the realme of Sicile.

C The quarrels and troubles which threatned Sicile, were afterwards ended by accord, in the time of King *Iohn* his ſonne, vpon condition that Donna *Maria*, heire of the realme, ſhould marry the ſonne of Don *Martin*, called alſo Don *Martin*. This D. *Martin* the father was Conſtable of Arragon. King *Frederic* had had diuerſe quarrels with *Ioane* Queene of Naples who pretended the realme of Sicile to belong vnto her: but there was an accord made in the yeere of our Lord 1372. and ſince their accords were ratefied and confirmed by Pope *Gregory* the eleuenth, in Auignon, by whoſe authority the two realmes did for many yeeres after continue diuided.

Exactions vpon the Clergie.

D The King D. *Pedro* being come to the fiftith yere of his raign, in the yeere of our Lord 1386. for the which there were great feaſts and ioy at Barcelona, hee would alſo giue the prelats and churchmen cauſe to remember it: for contrary to all cuſtome, hee exacted throughout his realme great ſummes of money vpon the Clergy. Afterwards this King being afflicted with griefe, by reaſon of the ſeditions of his owne, beeing charged with yeeres, and wholy gouerned by his wife Queene *Sibile*, hee died: wherevpon the Clergy, to the end they might terrefie Kings, that ſhould attempt to impaire their reuenues, ſaid, that he hauing violently vſurped the patrimony of Santa Tecla of Tarragone, by the perſwaſion of Queene *Sibile*, he was cited by the proctors of that church, to appeere before the Tribunall ſeat of God, within three ſcore daies after, to giue an account for that fact, and that the laſt day of the aſſignation hee died: But it is to bee preſumed

Death of D. Pedro King of Arragon.

E that it was time for him to leaue this world, for hee was aboue three ſcore and twelue yeeres old, and had raigned fifty one. Hee died at Barcelona in the yeere of our Lord 1387. where he was laied in the Cathedral church, and was afterwards tranſported to the royall Monaſtery of Santa Maria of Poblete.

D. Iohn the firſt of that name and foureteenth King of Arragon.

F TO the Realmes and ſoueraigne Eſtates of the deceaſed King, ſucceeded his ſonne D. *Iohn*, the firſt of that name, the eldeſt of his brethren, the which Queene *Sibile* his mother in law, ſought by all meanes to hinder, and had almoſt perſwaded the King Don *Pedro* her husband, to reiect him from the crowne: but beeing giuen to vnderſtand that ſuch an iniuſtice procured by a mother in law, againſt his eldeſt ſonne might cauſe great troubles after his death, he gaue way to the Order of nature, and Don *Iohn* was King of Arragon.

9 *D. Iohn King of Arragon acknowledgeth the Pope at Auignon.*

Arragon. It is remarkable that at the ſame time both in Caſtile and Portugal, there were Kings raigning of the ſame name. The King Don *Pedro* his father was a louer of learning, he entertained the vniuerſity of Lerida, and erected one in Hueſca. Hauing giuen to his ſonne *Iohn* the towne of Girone with the title of a Dutchy, then beganne the cuſtome, that the eldeſt of Arragon are called Dukes of Girone, as the eldeſt ſonne of France is called Daulphin of Vienne. A

The new King Don *Iohn* beganne his raigne with the perſecution of his mother in law, who like vnto Donna *Leonora* of Caſtile, was retired from Barcelona, ſeeing the death of the King D. *Pedro* approch, and had put her ſelfe into Zaroca, where ſhee was ſoone beſeeged, and taken by Don *Martin* of Arragon the Kings brother. And for that the King Don *Iohn* lay languiſhing in his bed, and could not be eaſed by the art of Phyſicke, this widow Queene was accuſed to haue cauſed him to bee poiſoned, wherevpon ſhe was ſtrictly examined, and all thoſe of her houſhold. All the goods the deceaſed King had beſtowed on her, were made forfaite, and giuen to the Queen raigning Donna *Violant*. The Regency or Gouernment of the realme was giuen to Don *Martin*, who alſo was made duke of Montblanc, by letters giuen at Grenoillez neere to Barcelona. The preuiledges, lawes and ſtatutes of that city were confirmed by him at his comming to the crowne, and hee did advow Pope *Clement* at Auignon, by the councell of the Cardinall Don *Pedro de Luna*, and the perſwaſion of the Queene D. *Iolant* or *Violant*, and he of Rome was declared vnlawfull, as made by force. B

Pope Clement at Auignon acknowledged in Arragon. C

All grants made by the King D. *Pedro* ſince the yeere 1365. were reuoaked. Such were the firſt acts of this King: a Prince weake both in body and minde, giuen to idleneſſe, hunting, dauncing, muſicke and poeſie, with ſo violent an affection, as they ſay, hauing at his comming to the crowne, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſage to the French King, to treat of the affaires of their Eſtates, the chiefe Article was to require the French King, to giue him certaine Poets of Prouence and Languedoc which did floriſh in thoſe times in their vulgar tongue, not much differing from the Cattelan, whom hee receiued as a ſingular fauour, honoured them, and aſſigned them great penſions, inſtituting for the loue of them ſchooles of their poeſies. And to fill vp the meaſure of his imperfections, he had no care but to pleaſe his wife, vnto whom he was wholy vowed and addicted. D

The Generall Eſtates beeing aſſembled at Monçon, the Deputies had charge to require the ſeuerity of the ancient manners, and the reſtoring of martiall diſcipline, and that the honour of armes might bee reuiued, wherevnto the King had no inclynation. But aboue all, that the houſes and courts of the King and Queene ſhould bee reformed, and reduced to the faſhion and manner of their anceſtors, and that ſome baſe and vicious perſons ſhould be chaſed away. There were certaine Articles preſented againſt D. *Carrocia* of Villaragut, one of the Queens Ladies, in whom ſhe wholy truſted, and gaue her ſo great credit with the King, as the honors & offices of the realme, were diſtributed according to her aduice and will, without reaſon, meaſure, or regard of merit. The chiefe which ſought this reformation, were Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, D. *Iames* his brother biſhop of Tortoça, D. *Iames* of Prages, D. *Bernardin* of Cabrera, Vicont of Liſle and Roa, D. *Pedro Queralt*, D. *Iohn Bellera*, and *Raymond* of Bages; againſt whom their banded ſome of the Kings Mignons, ſo as all the realme was in combuſtion and armes: but the Kings weakeneſſe was at that time profitable; for it kept them from fighting; and hauing graunted a ſafe conduct to D. *Alphonſo*, D. *Lopes Ximenes* of Vrrea, *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea, and other their complices, they met with Don *Martin* the Kings brother, had conference vpon the reformation, and agreed vpon many Articles. Amongſt others Don *Carrocia* of Villaragut was chaſed from the Queenes court, with a prohibition neuer to conuerſe with her, or any of the Princes or Princeſſes. During theſe contentions *Bernard* brother to the Earle of Armaignac entred into Cattelogne, with an infinit number of ſouldiars French and Engliſh, who forraged and ſpoiled all they incountred, *Bernard* their leader hauing no other reaſon, but that he ſought meanes to entertaine the ſouldiars. This danger forced the King to arme, and to march againſt theſe vagabond troupes, whereof ſome beeing found ſcattered and out of order, were defeated, and the reſt forced to repaſſe into Languedoc. E F

Eſtates require reformation of the King and Queenes houſes.

Vagabond troupes ſpoile Cattelogne.

The

A The affaires of Sardynia had beene compounded about the time of the death of the King D.*Pedro*, ſo as the lands held by *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, were reſtored to *Leonora* his daughter, and *Brancaleon* of Oria her husband deliuered out of priſon; and betwixt the King of Arragon, and the common weale of Genoua, there was ſuch an order ſet downe, as the Siegneury of Genoua might not keepe nor arme any gallies, but in the ports of Genoua, Sauona, Albenga, and Porto Venere, in the riuer of Genoua, and the Liguſtike ſea, and in other ſeas at Pera, Capha', Famogoſta and Scio, Valencia, Majorca, Minorca, Iuiza, Caillerij and Alguer; ſo as a peace was entertained in the Iſland of Sardynia, about the yeere of our Lord 1389. when as the marriage was accompliſhed betwixt D.*Martin* ſonne to the Infant D.*Martin* duke of Momblanc, and *Mary*, daughter to *Frederic* the third King of Sicile; a ſubiect of new warre, by reaſon of the factions and partialities which were in that Iſland, amongſt the Noblemen, ſome allowing and others diſliking this marriage of their Princeſſe, who according vnto ſome, had beene taken out of the caſtle of Cattane, where by the will of the deceaſed King her father, ſhee was entertained in the gard of *Artal* of Alagon, and conducted as it were by ſtealth into Cattelogne, by them of Clermont.

B 10 *Marriage of D. Martin with Mary the heire of Sicile.*

The new Kings being come into Sicile, with the duke of Momblanc, who ſerued as a Tutor, being accompained by D. *Bernard* of Cabrera, Don *Artal* of Luna, allied to the King, and many other Noblemen of Cattelogne, Arragon and Valencia, and with a good army, they were receiued by them that held their party in the towne of Trapani, from whence they ſought to reduce the factious, ſome by mildneſſe, and others by rigour. The towne of Palermo was yeelded vnto him by the Earle of Modica, and there they were crowned; from whence they made a progreſſe, ſo as they were acknowledged throughout the whole Realme, yet there were often troubles renued through the naturall lightneſſe of that nation.

C

This yeere 1389. died Pope *Vrbain*, reſiding at Rome, in whoſe place the Cardinalls of his faction did chooſe *Boniface* the ninth, called before *Peter Tornacel*, a prieſt, Cardinall of the title of Saint *Anaſtaſius*. In the yeere of our Lord 1390. the citie of Lisbone was made an Archbiſhoprike by him at the requeſt of the King D. *Iohn*, who followed the Pope at Rome, and not him, at Auignon. To it was giuen for *Suffragan* the biſhop of Coimbra for that time: and in proceſſe of time the church of Portalegre was made a Biſhops ſeat by *Paul* the third.

11 Portugal.

Lisbone made an Archbiſhoprike.

D

The ſame yeere the King of Caſtile hauing aſſembled his Eſtates at Guadalajara, being thruſt on with a continual deſire to be King of Portugal, wherevnto he was animated by the Queene Donna *Beatrix* his wife, hee propounded to his councell, that hee had reſolued in that aſſembly to giue ouer the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon to his ſonne Don *Henry*, together with his other Lands and Siegneuries, except Seuile, Cordoua, Iaen, Murcia, and all the Moores frontiers: reſeruing alſo for himſelfe the third part of the reuenues of the church, granted vnto him by Pope *Clement*, ſaying, that he was aduertiſed, that vpon this renunciation the Portugals would receiue him for their King: for they had no other reaſon to oppoſe themſelues, and to reiect him, but for that they could not endure to ſee the realme of Portugal vnited to that of Caſtile. But his councel did aduiſe him not to doe a thing ſo diſhonourable for himſelfe, and not profitable for his countrie, in quitting his fathers realmes, to thinke to get a ſtrange one, which was held by a reſolute enemy: ſhewing him by reaſons and examples that he did hazard the loſſe of both, and to bee a fable to the world for euer: Hee did willingly heare and beleeue his councellors, and ſuppreſt this deſire, enioyning them ſilence. In this aſſembly he granted a generall pardon to all thoſe that had offended him during the laſt warres, except the Inhabitants of Tuy, who had yeelded to D. *Iohn* King of Portugal, and to his brother D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, to whom he would ſhew no mercy. The Eſtates graunted him a greater ſubuention of money then euer any King before him had. Beeing required by the Deputies of the Prouinces he reformed the expences and ſuperfluities of his court, and reduced his ordinary troupes of horſe, for the gard of the realm, to foure thouſand Launces, fifteene hundred Genets, and one thouſand crosbowes one horsbacke: he ordained that euery launce ſhould furniſh two horſes of ſeruice, and the Genets in like

12. Caſtille.

Eſtates of Caſtile.

E

F

like manner. To the Launciers and Genets he aſſigned fifteene hundred Marauidis by the yeere, and ſixe hundred to the crosbow men, a coine which was then very currant: granting them moreouer many great preuiledges and immunities. There alſo it was decreed, that the King ſhould ſend vnto Pope *Clement*, to intreat him that in the prouiſion of the benifices of Spaine he would not admit any that were not borne in the country, by reaſon of the great inconueniences which did grow thereby: vpon the complaints made by the Clergy eſpecially of Guipuſcoa, Biſcay, Alaua and Galicia, by the Biſhops of Calaorra and Burgos, for that many lay men, vnder collour of right of Patronage, had ſeized vpon many lands, rents and other goods of the church, by reaſon whereof the diuine ſeruice was ill attended in many places of thoſe Prouinces, the buildings were ruined, and there were not Ornaments neceſſary for the places and perſons dedicated to holy workes.

Vſurpations vpon the Clergie.

The King being not well inſtructed of thoſe rights, leſt matters in the Eſtate they were, leaſt he ſhould cauſe ſome tumult before it were iuſtified. Beſides this, the ſubiects complained that many Noblemen hauing iuriſdiction preſumed to carry themſelues in a manner like Soueraignes, both in ciuill and criminall cauſes: it was therefore ordained, that it ſhould be lawfull for any one of what eſtate or quality ſoeuer, finding himſelfe grieued by the Chaſtellans, or other ſubalternall Iudges, to appeale to the Iudge royall. In the behalfe of the Nobility it was required, that it would pleaſe the King to take away the clauſe mentioned in the teſtament of the deceaſed King Don *Henry*, touching the ſucceſſion in the collaterall line to lands of the crowne, giuen by him to Noblemen and Knights which had followed and ſerued him in the conqueſt of thoſe Realmes: wherevnto anſwere was made, that euery one ſhould enioy that which had beene giuen him by the deceaſed King his father, but hee would in no ſort reuoke that clauſe.

Lands of the crowne giuen in recompence of ſeruices.

In this aſſembly of Guadalajara the truce was confirmed with Granado, the Moores Ambaſſadors being come thether, who brought vnto King *Iohn* many rich preſents. There alſo the King gaue vnto the Infant Don *Fernand* his ſonne, who was Lord of Lara the title of Duke of Pegnafiel, hauing a ducale crowne ſet vpon his head, with great ſollemnity, the which was made like a bande round and vnited, without any floures ſurpaſſing one an other, which did belong onely to Kings, though now it bee otherwiſe vſed, euerie one ſeeking to countenance his authority, by vſurping of title and marke beyond their due. Hee alſo gaue armes to the ſaid Don *Fernand*, that is, a caſtle and a Lion with the royall Bands of Arragon, for that hee had him by the Queene Donna *Leonora* of Arragon his firſt wife. He was the ſecond Duke in the Realme, for that hee of Benauent was the firſt. Theſe and other things were decreed at Guadalajara, whether Ambaſſadors came from *Charles* the Noble, King of Nauarre, to ſommon the Queene Donna *Leonora*, ſiſter to King *Iohn*, to returne into Nauarre, to the King her husband, but they could not preuaile.

Duke of Benauent the firſt, duke in Caſtile.

This Princeſſe beeing two yeeres before fallne into a great ſickneſſe, and finding no helpe by phyſicke, ſhee was aduiſed to change the ayre and to goe into Caſtile, hoping ſhee ſhould recouer her health ſucking the breath of her natiue ſoile. For this cauſe the King Don *Charles* her husband, who loued her much, conducted her himſelfe vnto the King Don *Iohn* her brother; with whom ſhee had continued ſome daies in feaſting and ſportes in the towne of Nauarre, and then hee returned and left the Queene Donna *Leonora* to remaine there, vntill ſhee had recouered her health.

13. Nauarre.

The Queene was not onely well entertained by the King of Caſtile her brother, but her whole houſhold was defraied, and ſhee was honoured as much as might bee. Beeing thus at her eaſe, ſhee ſoone recouered her health againe: but as her bodie was in better diſpoſition by this change of ayre, ſo her minde was much impaired; for were it for the commodities and delights ſhee receiued in this ſtately and magnificent court of Caſtile, or for ſome other occaſion, ſhee reſolued to remaine and keepe there ſtill, and to returne no more into Nauarre, grounding this vnreaſonable reſolution vpon the badde vſage ſhee ſaid ſhee had receiued from the King her husband, who did not loue her ſaid ſhee, but was hard vnto her; that her reue-

D. Leonora Queene of Nauarre light and vnkinde.

newes

A newes were not well paied her: that the Knights and other Caſtillans which did ſerue her, were not reſpected in Nauarre, with other ſuch womaniſh excuſes, with whom vanity in an other place was of more eſteeme, then honeſty in her owne houſe: the which the King Don *Iohn* did heare with a brotherly affection, but with great diſcontentment, knowing, or at the leaſt doubting, that they were but collours without truth. King *Charles* hearing that ſhee was in good health, hee wrote diuerſe times vnto her, to haue her returne, but ſhee excuſed herſelfe, finding ſometimes one let, ſometimes an other: ſo as in the end knowing her intention, hee imployed the Cardinal Don *Pedro* de Luna a Cattelan, but without effect: for the Queene ſeeking to capitulate with the King her husband, ſhe propounded ſuch vnreaſonable conditions, as they were forced
B to take an other courſe.

Shee had continued two yeeres in Caſtile, the King her husband vſing all friendly meanes to draw her home, forbearing to cauſe himſelfe to be crowned King of Nauar, for the deſire hee had to celebrate this ceremony in her company, and to haue her crowned with him: but ſeeing that hee loſt time in writing and ſending meſſengers, hee ſent Don *Ramires* of Areillan and Don *Martin* of Ayuar, Ambaſſadors to the King of Caſtile, being at the Eſtates at Guadalajara, to intreat him to enterpoſe his authority with his ſiſter Donna *Leonora*, that ſhe might returne into Nauarre, and liue with the King her husband, as God and honeſty did require. The King gaue a courteous audience to the Ambaſſadors, and offred to doe his dutie therein, the which he performed:
C for going the day following to his ſiſters lodging, he let her vnderſtand that it was iuſt & reaſonable, ſeeing ſhe was in health, and her husband required it, that ſhe ſhould goe vnto him; and the better to perſwade her he promiſed that if ſhe had not entertainement fit for her royall State in Nauarre, he would impart ſome of his vnto her, and giue her a good company of Knights and Ladies to conduct her into Nauarre, with that honour which did belong vnto her. She hauing no iuſt reaſon to contradict the King her brother, anſwered him in theſe termes „ Sir I am much bound vnto you for many reſpects, beſides the good councell it pleaſeth you now to giue me, wherein I know you ſeeke my honour and proffit. The King my Lord and husband, muſt alſo be mindefull of your bounty and brotherly loue, vſed towards him in many matters of great conſe-
D quence, for my ſake: for if you had not imploied your ſelfe, at my requeſt to the French King, who held him priſoner, it may bee hee ſhould haue found greater difficulties in his deliuery. Being come into Spaine he knowes what honours, and what guifts he hath receiued from you during the life of the King his father: And when he came to ſucceed in the Realme of Nauarre, all the world hath ſeene how liberally you haue reſtored him the places, which you might iuſtly haue retained in Nauarre, being left in depoſito at the peace made betwixt your fathers: Moreouer you haue diſcharged him of twenty thouſand doublons of gold, and of his promiſe for the Engliſh Nobleman, who was a priſoner taken in warre, being two thouſand pounds ſtarling: preſent-
E ly after the death of the deceaſed King his father, you cauſed mee to goe out of your Realme, into his country, whether I carried whatſoeuer I had good and precious, to appeere the more honourable amongſt the Nauarrois, with the Ladies and Gentlewomen of my traine, borne of great families, all things tending to the honour and profit of the King my Lord: But in ſteed of acknowledging all this (it greeues me to ſpeake it, and I cannot ſpeake it without bluſhing) hee hath not receiued me, nor intreated mee as hee ought. He appointed me certaine prouiſions monthly, for the entertainement of my houſe, my ſtate and attendants, whereof I haue beene alwaies ſo ill paied, as I haue beene often forced to ingage my iewels, to content my ſeruants, who complained often vnto me. Beſides falling dangerouſly ſicke in Nauarre, and almoſt dead, I was duly informed,
F that my languiſhing proceeded from certaine hurtfull herbes which were giuen mee by a phyſition a Iew, ſent by the King my Lord to cure me. I doe not thinke that theſe herbes were giuen me by the commandement of the King my Lord, or with his priuity, and God forbid it ſhould once enter into my thought: but I finde it very ſtrange that hauing complained, he did not vouchſafe to puniſh this bad phyſition, as hee deſerued. Seeing my indiſpoſition to continue I intreated him to giue mee leaue to come into

Admonition of the King of Caſtile to his ſiſter the Queene of Nauarre.

Excuſes of the Queene of Nauar.

Caſtile,

„ Caſtile, to your court, whereas God be thanked and your good reception, I haue recoue- A
„ red my health. But during my aboade here, in this eaſe, I haue beene aduertiſed, that
„ many flatterers and bad ſeruants to the King my Lord and mee, haue charged me with
„ many ſlanders, the which hath much incenſed him againſt me, ſo as I know not how my
„ Eſtate, or my life can be well aſſured in Nauarre, if I returne as you perſwade me: where-
„ fore I beſeech you Sir in the name of God, and for the brotherly loue you beare me,
„ that you would be pleaſed to conſult with your good and faithfull councellors, vpon
„ my returne to the King my Lord and husband, whom I loue and honour, and to prouide
„ for the ſafety of my life and honor: for if I ſhould fall into any danger, or receiue any
„ indignity, you ſhould haue intereſt therein.

B These words accompanied with a mournfull countenance, did much mooue the King D. *Iohn*, who promiſing his ſiſter that he would haue a care of her affaires, he conferred with his councell, imparting vnto them the ſpeech which the Queene of Nauarre had vſed, cauſing them all to ſweare that they ſhould giue him good and faithful councell touching her returne to the King her husband. The councell hauing duely conſulted of this buſineſſe they came vnto the King, and told him, that they had found it expedient, that hee ſhould cauſe King *Charles* his brother in law, to ſweare to vſe the Queene Donna *Leonora* his wife well and honourably, and for aſſurance thereof he ſhould leaue ſome places of Nauarre in depoſito, in the hands of ſome Knights that were not ſuſpect: whereby they thought the Queene might bee well aſſured to returne into Nauarre, and C to liue freely with her husband. The King of Caſtile allowed of this aduice, and hauing cauſed his ſiſter Donna *Leonora* to be called, he acquainted her therewith, exhorting her to follow it, the which ſeemed nothing pleaſing vnto her, yet ſhee yeelded, hauing no iuſt cauſe of contradiction: wherefore the King D. *Iohn* hauing cauſed the Ambaſſadors of Nauarre to bee called, hee would haue returned them home with this anſwere; but they replied that the King their maiſter would take any oth, but to deliuer places into a third mans hand, hee would not doe it: giuing many pertinent reaſons, why hee ſhould not yeeld to it.

After many allegations and diſputes herevpon, the Queene ſaid, that if it pleaſed the King her husband to ſweare and promiſe to Pope *Clement*, the French King, and to the D King her brother to vſe her well, ſhe would returne. The Ambaſſadors anſwered, that the Cardinal D. *Pedro* of Luna had already propounded ſuch an oth, and that the King their maiſter had anſwered, that it was not needfull the French King ſhould meddle with any controuerſies betwixt him and his wife, and that for the reſt he would make no difficulty. Theſe diſputes increaſing more and more, to the great griefe of the King of Caſtile, who knew well that the Queene his ſiſter was ſtaied for ſome other conſideration, and that the obiections made againſt her husband were meere ſlanders, he was much perplexed: for he both loued *Charles* King of Nauarre, and the Queene alſo. The Ambaſſadors being out of hope to worke the Queenes returne; they demaund the Infanta D. *Ieanne*, the King of Nauarres eldeſt daughter, to whom the ſucceſſion of the Realme did E belong for want of heires males, to be deliuered vnto them, to carry her into Nauarre, to the King her father, ſeeing he might not hope for any more children by the Queene, perſiſting in her vnreaſonable reſolution, to liue from his company. The Queene excuſing her ſelfe, ſaid, that it was not her intent to liue ſeperated from King *Charles* but ſhe deſired to bee aſſured of her life: And the King her brother (who alwaies perſwaded her to bee well aduiſed, and to beleeue what he ſaid vnto her) was forced to ſend *Aluar Nugnes* of Villa Real, Preſident of his Chancery, into Nauarre, to take information of theſe venimous herbes, which ſhee ſaid had beene giuen her by the phyſitian a Iew, and to bring the depoſitions of the witneſſes, whom ſhee named: but this was an information made without any aduerſe party, to the great ſcandale of Queene *Leonoras* F marriage: ſo as by the aduice of the royall councell of Caſtile it was ſuppreſt. The Queene remayning obſtinate, not to returne to her husband, the King of Caſtile preuailed ſo with her, as ſhee yeelded to ſend Don *Ieanne* her eldeſt daughter, for hee gaue her to vnderſtand that it would ſomewhat pacefie the King of Nauarre.

Beſides it was to bee feared that if ſhee ſtaied her, hee might in deſpight inſtitute his

A his brother *Peter* Earle of Mortaing heire of his realme. It did much import the Nauarrois, to haue this daughter in the fathers power, fearing leaſt the mother ſhould marry her to ſome Caſtillan, againſt the fathers will, and to the preiudice of the liberty of the Realme: The daughter was deliuered to the Ambaſſadors, with one of her ſiſters, being royally accompanied from the towne of Roa, whether the King and his ſiſter came to ſend her into Nauarre, where ſhee was receiued with great contentment to the King and the Nauarrois, yet he was much diſcontented at the rebellion and contempt of the Queene his wife.

This buſineſſe being ended, the King of Caſtile came to Segobia, where he did inſti- 24
B tute the Order of the Knights of the holy Ghoſt, cauſing collars of gold to bee made Caſtile.
like vnto the ſunne beames, at which did hang a white doue. This collar hee himſelfe did weare, and gaue it to many Knights that were moſt familiar with him, ſhewing them a certaine booke of Orders, which they muſt obſerue. Moreouer he would alſo inſtitute an other deuice, which he called Reaſon, the which Eſquires, which carried themſelues valiantly in Iouſts and Tournayes, and did any commendable act, ſhould carry: yet hee beeing dead theſe things died likewiſe with him, which followed the ſame yeere 1390. *An.* 1390.

He was reſolued to paſſe into Andaluſia, to order the affaires of that Prouince, and adminiſter Iuſtice: paſſing in the month of October by Alcala of Henares, thether came
C vnto him fifty Chriſtian Knights borne at Maroc in Affrike, who being ſent for by him had paſt the ſeas with leaue from their King, and were come to doe him ſeruice: Hee receiued them gratiouſly, and promiſed them penſions and lands in Caſtile. They were of the moſt ancient families of Maroc, hauing alwaies held the Chriſtian religion, *Farfanes-Chriſtian Affricans.*
and were called the Farfanes. The King deſirous to ſee them mannage their Genets (for they had the report to bee good horſemen) went to horſe-backe, and going out at the port which is called of Burgos, he entred into a plowed field, and beginning to gallop his horſe ouer the furroes, he ſtumbled in the mideſt of his courſe, and fell vpon the King, who was ſo bruſed as hee died, being but two and thirty yeeres old, whereof hee raigned eleuen and three monthes; his body was carried to Toledo, and buried
D in the Chappell of the laſt Kings, where his father and mother lie. A Prince endowed with good parts but vnfortunate, and too ſharpe to his brother the Earle of Gijon, the which did ſomewhat blemiſh the luſter of his vertues: he was a friend and rewarder of valiant men, and religious according to the time. Hee was founder of three of the chiefe Monaſteries in Spaine, and gaue them great reuenues; that is, the Carthuſians at Valdelo̧oya in the territorie of Segobia in Raſcafrie, the which is commonly called Paular: The royall Monaſterie of the Order of Saint Benet at Vailedolit, the chiefe of the religion in the Realmes of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon and Nauarre, built whereas the old fort did ſtand. And moreouer hee founded the church and houſe of Santa Maria of Guadalupe, whereas he put religious men of Saint Ieroſmes Order, and
E tooke away the Chaplains which were wont to bee there; at which place there is an Image, which they hold doth miracles. 15

This King was very pittifull to Princes and men of marke that were ſtrangers and afflicted, as it appeered by the deliuery which hee ſought with great affection of *Leon* King of Armenia, who was priſoner with the Sultan of Ægipt to whom hee ſent an honourable Ambaſſage to that effect. And afterwards this Prince beeing retired into Spaine, he gaue him conuenient reuenues and penſions vpon the towne of Madrid and other places in Caſtile. It is he whoſe tombe is in the Celeſtins church at Paris, where he died mediating a peace betwixt the French and Engliſh.

The King of Nauarre hauing laboured in vaine for to haue the Queene his wife re- 16
F turne vnto him, deſyring to haue her crowned with him, like vnto other Queenes, hee Nauarre.
reſolued not to delay his coronation any longer: wherefore he aſſembled the Eſtates of his realm in the city of Pampelone, whereas the ſollemnity of his coronation was made, *Ceremony at the King of Nauarres coronation.*
as followeth: The Deputies of the Clergy, Nobility and third Eſtate beeing aſſembled, with the Ambaſſadors of forraine Princes, in the great chappell of the Cathedrall church; the Biſhops beeing in their Pontificall habits; Don *Martin* of Salua

Biſhop of Pampelone, who was afterwards Cardinall, ſpake the words vnto the King: A
O King our naturall Lord, it is fit before you receiue the Sacrament of the holy vnction,
that you take the oth vnto your people of Nauarre, which hath beene accuſtomed to be
taken in this Realme of Nauarre, by Kings your predeceſſors. Wherevnto the King
anſwered, that he was ready to ſweare: then a croſſe being preſented vnto him, and a
booke; laying his hand thereon, he pronounced theſe words with a loude voice,, We D.
Forme of the King oth to his people. ,, *Charles* by the grace of God King of Nauarre, Earle of Eureux &c. Doe ſweare vnto
,, our people of Nauarre, vpon this croſſe and vpon the holy Euangeliſt toucht by vs, and
,, to you the prelats and rich men of the cities and good townes, and to all the people of
,, Nauarre, for all your rights, lawes, cuſtomes, freedomes, liberties and preuiledges: that B
,, euery one of them, as they now are, ſhalbe maintained and kept, to you and your ſucceſ-
,, ſors all the time of our life, without corrupting them, bettering, and not impayring them
,, in all or in part: and that the violence and force which hath beene done to your prede-
,, ceſſors, whom God pardon, or to you, by Vs or our Officers, we ſhall hereafter com-
,, mand it to ceaſe, and ſatisfaction to bee made, according vnto right, as they ſhalbe made
,, manifeſt by good men and of credit.

Forme of the ſubiects oth vnto the King. After the Kings oth, the Deputies of the Eſtates, according to their degrees, ſtanding
vp, did alſo ſweare after this maner. We N. N. Barons of Nauarre, as well in our owne
names, as for all the Knights and Gentlemen of the realme, ſweare vnto you, our King
and Lord, vpon this croſſe, and theſe foure holy Euangeliſts, handled and toucht by vs, to C
gard and faithfully to defend your perſon, and our country, and to aide you to keepe,
maintaine and defend the lawes and cuſtomes with all our power. After this manner
did the deputies for the cities and townes ſweare, euery one according to the rights,
lawes, cuſtomes, preuiledges, freedomes and liberties, which they did enioy. This
oth beeing taken of either ſide, except by the Clergy, who ſweare not, the King retired
himſelfe into Saint Stephens chappell, of the ſame church, where he put off his roabes,
Vnction of the King of Nauarre. and tooke one of white taffity, which was vſuall in ſuch ceremonies, and then was
brought backe by the Biſhops of Tarraſone and of Dax, to the great chappel, where as
all things neceſſary were prepared for his vnction. The King being there enuironed by
the Biſhops, he was annointed with oyle by the biſhop of Pampelone, with the praiers D
and ſuffrages vſuall in ſuch actions: and the King hauing inſtantly put off that white
roabe he was richly attired in other royall habits, and ſo approched neere vnto the high
altar, where there was a ſword, the royal crowne gliſtring with pretious ſtones, and the
royall Scepter, hee put on the ſword, and then drew it forth, holding it vp on high in
ſigne of Iuſtice, and then ſheathed it againe, then hee tooke the crowne, and ſet it on his
head, and laſt of all hee tooke the ſcepter in his hand, and in the meane time the prelats
King of Nauar carried vpon a target. continued their prayers. Theſe things beeing done the King mounted vpon a tar-
get, on the which were painted the armes of Nauarre, the which was borne by the
Deputies of the Nobility, and them of the city of Pampelone and the three quarters
thereof, Bourg, Peuplement and Nauarre, as well in the name of the ſaid city, as of o- E
ther cities and townes of the realme, as it had beene appointed by the King: wherevp-
on publike proteſtation was made by the Deputies of Eſtella, Tudela, Sangueſſa, O-
lite and other townes, which could not ſet to their hands to ſupport this target, on the
which the King was, that it was without preiudice at that time, or hereafter, to their com-
monalties. Thus the King was raiſed vp by the deputies, who cried out thrice, *Real, Re-
al, Real.*

The King beeing thus carried after the manner of the ancient French, hee caſt mo-
ney vnto the people, which done, hee was taken from thence by the Cardinall Don
Pedro of Luna, the Popes Legat (who aſſiſted at this ceremonie) and by the Biſhops of
Pampelone and Tarraſone, and led to a royall throne in great ſtate: the prelats and o- F
ther Clergy men continuing ſtill in their praiers and ending with a *Te Deum.*

Theſe things thus performed, the Kings Attorney General, called *Garcia* of Leach,
in the Kings name, the Biſhop of Pampelone for himſelfe and all the Clergy of the
realme, with the Deputies of the Nobility, townes and commonalties, demaunded an
act of *Peter* of Godeille Apoſtolike Notary, of *Peter* of Iauariz Clarke and Apoſtolike
Notary,

A Notary for the Dioceſe of Pampelone, and of *Iohn* of Ceilludo Notary, and Secretary to the King, the which was formally done. For the laſt act of this ſollemnity, maſſe was ſung by the Biſhop of Pampelone, whereas the King, according to the cuſtome of his predeceſſors, offred ſcarlet, gold and ſiluer. This coronation was the fourth yeere of this Princes reigne, in February in the yeere 1390. and to make more particular relation of men of quality, which were at this aſſembly, deputed for the Eſtates or otherwiſe, Firſt of all there was D. *Pedro* of Luna Cardinal, of the title of Santa Maria in Coſmedin, Legat a Latere in Spaine, to Pope *Clement* reſiding in Auignon: Don *Martin Salua* Biſhop of Pampelone, D. *Iohn* of Calaorra and Calçado, D. *Pedro* of Tarraſſone, Don *Fernand* of Vic of Oſſona, D. *Pedro* of Ampurias, D. *Iohn* of Dax, D. *Garcia* of Eugni of
B Bayone, Confeſſor to the King, all Biſhops. Moreouer the Abbot of Irache, the Deane of the Collegiall church of Tudelo; the Abbots of the Monaſteries of Saint Saluator of Leyra, Oliuia, Yrançu, Hitero and Saint Saluator of Vrax: the Prior of the Order of Saint Iohn of Ieruſalem, the dignities, Chanoins and Clergy of the church of Pampelone, for the Eſtate of the Clergy. For the Nobilitie and millitary Order were Don *Lionell* of Nauarre, the Kings baſe brother, D. *Arnaud Raymond* Lord of Grammont, D. *Arnaud Sanches* Lord of Luſe, D. *Pedro* Lord of Laxaga, D. *Martin Henriques* of Lacarra Marſhal of the realme, D. *Ramir* of Areillan, D. *Martin* Lord of Mearçan, and of Saint Iulian, D. *Iohn* of Vcara, D. *Fernand* of Ayanc, D. *Martin* of Ayuar, D. *Bertrand* of Lacarra, D. *Aluar Diaz* of Medrano, D. *Ximen Garcia* Vicont of Baigner, D. *Pedro Sanches*
C of Corella, D. *Pedro Ynigues* of Vxue, D. *Martin* of Artieda, D. *Pedro Arnaud* of Garro, D. *Iohn Gaſton* of Vrroz, D. *Garcia Ramires* of Aſiayn, D. *Iohn* of Bern, the young Don *Pedro Sanches* of Licaraçu, D. *Iohn Rodrigues* of Ayuar, D. *Raymond* of Eſperça and Don *Pedro* of Ayanc: theſe were accompanied with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, as it was fit for the Maieſty of ſuch an act. The were alſo the Deputies of the commonalties, and good townes of the realme of Pampelone, Bourg, Peuplement and Nauarriere which were thre quarters, or countries of the city, euery one hauing a ſeuerall Iudge, the which kept them long in diuiſion, and bred lamentable mutinies and ſeditions: but this King by wiſe councel reduced them all into one body, and ſuppreſt the cauſe, to the good and quiet of the Inhabitants: Moreouer there were preſent the De-
D puties of Eſtella, Tudela, Sangueſſa, Olite, Puent la Reyna, Arcos, which at this day belongs to Caſtile, Viana, Garde, which is alſo of Caſtile, of Saint Vincent, of Saint Iohn of Pie de Port, of Montreal, Ronceuaux, Lumber, Villafranca of Aguilar of Bernedo, at this day vnited to the crowne of Caſtile, and of Lans. Beſides theſe deputies, there were many Barons, Knights and others of quality of Caſtile, France and England, which did honour this coronation, with the Ambaſſadors of forraine Chriſtian princes. Namely *Iohn* Vicont of Fuſſenſaguet, *Raymond* of Beruat, Lord of Caſtlenau, D. *Alphonſo* of Luna, Archdeacon of Girone, Doctor *Iohn Fernandes* of Arana, D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, high Treaſorer, *Diego Lopes* of Lagran, Steward to the King of Caſtile, *Francis* of
E Pau of Arragon, *Stcart* of Montagu, *Bernard* of Roſtaing a Baſque. Theſe with many others, were witneſſes of all that paſt at this ceremony, as appeeres by the acts and writings which are in the chamber of accounts of that realme. In Iuly following the quire of the church fell, where theſe things were celebrated, for the re-edefying whereof, the King and others did contribute very much. The death of D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile, fell out then vnfortunatly for the King of Nauarre: for beſides that hee loued him, and was beloued of him like a brother, hee was a fit inſtrument to tame the wilfulneſſe of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, who did afterwards much trouble him, before hee could make her leaue Caſtile, and returne to him.

Men of account at the King of Nauarres coronation.

F

A

D. Henry the 3. of that name, the ſeuenteenth King of Caſtile 38. of Leon.

17 Caſtille.

VVHen as the King Don *Iohn* had this mortall fall, Don *Pedro Tenorio*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, a wiſe man, knowing the alterations which doe commonly follow ſuch accidents, to the preiudice of States, hee ſodainely cauſed a Pauillion to be pitched in the place whereas the Kings body lay, and hauing ſet gards about it that it mought not be ſeene, hee diſſembled his death, giuing it out that he was ſore hurt, but without any danger of death: and the better to conceale this buſineſſe, he cauſed his phyſitions to come vnto the Tent, to whom he impoſed ſilence, then at a conuenient time, he cauſed the Kings body to bee brought into the towne, and laied it in the Chappel of the Archbiſhops lodging. B

In the meane time he made ſuch diſpatches as he thought fit to the cities and townes of the realme, and to the Prelats and Knights who he knew were affected to the deceaſed King, and to his ſonne D. *Henry*. The Queene Donna *Beatrix* was at the time of this vnfortunat accident, at Madrid, where ſhe receiued letters from the Archbiſhop, aduiſing her to goe to Alcala, the which ſhe did, leading in her company D. *Iohn Serran* biſhop of Siguença Chancellor of the Kings priuy ſeale, and others, who were very ſorrowfull for theſe lamentable newes: but eſpecially the Queene Donna *Beatrix*, who had not any children by the King her husband, and was now diſpoſſeſt of her realme of Portugal, without any hope euer to recouer it. Beeing come to Alcala, the Archbiſhop hauing comforted her, and left her there for the gard of the body, he went to Madrid, where hee did ſet vp the Standards of Caſtile and Leon, for the new King D. *Henry*, who was then at Talauera with his wife Donna *Catherina*, and his brother the Infant Don *Fernand*, whereas their father had left them when as he ment to goe into Andaluſia: but hauing receiued letters from the Archbiſhop, he came preſently to Madrid. The Archbiſhop gaue ſuch order for al things, as there was no alteration. The funerals for his death were performed throughout all Spaine, with great heauineſſe, the which was followed with great demonſtrations of ioy, for that D. *Henry* was proclaimed King in the ſame towne of Madrid, whether the Deputies of Prouinces, and the Eſtates of the realme began to come; the firſt were D. *Laurence Suares* of Figueroa maiſter of Saint Iames, D. *Gençalo Nugnes* of Guzman maiſter of Calatraua, and ſome others, who did not medle with any affaires, nor with the gouernment of the King (who was not yet eleuen yeeres old) by reaſon of the abſence of Don *Frederic* duke of Benauent, of Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena Earle of Denia and firſt Conſtable of Caſtile, and Don *Pedro* of Caſtile Earle of Tranſtamara, Princes of the bloud royall, who were ſent for, and it was fit to attend them. Notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop of Toledo thought it fit to conclude a marriage which was of great importance, and very preiudiciall for the Duke of Benauent, which was of Donna *Leonora* daughter and heire to Don *Shancho* of Caſtile, brother to the King D. *Henry* the ſecond, Counteſſe of Albuquerque and Montalban, and Lady of many other townes and caſtles: to which rich marriage Don *Frederic* pretended, the which was thought fit and conuenient, both for that hee was of the bloud of Caſtile, as alſo to recompence him in ſome ſort for the marriage which had beene concluded, betwixt him and Donna *Beatrix* of Portugal, whom the King D. *Iohn* did afterwards marry, whereby he had beene vndoubtedly King of Portugal. But the Archbiſhop thinking that the marriage of Donna *Leonora* would bee more fit for D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnafiel, brother to the new King, hee did worke it, and concluded it, with the Kings conſent and the Ladies, vpon condition that it ſhould bee conſommated when the Infant were foureteene yeeres old. Shee beeing ſixteene yeeres old, promiſed it, but not the Infant, for that by the marriage betwixt Don *Henry* and Donna *Catherina*, the Duke of Lancaſter her father had reſerued, that if Don *Henry* ſhould chance to die without

C D E F

D. Henry the third proclaymed King of Caſtile.

Mariage betwixt the heire of Albuquerque and the Infant D. Fernand.

A out conſommating of the marriage with his daughter, then D. *Fernand* his brother ſhould marry her. The Noblemen, Prelats and Deputies of the towne of Caſtile and Leon, beeing not yet aſſembled, the Archbiſhop of Toledo demaunded of *Peter Lepe* of Ayala, a worthy Knight and learned, if he knew whether the deceaſed King had made any will, to whom he anſwered yea, and that hee himſelfe being preſent with others, the King had made his will at the ſeege of Cillorico in Portugal, the one and twentith of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1385. and that he had ſent his will to him being Archbiſhop of Toledo. The Archbiſhop remembred this, but he ſaid that he had ſince deliuered that vp to the King. By this teſtament it was ordained, that the King dying, leauing his ſonne D. *Henry* vnder age, the gouernment of the King and realme ſhould re-
B maine in the hands of D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, of the Archbiſhop of Toledo, D. *Iohn Garcia Manriques* Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, D. *Pedro Nugnes* maiſter of the Calatraua, D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman Earle of Niebla, and D. *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoça Lord Steward of the Kings houſe, and with them one or two Bourgeſes of either of the ſixe townes: that is Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seuile Cordoua and Murcia.

19 *Ordonances made by the King D. Iohn in his teſtament.*

But afterwards the King did ſhew by actions, that he had changed his reſolution, not meaning that this ſhould be receiued for his laſt will and teſtament, wherevpon there grew ſuch debate, as it was hard to pacefie it. D. *Frederic* duke of Benauent, D. *Pedro*
C of Caſtile Earle of Tranſtamara, the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, with ſome others, being arriued, hauing kiſt the Kings hands, as their naturall Lord, the Eſtates beganne to conferre concerning the gouernment of the King and realme, and hauing firſt propounded the aboue-named will, it was concluded that the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Maiſters of Saint Iames and of Calatraua, the Duke of Benauent, the Earle of Tranſtamara, and *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, ſhould enter the chamber where the King kept his papers, to finde out this will. The chamber was opened by *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos, who afterwards was Conſtable, and *Iohn Martines* of Caſtille, gardiens of thoſe writings, where this will was found: It beeing read in the preſence of the aboue-named, and they all diſallowing of that which the King had ordained, they commanded him that
D. read it to caſt it into a fire which burnt in a chamber neere vnto the Biſhop of Cuencas, one of the houſhold to the deceaſed King, to auoide all contention and trouble, yet hee durſt not doe it, but laied it vnder a bed, whereas the Archbiſhop of Toledo tooke it, ſaying, that there were ſome clauſes which did concerne his Archbiſhoprike of Toledo, and ſo carried it away.

After ſome great contention betwixt the Noblemen and Deputies aſſembled, in the end it was concluded, that without any regard to the Kings will, or any other writing whatſoeuer, the gouernment ſhould be mannaged by a ſet councel, wherefore they named the duke of Benauent, and the Earle of Tranſtamara Princes of the bloud royall of Caſtile, the Marquis of Villena, and the Archbiſhops of Toledo and Saint Iames,
E the maiſters of Calatraua and Saint Iames, with ſome other Knights: and it was ſaid, of the Deputies of ſixteene cities of this Realme, eight ſhould aſſiſt at this councell by ſixe monthes, with this clauſe that not any Prelat, Knight, Maiſter, Deputie or any other ſhould haue any voice or authority, but when they were reſident in the court. This reſolution pleaſed them all except the Archbiſhop of Toledo, who refuſed for to ſweare to certaine good Articles concluded by the councell, anſwering with the Biſhop of Cuenca, that hee did it for that hee would not infring the lawes of the realme, which ſaid, that the King comming to the crowne in his minority, the father hauing appointed him no Tutors, in that caſe the Realme ſhould chooſe one, three, fiue, or
F ſeuen to gouerne. Wherefore if they would heare what he had to ſay therein, for the diſcharge of his conſcience, and that they would afterwards proceed otherwiſe, hee ſhould bee contented with that they ſhould conclude. His anſwere beeing allowed by the councell, he was willed to preſent himſelfe the next day in the caſtle, where he ſhould be heard. The councell was of opinion that the Archbiſhop would not be ſo raſh as publikely to contradict a generall accord which they had made, elſe they prepared to giue him a bad reception.

Orders for the Gouernment of the realme of Caſtile.

The Archbiſhop beeing aduertiſed by one of the Deputies of the reſolution of the councell, hee ioyned with them the next day in a church, and ſware the Articles, to auoide the ſcandale which had happened, if hee had done otherwiſe. This beeing thus repaired, the Archbiſhop deſired to bee diſcharged of the gard of Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, brother to the deceaſed King, who had beene a long time priſoner in the caſtle of Almonacid: wherevpon he made ſuch inſtance, and ſo great proteſtations, as the councell (not able otherwiſe to pacefie him) decreed that the priſoner ſhould bee deliuered into the hands of the maiſter of Saint Iames, who ſhould take charge of him, and he cauſed him to be conducted to the caſtle of Monreal, belonging to the order of Saint Iames. A

20 *Archbiſhop of Toledo turbulent.*

Some daies after the councell being aſſembled in the church of Madrid, whereas it was often held, certaine Gentlemen belonging to the duke of Benauent entred, hauing ſhirts of maile, whereat many were amazed, eſpecially Don *Pedro Tenorio* the Archbiſhop, who therevpon tooke occaſion to diſlodge from court, and in all places where hee paſt, he publiſhed that they had made a councell contrary to the will of the King Don *Iohn*: writing to all the chiefe townes of Spaine, and to the Noblemen that were abſent, who had beene named Tutors by the Kings will: Hee did moreouer write to Pope *Clement*, and to the conſiſtory of Cardinals, and the French King, and him of Arragon, intreating them not to allow of, nor receiue the diſpatches of this councell. This did much trouble them of the councell, who incited by this diſorder to a greater, would beginne to diuide the charges, offices, places and fortes of the Realme betwixt them. The duke of Benauent was the firſt, who demaunded the office of high Treaſorer, or Super-intendant of the Treaſor, for *Iohn Sanches* of Seuile, an infamous man by reaſon of his great vſurie, beeing alſo indebted to the King in great ſummes of money: wherevnto the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames oppoſed, ſaying, that it was not fit that hee who ought to bee araigned, ſhould bee aduanced to an office which had iuriſdiction: wherevpon there grew great troubles, and ſcandales, and the Noblemen of the councell beganne to fortefie themſelues with armes, cauſing their ſeruants and vaſſals to approch neere to Madrid, ſo as the Inhabitants of the towne ſet gardes at their portes: by reaſon whereof the Duke went out of the towne, and retired to Benauent', leauing his companions in great feare leaſt hee ſhould ioyne with the Archbiſhop of Toledo. B C D

Diuiſion among the Lords of the councel.

21. *Sedition againſt the Iewes, cauſed by D. Fernand Martinez.*

As this man was mooued with zeale for the affaires of ſtate, ſo at the ſame time Don *Fernand Martines* of Eccia, Archdeacon of Seuile, was mooued for religions cauſe againſt the Iewes, dwelling in Spaine, inciting the people againſt them, not onely in his ſermons, but alſo in market places and ſtreetes: ſo as the Iewes ſeeing they intended to ſpoile and murther them, they had recourſe vnto the Lords of the councell at Madrid, who deputed Iudges to preuent this diſorder at Seuile, Cordoua, and other townes of Andaluſia: but the people were ſo incenſed againſt this ſect, as notwithſtanding all the diligence of the Iudges, many were ſlaine, and their goods ſpoiled: An indirect courſe to draw Infidels to the religion of Ieſus Chriſt. E

The King Don *Henry* who grew in yeeres and Iudgement, did much apprehend the troubles, wherein the Noblemen of the councell did ingage the Realme, and therefore hee did write vnto the Duke of Benauent, and the Marquis of Villena, who had not beene preſent at all theſe things, that they ſhould come, or ſend preſently to Madrid, men with full authority: complayning by his letters which hee did write to Don *Frederic* Duke of Benauent, for that hee had gone from court without leaue. The Duke ſent *Aluar Vaſques* of Loſada, a Knight of honour vnto him, who gaue him a good accompt of his actions. The Marquis of Villena excuſed himſelfe vppon the diſſention of the Councell, who wrote in the beginning of the yeare 1391. to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, complayning greatly of the innouations which by his occaſion did threaten Spaine, proteſting for their parts, to yeeld vnto all that ſhould be ordayned by the Eſtates of the Realme: and as for the laſt will and teſtament of King *Iohn*, they would alwaies referre it to his oath, if he had not declared before his death, that he meant not it ſhould be of force. F

An. 1391.

The

A The Arch-biſhop when he receiued theſe letters, was at Alcala with the Duke of Benauent, the Marquis of Villena, D. *Martin Ianes* of Barbuda, Maſter of Alcantara, and D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça, with other diſcontented Knights, by all their aduice, hauing made a league together, anſwer was made vnto the meſſengers, that hauing reſolued among themſelues they would make a fit anſwer: to whom the meſſengers that were ſent from the King and the Councell replyed, that in the meane time the Arch-biſhop ſhould forbeare to aſſemble forces, and ſhold not employ the reuenues of the church to leuy ſoldiers: whereunto they anſwered, That whileſt they of the Councell did gouerne to their preiudice, they could do no leſſe then to ſeeke a remedy. During theſe broyles in Spaine,

B D. *Domingo* Biſhop of S. *Ponce*, Legate to Pope *Clement* reſiding at Auignon, came to Madrid, with letters to the King, condoling for the death of the deceaſed king his father, and congratulating his aſſumption, who alſo brought letters from the Pope to the Councell, by the which, like a good paſtor and father, he did exhort them to do iuſtice, and to gouerne the Realme well; the Legate making a long ſpeech to that end: to whom *Garcia Manrique* Arch-biſhop of S. *Iames*, anſwered. After which the Councell intreated the Legat to be a meanes to pacifie the troubles which had beene raiſed by the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and that he would take the paines to look into the will and diſpoſition of both parties, to the end he might make report thereof vnto the Pope. The Legate offered to employ himſelfe in any thing they ſhould thinke fit for the publike peace: wherefore the

C Councell hauing thanked him for his good will, they deputed *Peter Suarez* of Quignones, Gouernor of Leon, a wiſe and diſcreet Knight, *Garcia Alphonſo* of Sahaghun, and Doctor *Anthony Sanches* of Salamanca, an Auditor, who did accompanie the Legate. Beeing arriued at Talauera de la Reyna, where as the Arch-biſhop was, he intreated him very earneſtly to hearken to the peace and quiet of Spaine, giuing him many Theologicall reaſons, beeing a great learned Doctor, eſpecially vppon the waſting of the goods and reuenues of the Church, which was the patrimonie of the poore, propounding vnto him in the behalf of the Councell, the iuſt conditions which they had deliuered vnto him, and promiſed to performe; perſwading him and his aſſociats to come vpon his faith and aſſurance, vnto the caſtle of Buytrago, belonging vnto D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça,

D to conſult with them of the Councell, of the meanes how to accommodate all their diuiſions. The like requeſt and offer was made by *Peter* of Quignones in the behalfe of the Councell, ſignifying vnto them, that if they loſt this opportunity, they might afterwards deſire it in vaine: and of all this he proteſted and demanded an act. To all this the Arch-biſhop anſwered vpon premeditation, and excuſed himſelfe, as well vppon the teſtament of the deceaſed king, as vpon the lawes of the Realme which were infringed, perſiſting in the anſwer which had beene made at Alcala, pretending other lets, ſo as they could not go to Buytrago.

22 *Pope Clement ſends a Legate into Caſtile.*

In the meane time Ambaſſadors came from France, to the new king Don *Henry*, to condole the death of the deceaſed king, and to performe ſuch ceremonies as are vſuall at

E the comming of new kings, the Biſhop of Landreſi, chiefe of this Ambaſſage, offering to the king Don *Henry* all friendſhip and ayde, in the name of the king his Maſter, and to confirme the league made betwixt their predeceſſors. To which ambaſſage the Arch-biſhop of S. *Iames* made anſwer in the kings name with great applauſe: the king did then renew and ſweare the league betwixt France and Caſtile, and ſo did the Ambaſſadours. They being diſpatched, and honoured with many goodly preſents, they were accompanied with other Ambaſſadors, whom the king Don *Henry* ſent into France, for the confirmation of this league: within few dayes there came alſo to Madrid, Ambaſſadors from the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon: from the Duke of Lancaſter, and other Chriſtian Princes, vpon the ſame ſubiect. They of Nauarre particularly intreated the yong King,

F that he would ſo worke with the Queene Donna *Leonora* his aunte, as ſhee might returne into Nauarre, and liue with the King her husband; wherein they of the councell imployed themſelues with great affection, but they preuailed not, for ſhe vſed the ſame excuſes, which ſhee had done to the deceaſed King Don *Iohn*, ſo much ſhee was pleaſed to liue in the court of Caſtile. The King of Arragons Ambaſſadors, beſides their generall Legation, had charge to perſwade all the councellors in particular, to gouerne

Ambaſſadors from France to Caſtile.

Queene of Nauarre will not returne to her husband.

the

the realme with ſuch care and loyalty, as the young yeares of the king his nephew required. And they of the Duke of Lancaſter demanded, that the league made with the deceaſed king, at the concluſion of their peace, ſhould be renued. All theſe receiued courteous anſwers, and were ſent backe with content. A

In the meane time the Arch-biſhop of Toledo leauied forces, and made great practiſes throughout all the chiefe townes, and with the Nobilitie of the Realme. And on the other ſide, at the incitation of the ſeditious Arch-deacon Don *Fernand Martines*, the people of Seuile, Cordoua, Toledo, Logrogne, and other townes, of Caſtile, had fallen vppon the Iewes, making a horrible butcherie of this miſerable people, and ſpoyling their goods, forcing by this meanes the reſt, who eſcaped the preſent fury to become Chriſtians, or at the leaſt to faine themſelues ſo: What can poore Infidels thinke (ſeeing ſuch cruelties practiſed by Chriſtians, and ſuch greedineſſe in them to imbeazle other mens goods) but that their religion is bloudie, deſiring nothing leſſe then the health of thoſe whome they entertaine in their ignorance, by ſuch deteſtable courſes, and diueliſh couetouſneſſe? With the like furie were the neighbour countries infected: for they of Valencia and Barcelona did the like, yea the rage of theſe zealous men had extended vnto the Moores dwelling in Caſtile and Arragon, if they had not feared that the king of Granado would haue maſſacred many Chriſtians that were his priſoners, and that it ſhould cauſe ſome new warre with the Arabians.

23. *Cruelties and murthers committed on the Iewes.* B

This worldly conſideration reſpecting the commoditie of this life retayned them, not the zeale and honour of Ieſus Chriſt, which conſiſts not in murthers and ſpoiles, but to do good to all men, and to pray for their enemies. The King Don *Henry* was aduertiſed of all theſe diſorders, but by reaſon of his youth which was contemned, he could not apply fit remedies. Yet he did ſomewhat pacifie the mutinue againſt the Iewes: But as for the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and his Confederates, they had need of a ſharper reſtraint. The Councell ſent twice vnto him: that is, the Maſter of Saint Iames, who came vnto him at Illeſca, and afterwards at Talauera de la Reina, D. *Iohn* of Velaſco, Lord Chamberlaine to the king, and *Peter Fernandes* of Villegas Merin Maior of Burgos, who admoniſhed him to forbeare to aſſemble forces, and that he ſhould be content to vndergo with them, the reſolution of the Eſtates, vppon their differences, but they had no other anſwer, but what he had formerly made. C D

24. *D. Pedro of Caſtile demands the office of Conſtable.*

Amidſt theſe tumults there fell out a new occaſion to increaſe them: for hauing beene propounded in the Councell of the deceaſed king D. *Iohn*, to take the office of Conſtable from D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, for certaine reaſons: being now in diuiſion with the Councell, and not greatly beloued of the young King D. *Henry*, D. *Pedro* of Caſtile Earle of Tranſtamara, came to demand this office, who had yearly for his dyet and entertaynment 70000. marauidis. The Councell did let him vnderſtand, that the king at the beginning when the Eſtates aſſembled at Madrid, to gratifie the Marquis D. *Alphonſo*, had confirmed him in the dignity, and that there were no reaſon thus to degrade him, without ſome apparent cauſe, the which might be a means to increaſe the troubles which were but too great: wherefore they were of opinion, that he ſhold for that time forbeare and content himſelfe with a penſion, equall to the Conſtables entertainment, the which they promiſed him in the meane time: but they ſayd, that they muſt proceede againſt the Marquis by the courſe of Iuſtice: for the effecting wherof, they would procure the king to cite him to come to Court, and if hee did not obey, they promiſed to giue him his Eſtate. D. *Pedro* was ſatisfied with this anſwer, and D. *Alphonſo Ianes Fajardo*, Gouernor of Murcia was ſent by the King vnto the Conſtable, to cauſe him to come to court: but hee excuſed himſelfe from comming preſently, promiſing to be there ſoone after, notwithſtanding it was farre from his thought: for he had intelligence with the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and others of the league, who drew men together from all parts, to come to the Court in armes, to the end they might haue the teſtament of the deceaſed king D. *Iohn*, put in execution, and chaſe away the Councell. E F

The Arch-biſhop of S. Iames, the Earle of Tranſtamara, the Maſters of S. Iames and Calatraua, *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, Lord Steward of the kings houſe, & others (wherof ſome were named Tutors by the kings will, and ſome not) knowing that this was not the cauſe

A cauſe which drew the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, but onely a colour pretended by him and his confederates to retire from Court, and to take armes; they alſo prouided for their parts, and called all their friends to ayde them: they drew D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauar, vnto their league, binding themſelues by oath one vnto another, and they wrought ſo, as the king Don *Henry* continued vnto the Queene his Aunt the penſions which the deceaſed King D. *Iohn* was wont to giue her with an increaſe: By whoſe perſwaſion, and others of the Councell, he tooke the office of Conſtable from Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, who had enioyed it nine yeares, and gaue it to the Earle of Tranſtamara, who was ſonne to D. *Frederic*, Maſter of Saint Iames, and couſin to the king. Hereuppon they fell to armes in Caſtile, committing great ſpoyles, robberies, and murthers of all ſides, diuiding the
b Realmes, Prouinces, Citties, and Townes, eſpecially Seuile, whereas Don *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, great Admiral of Caſtle, and D. *Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, Gouernor generall of that cittie, held the Councells part: and Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla and others, that of the Kings teſtament.

Queene of Nauar intangled in the troubles of Caſtile.

The Arch-biſhop of Toledo with the Maſter of Alcantara were about Auila, to whom they of the cittie of Burgos made many proteſtations, offers and prayers in vaine, for a peace; the like they did to the Duke of Benauent, and then they ſent vnto the King, who was come to Cuellar, beſeeching him to giue eare vnto a peace, and to end the troubles by a conuocation of the Eſtates; the which if he thought good to hold in their cittie, they offered to deliuer all their children in hoſtage, for their aſſurance that ſhould come. The
C King mooued with the loue and willingneſſe of them of Burgos, ſent the Legate and others to the Arch-biſhop and his confederates, but they anſwered, That when they ſhold be neere the place where the king was, they would declare their intentions more at large. The Duke of Benauent, and the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, were alreadie ioyned with their forces, conſiſting of fifteene hundred men at armes, and 3500. foote, vnto whome the Queene of Nauarre came, intreating them, that before matters grew worſe, they ſhould be ſatisfied with the reſolution of the Eſtates: and whileſt that ſhe laboured with the confederates, the king went to Vailledolit, whither came about ſixteen hundred men at arms, with ſome other forces. The confederates little regarding the Queene of Nauarre, came
D to lodge at Simancas, where as ſhe was more amazed then before, and employed all her endeauors to make ſome accord: In the end ſhee obtayned that there ſhould bee a conference at Perales, whereas at diuers times, in the preſence of the Queene and Legate, the parties met and conferred. Once among the reſt, the Arch-biſhop beeing demanded by him of Saint *Iames*, if he had any true intent, that the deceaſed kings teſtament ſhould take place: he made him no anſwer, for that the Duke of Benauent, who was not named in it, was preſent, whom he feared to offend: an infallible argument, that priuate reſpects did moue him more, then any zeale of the publike good, or the Kings ſeruice. It was concluded in Perales, that the Kings teſtament ſhould be of force, and that the tutors named therein ſhould gouerne: and to the end a peace might be the better entertayned, and that
E all emulation and iealouſie might ceaſe, there were added vnto them Don *Frederic* duke of Benauent, Don *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara, and the Maſter of Saint *Iames*: and for the better ſtrengthening of this accord, the generall Eſtates were held at Burgos, *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, and *Iohn Alphonſo de la Cerde*, either of them giuing one of his ſonnes in hoſtage, for the aſſurance of ſuch as ſhould come to Court.

Archb. of Toledo reſpects not the publike good.

Eſtates at Burgos for a peace.

Thus the Eſtates were called at Burgos; which citie was at great charges for that cauſe, and for the kings ſeruice. But before any proceeding, the Councell pretending to bind Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon vnto them, being priſoner in the hands of the Maſter of S. Iames, they decreed his deliuerie, and procured the king to reſtore vnto him all the lands
F which he had enioyed in the Aſturia's. There came vnto the aſſembly at Burgos, the king with Queene *Catherine* his ſpouſe, the Infant Don *Fernand*, and his future wife D. *Leonora*, who lodged in the Caſtle, whereof *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga was captaine. The Eſtates beeing entred into conference, there grew a new tumult: for ſome of the Noblemen not ſatisfied with that which had beene concluded in Perales, would haue D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon admitted to councell, beſides the aboue-named, wherewith the Duke of

D. Alphonſo the kings vnkle deliuered out of priſon.

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The Arch-biſhop of S. Iames, the Earle of Tranſtamara, the Maſters of S. Iames and Calatraua, *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, Lord Steward of the kings houſe, & others (wherof ſome were named Tutors by the kings will, and ſome not) knowing that this was not the

cauſe

A cauſe which drew the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, but onely a colour pretended by him and his confederates to retire from Court, and to take armes; they alſo prouided for their parts, and called all their friends to ayde them: they drew D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauar, vnto their league, binding themſelues by oath one vnto another, and they wrought ſo, as the king Don *Henry* continued vnto the Queene his Aunt the penſions which the deceaſed King D. *Iohn* was wont to giue her with an increaſe: By whoſe perſwaſion, and others of the Councell, he tooke the office of Conſtable from Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, who had enioyed it nine yeares, and gaue it to the Earle of Tranſtamara, who was ſonne to D. *Frederic*, Maſter of Saint Iames, and couſin to the king. Hereuppon they fell to armes in Caſtile, committing great ſpoyles, robberies, and murthers of all ſides, diuiding the

Queene of Nauar intangled in the troubles of Caſtile.

b Realmes, Prouinces, Citties, and Townes, eſpecially Seuile, whereas Don *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, great Admiral of Caſtle, and D. *Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, Gouernor generall of that cittie, held the Councells part: and Don *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla and others, that of the Kings teſtament.

The Arch-biſhop of Toledo with the Maſter of Alcantara were about Auila, to whom they of the cittie of Burgos made many proteſtations, offers and prayers in vaine, for a peace; the like they did to the Duke of Benauent, and then they ſent vnto the King, who was come to Cuellar, beſeeching him to giue eare vnto a peace, and to end the troubles by a conuocation of the Eſtates; the which if he thought good to hold in their cittie, they offered to deliuer all their children in hoſtage, for their aſſurance that ſhould come. The

C King mooued with the loue and willingneſſe of them of Burgos, ſent the Legate and others to the Arch-biſhop and his confederates, but they anſwered, That when they ſhold be neere the place where the king was, they would declare their intentions more at large. The Duke of Benauent, and the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, were alreadie ioyned with their forces, conſiſting of fifteene hundred men at armes, and 3500. foote, vnto whome the Queene of Nauarre came, intreating them, that before matters grew worſe, they ſhould be ſatisfied with the reſolution of the Eſtates: and whileſt that ſhe laboured with the confederates, the king went to Vailledolit, whither came about ſixteen hundred men at arms, with ſome other forces. The confederates little regarding the Queene of Nauarre, came

D to lodge at Simancas, where as ſhe was more amazed then before, and employed all her endeauors to make ſome accord: In the end ſhee obtayned that there ſhould bee a conference at Perales, whereas at diuers times, in the preſence of the Queene and Legate, the parties met and conferred. Once among the reſt, the Arch-biſhop beeing demanded by him of Saint *Iames*, if he had any true intent, that the deceaſed kings teſtament ſhould take place: he made him no anſwer, for that the Duke of Benauent, who was not named in it, was preſent, whom he feared to offend: an infallible argument, that priuate reſpects did moue him more, then any zeale of the publike good, or the Kings ſeruice. It was concluded in Perales, that the Kings teſtament ſhould be of force, and that the tutors named therein ſhould gouerne: and to the end a peace might be the better entertayned, and that

Archb. of Toledo reſpects not the publike good.

E all emulation and iealouſie might ceaſe, there were added vnto them Don *Frederic* duke E of Benauent, Don *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara, and the Maſter of Saint *Iames*: and for the better ſtrengthening of this accord, the generall Eſtates were held at Burgos, *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, and *Iohn Alphonſo de la Cerde*, either of them giuing one of his ſonnes in hoſtage, for the aſſurance of ſuch as ſhould come to Court.

Eſtates at Burgos for a peace.

Thus the Eſtates were called at Burgos; which citie was at great charges for that cauſe, and for the kings ſeruice. But before any proceeding, the Councell pretending to bind Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon vnto them, being priſoner in the hands of the Maſter of S. Iames, they decreed his deliuerie, and procured the king to reſtore vnto him all the lands

F which he had enioyed in the Aſturia's. There came vnto the aſſembly at Burgos, the king with Queene *Catherine* his ſpouſe, the Infant Don *Fernand*, and his future wife D. *Leonora*, who lodged in the Caſtle, whereof *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga was captaine. The Eſtates beeing entred into conference, there grew a new tumult: for ſome of the Noblemen not ſatisfied with that which had beene concluded in Perales, would haue D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon admitted to councell, beſides the aboue-named, wherewith the Duke

D. Alphonſo the kings vnkle deliuered out of priſon.

of

of Benauent his brother, the Queene of Nauarre, nor the Maſter of Saint Iames, were not A
contented, ſaying, that his deliuerie had beene without their conſents, with an intent to
make vſe of him to the preiudice of them three, and others that were of their opinion.
Such was their inconſtancie, as they which before would haue the kings will take effect,
demanded now the accord of Perales. In the end they made choice of two of the greateſt
Doctors in Spaine, to be arbitrators, and to giue their aduice therein; which were Don
Gonçal Gonçales Biſhop of Segobia, and *Aluar Martines* of Villareall, but they made their
controuerſies more obſcure, with their importune ſubtilties and obſtinacie.

25. *Exactions cauſed tumults in Guipuſcoa.*

Whileſt that great men contended for the gouernement of the Realme, the Kings Of-
ficers who had charge to recouer his rights, and to receiue his reuenues exacted vpon the B
people, according to an order which had beene ſet downe by the Councell, preſſing an
impoſition which is called *Pedido*, wherewith the countrie was charged, in the time of the
King Don *Pedro*, from the riuer of Ebro vnto the ſea, without any regard of the Priuiled-
ges or exemptions of the Nobilitie, namely, of the Inhabitants of this Prouince of Gui-
puſcoa; which tribute had beene contradicted in the time of the ſayd King D. *Pedro*, and
ſince in the raignes of Don *Henry*, and D. *Iohn*, who had cauſed ſuch exactions to ceaſe,
in conſideration of the auncient immunities of the Guipuſcoans: but in the time of this
king the Councell beeing diuided, and all things in combuſtion, the Treaſurers had reui-
ued this receipt, whereof the Inhabitants of the countrie complayned in vaine. For this
cauſe there was an aſſembly of the towne and commonalties of the Prouince of Guipuſ- C
coa in the pariſh Church of Saint *Mary*, in the towne of Tholouſa, in Auguſt this yeare
1392. whither came the Deputies of Tholouſa, Segure, Mondragon, Motrico, Guera-
ria, Villafranca, Vergara, Salmas, and Sarauz, to aduiſe what was expedient for the de-
fence of their immunities, who decreed, That for aſmuch as the Prouince of Guipuſcoa
had firſt beene peopled by Gentlemen, and in all degrees free, and that by reaſon of the
barrenneſſe of the countrie, they had neuer beene charged with any tributes, they be-
ſought the King, and the Councel, eſtabliſhed by the Eſtates of Caſtile and Leon, to for-
bid the Collectors, or any that haue to deale with the kings treaſure, to exact any more
mony of them. And attending the Councels reſolution vppon their petition, the ſayd
Tribute ſhould not be payed, beeing aſſured that it was both the King and the Councels D
intention, not to lay any vndue charge vppon them: they ordayned by way of prouiſion,
as followeth:

Articles made in the aſſembly of Tholouſa in Guipuſcoa.

First, that the Collectors and receiuers comming to exact money, there ſhould not
any thing be payed them: but the ſayd Collectors ſhould be apprehended, and led to the
aſſembly at Vſarraga, there the Councell to determine of them according vnto reaſon
and equity.

2 That if any of the Collectors ſhould arreſt one of the Inhabitants of the countrie,
by reaſon of the ſayd tribute, he crying out, and demanding ayde, the neighbours with-
out exception, ſhall be bound to go foorth in armes, and purſue the ſayd Collector, and
hauing taken him, preſent him to the aſſembly at Vſarraga. E

3 If any Collector hauing leauied a pawne of one of the Inhabitants of the country,
ſhall eſcape, and cannot be apprehended, the value of the pawne ſhall be taken out of the
kings ordinarie reuenues, with all coſts, dammage, and intereſt, for the indemnitie of
the pawne.

4 That all the people of the country ſhal iuſtifie the petition preſented vnto the king,
tending to this, that he ſhall prouide a neceſſarie remedie for this miſchiefe, and they
ſhall be bound to contribute towards the dammages which may happen.

5 That if the merchandize or wares, which they of Guipuſcoa are accuſtomed to
ſend towards Victoria, Saluaterra, Treuigno, Argançon, and other parts of Alaua vnto
the riuer of Ebro, ſhall be arreſted and ſtayed by any commonalties, townes, Lords that F
haue iuſtice, or by any perſon whatſoeuer, in regard of theſe tributes and impoſitions,
whoſoeuer ſhall haue the loſſe, ſhall make it knowne vnto his ſuperiors, and to this end
the Councell ſhall aſſemble at Vſarraga, and the townes ſhall be bound to ſend, that is to
ſay, Tholouſa ten men, Mondragon ten men, Segura ten men, Salmes two men, Vergara
fiue men, Motrico three men, Guetaria three men, Villafranca ten men, and Sarraux

two

two men, of the moſt ſufficient among them, who together ſhall ordaine of the reſtitution of thoſe things thus ſeazed, with the charges and fines, to the end the owner may not be damnified.

6 And for that the Merins Majors, and rulers of the countrie, were accuſtomed to make their circuits in great troupes, ſo as the people were charged and damnified, to the prejudice of the lawes and liberties of the countrie, it was ordayned that hee that ſhould haue this Office, were he Knight or Eſquire, ſhould be receiued as a Knight or Eſquire, in all townes and places, ſo as his force ſhould alwaies remaine in townes, in the which if the ſayd Merins, or their men, did commit any inſolencie or violence, for what cauſe ſoeuer, euery man ſhould be bound to take armes, and oppoſe himſelf againſt the ſayd force, appealing to the Councell and aſſembly of the ſayd townes, and worke ſo as the liberties and priuiledges of the countrie might remaine vnuiolated, and he that was wronged vndamnified.

7 Item, that if by reaſon of the ſayd impoſition and tribute called Pedido, ſome ſeazure hath beene made either of men or goods, by the ſayd Collectors, Receyuers, Iudges, or any other within a towne, and that the ſayd towne did conſent thereunto, or winke at the ſayd ſeazure, and that it hath beene tranſported to ſome other place, and there receiued and detayned, and the partie intereſſed can get no reſtitution, in this caſe the other townes beeing required by him, or ſome other for him, ſhall bee bound to go with force, to the place where ſuch perſons or goods are detayned, and there take ſo much of the Inhabitants goods as ſhall be needfull to ſatisfie the intereſſed, and themſelues alſo, who are come thither for this cauſe, for all their coſts and charges, and for euery man that hath beene carried away, they ſhall take two, and detayne them vntill the deliuerie of the firſt, with full ſatisfaction of their dammages.

8 If by reaſon of theſe things any of the Inhabitants of the ſayd townes or iuriſdictions ſhould be cited or adiorned before the Prouoſt of the Kings Court, or other Iudges, or otherwiſe called in what manner ſoeuer; they ſhall not be bound to appeare, but the ſayd townes ſhall take his cauſe in hand, and ſend their Atturneys to appeare, and defend him that is cited, without any coſt and charge vnto him, but at the charge of the ſayd Townes.

9 That there ſhall be a firme friendſhip and brother-hood, ſworne betwixt the ſayd townes, and the Inhabitants, ſuch as in the time of the king D. *Iohn*, vppon the paines ordayned, and they ſhal be bound to ayde one an other, ſo as where any wrong is done, they ſhall employ both body and goods one for another, and maintaine themſelues in iuſtice.

10 And for that in former times the townes aboue-named had a league with other townes of Guipuſcoa, not mentioned in this accord, their meaning was, that it ſhould not hereafter take place, but with the conſent of the king and his Councell, and that at the inſtance of all the townes of Guipuſcoa, the ſayd brother-hood and ordonances thereto belonging, were confirmed by the king D. *Henry* their Lord.

11 If any Baylife, or other Magiſtrate, or Gouernour, ſhould giue aſſignation to all the aboue-named townes, enioyning them to their Atturneys or chiefe men of the ſayd townes, they ſhall name their Atturneys, and ſend them to the place appointed, vppon condition that he ſhall neither do, nor ſuffer any diſpleaſure to be done vnto them by his Miniſters, for the which they ſhall giue caution. And if the aſſignation bee giuen out of the aboue-named townes, if it were in the towne of Saint Sebaſtian, the Deputies of the confederate townes ſhall aſſemble at Tholouſa: if it were to appeare in the towne of Miranda of Yraurgui, called Azcoitia, or at Saluaterra, called Azpeytia, or at Elgoybar, that they ſhall aſſemble at Guetaria, or Motrico, to conſult what is fit to be done, both for the kings ſeruice, the preſeruation and increaſe of the ſayd townes, and of their Immunities and Nobility.

12 That in two aſſemblies which were made yearely in the name of the ſayd brotherhood, the ſayd townes ſhould be bound to appeare by their deputies, as had beene accuſtomed in precedent times: but at extraordinarie conuocations which ſhould be made by the other townes of Guipuſcoa, they ſhall not be bound to go nor ſend, vntill their generall aſſociation be confirmed by the king, at the ſute of them all in generall.

To

To theſe Articles the ſayd townes bound their goods and perſons for euer, vpon paine of fifty marauidis of money then currant to be payed by him that ſhould infringe them, and applyable to the Councell of the reſt, which ſhould maintaine the contents thereof, to diſpoſe according to their wils: and the towne which hath fayled, ſhall be forced by the reſt to pay the fine, by all ordinarie and extraordinarie meanes, with all charges, damages and intereſts. A

It is credible that the other townes of Guipuſcoa made the like aſſociations, in regard of their priuiledges and liberties. Vppon this queſtion they pleaded againſt the Kings Receyuer, and there are letters found granted by the King Don *Henry* vppon the ſame, by the which he did aboliſh theſe tributes and exactions in fauour of the townes and places of Saluaterra of Iraurgui, *Miranda* of Iraurgui, Villamajor of Marquina, called *Elgoyar*, *Val* of Mendaro, *Monreal* of Deua, S. *Andrew* of Ayuar, Placenzia, Elgueta, S. *Cruz* of Ceſtona, the Chaſtelenie of Sayas, S. *Nicholas* of Orio, Bellamont of Vſuruill, with Aguinaga, Aſtigarraga, Aynduayn, Vrreota, S. *Peter* of Aſteauçu, the quarter of Larraul, Ichaço, Ciçurguil, Gauiria, Ataun: the country of Leſcano of Aduna, the Chaſtelenie of Aiztondo, that of Areria, Curnatraga, the pariſh of Beaſain, Arama, Alcega, Echaſonda, Saldibia, Gainça, Legorreta, Goyas, Vidania, Beyçaina, Rexil, Aya, and the territorie of Azgoytia, whereof there are letters found giuen in Saint *Marie* of Pelajos, in the yeare 1399. and confirmed at Vailledolit 1401. and by other kings. Thus the Guipuſcoans defended their freedomes and liberties againſt the Kings Officers, who made their profite during the confuſions and troubles betwixt the Noblemen and the Councell. Afterwards all the Townes, Boroughs and places of this Prouince of Guipuſcoa were vnited and made one bodie, and haue maintained themſelues ſo vnto this day, to the great good and generall commoditie of the Countrey, and the ſeruice of the ſoueraigne King. B C

26 *Vnion of all the townes of Guipuſcoa. An.* 1392.

The Eſtates of Burgos continued with little concord, by reaſon whereof in the beginning of the yeare 1392. the Deputies of the Eſtates, with the conſent of the parties contending, propounded euery one to write his voice in bulletins, vppon that which was in queſtion: Whether they ſhould follow the teſtament of King *Iohn*, or not, and the ſayd bulletins beeing caſt into a coffer and then opened, the partie that had moſt voyces ſhold carrie it: but without comming to this triall, the Queene Donna *Leonora*, who alwaies laboured to reconcile theſe differences, made another accord, and brought ſo many reaſons, as Don *Frederic* duke of Benauent, and D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, were receiued into the gouernement and councell: ſo as the Councell ſhould conſiſt of tenne ſpirituall men, beſides the Deputies of the ſixe townes, whereof fiue ſhould reſide ſixe moneths: and theſe were thus diuided: the Duke of Benauent, the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, the Maſter of Saint *Iames*, and *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça for one ſixe moneths: the Arch-biſhop of Saint Iames, the Earles of Gijon and Tranſtamara, and the Maſter of the Calatraua for the other: the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Niebla ſhould make vp the ten, but they would not come to Court. It ſeemed by this expedient, practiſed by the Queene of Nauarre, that the affairs were in a courſe of peace: but the death of *Diego Sanches* of Roja a knight of the Earle of Gijons faction, who was ſlaine neere vnto Burgos by two horſemen of the Duke of Benauents houſe troubled the whole aſſembly againe, and had like to haue cauſed great ſlaughter in the citie: he that was ſlayne was interred, and the murtherers eſcaped. For which fact the Deputies of the Eſtates were ſo much diſcontented, as they neglected all that had beene decreed and done, touching the eſtabliſhing of a Councel, and took the way of writing their voyces in bulletins, the which being put into a coffer & that opened, it was found that all did ioyntly require to haue the will of the K. D. *Iohn* in force. Wherupon the Duke of Benauent, who was not mentioned, went from Court much diſcontented. The Arch-biſhop of Toledo ſeeing him retired, agreed with them of the aduerſe party, vpon theſe conditions: That whenſoeuer the Marquis of Villena and the Earle of Niebla ſhould forbeare to come to Court, hee ſhould ſupply their places, and that a moitie of the kings reuenues ſhould be deliuered to him, to be diſtributed as he ſhould thinke fit; that he ſhould be ſatisfied for the charges hee had bin at in ſeeking the execution of K. *Iohns* teſtament. Theſe things thus concluded, the next day the D E F

Accord betwixt the Noblemen of Caſtile.

king

A king with the knights and deputies of the Prouinces being preſent, it was decreed, that the teſtament of the deceaſed king D. *Iohn* ſhould be obſerued, and that ſixe tutors with the Deputies of Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seuile, Cordoua and Murcia, ſhould gouerne. There were then preſent of the tutors, the Arch-biſhops of Toledo and S. Iames, the Maſter of Calatraua who was ſucceſſor both in the dignity and tutelage to D. *Pero Nugnes*, and D. *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, repreſenting in like manner in this charge D. *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoça, named by the will. And for that the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Niebla were abſent, the king ſent for them to come to Court by a certaine day. The Legate was very ioyful of this accord, and abſolued all them that had ſworne to the contrarie: and in like manner the king did pardon all thoſe that had made any leagues or aſſemblies. And *Order for the gouernment of Caſtile.*

B to giue ſome contentment to the Duke of Benauent, and the Earle of Gijon, who were excluded from the gouernment, the tutors agreed to giue to either of them a penſion of a million of marauidis yearely, during their liues. In this manner the gouernement of the realmes of Caſtile began to take ſome form: but yet the factions dyed not, for euery man ſought rather his owne aduancement, then the publike good, as well ſuch as remayned in Court, as thoſe that left it: ſome with extreame ambition and deſire to gouerne all, as the Archb. of Toledo, and others vpon diuers pretexts of diſcontents, they did for a long time entertayne diuiſions and factions.

During the troubles of Caſtile, D. *Iohn* king of Portugal, did quietly enioy his conquered realme, with whom the tutors of Caſtile ſought to prolong the truce, which was al- 27 Portugal.

C moſt expired. For the effecting wherof they ſent vnto the frontier D. *Iohn Serran* biſhop of Siguença, *Garcia Gonçal* of Herera, and *Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua, Marſhals of Caſtile, with *Anthony Sanches*, Doctor and Auditor: to whom vpon propoſition of a perpetuall peace, or of a long truce, there were ſuch vnreaſonable conditions demanded by the deputies of Portugal, as the Caſtillan Ambaſſadors were forced to return without effect. The K. of Portugal ſhewed himſelf intractable in his demands, by reaſon of the new ſupport he thought to find in Caſtile. For they treated a marriage betwixt a baſe daughter of his called D. *Beatrix*, and D. *Frederic* duke of Benauent, who gaue willingly eare vnto it. *Treaty of mariage to the preiudice of Caſtile.*

The Ambaſſadors hauing made their report to the king D. *Henry* their maſter, whome Caſtille.

D they found at Segobia; hee ſent back into Portugal the biſhop of Siguença, and Doctor *Anthony Sanches*, adding vnto them *Pero Lopes* of Aiala, Alcaide Maior of Toledo. They were much troubled concerning the marriage of D. *Frederic*, whereof the Q. of Nauar did aduertiſe the king D. *Henry*, yea ſhe did ſollicit in the name of the D. of Benauent, that either he might bee allowed to marry the daughter of the K. of Portugal, or elſe they ſhould giue him the Counteſſe of Albuquerque to wife, who was ſecretly accorded to the Infant D. *Frederic*. The K. deſiring neither of theſe marriages, ſeemed to refer all to the Counteſſes will, who told the Archb. of Toledo in the preſence of them all, that ſhee wold do all that pleaſed the king: wherfore there was hope giuen to the Queen of Nauar to haue the marriage finiſhed at Areualo, and a diſpatch was ſent to D. *Frederic*, to aduertiſe him of what was paſt: but all this was but to diuert the marriage with Portugal, being

E more pleaſing to the Duke, then that of the Counteſſe of Albuquerque, the which hee made openly knowne vnto the king: wherefore the king proceeding in the ſame manner, ſent the Archb. of Toledo to him, to perſwade him with reaſon, that neither of theſe two marriages was fit for him, and rather to offer him the Marquis of Villena's daughter, with a more ample dowrie, then that which the king of Portugal could giue to D. *Beatrix* his daughter. But he could draw no other anſwer from D. *Frederic*, but that many Noblemen about the king declaring themſelues his enemies, he was forced to ſeeke fauor and friendſhip in Portugall.

At the ſame time the Inhabitants of Zamora, growing iealous of the captain of the ca- 28

F ſtle, and of the tower of S. Sauior (being a gentleman called *Nugno Martinez* of Villaycan, a deuoted ſeruant to the Duke of Benauent) put themſelues in armes, and made trenches and barricado's againſt him, ſaying, that he had ſome bad deſſeine with the Duke of Benauent, whoſe men he receiued daily into thoſe forts in great numbers, ſo as they ſent to demand ſuccours of the king, and of the Maſter of the Calatraua, who had beene ſent with ſome troupes, to keepe a garriſon at Salamanca, againſt the frontier of Portugall. *Troubles in Zamora.*

The Maſter conſidering the conſequence of this trouble, at this time when as the truce A
with Portugal being expired, they expected warre, would not ſend any ſuccours, leſt he
ſhould incenſe the Duke in ſhewing himſelfe partiall; the which pleaſed the king, who
ſent the Biſhop of Siguença ſpeedily to Benauent, whereas the Arch-biſhop of Toledo
was yet, to the end they might ſo worke with the Duke, as theſe troubles of Zamora might
be pacified, the which they effected, and the Archb. came to Zamora, & brought the cap-
taine, vpon aſſurance that the king would take it well to promiſe to deliuer the fort of S.
Sauior, into the hands of *Fernand Alphonſo* of Montnegro, Gouernor of Toro: the towne
alſo gaue hoſtages: which things beeing thus ended, the Archb. returned to the king at
Segobia.

29 The Deputies of Caſtile appointed to treate a peace with Portugal, hauing met with B
Portugal. the Prior of S. Iohn of Portugal, and others appointed by the King D. *Iohn* at Sabugal, &
conferred often of that buſines, they could not yeeld to thoſe hard conditions which were
demanded: for the Portugals would haue the townes of Miranda and Sabugal left free to
them: that the king D. *Henry* ſhould giue 12. Gentlemen, and 12. good Burgeſſes in ho-
Conditions of peace propounded by the king of Portugal. ſtage for 12. yeares, for the aſſurance of the peace; which ſhould be changed euery foure
yeares, and others of the like quality deliuered for them. And that during the ſayd 12.
yeares he ſhould not giue any ayde vnto the Queen D. *Beatrix*, nor to the Infants D. *Iohn*
and D. *Denis*, brethren to the deceaſed king D. *Fernand*, who were in Caſtile, nor to any
other that ſhould attempt againſt the Portugals: that all priſoners of either ſide ſhold be C
deliuered, with other conditions, which ſeemed ſo hard vnto the Caſtillans, as they durſt
not aduenture to promiſe any thing, but onely concluded a truce for two moneths, that
they might conferre more amply vpon this pacification.

Caſtile. In the meane time the king D. *Henry* came to Medina del campo, to bee neere to Por-
tugal, and to the duke of Benauent, who made ſhew to breed ſome innouation within the
realme, hauing drawne together aboue 500. lances and a great number of Gentlemen at
Pedroço, and about Toro. By reaſon wherof, & of many other inſolencies, wherof com-
plaints came daily to Court, the king ſent the Archbiſh. of Toledo againe vnto him, with
ſome Deputies of the citties which were of the Councell, to let him vnderſtand, how vn-
ſeemely it was for him to entertaine the realme, whereof he was a member, in ſuch ielou- D
ſie, and to conſume the people by the ſpoils and robberies of his men who kept the fields:
to what end went he ſo armed? what feared he? whereon did he complaine? what great be-
nefit did he pretend by the allyance of Portugal, that he ſhould diſdaine the fauours of his
king, who had dealt both bountifully and honourably with him, giuing him a million of
marauidis yearely, and might hope for greater matters, and ſeing that he had ſuch ample
teſtimonies of the kings loue, and the councels, to perſwade him to come to court, where
he might purchaſe more fauor then euer? The duke anſwered to all that which the Archb.
had propounded vnto him, that he had neuer giuen eare to a marriage with Portugal, but
in caſe a peace or a long truce were concluded betwixt the two realmes. As for that hee
went accompanied with ſouldiers, it was well knowne that he had enemies in Court, who E
had factions throughout the realme, which forced him to ſtand vpon his guard, and ther-
fore they ſhould not hold it ſtrange if he came not to court. Moreouer, if he had receiued
fauors from the king, he was ready to employ them in his ſeruice, and his whole eſtate.
The Archb. deliuered many reaſons vnto him, in preſence of the Deputies to pacifie him,
and then returned to Medina del campo, where hauing giuen an accompt vnto the king
and councel of his employment, he held it fit to content the duke in ſome ſort, for the ma-
riage of Portugal was much aduanced. Thereupon it was bruted (whoſoeuer were the au-
thor) that the Duke approched neere vntō the towne, and that hee had intelligence with
ſome, to be brought in with his forces, which cauſed a great mutiny among them, and e-
uery man began to gather ſouldiers together for his owne aſſurance. I

The Archb. who was a friend to the duke (ſo far-forth as he did entertaine the troubles
wherein he tooke delight) propounded a means which he held very conuenient, to auoid
the ſpoiles which might follow theſe quarrels, which was, that he with the Archbiſh. of S.
Iames, and the Maſter of the Calatraua ſhould retire themſelues to their houſes, and that
about the king there ſhould only remaine *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, and the Deputies of
townes,

A townes, and that the king ſhould conſult with them how to giue content to the duke of Benauent, and to find him a party equall to that which was offered him in Portugall.

By theſe factions, all the Realme was in combuſtion, and all ſorts of inſolencies were committed both in town and countrie, iuſtice was abuſed, and the treaſure miſ-gouerned. The city of Seuile was moleſted by D. *Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, and D. *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, Admirall of Caſtile, who ſeized thereon in the abſence of D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla one of the tutors, chaſing many of his ſeruants and followers out of the city. On the other ſide *Nugno Martinez* of Villaycan, captaine of the fort of Zamora, not ſatisfied with the accord which had beene made by the meanes of the B Archbiſh. of Toledo, ſent to the duke of Benauent to haue him approch, and he would deliuer him vp the caſtle which he had in guard: the duke poſting thither, could not effect this enterpriſe, for that the inhabitants of Zamora, being aduertiſed by ſome of the dukes men, prouided for it, whereupon the Duke returned, and many that followed him did abandon him: wherevpon the king ſent the Archb. of S. Iames, and the Maſter of Calatraua to aſſure the townes that were ſuſpected, but they were ſhut out of Toro, the Inhabitants ſaying, that they would not receiue any, if the king were not in perſon, but they entred into Zamora, where as many knights of the dukes traine yeelded vnto them, and ſoon after the king came. But the Duke was aduertiſed thereof at the caſtle of Majorga, belonging to the Infant D. *Fernand*, by *Iohn Alphonſo de la Cerde*, who hauing bin high Steward C of the Infants houſe, and then diſplaced by the kings tutors, ſubſtituting in his place *Pero Suarez* of Quignones, Gouernor of Leon, had through deſpight fallen to the Duke of Benauents partie.

Miſeries of ciuill warre.

Whileſt that theſe contended in Caſtile, the Deputies, appointed to treat a peace with the King of Portugal during the truce which had beene prolonged, came to Extremos in the yeare 1393. the Portugal demanding for a finall reſolution, theſe Articles following. That they ſhould giue in hoſtage the baſe ſons of the duke of Benauent, of the Earls of Gijon, and of Niebla, (for the great men of Spaine had more baſe children then legitimate) the nephewes of the Maſters of S. *Iames* and Calatraua, of the Arch-biſhops of Toledo, and S. *Iames*, of *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, and of *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga. But D aboue all they demanded the Duke of Benauents ſon, thinking he would not giue him, vnleſſe the king of Caſtile, would deliuer the caſtle of Zamora into his hands, the which they deſired, being aſſured that the Duke was wholy at their deuotion: but when they vnderſtood, that he had fayled to enter that fort, and that he began to be abandoned by many of the knights which had folowed him, they became more tractable, and yeelded to a truce for 15. yeares, ſo as they would giue them in hoſtage, the Earle of Gijons ſon, and eleuen Knights ſonnes more, with 12. children of the cittizens of Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seuile, Cordoua, and Zamora: yet would not the Deputies of Caſtile conclude this truce, which was moſt beneficiall for Portugall, but demanded ſome reſpite to aduertiſe the king and his tutors. The king with his councell hauing conſidered the danger wherinto the home-E bred troubles, together with a forraine warre would draw them, they yeelded to all the Portugals demanded, namely, not to ayde nor aſſiſt D. *Beatrix* the widow Queen, nor D. *Iohn*, or D. *Denis* her Vncles. Thus a truce was concluded for fifteene yeares betwixt Caſtile and Portugal.

30. Portugal. 1393. *Demaunds of Portugall to Caſtile.*

The Court being in the cittie of Zamora, the captaine of the caſtle refuſed for ſome daies to deliuer the place vp to the king, ſaying, that his father *Iohn Martines* of Villaycan lately deceaſed, being Gouernor of Zamora, and He had held it by fealty and homage, and that they might not deliuer it vp vntill the king were 14. yeares old complete: but the tutors ſought him by ſo many meanes, and made him ſuch promiſes, that he ſhould be recompenced for his fathers eſtates, which had beene giuen to others, as in the end he deli-F uered the place into their hands, for the which he was in effect recompenced. They had promiſed him the gouernement of Ledeſma, which did belong to the Counteſſe of Albuquerque but they of the place refuſing him, for that they did not truſt him, he was otherwiſe prouided for. The Court remaining at Zamora, the Archb. weary of too much reſt, retired himſelfe into his Biſhoprick, being not greatly affected to the kings ſeruice, but to take part and adhere wholy to the Duke of Benauent, he now gaue them greater cauſe to

31 Caſtile.

ſuſpect him, for that he grew in choller with them of the Councell vppon his departure, A preſſing them to giue the Duke of Benauent contentment, and to pay him the Arrerages of his penſions: and that they ſhould alſo giue ſatisfaction to D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça, touching the Admiralty which he demanded, and to *Iohn* of Velaſco, for the Office of Lord Chamberlaine to the King, and to Don *Iohn Alphonſo de la Cerde*, touching the place of Lord Steward to the Infant D. *Fernand*, which they had taken from him, to giue it to *Pero Suarez* of Quignones. Whereunto they anſwered mildly, that it was fitte ſuch men ſhould be ſatisfied, and that they would reſolue, according to iuſtice and equity, and as their dignitie required. Beſides theſe importunities, and other preſumptions, it was reported, that he had receiued the twentith penny of all merchandize and goods which had B beene ſold within the Realme, with other vnlawfull impoſitions: whereuppon the Gouernors gaue order to ſtay him, and Don *Iohn* of Velaſco. Whereupon they were commanded to deliuer vnto the King or his Captaines, the caſtles which they held: ſo as the Arch-biſhop was conſtrayned, notwithſtanding any excuſes, and allegations of his good ſeruice, to diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of the caſtles of Talauera, Vzeda, and Alcala the old, and *Iohn* of Velaſco of that of Arnedo. For the Arch-biſhops impriſonment there was a generall interdiction in the Dioceſſes of Zamora, Palence, & Salamanca, and in the court.

Archb. of Toledo and D. Iohn of Velaſco detayned priſoners in Court.

Such things paſt in Caſtile, during the minoritie of the King D. *Henry*, which did much grieue the confederate Princes their allyes, to ſee a young Prince ſo ill intreated by his ambitious ſubiects; among which, the moſt remarkable were the great Prelates of the C Realme. Among others, *Charles* the ſixth, the French king, did the office of a Chriſtian Prince and friend, ſending this yeare 1393. a ſollemne ambaſſage to the king of Caſtile, the which came to Toro, where as the Court then remayned, to condole for the diſobedience of his ſubiects, eſpecially of the Noblemen, offering the king, in their Maſters name, all ayde and ſupport of the forces of France, if he had need. The French did alſo write to euery one of the Gouernors, to the chiefe Noblemen of Caſtile, and to the principall townes, exhorting them by the duty which they did owe vnto God, & to the crown of Caſtile, to obey their King, and to ſeeke the peace and quiet of the realme. This ambaſſage was receiued, heard, and ſent backe with great honor, as it was fit.

To draw the Duke of Benauent to the kings ſeruice, the Arch-biſhop of S. *Iames* went D to him being at Tordehumes, a place belonging to the duke, hauing a ſafe-conduct from D. *Alphonſo Henriques* of Caſtile, ſon to the deceaſed D. *Frederic*, Maſter of S. *Iames*. This Archb. wrought in ſuch ſort, as he reclaymed the duke, promiſing him in the kings name a confirmation of his annuall penſion, and to giue him 70000. thouſand frankes of gold, to aduance him to ſome good marriage, ſo as he would leaue the allyance of Portugal, and moreouer, the King would pardon him all that was paſt. After which the Duke came to Burgos to the king, without any diſtruſt, yea he refuſed a ſon of D. *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, and one of D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, with the Arch-biſhoppes nephew, which were offered vnto him for hoſtages: at which his free diſpoſition the king and the whole court did much reioyce. Being at Burgos, the truce concluded with Portugal was E proclaymed, as it had beene in like manner in Lisbone: thither came Ambaſſadours from the Duke of Lancaſter, to demand two yeares arrerages of the penſion which the deceaſed king D. *Iohn* had granted to the ſayd Duke, and to the Dutcheſſe D. *Conſtance* his wife, being foure-ſcore thouſand Frankes of gold, the which was willingly payed, and therefore the Duke did quit the intereſt which hee pretended, for want of due payment.

35 *Maiority of D. Henry king of Caſtile.*

The King Don *Henry* growing to the age of fourteene yeares, when as hee ſhould take vppon him the gouernement of the Realme, being riper of iudgement then of yeares, he did anticipate three moneths to free himſelfe of his tutors: and therefore hauing called the Noblemen and Prelats which did freely frequent the Court, with the Deputies of the townes, in the preſence of D. *Domingo* Biſhop of S. Ponce, Legat to Pope *Clement*, hee F declared that from thence forth he tooke the gouernement of his realmes into his owne hands: wherfore none of them ſhould any more ſtile themſelues Tutors, nor meddle with the gouernment, vnleſſe they were called.

In this aſſembly the Legate was a meanes to haue the Arch-biſhop of Toledo reſtored to thoſe places and Caſtles which had beene before violently taken from him, and the inter-

A interdiction of the three aboue-named Biſhopprickes was taken away, the king making great ſubmiſſions: There they alſo treated to reforme many diſorders within the Realm, by reaſon that Biſhopprickes and other ſpirituall liuings were giuen to ſtrangers, whereas they ſhould be employed to entertaine youth at ſchoole, or to reward men of merit, and ſuch as were borne in the Country, which was the cauſe that Spaniards did not ſtudie, for want of meanes, whereby the Realme was much damnified, not onely in ſpiritual matters, but alſo in temporall. The redreſſe muſt come chiefly from the Pope, who (beeing importuned by ſuch as had bin preferred to benefices, and by letters of fauor from forraine Princes) decreed, that they ſhould enioy them, but after their deaths none ſhould be preferred to any benefice in Caſtile and Leon, if he were not borne in the coun-

Orders for the giuing of ſpirituall liuings.

B trie. In this buſineſſe the king carried himſelfe afterwards as he pleaſed. Beeing free from his Gouernors, hee had many waighty affaires, eſpecially for the confirmation of the peace made with the Duke of Lancaſter, and for the truce newly concluded with the king of Portugal, there beeing a reſeruation in both treaties of a confirmation when he ſhould come to the full age of fourteene yeares. And moreouer, it did behooue him to ſend an ambaſſage into France, to renew the League with king *Charles* the ſixth. Beſides, the ordinarie expences in the Gouernours time amounted to fiue and thirtie millions of maraiidis then currant mony, ſo as it was needfull to cut off this exceſſiue charge: for theſe conſiderations and others, he called a generall aſſembly of the Eſtates at Madrid. Whileſt that they aſſembled, he paſſed into Biſcay, where hee had not beene ſince his com-

C ming to the Crowne.

The Companies and commonalties of the countrie, at his comming aſſembled in the field of Arechaualaga, according to their vſuall manner, demanding from the king a confirmation of their auncient liberties, rights, and priuiledges, the which he granted. Moreouer, they deſired to bee freed from all royall Prerogatiues which had beene impoſed in that Prouince, ſince the death of King *Iohn*, and that he ſhould confirme the new ſocieties erected among them, for the puniſhment of malefactors: and hee did alſo grant the combate as it was vſed among Gentlemen in Caſtile: of all which things he granted then full power with the aduice of his Councell. There the King was receiued for the Lord of Biſcay, where hauing kiſſed his hands, he was led to the church in the towne of Larrabe-

Demands made by them of Biſcay to the king of Caſtile.

D çua, where according to the cuſtome of his Predeceſſors Lords of Biſcay, hee tooke an oath vpon the altar to maintaine the rights of the countrie. Beeing afterwards come to Guernica, ſome Biſcayens preſented a petition vnto him, to haue all crimes which had beene committed in the country ſince the death of King *Iohn* pardoned, from the which hee was diſſwaded by the Noblemen of his Councell, that loued iuſtice to auoyd the pernicious conſequence thereof. Hee did alſo ſweare at Berneo, in Saint Euſemia's church, to maintaine the freedomes and liberties of that Town, but not ſo amply as they deſired. Beeing returned to Guernica, after much diſputation touching the combate, which ſome demanded, and others denyed, he granted it by pluralitie of voyces, and then was this

E manner of challenge brought into Biſcay, the King beeing ſet vnder a tree, in the vſuall place, and after the accuſtomed manner. Then hee returned by Durango and Victoria to Burgos, and from thence to Madrid, where the Eſtates aſſembled.

This yeare ſome Biſcayns and Guipuſcoans, armed certaine ſhippes at Seuile, at their owne coſt and charge, to ſeeke their fortunes at ſea, and came to one of the Ilands of the Canaries, called Lançarote, where beeing landed, they made prey of all they found, againſt whome the Ilanders with their King gathered together, and came to encounter them, but the Biſcayns had the vpper hand: they ſlue many of their enemies, and caried away an hundred and ſeuenty priſoners, with the King and Queene of the Iland: hauing well obſerued theſe Ilands, with the number, greatneſſe and ſytuation, they returned into

33

Diſcouery of the Canaries.

F Spaine with great ſtore of hydes, wax, and other things, whereof thoſe Ilands abound. The king D. *Henry* was very ioyfull of this exploit, and from that time challenged a right of propriety in the Ilands of the Canaries, which they hold to be the ancient fortunat Ilands, whereof he afterwards gaue the conqueſt to a French Gentleman, called *Iohn* of Betancourt, reſeruing the fealty and homage thereof vnto his Soueraignetie.

In the aſſembly of the Eſtates held at Madrid, the Kings majoritie was confirmed, who

37 *King of Caſtils maiority approued by the Eſtates.*

alſo did auow whatſoeuer his Gouernors had done. The neceſſities propounded for the payment of great yearely ſummes, as well for the treaties of peace, payment of ſouldiers, ordinarie penſions giuen to the Princes and Noblemen of the Realme: as alſo for the entertaynment of the Kings houſe, the Eſtates made a free offer of a contribution: yet they beſought him to cut off his ſuperfluous gifts and penſions; and to cauſe the militarie orders to be obſerued: for of 4000. Lances which were in pay, it was manifeſt there were not 2000. A

They let him vnderſtand, that the reuenues of the Crowne beeing well husbanded, were great and ſufficient for all expences. They moreouer beſought him to diſpoſe of his affaires by the aduice of men of iudgement and experienced in the gouernement of the Realme. The king thanked them for their good aduice, promiſing to order all things according to right and equity. And for proofe, he cut off many penſions, and reuoked the offices and gifts for life, out of the reuenues, and other things ordained and aſſigned by his Gouernors, eſpecially to D. *Leonora* his Aunt, Queene of Nauar, notwithſtanding that ſome were confirmed by the meanes of his fauorites. He gaue to the Duke of Benauent a penſion of an 150000. marauidis onely: he diſanulled all leagues, aſſociations and homages done, by reaſon of the precedent troubles, and cauſed an abſolution to be publiſhed by the Legate, with Apoſtolicke authoritie of all oathes which had beene formerly taken in that regard. B

During this aſſembly the marriage of the Infant D. *Fernand*, the kings brother, and of D. *Leonora* Counteſſe of Albuquerque, which had beene kept ſecret vntill that time, was publiſhed, and a preſent promiſe made, and then they began to call her Infanta: ſhe was couſin, one degree aboue her husband: for D. *Sancho* her father, and the king D. *Henry* the ſecond, Grandfather to this D. *Fernand*, were brethren: ſhee raigned with her husband in Arragon. The Eſtates beeing diſſolued, the king being come to Illeſca, the Archbiſhop of Toledo came thither vnto him, and was graciouſly receiued: but D. *Frederic* Duke of Benauent, beeing diſcontented for that they had cut off part of his penſions and gifts, retired himſelfe about Leon, where he violently ſeazed vpon the Kings mony, and the reuenues of the Infant D. *Fernand*: whereof the king being aduertiſed, he ſent a commandement vnto him to forbeare thoſe courſes, and that he wold giue order to his Treaſurers to pay him that which was in equitie due vnto him: whereof he made no great accompt, but made ſhew to treate a new league, and confederacies with the Queen of Nauarre his ſiſter, D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon his brother, and D. *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara his couſin: to whom the King ſent *Garci Gonçales* of Herera, his Marſhal, eſpecially to the Queene of Nauarre his Aunt, beeing in the caſtle of Roa with her daughters, intreating her inſtantly to forbeare thoſe tumults. *Garci Gonçales* of Herera told the Duke of Benauent, that he would proceed criminally againſt him, and others, if they continued to trouble the Realme, and would not be ſatisfied with that which had beene decreed by the Eſtates at Madrid, for it was impoſſible to pay them that which the Gouernors had granted them before. C D E

Yet hee offered to the Queene Donna *Leonora*, beſides the Decrees of the Eſtates, an 100000. marauidis, for the entertaynment of her daughters. The Duke ſought to excuſe himſelfe, ſaying, that the king had beene ill informed by his enemies, but if it pleaſed him to giue him for aſſurance the ſonne of *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, one of *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, and one of *Ruy Lopes* of Aualoz, hee would willingly come to Court, to giue an accompt of his actions, and to purge himſelfe of the blame which was layed vpon him: The Marſhall promiſed, and returning to the Court, hee met with the Arch-biſhoppe of Saint Iames in Amuſco, who vppon a counterfeit excuſe retired himſelfe from the Court, pretending to be ſicke, and therefore could not come: but in effect it was, for that hee ſaw the Arch-biſhop of Toledo beganne to gouerne all, and to be in greater fauour then before. F

35. Nauarre.

The King of Nauarre hearing that his wife had giuen cauſe to the King Don *Henry* to be diſcontented with her, by reaſon of her turbulent practiſes in Caſtile, hee thought it a fit and conuenient meanes to draw her into Nauarre, which ſhee did contradict all ſhee could: whereuppon he ſent his Ambaſſadours to the King Don *Henry* which were

Martin

A *Martin Ayuar* Gouernor of Tudele, and a Doctor, who found the court at Alcala of Henares: They intreated the King to perſwade the Queene his aunt to diſpoſe her ſelfe to come into Nauarre to liue with her husband, as duty required: but if ſhee could not be drawne vnto it, that hee would interpoſe his authority, that the Infants his daughters might be deliuered vnto them, to carry them to the King their father, who would hold it for a great fauor. The king D. *Henry* was very deſirous ſhe ſhould retire her ſelf, being but a fire-brand to kindle combuſtions in Caſtile: but being of a milde and gentle diſpoſition, he could not reſolue to force her: wherefore he anſwered the Ambaſſadors, that his will was to pleaſe the King their maiſter, both in this and in all other things, and that hee would doe what he might to perſwade his aunt to returne; ſo as he ſent a meſſenger vn- *King of Nauar ſends for his wife.*
B to her, with perſwaſiue letters: but ſhee made anſwere touching that which concerned her ſelfe, as ſhee had done often before. In regard of her children, ſhee ſaid, that ſeeing ſhe had ſent two vnto the father, they might well leaue her the other two, for her conſolation. The King hearing this anſwere, willed the Ambaſſadors to returne, and to aſſure the King of Nauarre, on his behalfe, that hee would ſo deale, as the Queene his wife ſhould returne vnto him; deſyring him not to take it in ill part, if hee firſt tried all milde courſes, and befitting Princes ſo neerely allied: or at the leaſt, if ſhee continued obſtinate, he would ſend him his daughters. The Ambaſſadors after they had renued the old league betwixt the two Princes, in the which many great men of Caſtile entred, they returned into Nauarre, to giue an account vnto the King of their negotiation.

C The Marſhal *Garci Gonçales* of Herera, who returned from the Queene of Nauarre, Caſtille.
Duke of Benauent and others, reported vnto the King that the Duke and Queene had met at Roa, aud that they complained of his fauorits, which were, D. *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça his Lord Steward, D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga Iuſtice Major, and *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, his Lord Chamberlaine: and ſoone after the King was aduertiſed that the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames had ioyned with the Duke, and that they treated a league betwixt *League treated to the preiudice of the king of Caſtile.*
them, the Earle of Gijon, the Infants of Portugal, and others, the which did much trouble him. The Ambaſſadors of Nauarre ſtaied not long before they returned into Caſtile, which were the ſame Gouernor of Tudele, and the Biſhop of Hueſca, a Frenchman borne.

D The King hauing paſt the mountaines was come to Vailledolit, where he was againe, in the King of Nauarres behalfe, preſt with his promiſe, wherevpon hee tooke two months reſpight to ſend the Queen and her daughters, or at the leaſt the Infantas, without any futher delay: and hauing propounded it in councell what aſſurance the Queene of Nauarre might with reaſon demand of her husband, they gaue their opinions, that the King D. *Charles*, with ſome of the chiefe Knights, & Deputies of the cities and towns of Nauarre ſwearing that ſhe ſhould be wel and honourably intreated, ſhe had no cauſe to refuſe to goe vnto her husband. Hee ſent a gentlemen with the Ambaſſadors of Nauarre, to let the King their maiſter vnderſtand what had beene thought fit in *Reſolution for the Queene of Nauarres returne to her husband.*
E councell, and to receiue the oth. To preuent the tumultuous troubles in Caſtile, and to breake the league which the aboue named Noblemen with the Queene Donna *Leonora* had plotted, the King D. *Henry* drew together two thouſand Launces, beeing newly incenſed by the refuſall which D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon had made to ſweare the truce made with Portugal, it being concluded that certaine prelats and noblemen of Caſtile ſhould ſweare it, and ſigne it with the King: the Earle excuſing himſelfe for that he had married a wife of the bloud of Portugal, to whom there had beene certaine places and other things promiſed by the treaty of marriage, which had not beene kept: the like refuſall was made by D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, ſaying, the truce had beene made without his priuity, whereof the Ambaſſador of Portugal, being ſent
F to that end into Caſtile tooke an act. For this cauſe, and other ſignes tending to open rebellion, the King armed, and ſent D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, to the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, to know his intent, and what cauſe he had to complaine: The Archbiſhop anſwered, that theſe tumults grew, for that they had cut off theſe Noblemens penſions, and confirmed them to others: and that there was no better meanes of peace, then to giue contentment to the duke and the reſt. Don *Diego Lopes* aduiſed him to come

to

to court, to giue his opinion touching theſe things, but hee anſwered, that hee would not come, whileſt the Archbiſhop of Toledo was in court. A

36. Moores. With theſe inteſtine troubles, the King D. *Henry* was almoſt drawn into an vnſeaſonable warre, with the Moores of Granado, by the vaine ouerweening of D. *Martin Inanes* of Barbuda, maiſter of the Alcantara, a Portugal borne, who being entred into quarrell with *Ioſeph* King of Granado, touching religion, would make triall of the truth of Chriſtian religion by armes; of his perſon againſt the King of Granado, or of a hundred Chriſtian Knights againſt two hundred Moores, or more, to that proportion, vnto a thouſand. The King being aduertiſed of this other tumult, hee commanded the maiſter by his letters not to enter into this action; for that hee would not by any meanes haue the truce broken with the Moores: but the maiſter not regarding the Kings prohibition, marched to Cordoua, with three hundred Launces, and one thouſand foote, hauing a croſſe for his Enſigne. They of Cordoua, let him know that he ſhould not vndertake this enterpriſe, which was contrary to the Kings will and ſeruice, and the peace of the country, giuing him many examples of their ruine which haue cauſed vnneceſſary war: but he gaue more credit to an Hermit, called *Iohn del Sayo*, who had aſſured him that hee ſhould haue the victory, wiſhing him not to giue eare to any that ſaid the contrary: Moreouer being much giuen to Aſtronomy, he thought he had foreſeene ſomething by the ſtarres. The wiſeſt men of Cordoua, namely D. *Alphonſo* and D. *Diego*, Lords of Aguilar, ſeeing that no reaſons could preuaile with the maiſter, would haue ſtopped his paſſage at the city bridge: but he was ſo fauoured by the ſuperſtitious multitude, vnder collour that it was diſhonourable to hinder an enterpriſe of the croſſe againſt Infidels: ſo as he not only paſt, but ſo augmented his troupes, as being come to Alcala the Royal, he had aboue fiue thouſand foote. At Alcala D. *Alphonſo Fernandes* of Cordoua Lord of Aguilar, and his brother D. *Diego Fernandes*, came vnto him, who did admoniſh him againe, adding withall, that euery one would hold it indiſcreetly done of him, who was reputed a wiſe Knight, and Maiſter of the Order of Alcantara, to goe and defie the King of Granado, who was ſo neere, as with in leſſe then two daies hee might incounter him with two hundred thouſand foote, and fifty thouſand horſe, and that without doubt, beſides the daunger and hurt hee might doe vnto the realme, by the breach of the truce, and defeat of his men, he ſhould blemiſh his honour, and draw vpon himſelfe perpetuall blame, amongſt all men that profeſſed armes as a raſh and ill aduiſed captaine: but finding him obſtinate, and pretending that it would be held cowardiſe and baſeneſſe in him, if hauing paſt ſo farre, hee ſhould now returne: whereupon they wiſhed him to lead his men to the riuer of Açores, which makes the limit betwixt Granado and Caſtile, and there attend the King of Granado a day or two: if hee appeered, hee ſhould either fight with him body to body, or elſe a hundred Chriſtians againſt two hundred Moores, as they agreed: But if the Moores came not to the confines, hee ſhould bring backe his troupes, and ſo hee ſhould preſerue his honour and reputation. The Maiſter who was confirmed in his deſire to fight with the Moores, beeing moreouer incenſed for that the Granadins had intreated two Gentlemen ignominiouſly, whom hee had ſent vnto their King, to carry this challenge; hee anſwered brauely to theſe Knights, that hee thanked them for their good aduice, but he was reſolued not to ſtay, vntill hee ſaw the port of Eluira at the city of Granado, or fight with the Moores, if hee met them vpon the way, & that he did hope to let the world ſee a miracle within few daies. Thus he entred vnfortunatly into the country of Granado, and did aſſault the tower of Excla, where hee was hurt in the hand, and neere vnto him were three of his men ſlaine by the defendants, whereas hee beganne to bee amazed, for the Hermit which followed him had told him, that he ſhould not looſe a man, and therefore hee demaunded of him what it ment, that they had already ſlaine three of his men, to whom the Hermit anſwered, that it was ment, in battaile, and not at the ſeege of places, the which the Maiſter beleeued, as aſſayling the tower more furiouſly then before.

B

C

Great power of the realme of Granado.

D

Açores the bounds betwixt Granado and Caſtile.

E

Hermit an Impoſtor.

F

The King of Granado ſeeing the raſhneſſe of this vnaduiſed Maiſter of the Order of Alcantara, ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of Caſtile, to complaine of the breach of the truce made betwixt them, and to demaund if it were by his commandement or not.

On

A On the other ſide hee aſſembled a good number of horſe and foote, with the which hee marched towards the fronter, he ſurprized the maiſter, who was ill aduertiſed, and charged him, with his troupes ſo furiouſly, as without giuing them time to arme, hee ſlue the maiſter, and all his horſemen, with moſt of his footmen, of the which about fifteene hundred ſaued themſelues by flight. The maiſter D. *Martin Iuanes* cauſed himſelfe to bee ſurnamed *Without feare*, and there is ſuch an Inſcription found vpon his tombe in Alcantara, whether his body was carried by the permiſſion of the King of Granado. The King of Caſtile had newes of this defeat being in the Monaſtery of Santa Maria of Pelayos, neere vnto the towne of Saint Martin de val d' Egliſe, where in a manner at the
B ſame time arriued the Ambaſſadors from the King of Granado, who made their complaint, and demaunded if the maiſter of Alcantara were entred in hoſtile manner into Granado, by his commandement, and what his pleaſure was for the entertayning of the truce. The King anſwered, that what the maiſter had done did much diſpleaſe him, and that he had forbidden him by his letters to vndertake ſuch quarrels, it auayling nothing to countenance religion by the breach of the truce, which he deſired to entertaine with the King of Granado his friend: but he had not obayed him, for the which he had beene puniſhed, if God by his iuſt iudgement had not abandoned him to bee ſlaine by the Moores, and his men defeated, as they had well deſerued, whereof he was newly aduertiſed, to his great content. The Meſſengers were ſent backe with this anſwere, the which
C did increaſe the ioy which the Mooriſh King conceiued for his victory, by the aſſurance which they brought him of the continuance of the truce betwixt Granado and Caſtile.

Ambaſſage from the king of Granado to the King of Caſtile.

This trouble vpon the Moores frontier, was a pretext for the Duke of Benauent and other of the confederates to arme, and to fortefie themſelues, euery one in his quarter, ſaying, it was to be ready at the Kings commandement, if the Moores did enter into Andaluſia. The King did cauſe D. *Fernand Roderiques* of Villalobos, to bee choſen maiſter of the Knights of Alcantara, in the place of the deceaſed *Barbuda*. D. *Laurence Suarez* of Figueroa maiſter of Saint Iames, vnderſtood of this route in Ocagne, where he was, and came preſently to the King being at Pelayos; he aduiſed him to haue his forces in
D aredineſſe for all euents, aſſuring him that he ſhould eaſily ſuppreſſe the Duke of Benauent and the Earles of Gijon and Tranſtamara, with other Malcontents, the which hee ſhould not much regard, but rather be carefull of the Mooriſh warres, if they grew hot. And to aſſure the frontier of Andaluſia it was expedient that he were ſent to Villa Real, with the Archbiſhop of Toledo, to ioyne with the Maiſter of the Calatraua, and that the King ſhould come to Toledo: promiſing moreouer that he would perſwade D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon Marquis of Villena to come and doe him ſeruice. The King beleeued this councell, and came to Toledo, whether D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga came vnto him, and gaue an account of the voiage which hee had made vnto D. *Iohn Garcia Manrique* Archbiſhop of Saint Iames: but the King being otherwiſe aduertiſed of the diſobedience of the Duke of Benauent, and of his confederats, and how they continually
E leauied men, he came to Illeſca, being followed by the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Maiſter of Saint Iames, the Earle of Niebla, D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça Admirall, *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça Lord Steward, *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga chiefe Iuſtice, *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos Chamberlaine, and other Noblemen, with about ſeuenteene hundred Launces.

37
D. Henry reduceth the rebels to his obedience.

Heere D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon Marquis of Villena, who had not approched neere the court all the Kings reigne, came and kiſt his hands, being accompanied with a hundred Knights and Squiers of the country of Valencia, which he had aduentured through the abſence of the Earle of Tranſtamara his competitor, who was in diſgrace with the King D. *Henry*. The Marquis hauing purged himſelfe of ſuch things as might bee ob-
F iected againſt him, and made many excuſes, for his not comming to court, he made ſute to be reſtored to his Office of Conſtable of Caſtile, which had beene taken from him by the Gouernors, to conferre it vpon D. *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara, to the preiudice of his honour and dignity, to whom the King gaue a gratious anſwere, aſſuring him that he would order his affaires with all equity and Iuſtice: then he intreated him to paſſe the mountaines and to come with him into Caſtile the Old, but the Marquis excuſed him ſelfe,

D. Alphonſo of Arragon receiued gratiouſly by the king of Caſtile.

ſelfe, ſaying, that he was not come ſo well appointed as he deſired to doe him ſeruice, A
but if he gaue him meanes he would returne willingly to ſerue him. So he returned into his country, not well ſatisfied with the King D. *Henry*, who made no account to reſtore him to his office of Conſtable, but ſoone after, by the aduice of the Archbiſhop of Toledo, he tooke from him the title of Marquis of Villena, for that it ſeemed not ſafe, nor profitable for the Eſtate of Caſtile, that a Marquiſate frontering vpon a forraine Realme, ſhould remaine in the hands of a Knight who had ſo ſtrict an alliance as the Marquis D. *Alphonſo* had with the Kings and Realme of Arragon. From Illeſca the King paſt to Vailledolit, where he was aduertiſed that the duke of Benauent was at Ciſneros with ſix hundred Launces, and two thouſand foote; and the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames in Amuſco, with other ſix hundred Launces and one thouſand foote. Many were B
of opinion that the Kings forces ſhould be led againſt them, to fight with them: but the ſounder iudgment diſſwaded al fighting, if it were poſſible, for the realm ſhould looſe of either ſide, beſides the hazard where into the King ſhould thruſt both his Eſtate and life, by a battaile, to the which a Prince muſt neuer come againſt his ſubiects, vnleſſe he be forced by ineuitable neceſſity. This aduice preuailed, and there were ſent vnto the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, and at his requeſt, *Iohn Hurtado*, and *Diego Lopes* of Mendoça to Calabaçanos, with whom they wrought ſo, as they drew him to court vpon aſſurance, whereas the Archbiſhop did alſo obtaine a ſafe-conduit for the Duke of Benauent, to whom he went himſelfe, and brought him to court. The duke being in the Kings preſence, C
ſought to free himſelfe of the accuſations which were laied againſt him. Firſt he maintayned that he had taken none of the Kings reuenues within his iuriſdiction, but what was due vnto him, the which ſhould not be held ſo great a crime, ſeeing that many prelats and others of leſſe quallity then himſelfe, had often vſed it, and were not drawn into queſtiõ. As for the men of war which he had gathered together, he had therein followed the general command, for feare of war with the Moores, after the defeat of the maiſter of Alcantara: and if he had beene at Roa, to ſee the Queene of Nauarre his ſiſter, it was not preiudicial to the realm, nor contrary to the Kings ſeruice. Theſe excuſes were held neither good nor true by the king; who notwithſtanding told him, that he would willingly forget al that was paſt, ſo as he would from thrence-forth liue in peace and obedience, D
propounding vnto him theſe conditions. That if it were found he had leauied more money then had beene aſſigned him at the laſt Eſtates held at Madrid, he ſhould reſtore it vnto the king, or to ſuch as it did belong: that he ſhould cauſe D. *Pedro* to come to court, whom the King pardoned, for that which did concerne him, reſtoring to others their intereſts: that the duke ſhould giue his two baſe ſonnes in hoſtage, and ſhould leaue in depoſito the caſtles of Medina del Rioſecco, and Tordehumos for foure yeeres; with this clauſe that if he raiſed any tumults, thoſe places ſhould come vnto the King: That if he ſhold fal from the Kings ſeruice, certain Knights of his houſhold ſhold promiſe & ſwear to turne vnto the kings party: that the penſion of an hundred & 15. thouſand Marauidis, graunted vnto the Duke at the Eſtates at Madrid, ſhould be augmented to fiue hundred E
thouſand: that for the ſeuenty thouſand frankes of gold which had beene promiſed him for his marriage, the King gaue him the reuenues of Valence de Campo, the which *Iohn* of Portugal had till then enioyed, and now he tooke it from him, for that hee had beene a practiſer and confederat againſt his Eſtate. Theſe things being thus ordred, the duke and the Archbiſhop went from court, and being come to Ciſneros, the duke ratefied all, and diſmiſt his troupes, retayning only a hundred launces for the Kings ſeruice.

Duke of Benauent comes to court, and ſeekes to purge himſelfe.

conditions propounded to the Duke of Benauent.

D Pedro Earle of Tranſtamara comes to court.

Within few daies after D. *Alphonſo Henriques* came vnto the King being at Vailledolit, with a letter of credit from the Conſtable D. *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara his brother, telling the King, that if it pleaſed him to giue ſome aſſurance vnto the Earle, hee would come to court: wherevpon the King aſſured him, and hee came preſently, freeing himſelfe of many things whereof he had beene accuſed: then he complained of D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, who had forcebly taken from him the towne of Paredes of Naua, which the deceaſed King D. *Iohn* had giuen him in exchange for the towne of Alua de Tormes, which he had taken from him, to giue it to D. *Iohn* Infant of Portugal. F

The King gaue the Conſtable a good reception, promiſing to prouide for all things according

A according vnto Iuſtice: and preſently he went in perſon to Paredes of Naua, which place he deliuered into the hands of *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos his Lord Chamberlaine, and did ſommon his vncle D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, to appeere within threeſcore daies, and to produce what right he had to this place, wherevpon Iuſtice ſhould be done him: but if he did not appeere, it ſhould be adiudged to D. *Pedro*. The King did alſo preſſe him to ſweare the Articles of the truce of Portugal, as other Noblemen, Prelats and Knights had done according to the capitulation; the which the Earle would not doe, but ſought excuſes and euaſions, wherewith the King was very much diſcontented. This was a matter of great importance, for the Marquis of Villena and the Earle of Gijon refuſing to ſweare the Articles, the King of Portugal pretended that the truce was of no force,
B and that the hoſtages were forfeited vnto him: So as he refuſed the oth which the Marquis, after his refuſall, would haue taken when as hee came to court, ſaying, that the time prefixed for ſuch ratifications was paſt, wherefore they muſt capitulate a new.

During theſe troubles in Caſtile, the King of Nauarre did ſtill ſollicit his wiues returne or at the leaſt of his two daughters: and the King D. *Henry* had a great deſire to ſee her diſlodge, but he knew not how to ſend her honeſtly out of Caſtile: But ſhe her ſelfe prepared the way: for when as ſhee vnderſtood that the Duke of Benauent, and others of the league were reduced vnder the Kings obedience, fearing ſome ſurpriſe, ſhe procured D. *Pedro* the Conſtable to come to Roa, with two hundred Launces, and ſome footemen, and then ſeeing her ſelfe as it were aſſured, ſhee ſent vnto the King, to demaund aſ-
C ſurance to come to court, to iuſtifie her ſelfe: but the King thinking that the Duke of Benauent, the Conſtable, his aunt, and all they of the league in Generall, did ſmother in their breſts the ſame wils they had before, hee reſolued to puniſh them, one after an other; and therefore he cauſed them, that the Queene of Nauarre had ſent vnto him, to be ſtaied, and then being come to Burgos, he propounded in councell, what was to bee done. There were preſent the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the maiſters of Saint Iames and Calatraua, D. *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça the Admiral, D. *Iohn Hurtado*, D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, and others, whereof ſome came armed to councell, by the Kings commandement. D. *Frederic* Duke of Benauent came alſo, notwithſtanding that ſome of his friends had wiſhed him to retire, telling him that they ment to take him: as he entred into the
D place where the councell was kept, the King went forth, making ſhew that he would goe ſup, and ſpeaking aloude, that they muſt conſider what anſwere to giue to the Queene of Nauarre.

And ſoone after hauing ſent them word, that they ſhould ſpeedily diſpatch that which they had to doe, the Duke was taken priſoner, and put in the caſtle of Burgos, in the cuſtody of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, from whence hee was afterwards tranſported to Monreal, and in the end in the time of the King. D. *Iohn* to the caſtle of Almodouar del Rio neere vnto Cordoua, where he ended his daies. *D. Frederic Duke of Benauent a priſoner.*

This is that famous priſon of D. *Frederic* duke of Benauent, celebrated throughout all
E Spaine. This done the King ſent *Diego Peres Sarmiento* the Gouernor, to ſeize vpon all the Lands and goods, not onely of the Duke of Benauent, but alſo of the Conſtable D. *Pedro*, and by the ſame meanes he ſeized vpon the lands of his aunt. Donna *Leonora* Queene of Nauarre, and he himſelfe, being followed with ſome troupes, went to Roa (where ſhe was) to beſeege her, and take her: wherevpon the Conſtable who was with her, abandoned her, and went into Galicia, to prouide for his owne affaires. The Queene ſeeing her ſelfe forſaken, beganne to lament, filling all the caſtle of Roa with pittifull cries; and the more to mooue them to pitty, ſhe attired her ſelfe, her daughters and women in mourning weeds, and ſent her Confeſſor vnto the King, to know his pleaſure, ſeeing hee came in that manner with an army. The King gaue him ſome rea-
F ſons, and marched on to Valera, from whence he ſent Iohn *Hurtado* of Mendoça and *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos to the Queene, to whom (being full of teares, and with a mournfull habit and countenance) ſhe complained much of the King her Nephew, ſaying, that hee ſought to take away her goods; and demanded aſſurance to goe and ſpeake with him. The Inhabitants of Roa, carefull of their ſafeties, ſent to offer the place vnto the King, if it pleaſed him to receiue them as his owne, and not to alienate them any more, where-
with *Queene of Nauar diuorced.*

with the King was content: wherevpon they receiued the Archbiſhop of Toledo, *Iohn Hurtado, Diego Lopes* and *Ruy Lopes* with their followers, and ſoone after the King entred, to whom the Queene being come, they entred into a church, and there had much conference. In the end the King granted her the reuenues of Roa, Sepulueda, Mardrigal and Arcualo, retayning the Iuſtice vnto himſelfe and he commanded her to follow him to Vailledolit. A

Earle of Gijon ſeizeth vpon Oueido.

This buſineſſe being ended, the King marched towards Leon to make warre againſt his vncle D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon, who was in the Aſturia's, and had ſeized vpon the city of Oueido, which did belong vnto the King, the which he did fortefie, with his towne of Gijon, and other places. By the way hee had conference with the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, who was much mooued for the impriſonment of the Duke of Benauent: for he had come to court vpon his word and aſſurance. The King made him promiſe that he ſhould not enter into any league, yet the griefe hee had for the Dukes detention, made him forget all the affection he had had to the ſeruice of the crowne of Caſtile, which in the end he left, and retired into Portugal, making the Schiſme in the church his pretext, ſaying, that of his knowing the Pope raigning in Auignon was not lawfull, but he that held his ſeat at Rome: and for that the Portugals did adhere vnto him he retired into Portugal, where he obtained the Biſhoprike of Coimbra, and then the Archbiſhoprike of Braga, where he ended his daies. He was of the noble family of Manriques, a man of a ſmall ſtature, but of an actiue ſpirit, full of courrage, high minded, eloquent, liberall, apt to compound great mens quarrels, ambitious, and one that enuied the Archbiſhop of Toledo. D. *Pedro* of Tenorio, who was of a different humor; ſeuere, ſtatly, ambitious alſo, but he couered his ambition with modeſty, maintayning his dignity in ſuch ſort as he was reſpected and feared. He loſt in Caſtile the Archbiſhoprike of Saint Iames, the office of Chancellor to the King, with many other lyuings. The King in paſſing cauſed the caſtle of Manſilla to be razed, and vnited the towne (which had belonged vnto the Duke) vnto his demaines. He then ſent his men againſt Gijon, the which they did beſeege both by ſea and land. B C

Archbiſhop of S. Iames retires into Portugal.

His diſpoſition.

Being come to Leon, he made a declaration in a great aſſembly, in the chiefe church, of the rebellions and fellonies of the Earle D. *Alphonſo* his vncle, committed both againſt the King D. *Iohn* his father and himſelfe, the fauors he had done him ſince his inlargement by the Gouernors, and his Ingratitude, for the which he did confiſcate all his goods to the crowne, except the Siegneury of Noruegna, which he gaue to the church of Ouiedo, as had beene formerly ordained by the deceaſed King his father. The King hauing ſent ſome troupes towards Ouiedo the Earles men were chaſed away, and the King was maiſter of the city; ſo as the Earle was forced to ſhut himſelfe into Gijon, where he was ſtraightly beſeeged. One of his baſe ſonnes called D. *Hernando* holding the caſtle of Saint Martin, deliuered it vnto the King, and came vnto his ſeruice. The Conſtable D. *Pedro* Earle of Tranſtamara, ſeeing what had befallne the Duke of Benauent and the Queen of Nauar, and how they handled the Earl of Gijon, he found means to make his accord, and came vnto the King at the ſeege of Gijon, by whom he was well receiued, and had giuen him the townes of Pont Ferrada, Villafranca and Varçarcell, which had beene the Duke of Benauents. The yeere growing towards an end, and the country of Aſturia being barren, not able long to maintaine an army, the King reſolued to make ſome accord with the Earle, who ſought it: wherevpon they concluded theſe Articles. That the French King ſhould be Iudge of their controuerſies, who ſhould iudge within ſix monthes whether the Earle had offended, and if it were found that hee ſhould looſe his lands, he was content, if not, all ſhould be reſtored to him againe: That vntill a definitiue ſentence, the towne of Gijon ſhould remaine in the Earles hands, vpon condition it ſhould remaine in the Eſtate it was then, without adding any ſupply of victuals or men; and that the Earle ſhould not goe aboue three leagues from the town, if it were not into France, to ſollicit the iudgement of this cauſe. In which caſe the King ſhould giue him three hundred thouſand Marauidis, to defray his charges: That the Earles other Lands ſhould remaine in the poſſeſſion of D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, Lord Chamberlaine to the King, who ſhould hold them vpon his faith; and that the D E F

VVar againſt the Earle of Gijon.

Accord made with the Earle of Gijon.

Earle

A Earle ſhould giue his ſonne D. *Henry* for hoſtage. By this compoſition the Earle D. *Alphonſo* was freed from ſeege.

This yeere 1394. died D. *Iohn Alphonſo* of Guzman Earle of Niebla, a man of a peacefull ſpirit, yet was he ſomewhat ingaged in the troubles of Caſtile, leauing his ſonne D. *Henry* of Guzman heire to his great poſſeſſions. Pope *Clement* died alſo that yeere in Auignon, the ſixteenth yeere of his Popedome, in whoſe place the Cardinals of that ſeat, meaning to proceed to the election of an other, receiued letters from the Vniuerſity of Paris, to perſwade them to deferre it for ſome daies, to know the intention of Pope *Boniface* the ninth, reſyding at Rome, touching the vnion of the church; yet notwith-

B ſtanding they entred into the Conclaue nine daies after the funeral, and without regard of any letters written by the Vniuerſity, and King *Charles*, they gaue their voices, and withall made a proteſtation in writing, that the future Pope ſhould not hinder the rooting out of the Schiſme, and that he ſhould bee bound to giue ouer his dignity if neede were; they made choiſe of D. *Pedro de Luna*, carrying the title of Santa Maria in Coſmedin, a Cattelan and Doctor of the Canon law; a man of great authority, and well practiſed in worldly affaires, whom they called *Benedict* the thirteenth. The French King yeelding to that was done, ſent his Ambaſſadors to Auignon, to doe the accuſtomed homage to the new Pope: but beeing afterwards ſollicited by ſome of the Cardinals, who repented themſelues of *Benedicts* election, he ſought, by meanes of the proteſtation

C which had beene made, to force the Pope to quit his dignity, vnder pretext to reconcile the Schiſme: but *Benedict* was loth to leaue ſo ſweet a morcell, which ſo many of his order had gap'd after, reſiſting long, to the great preiudice of all Chriſtendome, and the French king did in vaine ſollicit by many Ambaſſages, D. *Henry* King of Caſtile, to ioyne with him, in the diſplacing of *Benedict* from his Popedome, whom the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon did alſo obey.

38 *Death of the Earle of Niebla.*

Death of Pope Clement at Auignon.

Election of Pedro de Luna to be Pope, called Benedict the 13.

The King D. *Henry* hauing proceeded, as we haue ſaid, againſt the chiefe authors of the troubles of his realme, he returned to Vailledolit, and knowing by good experience the diſpoſition of his aunt, whom he had brought with him, he reſolued to ſend her into Nauarre, to King *Charles* her husband, the which (notwithſtanding the Eſtate ſhee was

D in) ſhe did impugne by all meanes poſſible: wherefore the King fearing ſhe would ſteale away, and put her ſelfe into ſome place of ſtrength, which would be very troubleſome to take, he commanded the prior of Saint Iohn to ſet a gard about her lodging, and he himſelfe went to Tordeſillas. Then the Queene knew that ſhe muſt of force returne into Nauarre, without any other aſſurances then ſuch promiſes and othes as the King her husband had giuen, and ſeeing no euaſion, nor delay, ſhe ſent to intreat the King her Nephew to be well aduiſed what he did, in ſeeking to force her to returne into Nauarre: and ſeeing that it did concerne both her honour and life, ſhe intreated him to propound it to the graue and learned men of his councel, to reſolue what was fit for her to doe. The King was very well pleaſed herewith, and committed the buſineſſe to the Biſhops of Pa-

E lence and Zamora, by whoſe aduice it was concluded, that the Queene Donna *Leonora* ſhould returne to her husband, and that the King her Nephew ſhould accompany her to the frontiers of Nauarre, whereof ſhe was aduertiſed, that ſhe might diſpoſe her ſelfe to obay, but it was againſt her will: wherevpon the King returned to Vailledolit, and from thence they tooke their way towards Nauarre, hauing ſent the Archbiſhop of Toledo and him of Zamora, an Arragonois, and the biſhop of Albi a Frenchman, with others, to Tudele, to aduertiſe King *Charles* of his wiues comming and to take a new oth of him, to intreat her well and honourably. The Archbiſhop of Saragoſſa came to meet the Queene, being accompanied by many Knights of Nauarre, France and Arragon; to whom ſhe was deliuered, with her daughters, vpon the confines of Caſtile and Nauarre,

F to the great contentment of King *Henry*, to whom ſhe had beene chargeable many yeeres, by her turbulent and ambitious ſpirit. The King D. *Charles* did ſhew by the effects, that he was neuer ill-affected towards her; for he receiued her, with all that did accompany her, with great honour, and ſhewes of loue and ioy: he intreated her curteouſly, and honoured her as much as ſhe could deſire: commanding there ſhould be feaſts and bonfiers made throughout all the realme of Nauarre, by reaſon of her com-

39 Nauarre.

Queene of Nauarre ſent to her husband againſt her will.

ming. And for that they had not yet had any ſonne, he would haue the Eſtates of his realme(aſſembled to that end at Pampelone, ſome monthes after the Queenes returne) ſweare the Infanta's his daughters for lawfull heires of the realme, and of his other Eſtates, who ſhould ſucceed one after an other, vnto the laſt liuer. He cauſed his ſubiects to take this oth, as it was accuſtomed in Spaine, and to auoide warre and ſedition, whereof they had freſh examples in the neighbour countries of Arragon and Valencia. A

Arragon. D. *Iohn* King of Arragon, ſonne to D. *Pedro* the Cerimonious, hauing reigned nine yeeres and three monthes, went about that time into the Iſland of Majorca, whether he had beene drawne by the ſeditions of the Iſlanders, rayſed againſt the Iewes, which dwelt among them, whom they had ſlaine, and ſpoiled, after the manner of the Caſtillans and Arragonois, incenſed by a ſeditious Archdeacon, preaching at Seuile, with which miſchiefe all the townes of Spaine were in the end infected except Saragoſſa. The King hauing puniſhed the chiefe authors of theſe hatefull mutinies, in his returne, he was driuen by a ſtorme, to Cap de Cruz, about Ampurias, from whence being come to Caſtillon, he was ſurprized by ſodaine death; ſome hold that it was in chaſing the Wolfe in the woods of Foxa, others ſay, hee fell and bruzed his skull, in the yeere 1395. This Prince, as we haue formerly ſaid, had taken to wife a French Lady, called *Martha*, daughter to *Iames* Earle of Armaignac, who gouerned him quietly, by whom he had one only daughter called *Ioane*, married at the time of his death to *Mathew* of Caſtelbon, Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, which was the cauſe of much warre in Arragon. The Queene D. *Martha* being dead, ſoone after her deliuery, the King D. *Iohn* married Donna *Violant* daughter to the Duke of Bar, who brought him a ſonne, but of ſhort life, and lies interred at Saragoſſa, and afterwards a daughter, carrying the mothers name, and married in her time to *Lewis* duke of Aniou, ſonne to that *Lewis* which died in Italy, purſuing his intereſt to the realme of Naples. After the death of King *Iohn*, *Mathew* Earle of Foix, who had married his eldeſt daughter, pretended, according to the cuſtome practiſed in Spaine, that the crowne of Arragon did belong vnto his wife, and ſought all meanes to obtaine it: but the Arragonois would not then ſubiect themſelues vnder a ſtrange Prince, and reiecting the womans right, they did chooſe D. *Martin* for their king, who was brother to the deceaſed, and was then in Sicile. B C D

Death of D. Iohn King of Arragon. 1395.

The Arragonois reiect D. Ioane from the ſucceſſion and chooſe D. Martin.

Theſe quarrels ryſing from the ſucceſſion in Arragon, and the reiection of the heire of that realme, which happened ſoone after the returne of the Queene Donna *Leonora* into Nauarre, it mooued King *Charles* to take an oth of his ſubiects, that they ſhould maintaine the Realme to his eldeſt daughter, and ſucceſſiuely to the reſt.

The end of the ſeuenteenth Booke.

THE

THE EIGHTEENTH BOOKE
of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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17. D. Alphon 5.		

IN

A IN the reigne of King *Henry* the third, it often appeered how vaine the enterpriſes of bad ſubiects are againſt a vertuous and innocent Prince: for God did preſerue this poore pupill, from the ambitious rage of his Tutors, Princes, Prelats and great Lords of Caſtile, ruining them by their owne diſcord. And he did ſo much honour the royall Maieſty, as when as this young Prince had taken vpon him the gouernment of the realme, at the age of foureteene yeeres, he deliuered them into his hands, to puniſh them, as their obſtinate rebellion, and ingratitude had deſerued. Being freed (as we haue ſaid) of the Duke of Benauent, the Queene of Nauarre, and the Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, and hauing by their exam-
B ple reduced the Earle of Tranſtamara and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, to their duties: there onely remained D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Gijon his vncle, who was reduced to that extremity, as he was forced to vndergoe the cenſure of a ſtrange Prince, in a cauſe which concerned his honor, his goods and his liberty: the which he might haue enioyed with reputation, yea much augmented his dignity, if he had contained himſelfe with modeſty, in the fauor of D. *Henry* King of Caſtile his naturall Prince.

According to the accord made at the ſeege of Gijon, the King ſent his Ambaſſadors to the French King, to debate the cauſes he had to diſpoſſeſſe D. *Alphonſo*, who hauing ſtai- *Proceeding a-*
ed many daies in the court of France, the Earle of Gijon, nor his Attorney appearing; *gainſt the Earl*
and the time of the aſſignation being expired, they prepared for their returne, when they *of Gijon.*
C had newes that their aduerſe party was come to the coaſt of Brittaine, and was comming towards Paris: wherefore to giue more countenance to their cauſe, they attended. Being arriued, hee ſpake with King *Charles*, for his iuſtification, accuſing the King his Nephew, that he ſought to take his portion from him, lying in Aſturia, Leon and Caſtile, the which was aſigned him by the deceaſed King D. *Iohn* his brother, adding many other charges and exceſſe, wherevnto the Ambaſſadors anſwered pertinently, laying open the Earles ingratitude, rebellion and conſpiracy, againſt the King his Lord, and
D benefactor, who had drawne him out of priſon, and reſtored him to all his goods, the which King *Iohn* had iuſtly taken from him, adding therevnto penſions, Eſtates and honours; and accuſing him in particular of the violent vſurpation of the towne of Paredes of Naua, and other tyranicall actions done by him, hauing alſo refuſed to ſigne the truce of Portugal, with many other acts of contempt and fellony: concluding that hee ought to looſe the Earldome of Gijon, and to be wholy left to the diſcretion and will of the King his Lord; ſo as in the proofes of theſe crimes, exhibited by the Ambaſſadors, in defence of their Princes actions, hauing not any thing to reply publikely, he gaue the Lords of the French Kings councell ſecretly to vnderſtand, that the ill will which the King his Nephew bare him, incenſed by his bad councellors, who were corrupt and mercenary, proceeded from nothing elſe, but that hee had alwaies oppoſed himſelfe to the
E practiſes and ſecret intelligences which they had with the Engliſh, in league with whom they would draw the King of Caſtile, to the preiudice of the friendſhip and ancient alliance, which was betwixt the houſes of Caſtile and France: wherefore he intreated them to deale ſo with King *Charles*, as he would iudge fauorably of his cauſe, cauſing his Eſtates and Lands to be reſtored to him againe, promiſing, all his life time, to doe him good and loyal ſeruice.

The King deſirous to reconcile Princes that were neere in bloud, cauſed the Ambaſſadors to be treated with about a prorogation of the aſſignation; for they had proteſted that the time prefixt being expired through the Earles negligence and contempt, to whom the King their maiſter had cauſed three hundred thouſand marauidis to be deliuered, for the charges of his voiage, and to take from him all excuſe, that they could no more appeere before him, as before their Iudge: yet they ſaid, that ſeeing the King of
F Caſtile their Lord had ſubmitted himſelfe vnto his Iudgement, for the brotherly loue that was betwixt them, notwithſtanding that many of his councell had diſwaded him, holding it a diſparragement for the ſoueraigne Prince to contend with his vaſſall and ſubiects before a ſtrange Iudge, and out of his country and iuriſdiction.

They were of opinion that if the Earle Don *Alphonſo* did willingly deliuer the towne of Gijon vnto the King of Caſtile, and ſubmit himſelfe to his will and mercy,

that by his interceſſion the Earle ſhould obtaine a ſafe conduit and aſſurance to come into Caſtile, and ſo he ſhould treat of his affaires more profitably then by any other courſe. They withall made a requeſt vnto King *Charles* in the name of the King their Lord, that for the league which was betwixt the two Kings and realmes, he would be pleaſed to command D. *Alphonſo* to depart his country, which the French King could not refuſe, and therefore he cauſed notice to be giuen vnto the Earle, that he ſhould retire himſelfe, commanding all Gouernors of Prouinces, eſpecially of port towns, not to giue him any fauor or aide, wherefore he went away in poore eſtate, & kept himſelf ſome daies about Rochelle. The ſix monthes of truce concluded betwixt the King and him being many daies before expired, and yet the Ambaſſadors had not written any thing concerning the concluſion of this ſute, there were ſome troupes of horſe and foote ſent about Gijon, after which the King came with greater forces, both by land and ſea, the which did ſo preſſe the place, as the Conteſſe, Donna *Iſabella* of Portugal, yeelded it, compounding for her life and liberty, and of ſome Knights that were within it, and the deliuery of her ſonne D. *Henry*, whom the King held in hoſtage. In the meane time letters came out of France, from the Ambaſſadors, contayning what had paſt in this cauſe, wherewith the King was wel ſatisfied. The miſerable Counteſſe *Iſabella*, daughter to D. *Fernand* King of Portugal, being deſtitute of all meanes, went into France to her husband D. *Alphonſo*, who was poore, and without any helpe or fauour, but from the Viconteſſe of Touars, in whoſe country he liued in the towne of Marant. After the taking of Gijon, the King went to Seuile to treat a truce with the Moores, being ſollicited by King *Mahumet* then reigning in Granado, the third after the death of *Mahumet* the old, who was bruted to haue poiſoned the King D. *Henry* the ſecond, and this was his ſucceſſion.

Gijon yeelded vnto the King, and the Earle diſpoſſeſt and baniſhed into France.

Mahumet Guadix the tenth King of Granado.

2 Granado.

MAhumet ſurnamed *Guadix*, after the death of *Mahumet* the Old his father, was ſetled King of Granado: he onely among all his predeceſſors, receiued this Scepter peaceably, and left it quiet at his death. During his reigne which beganne in the yeere 1379. and ended 1392. he had not any warre againſt Chriſtian Princes for all the time of his reigne, the Eſtate of Caſtile vnder King *Iohn* was ſo troubled with wars with D. *Fernand* King of Portugal, and afterwards with the maiſter of Auiz, and beſides with the Duke of Lancaſter, as the Realme of Granado felt no trouble. This *Mahumet Guadix* was ſonne in law to the King of Tunis, whoſe daughter, named *Hadiſa*, of the ancient linage of the *Almohages*, he had married when his father liued, by whom he had *Ioſeph* his ſucceſſor to the Realme, and yet he had other wiues, and many children by them, according to the liberty of the *Mahumetiſts*, in that point. During this calme, he fortefied many places in the Realme of Granado, eſpecially towards the frontier of Andaluſia; by the which the Kings of Caſtile were accuſtomed to inuade the Moores. Hee renued the truce betwixt the two realmes of Granado and Caſtile, with King *Iohn*, in the yeere 1390. the which was ſworne and confirmed by the Kings, and by their eldeſt ſonnes and ſucceſſors. The name of *Guadix* was giuen him, for the great loue he bare to the towne of Guadix, and that country, from his Infancy, the which he did frequent and beautifie with many things whileſt he liued. He died in peace, in the yeere of our Lord 1392. the thirteenth of his reigne.

Ioſeph the eleuenth, King of Granado.

TO him ſucceeded this King *Ioſeph*, of whom wee haue made mention, in the route with he gaue vnto *Martin Iaues* of Barbuda, maiſter of Alcantara. Before there was

A was ſome likelihood of warre, during the raigne of D.*Henry* the 3.king of Caſtile, but it was ſoone pacified,after an incounter neere vnto Lorca,wheras the Mores at the coming of this king *Ioſeph*, beginning to flie, were defeated with great loſſe. If the father had raigned peaceably, as well among his ſubiects,as with Chriſtian Princes his neighbours: his ſon gouerned with great difficulty & tumults: for beſides the quarels he had with the Chriſtians,(which ſucceeded reaſonably well) he was purſued by his owne ſonne, and in danger to looſe both Crowne and life. This bad ſonne called *Mahumet*, as his Grandfather was, thruſt on with ambition to raign,ioyned with a Nobleman among the Mores, called *Aben Mohaya*, who had long hated King *Ioſeph*. Theſe two together did what they could to put him from his royall ſeate, diſperſing among the Mores all the ſlanders they could inuent againſt him: but chiefly they did charge him with the vice of clemencie, which he had vſed to many Chriſtian captiues, hauing ſet them free without ranſome: an vndoubted argument, ſayd they, that he was a Chriſtian in heart. There were great combuſtions throughout all Granado, by meanes of this peruerſe ſonne and his confederats, the which were pacified by the mediation of an Ambaſſadour from the king of Maroc, of the linage of the Merins,who was then at Granado,for his Princes affaires,who wrought in ſuch ſort, as the ſonne and all that followed him, yeelded obedience vnto the king, to the good of the Realme, which for a time enioyed a deſired peace: for by reaſon of the troubles, many Chriſtians had imbraced theſe quarrels of the Moores, ioyning with either partie, but all tending to the ruine of their eſtate. Beſides this *Mahumet*, ſon to king *Ioſeph*, who made warre againſt him, Hiſtories make mention of three others: that is, *Ioſeph* the eldeſt, who raigned, but not immediatly after his father, *Cidi-Ali* and *Cidi-Amed*. After this pacification, and the defeate of the Maſter of Alcantara aboue-mentioned, king *Ioſeph* was more reſpected among his ſubiects,and gouerned his Realme in peace the remaynder of his dayes without any oppoſition: He kept friendſhip with the Princes of Spaine his neighbours, and with the Kings of Affricke, as much as he could: yet he grew into ſecret hatred with the king of Fez, whereof no man knowes the occaſion, neither did he diſcouer it, vntill he felt the poiſon, which this trecherous king ſent him: for among many rich preſents, there was a caſſocke of cloth of gold, of great price,but infected with this mortall poyſon, which did not worke ſodenly, but by degrees: an art much practiſed among thoſe damned creatures, to free themſelues of their enemies, or to make States and Principalities voyd, as their ambitious appetites did driue them. King *Ioſeph* hauing no cauſe, as he thought, to ſuſpect any ſuch treaſon from a king of his ſect, whome hee had not offended, receiued the preſents: but hauing one day put on the caſſocke, he felt himſelfe preſently poyſoned without remedie: the which was of ſuch force, as hauing depriued him of all his naturall faculties, his fleſh fell away by peece-meale, with great horhor to them that were about him, and amazement of the Phiſitions, which had him in cure, to whome the true cauſe of his infirmitie,nor the remedies were euer knowne. Thus this king died miſerably, hauing raigned about foure yeares in Granado, in the yeare of our Lord 1396. and of the Arabians 779.

Sonne perſecutes the ſather to raigne.

Ioſeph king of Granado poyſoned.

Wonderfull force of poyſon.

Mahumet the 9. of that name, and 12. king of Granado.

MAHVMET This ſonne ſurnamed *Aben-Balua*, who had ſo much deſired to raigne in his fathers life-time, vſurped the Realme from his elder brother *Ioſeph*, who yeelding to the time, ſupported it as well as he could, beeing countenanced by ſome Noblemen, that were friends to his deceaſed father and him. The firſt entrance of this king *Mahumet* was pleaſing vnto the Moores, by the cruelty he ſuffered to be done to two Friars brethren, who mooued with an inconſiderate zeale, would goe and preach in Granado. Beeing forbidden by the king to preach their doctrine to a people ill prepared to receiue it, they perſiſting in their reſolution, the Alfaguis and Doctors of the Alcaron fell vpon them,

and hauing whipt them, they ſlue them moſt cruelly, ſo as theſe two poore Friars were held holy Martyrs, whereof ſome of their bones were gathered together, and carried to Seuile and Cordoua, to them of their Order, all men perſwading themſelues that they wrought miracles. This king thinking himſelfe ſetled in his eſtate, he confirmed the truce with Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially with D. *Henry* king of Caſtile, who freed him of the tribute which the kings of Granado were wont to pay to the Kings of Caſtile. The King Don *Henry* ſhewed himſelfe tractable, by reaſon of the indiſpoſition of his perſon; who beeing the reſt of his daies ill diſpoſed, purchaſed the ſurname of Sickly, and made him to deſire peace with his neighbours, and to hate warre. The friendſhip and familiaritie of theſe two Princes was very great, and continued long, viſiting one another by ambaſſages, and ſending preſents, ſtriuing who ſhould be more ſtately and bountifull: and King *Mahumet* deſiring on a time to make demonſtration of his loue to the king D. *Henry*, ſending him rich preſents, hee gaue the charge of the ambaſſage to one of his wiues, the which gaue great content to the king of Caſtile.

D. Henry of Caſtile, called the ſickly.

3 Caſtile.

But to returne to this king Don *Henry*, after that he had ſubdued the Princes of his bloud, and their confederates, who contemning his youth, and thruſt on by ambition, had troubled his Realme, he beganne to be ſickely, and vnfit for the actions of warre, the cauſes whereof by the ſingular grace of God ceaſed. Hee had a great care of Iuſtice, and to eaſe his ſubiects, and beeing in that eſtate hee ſought all meanes to maintaine his reputation and authoritie, fearing nothing more then to bee contemned of his ſeruants, to whome he ſometimes ſeemed ſeuere and rigorous, and ſometimes was content onely to terrifie them: Whereof they produce this example. The king on a time hauing hunted late in an vnknowne countrie, and ill followed, recouered his lodging, being readie to ſit downe to his ſupper, hauing a very good ſtomacke, he found it ill prepared, ſo as hee began to grow in choller with the clarke of his kitchin, ſaying, that hee was negligent, and that he would puniſh him. The clarke who (it may be) ſought for this occaſion, excuſed himſelfe vppon the ſmall meanes which were appointed him by his Councellors to furniſh his table: ſo as, ſayd he, beſides the aſſignation which is very ſhort, I recouer it with ſuch difficultie, as I am forced to pawne mine owne, to ſupply it: wherewith the king was very ſad, taking it for a great argument of the ſmall eſteeme the Noblemen that ruled, made of him, by this diſhoneſt ſparing for a kings table, into whoſe coffers there entred of yearely reuenue 70. millions of Marauidis, if Writers do not erre.. And therefore he beganne to ſtudie, how he might make them know it, giuing to his Clarke one of his roabes, called at that time Balandranas, the which hee pawned for two ſhoulders of mutton, with the which, and ſome Quailes which they had taken, the king ſupped, beeing ſerued by the Clarke.

Beeing returned to Burgos, he diſſembled that which he had in his heart, and watched an opportunitie to be reuenged. Hee was aduertiſed that the chiefe Noblemen of his trayne and Councell, holding the greateſt dignities in the Realme of Caſtile, the Prelats, the Maſters of knightly Orders, the Duke of Medina Celi, D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, Don *Iohn* and D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça, *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, *Iohn* of Velaſco, *Gomes Manrique*, *Peter Alfan* of Ribera, and others hauing gouernements in the chiefe Prouinces, ſhould meet together one night at a ſtately and ſumptuous banket: wherefore hee found meanes to enter diſguiſed, to ſee their cheare, and heare their diſcourſe: where hee ſaw all things furniſhed in great aboundance, and with more then royall ſtate, where there wanted not any thing that might pleaſe the appetite, and as for their diſcourſe and table-talke, it was nothing but of the great and bounteous penſion they drew from the King, of the profits and commodities of their Offices and Gouernements, gifts, preſents, honours, fauours, and ſuch like, which makes the Courtiers paradiſe. The King hauing obſerued all this, beeing returned vnto his lodging, hee ſecretly in the night, drew in his Guards, and many other ſouldiers: and when it was day, hee ſent for all theſe Noblemen of the Banquet, to come vnto his Pallace, to bee witneſſes to the Will which hee would make, who flocking thither with all expedition, they ſtayed in the great Hall, vntill it was paſt noone.

In the end the king came foorth with a naked ſword in his hand, ſetting him downe in

A in his chaire, and then preſently the hall was full of his armed guards, ſo as the Noble-
men were amazed at this vnaccuſtomed ceremonie. The king addreſſing his ſpeech to the
Arch-biſhop of Toledo, asked him, how many kings of Caſtile he had ſeene: he anſwered,
that he had ſeene foure; which were the king D. *Pedro*, D. *Henry* his grandfather, D. *Iohn*
his father, and himſelfe. The like demand the king made vnto the reſt, and euery one an-
ſwered as he had ſeene, according to their ages, ſome three, ſome foure, and ſome fiue.
How can it then be, ſayd the king, that I who am younger then any of you, can brag to "
haue ſeene aboue twenty: The Noblemen replyed, that they knew not what hee meant "
thereby; for naturally with his corporall eyes he could not haue ſeene ſo many kings. Yes "
truly, ſayd the king, I haue ſeene them, and all you here preſent are thoſe kings, who diſ- "
B poſe of my Realme, and mannage my rents and reuenues at your pleaſures. I am king but "
in name, and as a ſhade, but you are the bodie and the effect, waſting my goods to my "
diſhonor, and the contempt of my authoritie. I haue ſeene, I haue ſeene the pompe and "
aboundance you liue in at my charge, and haue vnderſtood how you intreat my ſubiects, "
and abuſe the power which I giue you in your eſtates and gouernments: but you ſhal not "
liue vnpuniſhed, I haue conuicted you all by your owne confeſſions and brags, and iudge "
you all to die, like bad and trecherous vaſſals. This ſpeech beeing ended, the Miniſters of "
iuſtice appeared, & among them the executioner of the court, carying an axe and cords,
the which did much amaze all the Noblemen, thinking verily, that they ſhould loſe their
heads: ſeeing themſelues compaſſed in his guards, and conſidering that they had to do
C with a young king, who for want of iudgement might giue way to his choller, and re-
uenge his wrong without regard to the conſequence. Beeing thus amazed, looking one
vppon another, and not knowing what to anſwer, the Archbiſhop of Toledo tooke cou-
rage to ſpeake vnto the king, who kneeling downe, told him, that ſo ſeuere a ſentence was
happily more iuſt then honourable for a young Prince, or profitable for the realme of
Caſtile, which for euer would feele the loſſe of ſo many great and worthie men, both for
councel and armes, as he meant to put to death, for that they had committed ſome faults
which are common to all that liue with kings, and are bred vp in great charges of realmes.
Moreouer, it was not reaſonable to take that for a confeſſion to conuict one, which is
ſpoken at banquets, and in wine, where men do vſually talke, and bragge, and oftentimes
D without truth, yet he ſpake not theſe things to iuſtifie himſelfe, or any of his companions
nor to contend againſt his clemencie, as beeing free from offence, the which they would
rather implore and trie, demanding with all humilitie, the liues of all theſe offenders, and
his pardon, adding many other reaſons, the which were allowed by the king, for he deſi-
red an occaſion to pardon them, yet he would haue them yeeld vp all the forts which they
had in guard, and he condemned them in pecuniarie fynes, ſo as he drew from them a-
boue an hundred and fifty millions of marauidis, for the exactions and concuſſions done
vppon his people, and the kings money: keeping them two moneths in the caſtle of Bur-
gos, vntill the full payment and execution of theſe things.

Executions at Seuile.

E If he were moderate in this act of iuſtice, hee vſed greater rigour at Seuile, where all
was full of partialities, proceeding from the diuiſions and quarrels which his tutor had
bred, which the Magiſtrates and kings officers could not ſuppreſſe. Being declared of full
age, he went thither and cauſed the Earle of Niebla, *Peter Ponce* of Leon, and other heads
and chief authors of theſe ſeditions to be put in priſon; and hauing examined euery mans
actions, he baniſhed ſome, others he condemned in great fynes, and loſſe of their offices,
and cauſed many to be hanged, or loſe their heads: ſo as there were aboue a thouſand per-
ſons intangled in theſe puniſhments and executions of iuſtice: one of the chiefe miniſters
whereof, was Doctor *Iohn Alphonſo* of Toro, to whom the gouernement of Seuile was
giuen for matters of iuſtice: and the more to countenance him, the king ſtayed there ma-
F ny daies.

This king gaue many other teſtimonies of his loue to iuſtice: he gaue audience to all
ſutors indifferently, three dayes in the weeke, he heard all the complaints of his ſubiects,
and prouided for them: he could diſcerne of men of iudgement, which were fit for coun-
cell, and the gouernment of the commonwealth. The moſt eſteemed, and of greateſt au-
thoritie about him, were Don *Pedro Tenorio*, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, Friar *Iohn Henri-*

ques,

Election of worthy men to matters great affaires.

ques, and Friar *Fernando* of Illeſca, with the Cardinall D. *Pedro* of Frias Biſhop of Oſma, and theſe for the Clergie: of Knights he made great eſteeme of Don *Laurence Suarez* of Figueroa, Maſter of Saint Iames, *Gonçales Nugnes* of Guzman, Maſter of Calatraua, *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça, high Admirall of Caſtile, *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, his Lord Chamberlaine, and afterwards Conſtable, *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga chiefe Iuſtice, *Peter Lopes* of Ayala, a knight of great learning, who came to be Lord Chancelour, *John Velaſco* a Chamberlaine, and other knights of his Councell, which conſiſted of ſixteen graue perſonages. Among others, that were very deare vnto him, there was a Doctor, a Iew by ſect, borne at Burgos, who afterwards imbraced the Chriſtian Religion, called Don *Pablo*, who for his learning and good life, was in time choſen Biſhop of Carthagena, and in the end obtained the Biſhopricke of Burgos. He had many times oppugned the Chriſtian Religion, as a Iew Rabin, and Maſter in the Iewiſh Law, but hauing receiued in gift of a Chriſtian Doctor, the booke of Saint *Thomas Aquinas* intituled *de Legibus*, he read it diligently, and was ſo mooued with the reaſons thereof, as he left his Iewiſh religion, the which is not ſtrange, ſay the Diuines of Spaine: for he that knowes not Saint *Thomas* knoweth not any thing, and he that knoweth him, knowes all things. This Prelate who was a great Preacher, a great Philoſopher, wiſe and iudicious in matters of State, and of the kings Councell, wrate many bookes, whereof ſome are yet extant. Beeing a Iew, he was married, and had three ſonnes all learned men, whereof the one was Deane of Segobia, and ſucceeded his father in the Biſhoppricke of Burgos, he was called Don *Alphonſo* of Carthagena, from whome we haue the genealogie of the kings of Caſtile, written in Latine. Don *Gonçalo* another ſonne of D. *Pables* was Biſhop of Palença, a Prelat of great learning: and the third was *Aluar Garcia* of S. *Maria*, a learned man alſo, D. *Pablo* their father beeing of the King Don *Henries* Councell, notwithſtanding that he had bin a Iew, did aduiſe him and his ſucceſſors, not to receiue into their ſeruice, either of his houſholds Councell, or to any Offices of the Realm, any Iew, although he were conuerted, and that for ſome ſpeciall cauſes.

A

B

C

Doctor Pablo, a Iew, learned, and of a good life.

Doctor Pablos children all learned.

Counſel of a Iew againſt Iewes.

The King Don *Henry* being endowed with theſe good qualities beyond the Ordinary of young Princes, had alſo ſome blemiſhes, like other mortall men: for hee was noted to be ſparing, and deſirous to heape vp treaſure, and yet they ſay, that it was without the oppreſſion of his ſubiects, the which is hard in a Prince: yet hee gaue many prouiſions and penſions to them that were neere to him in bloud, or allyed to him by affinitie: as to the Queene D. *Beatrix*, his mother-in law, whome he maintained in the eſtate of a Queene, and to Don *Fernand* his brother, who ſhewed himſelfe alwaies obedient to his will. His countries beeing in peace, he gaue himſelfe to repaire and fortifie the fronter places, and did build a new the caſtle of Carthagena. As for religious buildings, the church, and conuent of the Carthuſians at Burgos, called Mirefleurs, are his worke: he was a great fauorer of the Franciſcans, to whome Queene *Katherine* his wife, had a particular deuotion, who was a Ladie of great pietie, according to the inſtruction of that time, bountifull, maieſticall, wiſe, and diſcreet in her words, yet ſuperfluous in her manner of liuing, and louing wine, whereby in her latter dayes ſhe fell into a palſey.

D

E

The Kings infirmitie which began at the age of ſeuenteene yeares, did in time ſo vndermine him, being incurable, as he became drie and leane, ſo as the proportion of his body was changed, and he ſeemed another man, then formerly he had beene: moreouer, he was ſo ſad and melancholicke, as moſt commonly he was alone, and would not admit of any company. Yet he was alwaies carefull of the gouernement of the Realme. He alwaies entertayned Ambaſſadours in Princes Courts, as well Chriſtians as Mahumetiſts, by whom he was aduertiſed what was done in forraine countries, their manners, and manner of gouernements: a thing moſt profitable for him that ſends them, but not for them that receiue them: for by Ambaſſadors which are reſident, the Councels and actions of Princes are diſcouered, to the great preiudice of their eſtates. Two of his Ambaſſadors ſent into the Eaſt, the which were *Pelayo* of Soto maior, and *Fernando Pelaſuel*, fell into the hands of *Tamberlaine*, Emperor of the Tartarians, after the defeate of *Baiazet*; who intreated them graciouſly, and ſent them backe into Spaine with an Ambaſſador of his, to demand friendſhip of king *Henry*.

Ambaſſadors diſcouer the councels and actions of Princes.

F

During

A During his raigne, in the yeare. 1397, the order of the Knights of the Calatraua, inſteed of a blacke hood which they had worne vntill that time, tooke for their marke a red ſquare croſſe, which they carry at this day, the which was done by the Bull of Pope *Benedict* of Auignon, at the inſtance of Don *Gonçal Nugnes* of Guzman, maiſter of the Calatraua. 5 *Red croſſe the marke of the Order of Calatraua.*

The realme of Caſtille being at peace with all men it was ingaged in new troubles by Don *Iohn* King of Portugall, for that the Articles of the truce, concluded betwixt their Ambaſſadors for fifteene yeares, had not beene ſigned and ſworne by certain Noble men of Caſtille, as had beene agreed: with other light occaſions, which drew him to field, be- 6 Portugal.
B ing yet proud of his former victories, and contemning the youth and infirmity of King *Henry* his aduerſary, wherefore he ſodenly brought his army before Badajos, which towne hee tooke, and the Marſhall Don *Garci Guttiere* of Herrera in it: whereat the King Don *Henry* was much incenſed, and ſpeedily prouided for all things neceſſary, to ſuppreſſe the boldneſſe of this Portugall King, both by ſea and land. One of the moſt remarkable exployts of this warre, which continued three yeares, was the incounter of fiue Caſtillan gallies with ſeauen of Portugall, comming from Genoa, laden with armes and ſouldiers: the fight hauing continued very ſharpe ſome houres, in the end foure of the gallies of Portugall were taken, one broken and the reſt put to flight. In this incounter the Portu- *Victory of the Caſtillans at ſea.*
C galls loſt aboue fiue hundred men, beſides the armes and equipage of their gallies, the which were drawne to St. Lucar. Many noble men of Portugall at that time left King *Iohn*, and retired into Caſtile, where they were entertained, and had lands and houſes giuen them by the King D. *Henry*. Among others *Martin Vaſques* of Acugna, and his brethren *Giles Vaſques* and *Lopes Vaſques* came alſo with an hundred lances, *Iohn Fernandes* and *Lopes Fernandes Pachecos* bretheren, *Aluar Gonçales Camelo* Prior of S. Iohn, with many others. The king of Portugal entring by Gallicia, he tooke from king *Henry* the town of Tuy, and towards extremadura he layd ſeege before Alcantara, to whoſe ſuccour was ſent D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, then made Conſtable of Caſtile, in the place of the Earle of Tranſtamara, who raiſed the ſeege, and entring into Portugal, ſpoiled and burnt the countrie, and tooke Pegna major, a place of ſtrength, by force. On the other ſide, the
D towne of Miranda of Duego was beſeeged by King *Henries* captaines, who preſt it in ſuch ſort as it yeelded. After ſome courſes and prizes made at ſea by the Admirall of Caſtile, the truce was renued betwixt the two kings, and was ſo entertayned, as it was the laſt war which the Portugals had with Caſtile vntill our daies, ſo as theſe two Princes gouerned their Eſtates in peace and quietneſſe the remainder of their liues.

In Arragon whileſt they contended for the right of the ſucceſſion againſt *Mathew* of Caſtelbon Earle of Foix, and his wife D. *Ioane* eldeſt daughter to the deceaſed king D. *Iohn* as we haue ſayd: D. *Maria* wife to the D. of Momblanc, being abſent in Sicily, took vpon her the title of Queene, by the aduice of the councell of Cattelogne, in the city of Barcelona, where there aſſiſted D. *Inigo Valterra*, Archb. of Tarragona, *Bernard* of Pinos, *Hugh* 7 Arragon.
E *Angleſole*, *Roger* of Moncade Viceroy of Sardinia, *Michel Gurrea*, *Francis* of Aranda, who was held the wiſeſt of his time, *Bernard Michel*, *William Pujade*, *Gerard Paliol*, and *Bernard Zatrille*. Theſe were of opinion that the Regencie of the realme ſhould bee put into the hands of D. *Maria*, vntill her husbands coming, to whom they had ſent D. *Hugh* of Bage, Biſhop of Tortoſa, *Ihon Foulq* ſon to the Earle of Cardona, *Emanuel Ragiadel*, *Raymond Zaual*, a Cittizen of Barcelonet, and *Peter Grimald* of Perpignan, Ambaſſadors, to giue him notice of his election, and to haſten his returne. The widow Queene *Violant*, was in the meane time accompanied by foure of the chiefe Ladies by order from the Councell, the which did neuer abandon her, and ſhould haue a care of her deliuery, for that ſhe ſaid ſhe was with child. And for that many men of ſtate, and others hauing had charges & of- *Francis of Aranda a wiſe man.*
F fices in the time of the deceaſed King, had abuſed them, their actions were now called in- *Officers called into queſtion.*
to queſtion during this Interegne, and ſome of them were committed at Barcelona. The Will of the deceaſed King, beeing opened in the Aſſembly of Cattelogne, they found that the ſame Duke of Momblanc, to whom the peoples fauour inclined, was there named heyre and ſucceſſor to the Crowne, in caſe the King Don *Iohn* dyed without iſſue male, the which was ſignified to the Counteſſe of Foix.

At the Eſtates aſſembled at Sarragoſſa, to giue order that the realme ſhould recciue no loſſe in the abſence of the king D. *Martin*, theſe chiefe men were preſent:

D. *Garci Fernandes* of Heredia, Arch-biſhop of Sarragoſſa.
D. *Iohn Martines Murillo*, Abbot of Montarragon.
D. *Pedro Fernandes* of Ixar.
D. *William*, and *Raymond Allamans Ceruillon.*
D. *Pedro Ruis Morio*, for the great Prior of Ampoſta.
The Prior of Rota.
The Abbot of S. *Fides.*
D. *Pedro* of Ladron, Vicount of Villanoua.
D. *Lopes Ximenes* of Vrrea.
D. *Fernand Lopes* of Luna.
D. *Iohn Martines* of Luna.
D. *Alphonſo Fernandes* of Ixar.
D. *Pedro Fernrndes Vergua.*
D. *Francis* of Allagon.
D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Vrrea, ſon to D. *Lope.*

The Atturneys of D. *Lewis Cornel*, of D. *Artal* of Allagon, of D. *Iohn Ximenes* of Vrrea Atraſillo, of D. *Pedro Galcerand* of Caſtro, and of D. *Anthony* of Luna. Moreouer, *Iohn Ximenes de la Cerde*, Iuſtice Maior of Arragon, with many other Noblemen, knights and Deputies of towns and commonalties, who without regard to the demands and proteſtations of *Mathew* Earle of Foix, and D. *Ieanne* his wife, confirmed the Duke of Monblanc teſtamentarie heire of the Realme, diſanulling the conuentions made by the deceaſed king D. *Pedro*, grandfather to D. *Ieanne*, at the treatie of her marriage with the Earle of Foix, by the which it was ſayd, that if Don *Iohn* her father dyed without iſſue male, ſhe ſhould inherit the Realme: whereupon *Mathew* Earle of Foix ſought to obtaine his right by armes, ſeeing that iuſtice was denyed him. And hauing employed the ayde of the Earle of Armaignac, of *Iohn* Duke of Berry, the French kings vncle, and of other Noblemen of France, he paſſed with a thouſand men at armes, and three thouſand light horſemen, from the Vicountie of Caſtelbon, beyond the Pyrenees, and by the valley of Ferriere at Villemur, he tooke Camaraça, and marched as farre as Lerida, where hee ſpoyled the country: againſt whome the Eſtates did choſe Don *Pedro* of Vrgell for Generall. And for that it was ſuſpected that D. *Iohn* Earle of Ampurias, had fauoured theſe French troupes at the paſſage of the mountaines, he was committed to priſon, but ſoone after deliuered, hauing made proofe of his innocencie. Although the Earle of Foix did much annoy the Arragonois, yet the greateſt loſſe fell vppon himſelfe, for beeing too weake a partie to incounter the power of Arragon, he did nothing but ſpend his eſtate, ingage himſelfe, and ſtriue for nothing, his army beeing forced to riſe from before Barbaſtro, and to retire for want of victuals and other diſcommodities towards Hueſca, and then to paſſe by Caparoſſo belonging vnto Nauarre, into Bearne, on this ſide the mountaines, after which hee neuer made any memorable attempt. The king D. *Martin*, notwithſtanding all the importunitie of the Arragonois, was not reſolued to leaue Sicile, vntill he had ſeene his ſonne peacefull king of the Iland, the which he effected after a long and tedious warre, by the ruine of the noble families of Clairmont and Alagon, and of other rebels, whereof *Andrew* of Clairmont Duke of Modica was beheaded at Palermo, after which *Artal* of Alagon was expelled Sicile, with all his family, by vertue of whoſe Predeceſſors, that Realme had beene in a manner conquered for the houſe of Arragon.

Articles of marriage broken by the eſtates to the preiudice of the Earle of Foix.

Andrew of Clairmont beheaded at Palermo.

A B C D E F

A

D. Martin the firſt of that name, and 15. King of Arragon.

MAtters beeing thus brought to paſſe, D. *Martin* elect King of Arragon, leauing with the King his ſonne, called alſo D. *Martin*, and his wife *Marie*, *William* of Moncado, Marquis of Malta, chiefe Iuſtice and Conſtable of the Realme, *Peter Serra* Biſhop of Cattanea, *Francis Zagarriga*, *Hugh Santapaz*, and other Cattelans and Arragonois, for
B Councellers, he ſayled towards the Iſland of Sardinia, where he was viſited by the Noblemen holding his partie, as well of that Iſland as of Corſica, whereas the Earle of Cinerche and others of the familie of Iſtria, and of that of Rocca, held many townes and caſtles at his deuotion. From thence the King paſt into Prouence, where he did viſit Pope *Benedict* in Auignon, receiuing a roſe from him on Palme ſunday, hauing done him homage for the Iſlands of Sardinia and Corſica: then continuing his voyage, hee arriued in Cattelogne in the beginning of Maie, in the yeare 1397. At his entrie into the countrie, hee found a ſtately ambaſſage, where were the chiefe Noblemen of Arragon, and deputies of the citie of Sarragoſſa, who intreated him, that without any ſtay he ſhould goe vnto the Eſtates aſſembled at Sarragoſſa, and that he would not deale in any affaires of the realme,
C vntill (according to the auncient cuſtome) hee had taken and receiued their othes, the which ſeemed ſomething ſtrange vnto the King: yet he anſwered theſe ambaſſadors gratiouſly, that beeing tired with ſo long a voyage, he had need of reſt: wherefore after ſome little ſtaie at Barcelona, hee would come preſently to Sarragoſſa: notwithſtanding after his entrie into Barcelona, which was very ſtately, ſitting in his tribunall, hee pronounced a ſentence againſt *Mathew* Earle of Foix, and D. *Ioanne* his wife, beeing his neece, by the which he declared them rebels, and guilty of high treaſon, and fallen from all their rights: he did confiſcate the Vicontie of Caſtlebon, and other lands held by them in the realme of Arragon and Cattelogne, adiudging them vnto the crowne. Moreouer, hee ſent from thence ſhippes and ſouldiers into Sardynia and Sicile, ſending backe D. *Roger* of Moncado into his gouernment of Sardinia, and D. *Pedro* of Bage into Sicile. After which, hee
D went to Sarragoſſa to the Eſtates about the end of October. The King preſiding in this aſſembly, did much commend the vertue, fidelitie, and valour of the Arragonois, ſeeking by good words to make them tractable and well-affected to him and his children: for after the oath taken by him for the obſeruation of the rights and priuiledges of Arragon and other Prouinces, and reciprocally by them, he intreated the Eſtates to acknowledge his ſonne D. *Martin* King of Sicile, beeing abſent, for lawfull heire of that crowne after him, the which was willingly done, the King of Siciles ambaſſadors hauing promiſed an vnion of the two realmes for euer, and to cauſe the King their maſter to ratifie it, and to take the oathes accuſtomed in ſuch acts. There was giuen vnto the King at theſe Eſtates
E 130000 florins of gold to pay his debts, and 30000 for his expences. During the aſſembly, there was ſome tumult of warre in the Mountains, there being entred by the pace of Sarazal ſome of the Earle of Foix troupes, who tooke and ſackt Thermes: but without any other exploite they returned. In the meane time *Mathew* of Caſtelbon Earle of Foix dyed without any children, being in the yeare 1398. wherby D. *Martin* remayned peaceable King of Arragon, who ſetled himſelfe, and diſpoſed of his affaires according to his deſire.

Sentence againſt the earle of Foix.

Death of the Earle of Foix.

First of all knowing that the wiſedome of a Prince conſiſts chiefly in knowing wel how to chuſe men of valour, whoſe ſeruice he muſt vſe in the gouernment of his Eſtate, he la-
F boured to draw vnto him, by his bountie and fauour, the hearts and affections of thoſe which he knew to be ſuch: namely, he gratified D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon much, and honored him with the Dutchie of Gandia; he made D. *Iames* of Prade Conſtable of Arragon, and to many other Noblemen and knights, hee gaue gifts and priuiledges: hee reſtored *Archambaud* of Graille, who had beene heire in the right of ſucceſſion to the Earledome of Foix by reaſon of his wife, ſiſter to the deceaſed *Matthew* of Caſtelbon,

Wiſedome neceſſarie in a Prince to chuſe men of valour.

to the lands which he had forfeited: yet he made but a bare recompence to his Neece the Counteſſe of Foix, who retired her ſelfe ro Valencia, with 3000. florens of yearely penſion, for her whole entertaynment, where ſhe ended her dayes. He maried his other neece D. *Violant* to *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, choſen king of Naples, to whom hee gaue 160000. florens in dowrie, ſo as ſhe ſhould renounce all rights and pretenſions which ſhee might haue to the Crowne of Arragon, and other lands of the deceaſed king D. *Iohn* her father, adding afterwards to this bond, an allyance which he made with Nauarre, to be the better aſſured of the French. And not to forget the workes of pietie, couered with the vale of religion, ſeing Pope *Benedict* greatly moleſted in Auignon, although it were by the practiſes of the French king, he ſent an armie by ſea, to aſſiſt him, and if need were to carrie him away, the euent whereof was miſerable: for being come vnto the mouth of the riuer of Rhoſne about December, in the heart of a very ſharpe winter, the gallies not being able to go vp the riuer, by reaſon the water was low, moſt of the ſlaues, mariners and ſouldiers dyed for cold.

Statues ſent by the Pope into Arragon.

The fauour which the king of Arragon did ſhew vnto the Pope, did ſo far auayle him, as it made the French king forbeare for a time to oppoſe himſelfe: to acknowledge the which, and in his loue to his country, he ſent into Arragon foure ſtatues of ſiluer and gilt and enriched with ſtones, the which were kept in the citty of Sarragoſſa, and therin were incloſed the relikes of *Valerius*, *Laurence*, *Vincent* and *Encratia*, reputed by the Sarragoſſans for Saints, patrons and protectors.

Thus the king D. *Martin* ſought in the firſt yeares of his raigne, to content the world by his humane wiſedome, and to purchaſe the fame of a politicke and religious Prince: notwithſtanding as humane wiſedome failes moſt commonly, he could not keepe ſuch a meane, but in gratifying ſome, he diſcontented others, yea the Arragonois themſelues: for the Realme being often in combuſtion, by reaſon of the old quarrels betwixt the houſes of Luna, Vrrea, and Gurrea, and eſpecially dnring the interregne many of theſe factions preſumed to go to field, and did rob and ſpoile euen to the towne gates: whereuppon the king raiſed ſome troupes to ſuppreſſe theſe theeues, giuing the charge thereof to Don *Alphonſo*, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon Duke of Gandia, making him as it were Gouernor of the realme, and his Lieutenant generall: a great dignity, which was preſently impugned by the Noblemen of Arragon, mooued through enuy, alledging, that that charge ought not to be giuen according to their ancient cuſtomes, but to one that was borne in Arragon: wherefore they appealed before the Iuſtice maior, beeing an attempt againſt their liberties and freedomes: ſo thinking to preuent a miſchiefe, hee augmented it, for the Realme was preſently full of armes, which hee was forced to remedy with great difficulties and ſeuere meanes, it may be vnworthie of his royall Maieſtie.

Troubles in Arragon.

Caſtille.

The Schiſme which was in the church of Rome, did ſomewhat trouble Spaine: yet by the wiſe councell of Princes, all paſt without any great alteration. The French king did greatly ſollicite him of Caſtile to ioyne with him, to force Pope *Benedict* of Auignon to ſubmit himſelfe to a compromiſe treated by the Princes, and according to the proteſtation of the Cardinalls which had choſen him, to leaue his dignitie, vntill it had beene determined who ſhould be Pope, and head in the church of Rome. For the which the king D. *Henry* hauing called a great aſſembly at Salamanca of Prelats and Doctors, both Diuines and Canoniſts, in the end he yeelded after many difficulties: whereof D. *Martin* K. of Arragon being aduertiſed, he was wonderfully mooued: for he did much ſupport Pope *Benedict*, a Cattelan by nation, and therefore ſent to Salamanca before the kings departure; his ambaſſadours were *Vidal* of Blagues, and *Raymond* of France, to complaine of this vnion which the king of Caſtile had made with him of France, without communicating any thing vnto him: to whom an anſwer was made in friendly tearmes, which did ſatisfie them.

In the aſſembly of Salamanca it was aduiſed, that the two Popes ſhould reuoke all the proceedings made one againſt another, and ſhould haue an enterview in ſome place of aſſurance, where they ſhould deuiſe betwixt themſelues how to free the church of this Schiſme, the which they ſhould declare within a certaine time: and during the delay they ſhould giue a certaine paſtor vnto the church, but if they could not, or would not agree,

that

A that then they ſhould both giue ouer their pretended dignities: but this aduice was of no force, for D.*Pedro de Luna*, or Pope *Benedict*, would by no meanes leaue it, ſaying, that he would hold his Popedome, whereupon he was much afflicted by the French, yet by the meanes of the king Don *Henry*, he had ſome reſt for a time, and the French king ſeemed neither to acknowledge, nor obey him, the which continued not long.

Beginning of the white cote

At that time there ſprung vp a Sect of white coates: their author was a Prieſt of the mountaines of Sauoy. They were men moued with deuotion, who began to runne ouer Italy, as it were in proceſſion, attired in white ſhirts, and wearing their haire long ouer their faces, demanding pardon of God, and mercie for their ſinnes, with great and lamen-
B table cries: and moreouer in going they ſung Hymnes, as that which begins, *Stabat mater doloroſa*, and other ſuch ſuffrages. Their troupe in the beginning beeing but ſmall, they grew to ſo great a number, there ioyning with them at all the townes where they paſt, men, women, children, Clergi-men, ſecular men, Gentlemen, peſants, poore and rich, ſo as they were forced to diuide themſelues into bands, which ſomtimes were not leſſe then ten, twelue, or fifteen thouſand perſons: which made many Princes and Potentates of Italy to ſuſpect, that vnder a ſhew of religion they had ſome hidden enterprize to the preiudice of their Eſtates. The towne of Luca gaue them moſt credit. They ranne vntill that land fayled them, which was to the fartheſt point of Calabria, and then returned backe. Their captaine with a great multitude of his ſectaries being come to Viterbo, Pope *Boni-*
C *face* found meanes to draw him to Rome, where being examined of his intention, they found nothing in him but meere ignorance and ſuperſtition, whereby all the townes and families in Italy had beene troubled: many men leauing their houſes, wiues, children, parents, with all publike and priuate affaires, to follow this poore ideot, who for all the pain he had taken, was by the Popes ſentence condemned to the fire, who being burnt, euery one retired to his home, and his followers were diſperſed into diuers parts.

An. 1399.

Death of the Arch-biſhop of Toledo.

About the yeare 1399. died D.*Pedro* of Tenorio, Archb. of Toledo, beeing ſorrie hee could not attaine vnto the yeare 1400. to the end he might depart this world in the yeare of Iubile. The Spaniards ſpeake much good of this Prelate: that he had beene employed during the raigne of three kings, in the waightieſt affaires of Spain, with opinion to haue
D beene a wiſe and diſcreet Councellor, a learned man, and a louer of learned men: but he was wilfull, and that which he himſelfe bragged of, not very liberall (for the great reuenues which he enioyed) eſpecially to his kindred, who neuer receiued any aduancement from him, nor by his fauour, from the king of Caſtile. His houſe was ancient, iſſued from Galicia, but growne greater in Portugall: he himſelfe was borne at Tauira, the ſonne of a ſimple Gentleman, and but poore. He left many remembrances of him in his buildings in diuers parts of Spaine, as S.*Martins* bridge in the citie of Toledo, and the caſtle of S. *Seruant* towards the port called Alcantara, the Monaſterie of S.*Catherine* of the Order of S. *Ierome*, and the Collegiall church of Chanoins in the towne of Talauera, the chappell where his bodie lyes in the great church at Toledo, and the cloyſter thereof, a ſtately and
E royall worke. Beſides theſe buildings, he repaired the caſtles of Canales, Alhamin and Almonacid. He cauſed a ſtrong caſtle to be built neere vnto Alcala the royall, to ſerue for a refuge for Chriſtian ſlaues, which eſcaped the Moores that were nere vnto the fronter, and ordayned a certaine rent for the entertainment of a wonderfull great lampe, the which ſhould be a direction in the night for poore fugitiues, giuing light three great leagues round about. The towne of Villafranca, the church and the bridge vppon Tayo, betwixt Talauera and Guadalupe, were his worke, it beeing called at this day, the Archbiſhops bridge. By the death of this Prelate, the ſea of Toledo was void foure yeares, the Schiſme in the Romiſh church being the cauſe thereof. In the meane time D.*Iohn* Biſhop of Siguença had the gouernement of the Church, who gaue credit to the image of Saint
F *Marie* of Nieua, and beganne to build the Church thereof, the which was afterwards augmented by the Queene Donna *Catherina*. This image was found by one *Peter*, who for that cauſe was ſurnamed, Of good aduenture, who hauing found it, aduertiſed the biſhop. It is much reuerenced by the Spaniards, who hold, that ſhee doth wonderfull and great miracles.

Sea of Toledo void for foure yeares.

An. 1400.

The yeare 1400. at what time the Iubile was, the Spaniards going about to ſet vp a great

great Bell in the Church at Seuile, all the people being aſſembled, and the King D. *Henry* A
being in the tower, a ſudden tempeſt with lightning ſlue many, ſcattered the reſt and amazed the whole citty.

1401. In the yeare 1401. there was ſome likelihood of an agreement betwixt the Kings of France and Caſtile, and Pope *Benedict*, attending the determination of a generall Councel. The Chriſtian Princes which did acknowledge him beſides theſe, were the kings of Arragon, Nauarre, Scotland, Cypres, and the Duke of Sauoy. The reſt of the Potentats did adhere vnto Pope *Boniface* reſiding at Rome: but *Benedict* was not long in quiet: for the Cardinals and Clergie which were about him (whereof the chiefe was *Iohn* of Noua-caſtello, Cardinall of Oſtia, borne in Burgondy) rebelled againſt him, being fauoured and ſollicited by the French, yea there were ſent to Auignon by the duke of Orleance brother B
to king *Charles*, *Robin* of Bracamont, and *William* of Mollon, who ſet guards about the
Guards ſet about the Popes pallace. Popes pallace, and kept him as it were priſoner, for that hee would not voluntarily relinquiſh his Popedome. But the king of Arragon mediating for him, he ſent Don *Iames Prades* his Conſtable, who procured him his libertie, and that hee ſhould be obeyed in the Countie of Venice. In this tumult there were onely thtee Cardinals which ſhut themſelues vp with the Pope, which were Pampelona, Girone, and Saint Adrian: many men of accompt endured much, eſpecially Nauarrois, and aboue all Don *Martin* of Salua, Cardinall of Pampelona, Don *Bertrand* of Gramont, Pronotarie and Maſter of the ſacred pallace, and others. This Pope aduanced to the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo a nephew of C
his, ſonne to his brother D. *Iohn Martin* of Luna, beeing Doctor of the Canon law, and adminiſtrator of the church of Tarragone, he was alſo called D. *Pedro de Luna*, but he was not ſo ſoone conſecrated.

The affaires of Caſtile being reaſonable quiet, the Infant Don *Fernand*, the Kings brother and Duke of Pegnafiel, was perſwaded by ſome Noblemen, to take vppon him the gouernement of the Realme, pretending that the king D. *Henries* infirmitie and continuall paine, was the cauſe he could not intend it: ſo as many things ſucceeded not well: but this was but a cloake to couer the enuie which they bare to D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, Conſtable of Caſtile, on whom the king relyed, giuing him great authority in all things thoroughout the Realme. This Conſtable was borne at Vbeda, of meane parentage, but ho-
10 D
Family of Auala iſſued out of Nauarre. neſt, whoſe aunceſtors came out of Nauarre: he was a man of great courage, and ſingular iudgement in matters of warre, or in any other charge that was committed vnto him. It therefore grieued theſe Noblemen of great houſes to be commanded by him, ſeeking to thruſt forward the Infant D. *Fernand*, to diſturbe the State. But D. *Fernand* was no fit inſtrument for their deſſeins: for if there were euer an obedient brother, and patient in all things, it was he: beſides, being of a ſlow ſpirit, affaires of great conſequence did ouercharge him, neither did he willingly vndertake them. Finally, he was a louer of peace, and enemie to warre and tumults.

For theſe cauſes he reiected them that would haue him gouerne, ſhewing them the inconueniences and ſcandals which would grow by ſuch enterpriſes: exhorting them that E
if his brother did not ſeeme vnto them very profitable, by reaſon of his infirmities, they ſhould attend the remedie from the prouidence of God with patience. This Prince Don *Fernand* was, as we haue ſayd, married to D. *Leonora* Counteſſe of Albuquerque, who was heire to many Eſtates in Spaine. For beſides the Earledome of Albuquerque, and the fiue townes of Infantazgo, the townes of Haro, Brion, Cerezo, Vilhorado, Ledeſma, Codeſera, Azagala, Alconchel, Medellin, and Alconeta, were of her patrimony: beſides the which king *Iohn* had giuen her Villalon, and Vruegna in exchange of other places. She was firſt called *Vrraca*, but ſhe changed it: ſhe was a vertuous Ladie and noble in all her actions, hauing many children by her husband, as we will ſhew, treating of the affaires of Arragon. In the yeare 1403. the riuer of Guadalquibir did ſo ſwell, as it came ouer the wals of Seuile, and couered the houſes in the lower parts, with great loſſe of men F
and goods, To preuent which accident, the diligence of *Alphonſo* of Toro, Gouernour for the iuſtice of that city, is much commended.

1405. The yeare 1405. was happie and ioyful to the Caſtillans, by reaſon of the birth of the
Genealogie of Caſtile. Infant Don *Iohn* heire of thoſe Realmes, in the towne of Toro, Queene *Katherine* hauing

A hauing had before D. *Maria* at *Segobia*, in the yeare 1401. who was Queene of Arragon. Awhile after ſhe brought the king another daughter, called *Katherine* by the mothers name, and was future wife to D. *Henry* Maſter of Saint Iames, third ſonne to the Infant D. *Fernand*. Pope *Boniface* the ninth being dead a little before, ſeuen Cardinals did chuſe the Archb. of Rauenna called *Coſmat*, borne at Sulmona in the realme of Naples, being Cardinal of S. Cruz, whom they named *Innocent* the 7. So as the ſchiſme continued ſtil in the Romiſh Church. His competitor *Benedict* paſſed the alpes, and came to Genoua, to conferre with ſome Potentates of Italy of the meanes how to ceaſe the ſchiſme. Beeing there he did conſecrate his nephew D. *Pedro de Luna* Archb. of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine: and moreouer, made another Archb, 9. Biſhops, and 8. Abbots. Hee had in his

Innocent the 7. choſen Pope in the place of Boniface the 9

B traine that famous Preacher *Vincent* of the houſe of Ferreres of Valencia, who then preached in the citty of Genoua, and ſince in many other places, and eſpecially in Spaine, with a great opinion of holines. By the death of D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoça, high Admirall of Caſtile, which happened the ſame yeare, there was aduanced to the place D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, younger brother to the Earle of Tranſtamara, and to his lands and goods which were as great as any Noblemans in Caſtile, ſucceeded his ſonne D. *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, a famous perſonage.

D. *Iohn* of Caſtile one of the baſe ſons of the king D. *Pedro* had ſecretly married himſelfe in priſon, to the daughter of *Bertrand Ertllo* his keeper, of whom he begat *Peter* and *Conſtance*. *Conſtance* was a Nunne in the Monaſterie of S. *Dominicke* the royall of Ma-

C drid. *Peter* being condemned to perpetuall priſon eſcaped, and as the king D. *Henry* cauſed ſearch to be made for him, Queene *Catherine* being newly brought in bed, begged his pardon: at the ſame time when as ſhe intreated the king her husband, hee was hidden in her chamber, and hearing that the king had pardoned him, he came foorth preſently in a Prieſts habit, and obtained the Archdeaconſhip of Alaua: beeing an Archdeacon he had two concubines, one an Engliſh woman called *Izabel*, and the other a Spaniard, whoſe name was *Mary Bernard*, by theſe he had eight children, ſons and daughters: from one of which named *Alphonſo* is deſcended the family called of Caſtile, reduced at this day to litle

About the end of this yeare the Moores of Granado began to ſtirre, hauing no cauſe but onely the king D. *Henries* diſability to war, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. They took 12

D the towne of Ayamonte, belonging to Don *Aluar Peres* of Guzman; whereat the Moores. king D. *Henry* being diſpleaſed, he ſent to king *Mahumet Aben-Balua*, to haue the place reſtored in the eſtate it was, otherwiſe he would prouide by armes: the which the Moore promiſed, giuing ſome excuſes, but he did not performe it, but after ſome dayes entred again by Queſada with a great army, and did ouer runne the country about Baeça: for ſuppreſſing of whom, the king D. *Henry* ſent troupes of men at armes towards the fronter vnder the leading of D. *Pedro Manrique* the Generall, with whom there ioyned many noblemen and knights: and although the Chriſtians forces were inferior to the Moores, yet *Battel betwixt the Chriſtians and Moores.*

E they offered them battell, in the which there was great ſlaughter of both parts, but no certaine victory, in regard of the loſſe, but the Moores kept the field and the reputation. Of Chriſtians of accompt there dyed *Alphonſo* of Aualos, the Conſtables nephew, *Martin* of Rojas, *Garci Aluares Oſorio*, and *Iohn* of Herrera, knights of valour.

The king D. *Henry* ſeeing that he muſt enter into warre, he aſſembled his Eſtates at To- Caſtille.

ledo, to conſult of the meanes to purſue it, and then he went to Madrid, where he receiued newes of the battell. The Prelates, Noblemen, and Deputies of townes being aſſembled, and hauing conſulted freely what was to bee done (for the king had reſolued to enter in perſon into Granado, requiring their aduiſe and conſent) he was forced, his infirmity increaſing, to giue the charge thereof to his brother D. *Fernand*, and to make him his Lieutenant generall in this expedition, who ſpake vnto the Eſtates in the kings name, letting

F them vnderſtand, that his reſolution was to make warre with all violence, and with his greateſt power againſt the king of Granado, for ſome reaſons he gaue them: and therefore he made accompt to put to field ten thouſand men at armes, foure thouſand genets or light-horſe, and fiftie thouſand foot-men, beſides the forces that were in Andaluſia: to entertayne which troupes with all neceſſarie prouiſion for ſixe moneths, hee had need

of a hundred millions of Marauidis then currant, paying to euery horſeman twenty Mara- A
uidis a day, and to euery footeman tenne. He therefore intreated the eſtates, to prouide
Demand of King Henry of the Eſtates. and contribute that ſumme freely and ſpeedily, ſeeing it muſt be imployed for the defence
and ſafety of all Spaine. The eſtates were amazed at ſo great a charge at that ſeaſon and
beſought the Infant to ſpeake vnto the King for the moderating of the ſumme, ſeeing hee
had ſo great a treaſure lying at Segobia, whereof a ſmall portion might eaſe the Eſtates.
The Prelats and Clergy men aboue all others, made great difficulty for this contribution:
the which in the ende the King, after conference with his Brother, and other his familiars,
ordred in this manner.

That the Eſtates ſhould preſently furniſh fourty fiue Millions of Marauidis, B
which are valued at a Million of Crownes by the Authors of thoſe times: and if the
King ſhould neede any more, hee might impoſe it without calling of the Eſtates. The
condition to impoſe mony vpon the ſubiects without calling the States ſeemed hard, yet
they all conſented for that time, ſo as it might not be a preſident. Matters ſtanding thus,
the Kings infirmity increaſed in ſuch ſort, as foreſeeing his approching death, he made
his will, and inſtituted for heire of his realmes his Sonne D. *Iohn*, beeing but twenty two
Teſtament of the King D. Henry. monethes old, leauing him for Tutors, vntill hee came to the age of fourteene yeares
compleate, the Queene D. *Catherine* his wife, and his brother the Duke of Pegnafiel.
And if his heire ſhould die, hee did then ſubſtitute his daughter *Catherine*, and vnder the
ſame tutors, to whome alſo he left the gouernment of his realmes. C

His will was to be buried in the habit of Saint *Francis*, and that his Sonne
ſhould bee bred vp vnder the diſcipline of *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, chiefe iuſtice of
Caſtille, of D. *Iohn Velaſco* his Lord Chamberlaine and of D. *Pablo* Biſhop of Carthage-
Death of King Henry of Caſtille. na. Hauing thus diſpoſed of his laſt will, hee died ſoone after. Some Authors ſay, that
he was poyſoned by a Phiſition a Iew, the which was knowne afterwards by the confeſſi-
on of other Iewes that were priſoners, for other diſorders committed in deriſion of the
ceremonies vſed in the Chriſtian Relligion, and were executed at Segobia. The King
D. *Henry* the third hauing rayned ſixteene yeares and almoſt three months, dyed in the
yeare 1406. in December, in the Citty of Toledo, being not much a boue twenty ſeauen
yeares old: hee was interred in the Chappell of the laſt Kings in the Cathedrall Church D
there. The ſame yeare dyed Pope *Innocent* the ſeauenth at Rome hauing rayned two
yeares, in whoſe place was choſen *Angelo Carairo* a Venetian, Patriarke of Conſtantino-
ple, and Cardinall of Saint Marke, by thirteen Cardinalls of his faction, and was named
Gregory the twelft by whome the Schiſme was contynued.

After the returne of the Queene D. *Leonora* to the King of Nauarre her husband, ſhee
13 was deliuered of a Sonne in the citty of Pampelone, who was called by his Fathers name,
Nauarre. but he lyued little. The peace of this realme was great vnder this King *Charles*, who liued
very contentedly with his wife, after her returne, and made her Regent when hee paſt
into France, which was in the yeare. 1397, for hee had many great affaiers to decyde
with King *Charles* the ſixt, who detayned many places from him, which had beene ſeazed E
on in his fathers time, and had often ſollicited him in vaine by his Ambaſſadors to do him
reaſon: wherefore hee was forced to goe in perſon. Before his departure, hee ordayned
there ſhould bee payed towards the building of the great Church of Pampelone, ruined
ſome yeares before, the forteth pennie of al the reuenues of his realme, for twelue yeares,
where-with it was built in the forme we now ſee it. Hereof there were letters giuen by
this King at Saint *Iohn* of Pie de Port this yeare 1397. in May. His voiage into France
did benefit him little, for beſides that the French King was not counſelled to yeeld vp
the places which he held, eſpecially in Normandy; the friendſhippe which the King of
Nauarre had with the Engliſh, was ſuſpect and odious vnto him, although this amity
were not preiudiciall to the French, but rather a Neutrality (to the end they might F
liue in peace) then a league. Seing therefore that hee was not wellcome, hee returned
preſently into Nauarre, from whence ſoone after he ſent the Cardinall of Pampelone,
who had retyred himſelfe into Nauarre, after that hee had endured many miſeries in
Auignon, for Pope *Benedict*.

Hee

A He vſed ſuch dilligence and fit meanes, as he made the French King and his councell willing to giue recompence to the King of Nauarre for his lands, wherefore he was conſtrained to repaſſe the Pyrenees againe. In the meane time died *Iohn* of Montfort duke of Brittaine, husband to *Ioane*, ſiſter to this King *Charles* of Nauarre, who had by her husband foure children, *Iohn* who was duke, *Richard*, *Arthur* and *Gyles*. This Princeſſe was afterwards married to *Henry* of Lancaſter King of England, fourth of that name, he who depriued his couſin *Richard* of the crowne: by him ſhe had not any children. *Charls* King of Nauarre, hauing cauſed his ſonne *Charles* to be ſworne his heire by the Eſtates of his realme, he married D. *Ioanne* his eldeſt daughter to *Iohn* the eldeſt ſonne of *Archambaud*, who had ſucceeded in the county of Foix and Bearn, by the death of *Mathew*
B of Caſtelbon: his ſecond daughter called Donna *Maria* died a Virgin: and as for the third, *Mary* Queene of Sicile, being a little before dead, who by her teſtament had left this realme to D. *Martin* her husband, ſonne to D. *Martin* King of Arragon, he thought to make her Queene of Sicile, and to marry her to this young D. *Martin* being a widower. He therefore ſent his Ambaſſadors to the King of Arragon to this effect, who was very well pleaſed, and yeelded to the marriage, although they had offred him many other matches for his ſonne D. *Martin* King of Sicile, and that the Sicilians did what they could to make him incline to a marriage with *Ioane* ſiſter to *Ladiſlaus* King of Naples. The accord was made betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Ambaſſadors both of Na- *Marriage of D Martin King of Sicile and D. Blanch of Nauarre.*
C uarre and Sicile (amongſt which was *Peter Serra*, Cardinal of Cartanea) at a place called Alta, in the Realme of Valencia, in the yeere of our Lord 1401. where it was concluded that the King of Nauarre ſhould giue in dowry with his daughter a hundred thouſand florins, of the ſtampe of Arragon: whereof forty thouſand in hand, and threeſcore thouſand at a certaine time, for the which he ſhould giue in pawne the townes and caſtles of Arguedas, Santa Caro, Murillo, and Gallipienço: the King of Arragon ſhould binde for her dowry the townes and caſtles of Sos, Saluaterra, Vncaſtillo and Rueſte. And for that they were ſomewhat allied by affinity, there ſhould be a diſpenſation procured from *Benedict*. For confirmation and execution of theſe things, the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre had an enterview vpon the confines of their Realmes, betwixt Cortes and Mallen, where they did ſweare what had beene concluded. With the King of Na-
D uarre did ſweare D. *Lionel* of Nauarre his brother, D. *Charles* of Beaumont chiefe Standard-bearer, D. *Martin* of Lacarra Marſhal, D. *Francis* of Villa Eſpeça, Chancellor of the realme, *Iohn Ruys* of Ayuar, ſuperintendant of the treaſure, and D. *Martin* of Olloaqui prior of Saint Iohn with others: In like manner did many noblemen and prelats for the King of Arragon.

This don the King of Arragon was conducted to Cortes, where hauing beene royally feaſted by the King of Nauar, the Infanta D. *Blanch* was deliuered vnto him, a Princeſſe of excellent beauty, whom he led into his country, & hauing prepared a fleet at Valencia, he ſent her into Sicile, to the King D. *Martin* his ſon vnder the charge of D. *Martin* of
E Cabrera, a Knight of Catrelogne, in 1402. This Lady was in the end Queene of Nauarre: for ſoone after the content of this marriage followed a diſcontent for the death of D. *Lewis* the ſecond ſon to the King of Nauar, being but ſixe months old, and not long after that of D. *Charls* his eldeſt, which two Infants are buried in the Cathedral church at Pam- *Death of the two ſonnes of Nauarre.*
pelone, and D. *Blanch* ſuruiued her eldeſt ſiſter D. *Ioane*. The crowne of Nauarre fell then to the ſucceſſion of daughters, and the King cauſed D. *Ioane* his eldeſt daughter, to be againe ſworne heire of the realme, with her husband D. *Iohn* of Foix. This ſame yeere the Epiſcopal ſea of Pampelone was voide, by the death of Cardinal *Martin* of Salua, biſhop of that city, who had paſt the age of 66. yeeres, in great trouble and
F paine, to maintaine the party of Pope *Benedict* in Auignon. D. *Michel* of Salua his
I Nephew obtained the Biſhoprike after him, who was afterwards made Cardinal by Pope *Benedict*, in following of whom he died two yeeres after at Monaco. The King of Nauarre being the third time called in France, his voiage was then more proffitable vnto him, then at the precedent, for he obtained of king *Charles* the ſixt the Lordſhip of Nemours the which was erected to a Dutchy, and moreouer twelue hundred pounds ſtarling of yeerely rent, to be taken out of the reuenues of Bry and Champagne, with a

good

Title of Earle of Eureux ceaſeth in the houſe of Navarre, and taks that of duke of Nemours.

good ſumme of ready money for all pretenſions and rights, the which he renounced, ſeeing he could not doe otherwiſe: in reſpect whereof the title of Earle of Eureux ceaſed in the houſe of Nauarre, taking that of Duke of Nemours. A

The towne of Cherbourg in Normandy, held in the King of Nauarres name, by the Marſhal D. *Martin Henriques*, was by this accord deliuered to the French: all letters and expeditions being ended, the King D. *Charles* returned into Nauarre, an other way; for he paſt by Languedoc and Cattelogne, where he viſited the King D. *Martin* at Lerida, with great content and pleaſure to theſe two Princes allied. Paſſing from thence by Sarragoſſa, he came into his country, where afterwards he gaue himſelfe to building in many places, yea two ſumptuous pallaces, one in Tafalla, the other in Olite, the which B now fall to ruine, for want of reparations, eſpecially that of Olite, where the Marſhalls of Nauarre were accuſtomed to lodge: and the Spaniards ſay, that he had intent, to make a paued cauſey and couered, to paſſe at all times without diſcommodity, from one of theſe places to the other, being but a little league diſtant. The bridge of Eſtella vpon the riuer of Ega, was this Kings worke, who for that he had liued in continuall peace, had ſtore of treaſure, to imploy in ſuch buildings. During his aboad in France, there had beene ſome ſpeech of marriage betwixt his youngeſt daughter D. *Beatrix* and D. *Iames* ſonne to the Earle of Vrgel, of the bloud royall of Arragon, the which by reaſon of certaine lets, tooke no effect: wherefore the King being returned, he married her to *Iames* of Bourbon Earle of March, one of the goodlieſt and actiue Princes of his time. The C marriage was celebrated in the city of Pampelone, in the yeere 1406. with great ſolemnity, and concourſe of the nobility of Spaine and France, about the beginning of the warre of Granado, and a little before the death of D. *Henry* King of Caſtile, the newes whereof were greeuous to King *Charles*, a great friend and allie to the houſe of Caſtile.

13 *Buildings of Charles the 3. King of Navarre.*

D. Iohn the ſecond of that name, 18. King of Caſtile, 39. of Leon.

D

14 Caſtile.

THe heat of the warre againſt the Moores was ſomewhat quenched by the death of King *Henry*, leauing his ſonne and ſucceſſor in his realmes, an Infant, in his ſwathling clothes, being but two and twenty monthes old. For it behoued to haue a ſpeedy care of that which was neceſſary for the peace of the Realme, wherein the Queene D. *Catherine*, and the Infant D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnafiel, appointed Gouernors by the teſtament of the deceaſed King, imployed all their care: but they could not keepe the noblemen from entring into factions: and as the gouernment of two is neuer firme, they were the firſt which diuided themſelues. The prelats, noblemen and deputies of townes which were in court, aſſembled againe in Toledo: Some perſwaded the Infant D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnafiel, to take vpon him the title of King, promiſing to main- E taine and defend him, alledging that it was no new thing in Spaine, when as the deceaſed Kings children were young and not fit to gouerne, or they left none but daughters, that the royall Scepter was put into the vncles hands, or of ſome other Prince of the bloud, a man of fit age and endowed with wiſdome, to gouerne the affaires of that realme: producing many examples of D. *Sancho* the fourth, who had beene receiued for King, and the children of his elder brother, being yet young reiected, and of the King D. *Henry* his grandfather, who had raigned with the conſent of the Spaniards, although he were a baſtard, to the prejudice of D. *Conſtance* Dutcheſſe of Lancaſter, being then eldeſt daughter to the King D. *Pedro*, with other examples more antient, as well of Caſtile as of the firſt Kings of Leon, either well or ill reported; That the vrgent affaires of the F realme, and the warre of Granado which was begunne, required that he ſhould reigne, and the troubles which he had lately ſeene in his brothers time, did aduertiſe him to preuent others, which were a breeding, if Caſtile ſhould receiue an Infant of two and twenty monthes for King. The Infant D. *Fernand* was not well pleaſed with theſe perſwaſions, but the Conſtable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Auales, hauing in a publike aſſembly, required openly,

Factions in Caſtile after the Kings death.

A openly that they would raiſe him to the royall throne of Caſtile, being a plot laied among the noblemen, thinking that moſt voices would chooſe D. *Fernand*, he made an anſwere of rare example, and perſiſted therein; and to whom then ſaid he belongs the realme, but to my Nephew D. *Iohn* ſonne and onely heire to the King D. *Henry* my brother? Thus by this conſcientious Prince, the crowne of Caſtile and Leon was preſerued for the Infant, who was then at Segobia, with the Queene Donna *Catherine* his mother, whether the duke of Pegnafiel went, with the other noblemen, after the funerals of the deceaſed King. The breeding vp of the young King was left in the mothers charge, who made great inſtance againſt D. *Iohn* of Velaſco, and *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, who
B demanded it, according vnto the fathers will, to ſtop whoſe mouthes, and to giue them ſome content there was preſently giuen them twelue thouſand florins of gold. The will being read, and an oth taken, the Queene and the Duke charged themſelues with the gouernment of the King, ſwearing in the hands of D. *Iohn* of Illeſca Biſhop of Siguença, and promiſing the obſeruation of the lawes, rights and preuiledges of the realme, Prouinces and cities thereof: But within few daies the Queene and D. *Fernand* diſagreed in their commands. The Queene being a woman was gouerned by an other woman of Cordoua, called *Leonora Lopes*, without whoſe aduice ſhe did not any thing, no not that which was reſolued in councell; ſo as without the dukes great modeſty and patience, the realme had beene full of ſeditions and great confuſion. It was ordained that the King
C ſhould haue three hundred launces for his gard, and the Duke two hundred, the which did much diſpleaſe euery man of iudgement. And for that the ſouldiars which were vpon the frontier were not paied, and endured much, there was drawne out of the Kings cofers twenty millions of Marauidies, vpon condition it ſhould be repaied out of the firſt of the Kings reuenues that ſhould be receiued, or others that ſhould be leauied.

The Infant D. Fernand refuſeth the realme of Caſtile.

Whileſt they were attentiue about theſe affaires at Segobia, the Marſhal of Caſtile *Fernando Garcia* of Herrera, being in Lorca, entred into the country of Granado, to ſurpriſe ſome moores, who had their retreat at Vera, but for want of ladders he could not effect it. Some daies after he incountred with other troupes neere vnto Xurena, where hauing defeated them, he entred into the towne, but he could not take the caſtle; where-
D fore the Chriſtians retired, hearing that a great number of Moores came to charge them. Theſe petty exploits did ſomewhat kindle the warre of Granado, wherein the Infant D. *Fernand* deſired to imploy himſelfe.

Difficulties increaſing in Segobia, in reſpect of the gouernment, it was thought fit Donna *Catherine* the Queene mother, and D. *Fernand* duke of Pegnafiel ſhould diuide it betwixt them: ſo as the places remoat from all tumults of warre, and within the country, ſhould be at the Queenes diſpoſition; which were the dioceſes of S. Iames, Tuy, Aſtorga, Ouiedo, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca, Ciudad Roderigo, Auila, Segobia, Oſma, Burgos and Calaorra. And vnder the dukes charge, ſhould remaine the Archbiſhopriks of Toledo and Seuile, and the Biſhoprikes of Cuenca, Siguença, Carthagena, Caliz,
E Cordoua, Iaen, Badajos, Coria, Plaiſance, Lugo, Mondonedo, Palence and Orençe, with certaine conditions vpon the iudgement of ſuits, and other things.

Gouernment Caſtile diuided betwixt the Queene mother and the Duke of Pegnafiel.

The King of Granado hauing for his allies and aſſiſtants in this warre the petty Kings of Tunes and Tremeſſen, he cauſed his army to march towards Priego. And at the ſame time the Duke of Pegnafiel went towards the frontier, and came to Seuile. There were many light incounters, ſometimes with gaine, ſometimes with loſſe: the towne of Zaara, the caſtle of Andito, Priego, Cagnete, Las Cueuas and Ortexica were taken from the Moores. The ſtrength of the Moores army was about Iaen, and yet they durſt not giue battaile to the Chriſtians, who went and camped before Septenil, hauing in their campe ſome peeces of ordinance, whereof the Spaniards were in thoſe daies very
F vnskilfull, the inuention of that deuiliſh Engine being then new. At ſea thirteene gallies of Caſtile did fight againſt three and twenty of the Moores, D. *Alphonſo Henriques* being Admiral of Caſtile, who tooke eight of the enemies gallies, the reſt ſoone periſhed, and ſome fled.

15
Firſt vſe of Artillery in Spaine.

The ſeege of Septenil was long, during the which D. *Pedro* of Eſtuniga tooke Ayamont: and in the end through the valour of the Moores which were within Septenil,

they

they were forced to raiſe the ſeege. The Moores after this retreat recouered Priego A
and Las Cueuas, and burnt them: they attempted Cagnette, but they found it well manned.

The duke of Pegnafiel going from Seuile, had carried in this warre the ſword of King *Fernand* ſurnamed the holy, who tooke that city from the Moores, attributing ſome vertue and happineſſe therevnto: and for that hee had promiſed to bring it backe, and leaue it in its place, hee did it at this returne, and then paſt into Caſtile, leauing good order vpon the frontier: this is all was done in the yeere of our Lord 1407. in the warre of Granado; at what time died Don *Pero Lopes* of Ayala great Chamberlaine of Caſtile, being threeſcore and fifteene yeeres of age, a Knight endowed with two principall quallities which adorne nobility; for beſides his learning, which was great, he had made B
proofe of his valour in the two battailes of Nagera, betwixt the two Kings D. *Pedro* and D. *Henry* brethren, and in that of Aljubarote, betwixt D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile and D *Iohn* of Portugal. He hath left in writing the Hiſtory of Caſtile, of his time; a treatiſe of hunting, wherevnto he was much giuen, and other Bookes.

An. 1407. *Death of D. Pero Lopes of Ayala, a valiant and learned Knight.*

An. 1408. The yeere 1408. being come, the Eſtates of Caſtile and Leon, aſſembled at Guadalajara, whether came the King, the Queene-mother and the Infanta. The duke of Pegnafiel came alſo, whereas the deputies of the Eſtates hauing had diuerſe conferences touching the continuance of the warre of Granado, they agreed and offred money for the furniſhing thereof, yet with ſome delaies and difficulties. D. *Pedro de Luna* Archbiſhop of To- C
ledo, who had beene at this aſſembly, had led a young man of eighteene yeeres of age with him, whom he aduowed to be his kinſman, and was called *Aluaro de Luna*, whom he brought into the Kings houſe, and made him Page of the chamber, by the meanes of *Gomes Carillo* the Kings Gouernor. He was held to be ſonne of *Aluaro* of Luna, Lord of Cagnette, who was chiefe cup-bearer to the King D. *Henry*: but he who was held to be his father, did not avow him for his ſonne, for he was borne of a diſhoneſt woman, called *Mary* of Cagnette, who had beene common to others, and had brought them children: wherefore *Aluaro de Luna* did not thinke that this was his ſonne, and for that he ſhould not inherit his great poſſeſſions, hee ſould all in his life time, leauing to this child only eight hundred florins, and that at the intreaty of his friends. *Aluaro* the fa- D
ther being dead, the child retired to Auignon, to the court of Pope *Benedict*, where hauing remained ſome time, he came into Caſtile to the Archbiſhop, by whoſe meanes he was receiued into the Kings houſe, and in time grew ſo great, as he was made Conſtable of the realme, and yet it was not very ſucceſſull for him. His mother *Mary* of Cagnette, had alſo by a captaine of Cagnette, D. *Iohn* of Crezuela, who was Biſhop of Oſma, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Seuile, and in the end of Toledo.

Aluaro de Luna and his beginning.

Whileſt they remained at Guadalajara, the King of Granado came to the ſeege of Alcaudete, hauing ſeuen thouſand horſe and 26000. foote in his army: yet through the valour of *Martin Alphonſo* of Montemajor and others, which were within the place, it was preſerued. The Moores victuals were many times cut off by the garriſons of An- E
daluſia, & many light victories gotten one of an other, wheras *Garci Fernandes Manrique* captaine of Xeres, and *Fernand Rodriques* of Vallezillo, who held Zahara, and *Fernand Arias* of Sahauedra, Gouernor of Cagnette, ſhewed themſelues both valiant & vigilant, carrying great ſpoiles out of the Moores country, euery one in his quarter. This warre beeing more difficult to the King of Granado then hee had eſtemeed, hee ſent Ambaſſadors to the Gouernors at Guadalajara, to demaund a truce, the which was graunted, againſt the will of D. *Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiel, who deſired the warre ſhould continue. Wherefore the Eſtates reduced the ſubuention which they had granted of threeſcore millions of marauidies, to fiue and forty.

Exploits of warre betwixt the Caſtillans and Moores.

Truce with the Moores.

F

Ioſeph

A

Ioſeph the thirteenth King of Granado.

DVring this ceſſation of armes, King *Mahumet Aben Balua* died, hauing put on a poiſoned ſhirt, the twelfth yeere of his reigne, and of the Arabians the 791. in whoſe place came King *Ioſeph* his eldeſt brother, a little before put in priſon in Salebregne, from whence he was drawne and led with great ſilence to Granado, to raigne ouer the Moores, being loath preſently to diuulge *Mahumets* death, for feare of the Chriſtians enterpriſes. Seeing himſelfe ſetled, he ſent a meſſenger preſently to D. *Alphonſo Fernandes* Gouernor of Alcala the royal, aduertiſing him of his aduancement, and withall he ſent vnto the King of Caſtile and to the Gouernors, a Mooriſh Knight called *Abdalla Alemin*, to let them vnderſtand what had paſt, intreating them to reioyce at his good hap, and to continue the truce made with his predeceſſor *Mahumet*, the which the Queene mother, and the duke D. *Fernand* did confirme for the ſaid time, and ſent a Secretary to Granado to ſee it ſworne. At his returne, he was accompanied with an other Ambaſſador, who had charge to preſent vnto the King of Caſtile, horſes, ſwords, ſome peeces of veluet, rayſins, dried figs, almonds and other preſents, and to require a prolongation of the truce for two yeeres, but he obtained it not; for the Queene mother and the duke of Pegnafiel, would haue King *Ioſeph* acknowledge himſelfe vaſſall to the King of Caſtile, whereof the Ambaſſador excuſed himſelfe, ſaying that he had no charge to treat of any ſuch matter: yet all acts of hoſtility ceaſed that yeere 1409. notwithſtanding ſome tumult at Priego, the Moores contrary to their plighted faith, running vpon them which did repaire it: but this was pacefied and ſatisfied, with excuſes from King *Ioſeph*, and the truce prolonged for fiue monthes. Moores. *An.* 1409.

The court being at Vailedolit, was then in ſome combuſtion, for that many imagining that D. *Iohn Velaſco* and D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, did entertaine the Queene mother in quarrel with the duke of Pegnafiel, D. *Frederic* the young Earle of Tranſtamara, ſonne to D. *Pedro*, did preſſe him to puniſh them, offring to lay hold of them, if he pleaſed: whereof they hauing ſome intelligence, retired from court, whereat the Queene was much diſcontented, and was not quiet vntill ſhe had cauſed them returne, hauing obtained a ſafe conduit from the duke D. *Fernand*. At Vailledolit there arriued Ambaſſadors from the French King, and from *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his brother, who offred the King of Caſtile and his Gouernors to come to the war againſt the Moores, with a thouſand launces entertained: with them were Ambaſſadors from the Dukes of Auſtria and Luxemburg, making the like offers: and moreouer the Duke of Orleans demaunded Queene *Beatrix*, widow to King *Iohn* the firſt to wife. There were great thankes giuen vnto them all, and the truce made with the new King of Granado made knowne vnto them. As for the marriage the widow Queene would giue no eare vnto it, contenting her ſelfe to liue a widowes life, in her houſe of Villa real, from whence ſhe did not part. The French Ambaſſadors confirmed the ancient league betwixt the houſes of France and Caſtile. Caſtile.

16. *Marriage betwixt D. Alphonſo eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Pegnafiel, and D. Maria the Kings ſiſter.*

At Vailledolit there was an aſſembly, in the which was ratefied the marriage of the Infanta Donna *Maria* the Kings ſiſter with her couſin Germain D. *Alphonſo* eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Pegnafiel, to her was aſſigned for dowrie the Marquiſate of Villena, Aranda and Portillo: and for an earneſt penny of the marriage, there were thirty thouſand doublons of gold deliuered. This yeere D. *Laurence Suarez* of Figueroa, maiſter of Saint Iames being dead, there was ſubſtituted in his place D. *Henry* the third, ſonne to the Infant D. *Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiel, notwithſtanding all the labouring of *Garci. Hernandes*, Lord of Villagarcia, great Commander of Caſtile.

About that time there was ſet vp (as a moſt holy thing in Spaine) an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, found by a relligious Frenchman, in the mountaine which is betwixt Salamanca, and Cité Roderigue, called *La Pegna* of France, where afterwards there was a Monaſtery

monaſtery built, in honour of this Image, whereof the Spaniards report many Prodigies and miracles, of the which they haue made whole bookes and treaties. This age was fertile (during the Schiſme of the church) of ſects and new monaſticall inſtitutions. For beſides the reformation of the regular Chanoins of Saint *Auguſtin*, by the dilligence of *Leon* of Carrate Prior of Frigionaja of Santa Maria in the fields of Luca; the Order of White Monkes of Mount Oliuet had its beginning neere vnto Siena, by *Bernard* and other Monkes of Siena, and that of Saint George of Alaga, by *Laurence Iuſtinian* a Venetian otherwiſe called blue Celeſtins.

Three Popes at one time in the church of Rome.

The ſame yeere the Schiſme in the church did produce a third head in the church of Rome: for many Princes hauing inſiſted much for the reunion of the church, that the two Popes *Benedict* of Auignon, and *Gregory* of Rome, ſhould meet at Sauona, and take ſome good courſe for the quiet of Chriſtendome, theſe good fathers, zealous of their glory, did ſo contemne one an other, as there was no meanes to draw them together: wherefore many Cardinals being disbanded, as well from the ſea of Rome, as from that of Auignon, there was a councell celebrated by them at Piſa in Tuſcany, by the which *Benedict* and *Gregory* being depoſed from their papal dignity, *Peter Philarge*, a friar, borne in Candy, Archbiſhop of Milan, and Cardinal of the title of the twelue Apoſtles, was choſen, and named *Alexander* the fifth, who liued but tenne monthes: wherefore the Cardinals were forced to meet againe at Bolonia in Lombardy, whereas *Balthaſar Coſſe* a Neapolitaine, Cardinal of the title of Saint Euſtace, and Legat of Bolonia, was choſen, and named by them *Iohn* the three and twentith. This was a triepling of the Schiſme, and confuſion in the church of Rome: for the two firſt Popes did ſtill hold their dignities, and had their followers, to the contempt one of an other, namely Caſtile and Nauarre held for *Benedict* reſyding in Auignon, holding the other two for falſe Popes.

Arragon.

Aboue all others D. *Martin* King of Arragon did reuerence and ſupport Pope *Benedict*, who at that time had many croſſes both within and without his realme: for the King of Sicile his ſonne, being young and gouerned by young men, had ſo diſcontented the Noblemen of the country, both Sicilians and Arragonois, as finding himſelfe plonged againe in very great difficulties, the King his father was forced to ſend him ſuccors both of gallies and ſouldiars, whereby in the end he became maiſter of all Sicile, but with great paine: and being better councelled he did gouerne it with more honour and authority, but not without continuall iealouſie and diſtruſt: Yet hee had meanes to imploy himſelfe in the warre of Sardynia, and to preſerue that Iſland to the crowne of Arragon:

17 *VVarre in Sardynia.*

In the which *Brancaleon* of Oria, had made ſuch attempts againſt the Arragonois, as they were in a manner ready to abandon it, hee hauing ioyned vnto his forces thoſe of Americ Vicont of Narbone, who had married *Beatrix* ſiſter to his wife *Leonora* of Arborea; theſe two brothers in law, being ſtrong and alſo fauored by the common-weale of Genoua, it was needfull to haue the forces of Sicile and Arragon vnited to ſuppreſſe them. D. *Martin* King of Sicile came thether in perſon with tenne gallies, with a reſolution not to leaue the Iſland, vntill he had wholy ſubdued it, whereof he did aduertiſe the King his father, who ſoone after ſent D. *Pedro Torellia* into Sardynia with an hundred and fifty ſaile, which tranſported good numbers of foote and horſe with many Noblemen and Knights of fame.

Viceroy of Valencia ſlaine by the treachery of his owne brother.

During this preparation D. *Raymond Boil*, Viceroy of Valencia, was murthered in Eaſter weeke, going out of the caſtle, whereof his owne brother was a practiſer, whereof being conuicted, he loſt his life, with the reſt that had committed the murther. Within a while after there was a marriage in the ſame city, betwixt D. *Iames* of Arragon Earle of Vrgel, ſonne to D. *Pedro*, and D. *Iſabella* the Kings ſiſter, and daughter to the deceaſed King D. *Pedro*, and of *Sibille* of Sforza, his laſt wife, an vnfortunate marriage, as we will ſhew. And for that a ſon which D. *Martin* King of Sicile had had by D. *Blanche* of Nauarre, was dead about that time, D. *Martin* King of Arragon the grandfather, conceiued ſo great a griefe, as retyring himſelfe from all affaires, he ſhut himſelfe vp in the Monaſtery of *Val de Chriſtus*, which hee had cauſed to bee built, and left the whole charge of the warre of Sardynia to his ſonne Don *Martin* King of Sicile, who (with the forces

of

A of Arragon, led by D. *Pedro Torellia*) charged the enemies campe about Sauluri, and put them to rout with great ſlaughter, forcing the Vicont of Narbona to ſaue himſelfe in Montreal: he tooke Sauluri and the caſtle, with the towne of Egliſe, and laied ſeege to Oriſtagno, the chiefe fort of Brancaleon of Oria, and of the Sardinians rebelled: but the King being ſurprized with ſickneſſe in this fortunat victory, hee cauſed himſelfe to be carried to Caillery, where he died, to the great griefe of all the Sicilians and Arragonois, and extreame ſorrow of the King of Arragon his father, who liued not long after him. By his death without any lawfull children, the realme of Sicile fell to the King of Arragon, and was for euer after vnited to that crowne. *Death of Don Martin King of Sicile.*

Blanche of Nauarre, the widow Queene, remained Regent of the Iſland, by the will of the King her husband, confirmed B by her father in law. A baſe ſonne of his called D. *Frederic*, had for his portion the Earledome of Luna. At that time there grew great troubles in Arragon, whereof D. *Iames* Earle of Vrgel was the chiefe author, a turbulent Prince, who made no difficulty to challenge the crowne euen in the life time of the King Don *Martin*: and for that it was a tickle point, and did not ſucceed well, he aſpired to the ordinary Regency, which was a dignity wherewith the eldeſt ſonnes of Arragon, and the preſumptiue heires, were wont to bee honoured, the which hee obtained, and was moreouer made Conſtable: but vnderhand the King gaue order that he ſhould not be receiued in his Regency, and cauſed an appeale to be made by the factions of *Vrrea*, *Heredia* and other, before the C Iuſtice Major of Arragon.

This was in the yeere 1409. when as the King deſirous to ſee if he might haue a child to ſucceed him in his great Eſtates, married with Donna *Ioane* of Prades, or *Marguerite*, as ſome write, a faire young virgin of the bloud royall, the which haſtened his end: and in the meane time hee was much ſollicited by *Lewis* duke of Aniou, who had married Donna *Violant*, daughter to D. *Iohn* King of Arragon, and by the Duke of Pegnafiel, borne of Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, daughter to the King Don *Pedro*, and ſiſter to this King D. *Martin*, that he would declare his ſucceſſor, the which he refuſed to doe, at their requeſts, but tired with their importunities, he was ready to name by his teſtament, for heire of the realmes of Arragon, Sicile and other lands, Don *Frederic de Luna*, baſtard D to his deceaſed ſonne. This King being thus diſtracted with paſſions in his age, the affaires of Sicile and Sardynia were more troubled then before. *Marriage of D. Martin King of Arragon & Donna Ioane of Prades.*

In the yeere 1410. beganne the warre in Caſtile againſt the Moores, the truce beeing expired, and the Moores army hauing ſurpriſed Zahara with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants and ſouldiars, and great ſpoile of them that remained. The Infant Don *Fernand* comming for this occaſion to Cordoua, hee cauſed the ruines of Zahara to bee repaired, and went to beſeege Antequera, hauing in his army tenne thouſand foote and three thouſand fiue hundred horſe. Neere vnto the towne were two hils, the approches whereof beeing kept, the army might bee ſafe from all attempts of the Moores, who were in field with fiue thouſand horſe and 80000. foote, led by *Cidi Ali* and *Cidi Amet* E brethren to *Ioſeph* King of Granado. Theſe paſſages were garded, the lower part of the hill with ſixe hundred Launces and two thouſand foote vnder the commaund of Don *Sancho* of Rojas Biſhop of Palença, Don *Diego Fernandes* of Quignones Gouernor of the Aſturia's, D. *Aluar Peres* of Guzman, and Don *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça. And at the other hill of harder acceſſe, being higher and eaſier to bee kept, there were ſet foure hundred Launces and one thouſand foote, commanded by Don *Martin Vaſques*, D. *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, Gouernor of Guipuſcoa, D. *Raymond* of Guzman and *Iohn* of Soto Major great commander of Alcantara. The Duke of Pegnafiel had cauſed many ladders to bee brought from Seuile, with other Engines of warre to aſſaile townes. 18 Caſtille.

F The Moores beeing deſirous for to raiſe the ſeege from before Antequera, came to aſſaile the Biſhop of Palença and his troupes in this paſſage of ſtrength, from whence they were not onely repulſt, but the skirmiſh growing very hot, in the end, beyond the Moores expectation, there was a great incounter, the Biſhoppe beeing fortefied with new bands, which came from the campe, ſo as the Moores fighting without order, and rather hindered then fauoured by their numbers of raſcally footemen,

they were forced to turne their backes with great loſſe; for authors write that there were aboue fifteene thouſand of them ſlaine vpon the field, and onely twelue hundred Chriſtians.

After this victory the ſeege was continued, and the place battred by all meanes, the which in like manner was valiantly defended, where as the Chriſtians loſt more in the ſallies of the beſeeged, then they had done in the battaile. There died *Martin Ruis* of Aben Dagno, of a poiſoned arrow. On the other ſide three hundred chriſtians horſemen, going out of their gariſon of Iaen, were incountred, and cut in peeces by the Moores about Montexicar. But the Moores garriſon of Archidona within two leagues of Antiquera, were happely defeated by the Chriſtians that were at the ſeege, for they did much annoy them, by their continuall courſes, and cutting off their victualers and forragers that came to the campe. The riuer of Gorza was their common watring place whether they could not go without a gard. The Chriſtians being aduertiſed of an enterpriſe made vpon their men, hauing ſet a ſentinell vpon an high eminent place, called the rocke of two Louers, they found themſelues ſo ſtrong, when as the Moores came to charge them, as they repulſt them, and purſued them beating and killing euen vnto the gates of their fort: there were two thouſand ſlaine vpon the field, and many carried away priſoners. The rocke of two Louers was ſo called from the deed of a Chriſtian ſlaue, and his Maiſters daughter being a Moore, whom he had perſwaded to flie with him from Granado, to enioy their deſired loues, and to liue freely together in Caſtile: they being purſued by her father, who was well accompanied, and ouertaken vpon this rocke, which is midde-way betwixt Archidona and Antiquera, after that they had long defended themſelues againſt them that would take them, and ſeeing no meanes to eſcape, they caſt themſelues downe head-long from the top of the rocke, imbraſing one an other, and ſo ſlue themſelues. To diuert the ſeege of Antiquera, the Moores ſent ſome to burne the Engines of battery that were before it with wilde fire, vnder collour of treating of a truce. The treaſon being deſcouered and puniſhed, the Infant cauſed a trench to be caſt and a rampar to be made round about the place, ſetting good gards, and then he purſued the ſeege, hauing fortefied his army with the companies of Seuile and Cordoua, who haue alwaies done great ſeruice in theſe Mooriſh warres, the which kept King *Ioſeph* for aduenturing of a battaile.

Defeat of Chriſtians neere to Montexicar.

Rocke of two Louers.

The towne of Antiquera being preſt with all violence, it was taken, there going firſt vnto the aſſault, the companies of D. *Garci Fernandes Manrique*, of D. *Charles* of Areillan Lord of Los Cameros, and *Roderigo* of Narbaez. The firſt which died in fighting, was *Iuancho* a Biſcain, and the firſt which entred were *Guttiere* of Torres and *Sancho Gonçales Cherino*. The caſtle did hold out eight daies longer, and then was yeelded by the Moores, to haue their liues ſaued and their goods, who were ſafely conducted to Archidona. There entred into it, Don *Frederic* Earle of Tranſtamara, and the Biſhop of Palencia: the garde of the towne and caſtle was giuen to *Roderigo* of Narbaez. In the meane time the Moores did forrage the territorie of Alcala the royall, and the Chriſtians after the taking of Antiquera, did ouerrunne the country of Aznalmara, Cabecha and Yehar, ſmall rownes which were taken by force, through the wiſdome and valour chiefely of the Conſtable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos: after which exploits the Infant Don *Fernand* returned a victor to Seuile, where he had meſſengers from the King of Granado, ſoliciting him to make a truce, wherevnto hee yeelded, being preſt to attend the affaires of Arragon: wherefore there was a truce concluded betwixt Caſtile and Granado for ſeuenteene monthes.

Antequera taken.

Truce with the King of Granado.

19 Wee haue before left Don *Martin* King of Arragon, beeing without children to ſucceed him, importuned by many Princes, pretending to bee his heires, troubled with the ſeditions and rebellions of the Sardynians and Sicilians, beeing old and broken, and yet newly married to a young Princeſſe, with hope to raiſe his houſe: But beeing weake both in bodie and minde, griefe and care made the way to a peſtilent feuer, the which ſeized on him this yeere 1410. in the Monaſtery of Valdonzellas, neere to Barcelona, hauing raigned about 14. yeeres, whoſe body was buried in the Monaſtery of Poblette.

Arragon.

There

A There was no will of his found, or any heire inſtituted in his Realmes of Arragon, Sicile &c. The reaſon thereof was thought to bee for that hee knew not to which hee ſhould incline amongſt all the pretendants to that crowne, after his deceaſe. Wherefore the Arragonois, Valentians, Cattelans and Sicilians were in great perplexity, for Don *Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiel Infant of Caſtile pretended a right, beeing ſonne to Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, ſiſter to the two laſt Kings deceaſed: *Lewis* Duke of Anjou hauing married Donna *Violant*, daughter to King *Iohn* the firſt, maintained the ſucceſſion to belong to him: the like pretenſion had Don *Iames* Earle of Vrgel, hauing alſo married one of the daughters of the King Don *Pedro*: Don *Frederic* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, baſe ſonne to *Martin* King of Sicile, put forth himſelfe, and ſo did Don

B *Alphonſo* Earle of Gandia: all theſe pretendants had their partiſans within the Realme, and euery one tried all meanes, with great contention, and likely-hood of ſedition, to attaine vnto that which hee pretended, ſo as in theſe tumults Don *Anthony* of Luna ſlue Don *Garcia* Archbiſhop of Saragoſſa treacherouſly. To preuent which diſorders in time, the Noblemen of the Realme agreed, that of the three Eſtates there ſhould be nine men choſen, by whoſe Iudgement the Scepter of Arragon ſhould bee giuen to him of the pretendants whom they ſhould thinke moſt profitable for the commonweale. For Arragon there were named Don *Dominike* Biſhop of Hueſca, *Francis* of Aranda and Don *Berenger* of Bardaxi a great Lawier. For the principality of Cattelog-

C ues. And for the Realme of Valencia were choſen *Vincent* Ferrier, of the Order of the preaching friars, who was afterwards cannonized, his brother *Boniface* Ferrier a Lawier, a Monke of the Order of the Carthuſians, and Maiſter *Peter Bertrand*, this laſt was ſubſtituted in the place of *Gines* of Rabeça who fell mad. Theſe nine men beeing aſſembled in the caſtle of Caſpe which is in Arragon, all thoſe which pretended any right vnto the Realme, were ſommoned to exhibit their reaſons before them, whereof ſome appeered perſonally, and others by their Ambaſſadours. In the meane time in Caſtile the Infant D. *Fernand*, for himſelfe and the King his Nephew, cauſed this buſineſſe to be conſulted of by the learned of the country, who in the beginning were of opinion that both of them had an intereſt, and that they muſt frame an oppoſition be-

D fore the Delegats, as well in the Kings name, beeing a pupill, as in his vncle and tutor Don *Fernand*; yet hauing better conſidred, or being otherwiſe perſwaded, they gaue all the right of the ſucceſſion, in the realme of Arragon, to the Infant D. *Fernand*, who for this cauſe deputed Ambaſſadors, the Biſhop of Palença, and D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, chiefe Iuſtice of Caſtile, and Lord of Bejar, with Doctor *Pero Sanches* of the Kings councel, to ſend them into Arragon: and at the ſame time hee cauſed fifteene hundred launces to draw neere vnto the frontier of Arragon: hee and the Queene-mother with the young King comming to Aillon, a neere place to Arragon.

Princes pretending to the realme of Arragon.

Murther of the Archb ſhop of Saragoſſa.

Nine arbitrators to chooſe the King of Arragon.

D. Fernand with his right vſeth armes.

Whileſt they are buſie about theſe purſutes, the Duke of Benauent a priſoner in the caſtle of Mont-real, brake priſon, and eſcaped, hauing ſlaine the captaine which had him in gard, whereof they beeing aduertiſed at court, they prouided ſpeedily for all the paſſages, eſpecially towards Portugal, thinking that hee would bend that way: but hee went towards Nauarre, where hee was kindely entertained by the King D. *Charles*, and by the Queene Donna *Leonora* his ſiſter: who notwithſtanding hauing receiued letters from the Queene-mother, the Infant Don *Fernand*, and the councell of Caſtile, intreating them to ſet a gard vpon the Dukes perſon, vntill they had further newes, they cauſed him to bee put into a ſtrong caſtle, yet intreating him with all honour and reſpect, and then they ſent an Ambaſſador into Caſtile, to make their excuſe, for that they had receiued this fugitiue Prince, and intreated him as their brother, but they kept him

F in ſure garde, that he ſhould not attempt any thing againſt the crowne of Caſtile. This Ambaſſadour found the court at Aillon, where he was well receiued, and his excuſes allowed.

20 Caſtile.

There arriued alſo Ambaſſadors from the French King, with very rich preſents, the which were requited with others of no leſſe value, being ſent by an expreſſe Ambaſſage ſome monthes after.

An. 1411. *Greene croſſes the badge of the Knights of Alcantara.*

This yeere of our Lord 1411. Pope *Benedict* graunted that the Knights of Alcantara, in ſteed of hoods which they did weare in ſigne of their profeſſion, ſhould from thence forth carry greene croſſes. During the courts aboade at Arllon, attending what would bee the end of the troubles of Arragon, which increaſed daily, they ſent the horſemen of Caſtile to fauour the friends of the Archbiſhop of Saragoſſa that was ſlaine, by the which the lands of D. *Anthony de Luna* were ſpoiled. And at that time friar *Vincent Ferrier*, that great preacher, made a voiage to the court of Caſtile, who made ſome ſermons before the Queene mother, and ſome Noblemen; by whoſe aduice there was an Order made, that all Iewes, dwelling in Caſtile, ſhould carry for a marke and diſtinction to bee knowne, a peece of red cloth vpon their cloakes, and the Moores greene hattes with white moones. The affaires of Arragon growing tedious, the King was carried backe to Vailledolit. The truce of Portugall being expired it was treated by Ambaſſadours to make a perpetuall peace, the which was not then concluded.

Arragon.

The arbitrators appointed to iudge to whom the Realme of Arragon did belong, hauing beene many daies in conference in the caſtle of Caſpe, in the end they did all agree to adiudge it to the Infant D. *Fernand* of Caſtile, whereof hee had notice giuen him in Iune, in the yeere 1412. beeing at Cuenca: wherefore hauing made his election knowne vnto King *Iohn* his Nephew, and to the Queene his mother, and giuen great thankes for the fauour he had receiued in that reſpect by the forces and meanes of Caſtile, he prepared himſelfe to goe and take poſſeſſion of his Realme. And firſt of all hee declared for Tutors and Gouernors of the Realme in his place, D. *Iohn* of Illeſca, Biſhop of Siguença, D. *Pablo* biſhop of Carthagena, D. *Henry Manuel* Earle of Montalegre, and *Pero Alfan* of Ribera, Gouernor of Andaluſia, with whom hee ioyned other men of State and learning. This and other things beeing ordred hee went into Arragon, where he found great reſiſtance, eſpecially of Don *Iames* Earle of Vrgel, who pretended to reigne: him he ſought by all friendly meanes to draw vnto his ſeruice, but in vaine: for the Earle being obſtinate, he drew the Engliſh into Spaine, notwithſtanding whoſe aide he yeelded.

D. Fernand the firſt of that name, the ſixteenth King of Arragon.

21. *Genealogie of Arragon.*

DOn *Fernand* the firſt of that name, raigned in Arragon, Cattelogne, Valencia, Sicile, Majorca, Minorca &c. By the conſent of all the Eſtates: and for his good parts was ſurnamed the honeſt, whoſe poſterity was famous: Before hee came to the crowne of Arragon, he had by his wife the Counteſſe of Albuquerque, Don *Alphonſo*, who was heire of the Realmes, and was in his fathers life-time called Prince of Girone, in ſteed of the title of Duke, vſurped vntill that time by the eldeſt ſonnes of Arragon. He had alſo by her the Infant Don *Iohn*, who was King of Nauarre, and afterwards of Arragon and Sicile by the deceaſe of his elder brother. Moreouer hee had Don *Henry* maiſter of Saint Iames, Don *Sancho* maiſter of the Alcantara, and the Infant Don *Pedro*, who died in the warres of Naples, beeing ſlaine with a great ſhot: all theſe fiue Princes were borne in Caſtile. The daughters which iſſued from this marriage were Donna *Maria* Queene of Caſtile, married to King *Iohn* the ſecond her couſin germaine, and Donna *Leonora* who was Queene of Portugal, wife to Don *Edward*. D. *Fernand* was two and thirty yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne in Arragon, beeing Lord of great poſſeſſions in Caſtile, whereof he gaue the Dutchy of Pegnafiel, and the Signeury of Lara to Don *Iohn* his ſecond ſonne, all which Inheritance, both by father and mother in Caſtile, his children enioyed for a time, but beeing turbulent, and not able to entertaine themſelues with the Kings of Caſtile, they loſt all.

In the yeere 1413. the King Don *Fernand* hauing beſeeged the Earle of Vrgel, in

A Vrgel, in the towne of Balaquer, for that hee did ſtill raiſe new troubles, hee preſt him in ſuch ſort, as his wife was perſwaded to goe forth, and caſting her ſelfe at the Kings feete to demaund her husbands life. The King vſing his accuſtomed clemency, pardoned him his life: but the Earle comming forth, and hauing kiſt the Kings hands, hee was ſhut vp in the ſame caſtle. There were many Knights of Caſtile which ſerued the King in this warre, and amongſt other forces, there were ſent vnto him by Donna *Catherine* Queene of Caſtle, foure hundred launces with promiſe to furniſh him with foure thouſand, if he had need; but the Earles yeelding freed him of that neceſſity. Hee ſeized vpon Lerida, and other places, and in a ſhort time made all within the Realme to bow,
I. and therefore hee ſent away his ſouldiars of Caſtile well ſatisfied, Don *Godfrey* of Nauarre, Earle of Cortes, and Marſhall of Nauarre, the Kings baſe ſonne, was at this warre, with ſome men at armes.

The new King did afterwards cauſe the Earle of Vrgel to bee araigned, and condemned him to perpetuall priſon, depriuing him of his dignity and goods, and then he ſent him priſoner to Vruegna, a fort in Caſtile, from whence he was afterwards tranſported to Mora. The Counteſſe his mother was alſo condemned to looſe her goods, and ſome men of baſe condition were put to death. Theſe things being done, the King came to Saragoſſa, where he was crowned by the Archbiſhop of Tarragone, in the preſence of many Noblemen of Arragon, Valencia, Sicile, Cattelogne, Caſtile and Nauar,
C at the which there were great and ſtately triumphes. To ſerue at this ceremony, the Queene of Caſtile his ſiſter in law had ſent him a crowne of gold, weighing fifteene markes, inricht with many ſtones of great value. He was armed Knight by the Duke of Gandia, and then annointed and crowned in the great church of Saragoſſa: after which act he was very bountiful to the Noblemen and Knights that aſſiſted at his coronation. From Nauarre came the Marſhal D. *Godfrey*, *Peter Martin* of Peralta, with many others.

Coronation of the King D. Fernand at Saragoſſa.

Going from Saragoſſa, he came to Morella, where he ſhould meete with Pope *Benedict*, who after his depoſing had retired himſelfe into Arragon, yet retayning ſtill his dignity, as much as he might. There they had an enterview, whereas Pope *Benedict* went in a ſollemne proceſſion, in his pontificall habit, with a white Miter on his head
D ſet with ſtones of great price, to whom the King did all the honour hee could deuiſe: Before his departure from thence there came Ambaſſadours from the Emperour *Sigiſmond*, who perſwaded the King of Arragon to fauour the councell, which was then called at *Conſtance*, for the rooting out of the ſchiſme. To treat whereof there was an enterview concluded betwixt the two Princes at Nice, and the King was intreated to perſwade *Benedict*, willingly to renounce his dignity of Pope. The councell began the fifth day of Nouember in the yeere 1414. and continued aboue three yeeres. There were Ambaſſadors ſent from Caſtile, by the aduice of King *Fernand*, D. *Diego* of Anaya Maldonado Archbiſhop of Seuile, and D. *Martin Fernandes* of Cordoua, accompanied with many great Doctors in Diuinity. This yeere died in Caſtile *Vincent Arias* a great
E Doctor, and the firſt that did comment vpon the lawes of Caſtile.

22
Pope Benedict in Arragon.

Councel of Conſtance.

An. 1414.

The King D. *Fernand* hauing held the Eſtates of Cattelogne at Momblanc, he paſt to Valencia, where he found *Benedict* held for Pope onely in Caſtile, Arragon and Nauarre. In that court there were alſo many prelats, noblemen and knights, as well of the realme as ſtrangers, by reaſon of the marriage which was celebrated there, betwixt the Infant D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, the Kings eldeſt ſonne, and *Mary* of Caſtile, ſiſter to the King Don *Iohn*, by reaſon whereof there were great ſports, ſo as ſome Biſhops, according to the manner of that age, carried the praiſe, namely Don *Sancho* of Roias Biſhop of Palence: to whom at the intreaty of the Queene of Caſtile, *Benedict*, the pretended Pope, did conferre the Archbiſhoprike of Toledo, beeing voide by the deceaſe of
F Don *Pedro de Luna*. And for that in the contract of future marriage, there had beene graunted in dowry to the Infanta, the Marquiſate of Villena, when as there was no likely-hood that the Infant ſhould come to the crowne of Arragon, it was againe concluded, for that it ſeemed by this meanes the Marquiſate ſhould bee alienated from the crowne of Caſtile, that in lieu thereof there ſhould bee giuen two hundred thouſand doublons of Caſtile.

Marriage betwixt D. Alphonſo of Arragon, and D. Maria of Caſtile.

During the Kings aboad at Valencia, hee fell ſicke, which ſtaied him from going to Nice: wherefore the Emperour *Sygiſmond* reſolued to come into Spaine, whereof the King D. *Fernand* being aduertiſed, he cauſed himſelfe to bee carried to Perpignan to meet with this great Prince, who toiled himſelfe for the revnion of the church: an example of modeſty in his traine which was ſmall; in habits which were ſimple: and in his ſeruice, for he was not ſerued but in peuter.

Enterview of the Emperors Sigiſmond and D. Fernand King of Arragon.

Their enterview was in September in the yeere of our Lord 1415. after the foureteenth Seſſion of the councell of Conſtance, where *Iohn* the three and twentith, and *Gregory* the twelfth, were depoſed, who yeelded (though againſt their wills:) onely *Benedict* held his Popedome by force, and would not allow of this councel, with whom neither the intreaties nor threats of Princes, nor the acts and proteſtations of Ambaſſadors from the councell could preuaile: after whoſe departure, the King Don *Fernand* laboured what he could to induce this froward ſpirit to yeeld to the conſent of all Chriſtendome; but there was no meanes; yea *Benedict* retired in great indignation to Pigniſcola, a fort vpon the ſea in the Realme of Valencia: wherefore the King by the aduice of Friar *Vincent Ferrier*, and other great Doctors, gaue him to vnderſtand that hee retired himſelfe from his obedience. This did not amaze *Benedict*, but flying to his ſpirituall armes, hee pronounced King *Fernand* to bee fallne from all regall authority in Arragon, writing to all the townes and people that were ſubiect vnto him, that they ſhould not yeeld him obedience.

The King little regarding it, not onely perſiſted in his reſolution, but alſo went into Caſtile, to perſwade the councell of King *Iohn* his Nephew, to ſubmit him and his Realmes to the authority of the councell: but being not fully recouered, he was forced to ſtay at Igualada, where hauing newes of the death of his ſonne, Don *Sancho* maiſter of Alcantara, his ſickneſſe increaſed, ſo as hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1416. hauing reigned onely three yeeres and tenne monthes, beeing about ſixe and thirty yeere of age, and was buried in the Monaſtery of Poblete. Hee did inſtitute by his will Don *Alphonſo* his eldeſt ſonne, to bee heire of his Eſtates, and for want of children did ſubſtitute his brethren: and if they died without children, hee did ſubſtitute vnto them the ſonnes or nephewes of his daughters, excluding them. The authors of the Hiſtory of Sicile write, that this Prince beeing come to the crowne of Arragon, would not ſodainely intitle himſelfe King of Sicile, for that the Iſland was full of tumults and ſeditions, which grew preſently after the death of King *Martin*, whereof the chiefe motiue was *Bernard* of Cabrera Earle of Modica and chiefe Iuſtice, which is the principall dignity in that Realme, who with other Noblemen his confederats, pretended that the vnion of Sicile with the crowne of Arragon, plotted by the two King *Martins*, father and ſonne, had beene concluded againſt all right and cuſtome: and therefore they maintained that it was lawfull for the Sicilians to chooſe a King at their pleaſures.

Death of D. Fernand King of Arragon. An. 1416.

Bernard of Cabrera had a conceite that this honour was due to him, and therefore hee ſought to ſeize vpon the perſon of the widow Queene Donna *Blanche* the Regent, to the end that hee might marry her, were ſhee willing, or not, thinking by this meanes to make his way more eaſie to the crowne: but ſhee beeing aduertiſed of his intent, retired from Cattanea, and fortefied her ſelfe in Syracuſa, where ſoone after ſhee was beſeeged by *Bernard* of Cabrera and his partiſans, and without their ſpeedy and faithfull ſuccours, which diſſallowed of his enterpriſes, ſhee had beene taken. *Cabrera* was repulſt from this ſeege, and the Queene carried to Palermo, whereas hee purſued her againe, hauing gathered all his forces againe together, and had almoſt ſurprized her: Hee ſtill laied ambuſhes for her, vntill at length hee himſelfe was betraied by his owne men, and drawne into his enemies ſnares, who deliuered him into the hands of the Admirall *Sancho Doriz*, who kept him ſome daies priſoner, in great miſerie, in the caſtle of La Motte of Saint Anaſtaſe, and in the end deliuered him to the Agents of King *Fernand*, by whom hee was ſent to Barcelona, there to receiue the puniſhment of his raſhneſſe at the Kings pleaſure: but this milde and generous Prince, mooued with his age, and the ſeruices which the Princes of

Arragon

A Arragon had receiued, after that he had reprehended him ſharpely, he not onely ſet him at libertie, but did aſſigne him an honorable ranke in his Court. The troubles of Sicile being pacified by the taking of this *Bernard* of Cabrera, Don *Fernand* was acknowledged for king, and obeyed, who gouerned it by his Lieutenants and Viceroys, as other Kings of Arragon haue ſince done. The Maieſty of this Prince was ſuch, together with his mildneſſe and wiſedome, as without vſing the rigour of armes, or any other violent conſtraint, he cauſed all rebellion to ceaſe, as well in Sicile as Sardinia. As for Queene *Blanche*, widow to *Martin* king of Sicily, who was alſo heire of Nauarre, ſhee was afterwards married to the Infant Don *Iohn* of Arragon.

B

D. Alphonſo the fifth of that name, the 17. King of Arragon.

TO *Fernand* ſucceeded his ſonne D. *Alphonſo*, ſurnamed the Valiant, a Prince worthy of that title, for his royall vertues, and the famous conqueſts and exploites of warre done by him, and for that he did no leſſe loue learning then armes. Eight and twenty daies before the death of the King Don *Fernand*, dyed Donna *Leonora* Queene of Nauar
C his Aunt, hauing beene married to King *Charles* her husband foureteene yeares, ſhe was buried in the Cathedrall church at Pampelona.

There was great mourning and heauineſſe in Caſtile, at the newes of King *Fernands* death, whoſe obſequies Queene *Katherine* cauſed to be celebrated, with a pompe worthy of ſuch a Prince, and afterwards by the aduice of the Nobility, ſhee tooke vppon her the ſole gouernement of the realme, and the tutelage of King *Iohn* her ſonne, whome ſhee gaue in guard to Don *Iohn* of Velaſco, D. *Diego* of Eſtuniga, and to D. *Sancho* of Rojas, Archbiſhop of Toledo: whereat the Conſtable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, D. *Pedro Manrique*, and D. *Alphonſo Henriques* grew very iealous, whereupon there grew quarrels and troubles after the accuſtomed manner during the minoritie of Kings. The Queene and
D the Councell did prolong the truce with the King of Granado, for two yeares. In the yere 1417. ſending *Lewis Gonçal* of Luna, Secretary of the Kings chamber to Granado to that end. By this treatie the king of Granado ſet an hundred priſoners at libertie, whoſe ranſomes would haue mounted to a great ſumme of money. D. *Iohn Rodrigue* of Caſtagneda, Lord of Fouente Duegna, and D. *Inigo Ortiz* of Eſtuniga, ſonne to *Diego Lopes*, being in quarrell, and demanding the combate, the Queene would not grant it them in Caſtile, but commanded them to retire into Granado, where as king *Ioſeph* would giue them the field: Theſe Knights were put into the field by the Mooriſh king, but he preſently forbad them to fight, declaring that they were both good Knights, and reconciling them together, he ſent them home honored with Iewels and rich preſents. This hee did at the in-
E treaty of the Queene-mother of Caſtile, who had writ earneſtly vnto him, ſhewing therin to haue a mild and Chriſtian-like heart. For theſe combats are proofes of mad men, which ſhould not be ſuffered in the place of iuſtice, ſeeing thereby all controuerſies, how great ſoeuer, may be compounded and ended.

24 Caſtille.

Truce with Granado. 1417.

Combats ſhold not be allowed among Chriſtians.

The Emperour *Sigiſmond* grieuing for the death of the king of Arragon, after that he had laboured in vaine to reconcile the kings of France and England, who were continually in warre, he paſſed to Conſtance, whereas the Councell in the two and thirtith Seſſion, declared *Benedict* to be periured, contumacious, a rebell, Schiſmaticke, and Hereticke, depriuing him of his papacie, which he had held almoſt two and thirty yeares: yet he played the Pope ſtill in Pegniſcola: but the Princes of Chriſtendome in generall yeel-
F ded to the Councell, notwithſtanding *Benedicts* exclamations, that ſeeing it was called without his authoritie, it was not lawfull. The Cardinals which were at Conſtance, being two and twenty, with thirty Electors deputed by the Councell, did chuſe *Othon Colonne*, a Romane, Cardinall of the title of Saint *George* in Velabro, and named him *Martin* the fifth. *Benedict* although he were abandoned by the Princes, yet he continued ſtill in his purpoſe, keeping ſome Prelates vnder his obedience, among which were the Cardinals

Pope Benedict condemned by the Councell.

Councel condemned by Pope Benedict

of

Tholouſa, Raſan, S. *Angelo*, S. *Euſtace*, S. *George*, and Montarragon, the Archb. of Tarragone, and the Biſhops of Barcelona, Vic, Elne, Girone, Hueſca, and Tarraſſone, with many Abbots, and other Clergimen, who held him for true and lawfull Pope. A

26 *Conqueſt of the Canaries by Iohn of Betancourt.*

This yeare *Iohn* of Betancourt, a knight of France, by gift from Queene *Catherine*, conquered the Ilands of the Canaries, and intitled himſelfe King. He could not take the great Canarie, for all the Inhabitants of the Iland had retired themſelues thither: wherefore finding too great reſiſtance, he retired himſelfe, hauing built a fort in that of Lancerot, from whence he did trafficke, and drew profit from the neighbor places, of lether, tallow, ſlaues, and other ſuch commodities: he being dead, one *Menault* ſucceeded him, in whoſe time Pope *Martin* inſtituted an Epiſcopall ſea in thoſe Ilands, to the which there was a certaine Monke called Friar *Mendo* aduanced: but this king *Menault* hauing no great regard, when there was queſtion of profit, to the ſoules health of the Ilanders, he ſold them indifferently, as well the Pagans, as thoſe which had receiued Baptiſme: whereof the new Biſhop did complaine to Queene *Katherine*, requiring her to free them of that Lord: whereupon ſhe ſent *Peter Barna de Campos* with three ſhips of warre, with whom *Menault* hauing long contended, in the end by the Queenes ſufferance, he ſold theſe Ilands to a Knight of Seuile, called *Fernando Peres*, in whoſe hands, and his ſucceſſors of Seuile, they haue remained vnto the time of the king D. *Fernand* the 5. and of the Queen D. *Izabella*. B

Menault the 2 King of the Canaries, ſels the Flands to them of Seuile.

27 *Family of Eſtuniga comes out of Nauarre.*

D. *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, Iuſtice maior of Caſtile, hauing long ſerued King *Henry* the 3. and *Iohn* now raigning dyed this yeare. His houſe came out of Nauarre, and was of the bloud royall, as ſome Authors haue left in writing. The yeare 1418. Queene *Catherine* dyed ſuddenly, being fifty yeares old, ſhe was buried at Toledo in the chappell of the laſt kings. By her death King *Iohn* was freed from tutors, and there was a Councell eſtabliſhed, with the which he ſhould gouerne his Realmes, whoſe letters and expeditions ſhould be ſigned on the back-ſide, by two of his Councellors. This yeare there came ambaſſadors to him from France, to demand ayde againſt the Engliſh, to whom they gaue hope of an army at Sea. The king of Portugal did alſo ſend to confirm a perpetuall peace betwixt Caſtile and Portugall, but there was nothing concluded at that time. The Engliſh proclaimed warre againſt Caſtile, whereupon the truce with Granado was prolonged for two yeares. King *Iohn* beeing at Medina del campo, was betrothed to D. *Maria* of Arragon his couſin, daughter to the deceaſed king D. *Fernand*: then hee held a Parlament, when for his new accord of marriage, they granted him a great ſubuention. The ſame yeare mention is made of the death of Friar *Vincent Ferrier* of Valencia, afterwards canonized a Saint by Pope *Calixtus*, who was alſo of Valencia. Hee that moſt gouerned the king at that time entring into his maioritie, was Don *Sancho* of Rojas, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, whereat they did murmure, from which time the Eſtate of Caſtile was very turbulent. C D

An. 1418.

The Guipuſcoans and Biſcayens fell to theeuing at ſea, without any ſubiect of warre, euen vppon the coaſt of Brittany, whereof D. *Iohn* then liuing complayned much by his ambaſſadours, to the King of Caſtile, who deſirous to liue in peace with Chriſtian Princes, ſent *Fernando Peres* of Ayala, Gouernour of Guipuſcoa, to bee an arbitrator. Hee with another choſen by the Duke of Brittanie, cauſed all diſorders to bee reformed, and reſtitution to be made. The Councell of King *Iohn*, was then reduced to fifteene Prelates and Knights, whereof fiue ſhould aſſiſt and ſerue, and they ſhould change euery foure moneths. E

28 Portugal.

Don *Iohn* King of Portugall laboured to quench and qualifie all occaſions of new troubles, betwixt his Realme and that of Caſtile, by a firme peace: Wherefore hauing ſent backe his ambaſſadours in the yeare 1419. to Don *Iohn* King of Caſtile, they were returned with good hope and promiſe, to ſend ambaſſadours into Portugall, expreſſely to that end. This king D. *Iohn* the firſt of that name then raigning in Portugall, hauing made a long truce with D. *Henry* King of Caſtile, duriug that time he gaue himſelfe to gouerne his Realme with iuſtice, to repaire the ruines which had growne by the precedent warres, and to adorne it with new buildings: wherein employing himſelfe with iudgement, bountie, and wiſedome, hee was beloued and reſpected both of his owne ſubiects, and of ſtrangers. F

In

A In remembrance of the victorie which he had gotten at Aljubarote, he did build neere vnto it a ſumptuous Monaſterie, which he dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and did call it Saint *Mary* the royall of the battell, or victorie, which is a Conuent of Iacobin Friars. And for that he had a better iudgement then many other Princes, knowing that moſt of the religious Monkes, and other perſons did not vnderſtand the Latin tongue, in the which the houres and ſuffrages were ſung in churches, he cauſed them to be tranſlated into the Portugall tongue, and in like manner many bookes of the holy Scripture, and the interpretation thereof, namely, the foure Euangeliſts, the which did afterwards much diſpleaſe our Doctors in Diuinity. Hee was ſo zealous of the honor of his houſe, as a Groome of his chamber called Don *Fernand Alphonſo* of Saint *Iren*, hauing ſo much forgotten himſelfe as to defloute one of the Queenes maides, daughter to D. *Aluar Peres* of Caſtro, Earle of Arroyoles, he cauſed him to be burnt in the place of Ruſio in Lisbon, and as for her, he chaſed her ſhamefully from Court, ſending her to her parents, neither could the Queenes interceſſion preuaile any thing. He did alſo puniſh with great ſeuerity, the other inſolencies of his Courtiers, and aboue all things he ſhewed himſelfe a louer of iuſtice, onely he did forget to do reaſon to D. *Beatrix* Queene of Caſtile, pretending to be right heire of the Realme, which he enioyed whileſt that ſhe liued (as it were) in a priuate eſtate in Caſtile, an example of rare patience and chaſtitie: for ſhee would neuer heare ſpeake of a ſecond mariage, although ſhe were ſought vnto by Princes of great ſtate, who happily might haue ſetled her in her fathers kingdome.

Booke of the holy Scripture tranſlated into Portugall.

C Beſides the aboue-named buildings, he built the towne of Almerin vpon the riuer of Tayo, the pallace of Sintra, the caſtle at Lisbon, thoſe of Sierra Balada, neere to S. *Iren*, and other. Seeing himſelfe in peace with all Chriſtian Princes, and well obeyed of his ſubiects, he paſſed the ſea with an armie, and tooke Ceuta from the Moores of Affricke, hauing in his company the Infant D. *Edward*, holding then the place of the eldeſt, for Don *Alphonſo* was dead, the Infant Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra, and Lord of Montmajor the old, and of Auero, Don *Pedro* of Meneſes, Earle of Viana, Standard bearer of the realm, who was the firſt Gouernor of Ceuta, which victorie was intermixt with mourning for the death of the Queene D. *Philippe* his wife, which happened in the yeare 1415. at what time the king D. *Iohn* did take away the vſe of accompting the yeares, by the *Æra* of *Cæſar*, the which had beene till that time obſerued in Portugall, ordaining, that from that time the yeare ſhould begin from the Natiuity of Chriſt: and that it ſhould bee ſo dated in all publike and priuate writings, to the end to conforme himſelfe to that which was brought into Caſtile, Arragon and Nauarre, and to auoyd the confuſion which fell out in contracts and bargains, betwixt the ſubiects of the Realmes of Spaine.

D

In the yeare 1419. the Infant Don *Henry* his ſonne, who was Maſter of the Order of Chriſt, mooued with an honeſt emulation, by the conqueſt which his father had made vpon the Barbarians, hauing conferred with ſome men of knowledge and experience in Coſmographie, reſolued to runne ouer the Ocean ſea, and to diſcouer the ſhoare and Ilands thereof. Going from Lisbon with ſome ſhips, hee came to the Iland of Madera in the yeare 1420. the which he found deſert and full of wood, whereof it carries the name: for Madera is that which the Latins call *Materia*, and we timber. He ſet fire to this wood, ſo as hauing cleanſed it, they found the ſoyle good and fruitfull for all things, eſpecially for ſugar canes, which grow in ſuch aboundance, as both Spaine and all Europe make great vſe of it.

1419.

E

An. 1420. *Madera diſcouered.*

The Infant did afterwards continue this and other nauigations, and was the firſt ſpurre to the Portugals, which came after, to diſcouer the coaſts of Affricke and Aſia, and the Ilands of the South, and Eaſterne ſeas, with great honor to their nation, and infinit profite to the whole world. Theſe things were attempted by the Portugals, when as the peace betwixt them and the Caſtillans was doubtfull: for the Councell of Caſtile delayed it, by reaſon of the kings minority, yet they liued quietly one with another.

D. Henry Maſter of Chriſtus the firſt diſcouerer at ſea.

F

About that time the ambaſſadors of Caſtile, which had beene ſent to the Councell of Conſtance, returned into Spaine, bringing home the re-union of the church of Rome vnder Pope *Martin* the fift. Among them was Don *Diego* of *Anaya Maldonado* Archb. of Seuile, who built the Colledge of Saint *Bartholomew* at Salamanca, this yeare 1420. being

Caſtile.

beeing called the great Colledge, the moſt auncient of all Caſtile, where many learned men haue beene bred. In that Vniuerſitie of Salamanca are many other Colledges, built and endowed with good liuings, where there is good exerciſe of Diuinity, arts, and tongs, as alſo in other townes of Spaine, by the care of Biſhops and good Prelates, labouring chiefly to maintaine learning which are the grounds of pietie and vertue. A

29. Nauarre. The ſame yeare a marriage was made betwixt D. *Blanche* of Nauarre, the widdow-Queene of Sicile, and the Infant D. *Iohn* of Arragon, ſecond ſonne to the King Don *Fernand* deceaſed. By the treatie concluded the yeare before, it was ſayd: That if the Infanta, the preſumptiue heire of Nauarre (for the elder ſiſter the Counteſſe of Foix, was already dead without children) ſhould die before her husband, hauing children or not, that hee ſhould raigne during his life in Nauarre, after the deceaſe of King *Charles* his father-in-law. From this condition and promiſe being ſworne, there grew many troubles in Nauar. Beſides the expectation of the Realme, there was giuen to the Infant Don *Iohn* by king *Charles*, in dowry with D. *Blanche* his daughter, foure hundred twenty thouſand, a hundred and twelue florens of gold, of the coyne of Arragon, ſixe ſolz, and eight deniers: a notable ſumme for a King of Nauarre, an argument of the great treaſure which hee had gathered together during the long peace of his raigne. It was alſo agreed, that the lands and forts which the Infant did hold in Caſtile and Arragon, ſhold deſcend to the heire which ſhold be borne of that marriage, ſucceeding to the Crowne of Nauarre. The Infant did enioy in Arragon the Dutchies of Gandia and Momblanc, the Earledome of Ribagorça, and the towne of Balaguer: and in Caſtile the Dutchie of Pegnafiel, Infantazgo, and the Segneurie of Lara: and moreouer, the townes of Cuellar, Caſtro-Xeris, Villalon, and Haro: afterwards he obtayned Alba de Tormes, Olmedo, Paredes of Naua, Majorga, Villerado, Cerezo, Medina del campo, Aranda of Duego, Roa, Colmenar, and other places, all which he afterwards loſt by the wars he had againſt Caſtile, the titles and pattents whereof are remayning in the records of Nauarre. B C

Poſſeſſions D. Iohn Infant of Arragon.

Theſe articles of marriage were ſworne by the three Eſtates of the Realme. And it was long diſputed betwixt the Infant Don *Iohn*, and the king of Caſtiles councell, where this marriage ſhould be celebrated. In the end he got fortie dayes libertie to go and perform it in Nauarre, whither he went accompanied with many of the Nobility of Caſtile: From hencefoorth D. *Iohn* will entitle himſelfe Infant of Nauarre and Arragon. The marriage beeing ended, returning with his wife D. *Blanche* towards Caſtile, hee met with a meſſenger from Don *Sancho* of Rojas, Archbiſhop of Toledo, who aduertiſed him of a great exceſſe committed by his brother Don *Henry*, Maſter of Saint Iames, ſolliciting him to returne with all ſpeed to court: and thus it was. D

30. Caſtille. Don *Henry* the third ſonne to the deceaſed Don *Fernand* king of Arragon, deſired to marrie Donna *Catherine*, king *Iohns* youngeſt ſiſter, who had the Marquiſate of Villena for her dowrie, but fearing that he ſhould neuer obtaine her by any due courſe, he reſolued to haue her by force: ſo as beeing raſh and exceeding bold, he entred on a time into Toledo with three hundred armed men, where he ſeized on the kings perſon, wherein he was aſſiſted and fauoured by Don *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos the Conſtable, and D. *Pedro Manriques*. They tooke *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça Lord Steward of the kings houſe, and others who were oppoſite vnto them, and holding the King as it were a priſoner, they cauſed many of his houſhold ſeruants and Officers to be chaſed away: aboue all, they deſired to diſplace D. *Aluaro de Luna*, kinſman to the deceaſed Archbiſhop of Toledo, who of a page of the chamber was come to be the kings great minion. But D. *Henry* held it now the beſt to winne him by mildneſſe and bountie, that hee might make vſe of him in that which he pretended. E

The Infanta Donna *Catherina*, to whom this marriage with Don *Henry* was not pleaſing, entred into the Monaſterie of Saint *Claire* in that cittie, from whence ſhe was afterwards taken, for that Don *Henry* led the King to Segouia, and then to Auila, promiſing not to vſe any force concerning the marriage. Don *Iohn* Infant of Nauar and Arragon, hearing of theſe newes, he much blamed the attempt of Don *Henry* his brother, and reſolued to oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, wherefore he called all his friends to Olmedo, and ſuch Noblemen and Knights as diſliked of this exceſſe: ſo as in few daies hee aſſembled F

3000.

A three thouſand Lances, the Infant D. *Henry* preparing alſo for the warre, hee was in a manner equall in ſtrength to his aduerſaries, beeing in the towne of Auila, whether hee had led the King. The factious being ready to enter into a furious warre, D. *Leonora* the widdow Queene of Arragon, and mother to theſe two Princes, laboured ſo betwixt them as all theſe troups retyred except a thouſand Lances, which remayned for the Kings gard: then comming to the treaty of marriage, the Infanta D. *Catherina* being inſtantly intreated by the King her brother (who was not free) to take D. *Henry* for her husband, ſhe would by noe meanes harken to it, D. *Henry* being the ſtronger about the King thinking that D. *Iohn* was oppoſite to his deſſines, he kept him from the king, & not reſpecting
B him, nor them that followed him, he called an aſſembly of his partizans, in forme of a Parlament, where he cauſed the fact of Tordeſillas to be allowed, and ordained what he pleaſed: yea he cauſed letters to be written in the Kings name to the Pope, by the which hee intreated him to giue vnto the Infant D. *Henry* the Lands of the Maiſterſhippe of Saint *Iames* in fee ſimple, to him and his children for euer, with the title of a Dutchy: an impudent demand, and ſo reiected by the Pope. The King married with D. *Maria* of Arragon, in Auila, without feaſts or ceremony, and then they led him to Talauera: and the Infant D. *Henry* neuer ceaſſed vntill he had celebrated his marriage with D. *Catherina* his Couſin Germaine, cauſing the Marquiſate of Villena to be aſſigned for her dowry with the title of Dutchy, who was the third Duke of Caſtile: and the queſtion being of marri-
C ages, where they doe vſually ſhew them-ſelues bountifull, *Aluar de Luna* the Kings Minnion, had in guift the towne of Saint *Stephen* of Gormas, and other Knights were aduanced to other lands, as it pleaſed D. *Henry*. The King being much diſcontented with his reſtrayned Eſtate, hee conferred often with *Aluar de Luna* of the meanes how hee might eſcape, but there appeared great difficulties on euery ſide, for the confederats which held him watcht carrefully ouer him, notwithſtanding going one day abroad vnder collour of hunting, he aduentured to runne to Villalua, and finding himſelfe not ſafe there he paſt to Montalban, which is betwixt Talauera and Toledo, ſome-what out of the way: whereof the Infant D. *Henry* being aduertiſed, who had newly fyniſhed his marriage he was wonderfully troubled in mynde, drawing what forces he could to field, and then the Conſta-
D ble and he follwed the King, but in vaine, for he was in a place of ſafety, who ſent ſome to aduiſe them that they ſhould not follow him, but returne to Talauera, which the Infant D. *Henry* did, but the troupes which were in the pourſute ſtayed not vntill they had ſome newes, and came and lodged about the Caſtle of Montalban, yet they attempted not any thing, for the reuerence they bare vnto the King, who ſeeing him-ſelfe as it were beſeeged, and without victualls in the place, he had means to aduertiſe the Infant D. *Iohn*, D. *Sancho* of Roias, Archbiſhoppe of Toledo, the Admirall D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, and other Knights, intreating them to come and free him.

Eſtates forced.

Demaund of D. Henry moſt impudent.

Marriage forced betwixt D. Henry and D. Catherine of Caſtille.

King eſcapes out of D Henries hands.

In the meane time D. *Henry* held a councell with his partiſans at Talauera and prouided for many things, leaſt the King ſhould eſcape from him. Being intreated by his men, who
E were in the forme of a Campe about Mountalban, hee came thether, bringing with him the Queene D. *Maria* his Siſter and all the Nobility that was at Talauera, to repaire this diſorder in ſome ſort. The King and ſuch as were with him in the Caſtle, for want of better foode, did eate their horſes: D. *Iohn* of Torſillas Biſhop of Segobia, being brought in, hee ſought to make an accord for the Infant D. *Henry*: but the King interrupted him, ſaying, that D. *Henry* ſhould come himſelfe, and ſo hee ſent him backe. D. *Henry* would not aduenture to enter, but he procured that the Conſtable d' Aualos, and D. *Aluar* of Luna conferred together, but they could not conclude any thing, nor yet the deputies of the prouinces of the realme, who entring into the Caſtle, were intreated to moue the King, but they could get noe other anſwer but that D. *Henry* muſt free his lodging from
F ſeege: who indeed was forced to diſlodge, for the Infant D. *Iohn* and other Noblemen, being followed by good troupes of men at armes approched, and would haue taken him from thence by force. Thus the King was deliuered from this ſeege, and the Caſtle furniſhed with victualls: wherefore he ſent a commandement to the Infant D. *Iohn* of Arragon, that he ſhould not aduance with his troupes, vntill he had other newes from him. The Infant ſtayed at Fonſalida, where D. *Alfonſo Henriques* the Admirall ioyned with him,

King of Caſtile beſeeged by his owne ſubiects.

him, being well accompanied, and others which came from all parts, to deliuer the King as they ſaid, out of priſon. This was at that time when as Villa-real beganne to be called Citudad real, in recompence of the good ſeruice which the Inhabitants did vnto the King in this tumult. Don *Henry* being retired to Ocagne, hee had commaundement from the King to lay downe armes, but hee would not obay. The King parted from Montalban to returne to Talauera, vpon the way hee was met by the Infant Don *Iohn*, and Don *Pedro* his brother, with other Noblemen, who hauing kiſt the Kings hands, dined with him at Villalua, and then they were ſent backe to their troupes: for *Aluar de Luna*, who gouerned the King, could not endure that any of the Infants ſhould ſtay in court, leaſt it ſhould impaire his credit and authority.

The King being come to Talauera, he ſent a new commaundement to Don *Henry* and his confederats to diſarme, who were content, ſo as D. *Iohn* the Infant of Arragon, did alſo diſarme, whom the King commanded to ſend away his men, wherein he obaied: after which the King hauing diſpatched ſome buſineſſe in his fauour at Talauera, hee went to Auila: by the way hee came to Pegnafiel, where hee did viſit his couſin Donna *Blanche* of Nauarre, wife to the Infant Don *Iohn*, making great demonſtrations of loue vnto her. Don *Henry* would not diſarme, eſpecially beeing degraded of the title of Marquis of Villena, by a decree of the councell, and his lands beeing ſeized on, hee would recouer them by force, if he might not otherwiſe, for proofe whereof hee aſſailed Chinchilla, Alarcon and the caſtle of Garci Nugnes, where there was a garriſon for the King: cauſing on the other ſide his wife Donna *Catherina* (to whom the Marquiſate did belong) to bee a ſutor vnto the King for his pardon: but the King was ſo incenſed, as he would not heare ſpeake of it, and he reuoaked the title of Duke, which hee had cauſed to bee giuen him, of the lands belonging to the Order of Saint Iames, hoping to make them hereditary. The King did alſo reuoake the guift of Caſtagnedain the Aſturia's of Santillana, which hee had made vnto Don *Garci Fernandes Manrique*, for that hee was one of Don *Henries* faction: Don *Garci* refuſing to yeeld, beeing in poſſeſſion, there were ſome companies of men at armes ſent, who chaſed him, and tooke ſome of his followers, of whom Iuſtice was done. Don *Henry* hoping for no fauour from the King, marched towards Aguilar del Campo, as hee ſayd, to kiſſe the Kings hand; but the King diſlodged from Aguilar, and came to Palençuela, ſending word to Don *Henry* that hee ſhould not aduance, and that hee ſhould diſmiſſe his ſouldiars: then hee came to Vailledolit, and from thence to Tordeſillas, whereas Queene *Mary* his wife was: yet Don *Henry* followed the King, leading with him fifteene hundred launces, and came vnto Guardarama; ſo as the King was forced to draw companies vnto him for his ſafety. Don *Henry* ſent againe to beſeech him to giue him acceſſe, that he might diſcharge himſelfe, cauſing the deputies of townes to make the like ſute from him; but they laboured in vaine, the King giuing them ſo many reaſons, as they laied all the blame vpon Don *Henry* and told him that he muſt obay, and leaue his armed troupes, the which he promiſed to doe, but he did not performe it.

D Henry depriued of his goods and dignities in Caſtile.

The Queene Donna *Leonora* mother to theſe Infants of Arragon, being in great perplexitie to ſee this her Sonne in danger to be ruined, ſhe laboured all ſhee could poſſibly to pacifie the Kings wrath moſt iuſtly incenſed againſt this rebell and raſh vaſſall. Don *Lope de Mendoça* Archbiſhop of Saint Iames did the like, but they preuailed nothing, the King reiecting all prayers and ſutes, vntill hee had laid aſide Armes: wherefore Don *Henry* hauing made ſhew of two thouſand Lances, and three hundred light horſe, hee diſmiſt them, and returned to Ocagne with the Noblemen of his faction, except Don *Pedro* of Velaſco, who came to the Court. The King did alſo muſter his men, where there were found aboue ſixe thouſand men at Armes, whom hee alſo diſcharged, beeing payed, except one thouſand Lances which hee ratayned for his guard.

Interceſſion for D. Henry Infant of Arragon.

Nauarre. *An.* 1421. In the meane time Donna *Blanche* Infanta of Nauarre, was deliuered of a Sonne at Pegnafiell, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand foure hundred twenty and one, the which was Chriſtened at Olmedo by the King of Caſtile, and was named Don *Charles*. and Don *Aluar de Luna* was his other God-father: Don *Iohn* the Infants father, feaſted the

A the King and whole court, with great bountie and ſtate. Two yeares after this Infant was carryed into Nauarre, at the inſtance of King *Charles* his Grand-father, who at that time made Viana a Principalitie, affected to the eldeſt ſonne of Nauarre, annexing to the towne and caſtle of Viana, thoſe of Guarde, Saint Vincent, Bernedo, Aguilar, Vxeneuilla, Pombation, San Pedro, Cambreda, val de Campeço, Maragnon, Toro, Herrara and Buradon: and more-ouer he gaue vnto him Gorela, and Cintruenigo, Peralta and Cadrieta, theſe foure laſt being diſtinct Siegneuries from the Principalitie: And at the Eſtates at Olite, he cauſed him to be ſworne heire of the realme of Nauarre, after the deceaſe of the Infant Don *Iohn* his father.

From Olmedo, the King of Caſtile came to Toledo, to the Eſtates, whether D. *Henry*, Caſtille.
B the Conſtable, and their confederates were cited, who appeared not, but ſent their Ambaſſadors to make their excuſes, ſaying, that they held for their profeſſed enemies Don *Sancho* of Rojas Archbiſhop of Toledo, D. *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, and many others, and that they ſuſpected the Infant D. *Iohn*: wherewith the King beeing more incenſed then before, reſolued to purſue them by armes, whereſoeuer they were: but Don *Henry* being aduertiſed and aduiſed, promiſed to preſent himſelfe before the King at Madrid by the fourteenth of May this yeare 1422. where he appeared a day before the Aſſignation. *An.* 1422.
Hauing kiſt the Kings hand, beginning to enter into a diſcourſe, to excuſe and iuſtifie himſelfe, the King would not heare him, but ſent him back to his lodging. The day following, there were produced in the Kings Councel, fourteene of the Conſtable d'*Auales*
C letters, by the which he was charged with treaſon, and practiſing with the King of Granado againſt the King of Caſtile his Lord. They were openly read by *Sancho Romero* the kings Secretary, who ſaid, that D. *Diego* of Fuenteſalida, Biſh. of Zamora had giuen him them. D. *Henry* and *Garci Fernandes Manrique*, thinking to defend the Conſtables innocie and fidelitie, were committed to priſon by the Kings commandement, and all the horſes and furniture they had in Court ſeazed on. The Conſtable and the Infanta D. *Catherina*, being aduertiſed of what had paſt at Madrid, they left Caſtile, and retired to Balueda, a caſtle in the realme of Valencia, and the Gouernor Don *Pedro Manrique* fled to Taraſſone: wherefore the King cauſed all their goods to bee ſeazed, commanding all Gouernors and Magiſtrates to apprehend them. Theſe letters did not ſeeme very cer-
D taine, wherefore they of the Kings councell ſuſpecting that they were counterfet, (as in truth they were) they cauſed the Kings Attorney generall, to frame an accuſation againſt the Conſtable, for that he had beene a confederate and fauourer of D. *Henry*, when as the King was detained in Tordeſilla, and of the diſorders which after followed: by reaſon whereof his goods were ſeazed on, for it did appeare that the letters were counterfet, by the confeſſion of *Iohn Garcia* of Guadalajara the Conſtables Secretary, who betraying his Maiſter, had himſelfe counterfetted them, and ſealed them with his ſeale at Toledo, for which crime he was executed at Vailledolit. The King cauſed *Gonçala Mexia* to bee named Adminiſtrator of the Order of Saint *Iames*, whereof the Infant D. *Henry*, being
E in priſon, was Maiſter, and did aduertiſe the King of Arragon of his detention and the cauſes. The Conſtable and the Infant D. *Catherina* being retired to Valencia, they were well entertained by them that did gouerne thoſe realmes in the abſence of D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, who was at Naples, whereat D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile was ſo much diſcontented as he ſent his Ambaſſadors into Italy to the K. of Arragon to complaine of this fact. About the end of this yeare 1422. King *Iohn* had by Queene *Mary* his wife, a daughter *Death of the Archb. of Toledo.*
borne at *Ilesca*, who was named D. *Catherina*: and about that time D. *Sancho* of Rojas Archbiſhop of Toledo, died at Alcala of Henares, in whoſe place was ſubſtituted Don *Iohn* of Contreras Deane of the ſame Church, and borne at Riaxa. The Infanta D. *Catherina* was declared and ſworne heire of the Realme of Caſtile, the yeare following
F 1423. at the Eſtate of Toledo, if the King her father ſhould die without heires male: for ſuch was the cuſtome of Spaine. There the truce betwixt Caſtille and Portugall was renewed for twenty nine yeares, with a condition, that if hereafter the one ſhould offer to make warre againſt the other, hee ſhould giue him warning 18. moneths before: A ſinceritie which is contemned in this age, whereas they ſeeke to ſurpriſe one another by any ſecret and indirect meanes. This truce was proclamed the court being at Auila.

D. Ruy de Auales the Conſtable charged with treaſon.

And ſoone after the king Don *Iohn* beeing at Vailledolit, there came ambaſſadours from A
D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, to excuſe the reception which had beene giuen at Valencia, to the Infanta D. *Catherina*, and the Conſtable, Don *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos : and to acquaint the king of Caſtile with the ſucceſſe of the warre of Naples, whereas they king of Arragon was buſied.

31 Arragon.

This Prince who was famous not onely among all them that had raigned in Arragon, but in all the reſt of Chriſtendome had this occaſion to vndertake the warre of Naples: after the deceaſe of king *Ladiſlaus*, his ſiſter *Ioane* the ſecond, widow to the Duke of Eſterlic, hauing ſucceeded in the Realme, as ſhee was infamous, by reaſon of the familiarity which was more then did befit the greatneſſe of a Queene, which ſhe had with *Pandolfello Alope*, a Knight of Naples, being held to be one of the goodlieſt men of his time. Shee B
to couer their looſe life, contracted marriage with *Iames* of Bourbon, Earle of Marche, a Prince of the bloud Royall of France, vppon condition that he ſhould not intitle himſelfe king, nor ſhould not meddle with the gouernement of the Realme, but as ſhe pleaſed. The Earle being come to Naples, he ſoone diſcouered what paſt betwixt the Queene his wife, and *Pandolfello*: wherefore being mooued with a iuſt diſdaine, hee cauſed the adulterer to be ſlaine, and depriued the Queene of the gouernement, hauing puniſhed her onely with words and reproches. The Queene diſſembling her diſcontent againſt the Earle, watched a fit oportunity to be reuenged: wherein ſhe wrought ſo by her practiſes and intelligences, as ſhe not onely recouered her liberty, but ſhe put the Earle her huſ- C
band into priſon, who beeing afterwards freed by the interceſſion of Pope *Martin*, retired into France, leauing the Queene to liue after her owne appetite. Pope *Martin* who was moleſted by the faction of Vrſins, the chiefe whereof was *Braccio Fortebracci*, hee made a ſtrict league with this Queene, by the which ſhe promiſed to ayde him with three thouſand horſe, and other things: but their friendſhip was ſoone diſſolued: and Pope *Martin* to annoy Queene *Ioane*, did inueſt in the Realme of Naples, *Lewis* Duke of Anion, called the third, who was ſonne to *Lewis* the ſecond, and of the Infanta D. *Violant* of Arragon, and declared Queene *Ioane* fallen from it, and depriued thereof: wherefore *Lewis* began to league himſelfe in Italy with many Princes and Potentates, namely, with D
the Commonweale of Genoua, who were mighty at ſea, from whom he was ayded to conquer the Realme of Naples, with thirteene gallies, whereof *Baptiſt Fregoſo* was Generall.

Vnchaſtneſſe of Ioane 2. Queene of Naples.

Pope Martin enemy to Queene, raiſs in Lewis Duke of Anieu.

Theſe things beeing come to the knowledge of King D. *Alphonſo*, who was newly aduanced to the Crowne of Arragon, beeing young, and deſirous of glorie, conſidering how much it might preiudice the Eſtate of Sicile, if the houſe of Aniou ſhould ſettle it ſelfe againe at Naples, he thought he ſhould greatly diſappoint *Lewis* his deſſeines, if he ſhould make warre againſt the Geneuois: wherefore hauing prepared an armie at ſea, he came and landed in the Iland of Corſica, which was wholly in the power of that State, and vnder colour of the right which the kings of Arragon did pretend, by reaſon of ancient donations made vnto them by the Popes, of the two Ilands of Corſica & Sardinia: E
at his firſt landing he tooke Calui, and then beſeeged *Boniface*, preſſing it in ſuch ſort, as without ſpeedie ſuccors from Genoua it had beene taken, and the whole Iland. During this ſeege Queene *Ioane*, who ſaw a great ſtorme readie to fall vppon her, ſent *Anthony Caraffa* vnto him, intreating him to vndertake the defence of her and her Realme, againſt *Lewis* of Aniou, the Pope and their allies, in requitall whereof ſhe would adopt him for her ſonne and ſucceſſor in the Realme of Naples, and for an earneſt-peny ſhe would deliuer him the two caſtles of Naples. King *Alphonſo* was well pleaſed with theſe conditions, who to make this accord authenticke, ſent *Raymond* of Perillos to Naples with 18. gallies, and 14. galliots, and D. *Bernard* of Centillas, and D. *Iohn* of Moncado his ambaſſadors, with authoritie and ſufficient inſtructions, who agreed with Queene *Ioane* in the F
Kings name, and receiued the aboue-named forts: and after the releeſe of Boniface by the Geneuois, whereas the king receiued ſome loſſe, he paſſed with the reſt of his army into Sicile, and from thence to Naples, where the accords and adoption was confirmed, the Queene inueſting him then in the Dutchie of Calabria, as preſumptiue heire of the Realme: but the peace betwixt the mother and the ſonne was not laſting: wherefore ſhe

Alphonſo King of Arragon, leads an Armie into Corſica, againſt the Geneuois.

repenting

repenting to haue adopted *Alphonſo*, he dealing in her affaires, there fell out warre betwixt them: ſo as after many incounters, and variable ſucceſſe, the Queene left Naples, and was forced to retire to Auerſe, from whence ſhe ſent to call backe *Lewis* of Aniou, beeing then at Rome, who in the yeare 1423. came to Auerſe, where hee was receiued with great ioy, and was adopted there by the Queene, and was made Duke of Calabria, and *Alphonſo* reiected as ingrate: at which time happened in Caſtile the impriſonment of D. *Henry* Maſter of Saint Iames, brother to the king D. *Alphonſo*, and the retreat of D. *Catherine* his wife, with the Conſtable to Valencia, and of other Noblemen into diuers parts of Arragon, whoſe goods D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile had confiſked, whereupon grew many quarrels: by reaſon whereof the King D. *Alphonſo* was forced to returne into Spaine, leauing his brother D *Pedro* at Naples, to make head againſt the Duke of Aniou, with *Iames Cadora*, and many Noblemen Italians, of his faction to aſſiſt him. Sayling along the coaſt of Prouence, he ſurprized Marſeilles, a Towne belonging to the Duke of Aniou, being Earle of Prouence, the which he ſpoyled and burnt, carrying away for a precious Iewell the body of *Lois* ſometimes Biſhop of Tholouſa, ſonne to King *Charles* the Lame, being held a Saint. It is noted for a noble and religious act in this Prince, that at the taking of the towne hee would not ſuffer any iniurie to bee done vnto the women that were retired into the Churches, nor any thing to be taken from them. It was taken in the night at a ſecond aſſault: *Alphonſo* being rich with ſpoiles landed at Valencia.

Marſeilles ſurprized by the King of Arragon.

In the meane time in Caſtile they made the proceſſe of all the fugitiues, and degraded D. *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos, of his Eſtate and dignitie of Conſtable, depriued him of the gouernement of Murcia, and did confiſcate all his lands and goods. He had enioyed Xodar, Ximena, the tower of Alaquin, Arcos, Arjone, Arjonilla, Figuiera and Colmenar, in the countrie of Auila, and Oſorno and Ribadeo in Galicia, and other places, which were all forfeited to the King, who gaue the office of Conſtable to Don *Aluar de Luna*, who was afterwards created Earle of Saint *Stephen de Gormas*, and receiued with great ſolemnitie. *Alphonſo Iames Faiardo* was made Gouernor of the fronter of Murcia, and his lands were diſtributed to others: ſo as the houſe of Aualos remained very poore in Caſtile. The King decreed, that D. *Iohn* of Tordeſilla Biſhop of Segobia, who had beene Superintendant of the treaſor, in the time of the deceaſed King *Henry*, ſhould be apprehended, to make him giue an account of his charge: but the biſhop of Zamora who had this charge, ſhewed himſelf a friend, and ſuffred him to eſcape into Portugal, from whence he paſt to Valencia. About the end of this yeere 1423. D. *Leonora* king *Iohns* 2. daughter was borne: as ſoone as he had intelligence that the king of Arragon was arriued at Valencia, he ſent him an Ambaſſage, to congratulat his arriual, and to intreat him to ſend him D. *Catharina* the wife of D. *Henry* and the fugitiues of Caſtile, or elſe to chaſe them out of his country: whereof the king D. *Alphonſo* excuſed himſelf, as wel to theſe Ambaſſadors of Caſtile, as by others whom he ſent expreſly to *K. Iohn*, who intreated him for an enterview, wherewith the king was willing, but ſuch as were enricht with the conſtables ſpoils, diſſwaded him, wherewith the king of Arragon was diſcontented, and afterwards more, they refuſing him to let him confer with the Queen of Caſtile his ſiſter. In the yere 1424. the Infant D. *Catherina* died at Madrigal, whereupon the King cauſed the Princeſſe *Leonora* to be ſworne for heire of thoſe realms, in caſe he died without any iſſue maſle. In which yere there alſo died at Pegniſcola, *Benedict*, being 90. yeeres old; hauing held the Popedome 31. yeers 2. months and 10. daies, from his election made at Auignon, and after that hee had bin depoſed by the councel of *Conſtance*, 7. yeers and 4. months, his body was interred in Illueça, in vnhallowed ground (as they ſay:) a man to violent in al his actions, obſtinate and indomptable: of ſo ſtrong a conſtitution of body, as they could not attribute the cauſe of his death but to poiſon, the which they found had bin giuen him in certaine ſweet meats, by a Monke, called *Thomas*, ſet on by the Cardinal of Piſa, who was ſent into Spaine to that end. The crime being auerred, the Monke *Thomas* was taken and quartered, the Cardinal who remained at Tortoſa fled, fearing that Don *Roderigo* and Don *Aluar de Luna Benedicts* Nephewes ſhould reuenge his death vpon him. After his deceaſe the Cardinals which were of his faction, and were retired with him, to Pegniſcola, would haue continued the Schiſme, and entring into the Conclaue

32 Caſtile.

D Aluar de Luna made conſtable of Caſtile.

with the accuſtomed ceremonies, they did chooſe a Chanon of Barcelona, named *Gil Mugnos*, borne at Teruel, whom they called *Clement* the eight, wherevnto Don *Alphonſo* King of Arragon conſented, beeing in bad termes with Pope *Martin* at Rome. This *Clement* created Cardinals, gaue Benefices and Diſpenſations, and did all acts of a Pope as well as *Martin*, and by him the Church of Rome continued diuided.

Don Alphonſo King of Arragon a fauourer of a new Schiſme.

1425. In the yeare one thouſand foure hundred twenty and fiue, D. *Henry* ſonne to D. *Iohn* King of Caſtille, was borne at Vailledolit, who ſucceeded him in the Realmes. Hee was baptized by Don *Aluaro* of Oſorno Biſhop of Cuenca, the God-fathers were *Aluar de Luna*, the Conſtable, and Don *Alphonſo Henriques* Admirall of Caſtile: and the Godmothers Donna *Eluira Porto-carrero* the Conſtables wife, and Donna *Ioane* of Mendoça the Admirals: and within few moneths after this Infant was ſworne Prince and heire of the realmes in that Towne, in the Monaſterie of Saint *Pablo*, the Infant Don *Ihon* of Arragon, as Lord of Lara, being the firſt that ſwore him fealtie and future homage.

Birth of the Infant Don Henry of Caſtile.

Nauarre. The offences betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Arragon were ſuch, as they attended nothing but open warre, not onely in theſe two realmes, but alſo in Nauarre, the ſucceſſor thereof, Don *Iohn*, being much bound to either countrie: wherefore the King Don *Charles* vſed all meanes poſſible to reconcile them. Notwithſtanding the King Don *Alphonſo* ſent a letter open, by a Secretarie of his, to the Infant D. *Iohn* his brother, to come into Arragon to aſſiſt at a Parlament which hee had called, vpon paine to bee declared a rebell. Don *Iohn* not onely obtained leaue to goe to the King his Brother, but hee had alſo full authoritie to make an accord with him. When he came to the Court of Arragon at Taraſſone, hee had newes of the death of the King of Nauarre, his father in lawe, which happened ſodenly at Olite, in September, beeing buſie about his buildings. A Prince much lamented both of his ſubiects and ſtrangers, for his vertues and milde diſpoſitions: who beſides other remarkable things, ſetled a perpetuall peace in Pampelone, the which before his time had beene deuided into three regions or countries, called Bourg, Peuplement, and Nauarriere, gouerned by three diuers Iudges, with ſeuerall Iuriſdictions, ſo as there oftentimes fell out great contentions and mutinies among them, the which hee did aboliſh, reducing all the Inhabitants of the Towne vnder one Iuſtice, taking away for euer the factious names of parts and quarters, placing one Gouernour or Magiſtrate ouer them, with ten Iurates to aſſiſt him. Hee was threeſcore and foure yeares old when hee dyed, and had raigned thirtie nine yeares and nine moneths. His body was laide in the Cathedrall Church at Pampelone, with Queene *Leonora* his wife.

Death of Charles King of Nauarre.

Pampelona vnited into one body.

Don *Iohn*, firſt of that name, thirty three King of Nauarre.

DOn *Iohn* his ſonne in lawe ſucceeded him, in the right of Donna *Blanche* his wife, the Crowne of Nauarre paſſing from the houſe of France, to the houſe of Caſtile and Arragon, for want of heyres male, the which continued not long: Hee was about eight and twenty yeares old when hee began to raigne in Nauarre: when as King *Charles* dyed, hee was in the campe of King Don *Alphonſo*, who being incenſed againſt the King of Caſtile, for his brother Don *Henryes* impriſonment, was gone to Armes, and had his forces on the confines of Arragon and Nauarre, about Taraſſone, the which hee cauſed to enter into Nauarre, as ſoone as the newes came of the Kings death. After which they vſed this ceremonie: Don *Iohn*, who ſhould ſuccede, kept his chamber three dayes, after which hee went to horſe-back, accompanied with the King his brother, and cauſing the Standard of Nauarre to be carried before him, by a Knight called *Nugno Vaca*, and a Herald to march before with a coate of the armes of Nauarre, crying out alowd, Nauarre, Nauarre, for the King Don *Iohn* and Donna *Blanche* his wife: going often about the field, the Trumpets ſounding, and being followed

Ceremonie in taking poſſeſſion of the realme of Nauarre.

A followed by many Knights and Gentlemen of Caſtile and Arragon, on foote, but there was not one Nauarrois, for the Nobilitie of Nauarre had done the like at Olite, for the Queene Donna *Blanche* their naturall Princeſſe, and not without a miſterie.

Whileſt that theſe things paſt vpon the frontiers, the King of Caſtile hauing made a great aſſembly at Palence, and gathered together much money, in the end hee was aduiſed to free Don *Henry* out of priſon, beeing the cauſe of all this tumult, and for the which the King of Arragon had taken Armes. The King of Caſtile would firſt haue the King of Arragon diſarmed, which difficulties being debated, it was agreed that Don *Henry* ſhould bee deliuered in the hands of Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre, who ſhould bee anſwerable vntill that the King of Arragon his brother had laide downe B Armes. Wherefore *Pero Garcia* of Herrera, Marſhall of Caſtile, followed by fiue hundred men at Armes, came to the Caſtle of Mora, whereas the Infant Don *Henry* was deliuered vnto him, hee ſwearing to conduct him and deliuer him into the hands of Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre. 34. Caſtile.

Don Henry brother to the King of Arragon and Nauarre, deliuered.

The two Kings Brethren being come to Saint *Vincent* of Nauarre, hearing that they brought Don *Henry*, they returned, and going to meete him, the King Don *Iohn* receiued him at Agreda, and then ledde him to Taraſſone, whereas the King of Arragon embraced him with great content. Beeing there, Don *Lewis de Guzman* Maiſter of Calatraua, and Don *Ihon* of Soto maior, Maiſter of Alcantara, ſent to offer him their friendſhip and meanes, againſt them of the Kings Councell, and againſt his Mig- C nions, which had beene oppoſite againſt him. The which the King of Caſtile did not doubt, but ſent *Fernande* of Robles, and Doctor *Periagnez* of his Councell, to Caſcante a Towne of Nauarre, to treate with the King Don *Ihon* touching his returne into Caſtile to end that which remained to doe touching Don *Henry*, the which hee yeelded vnto, and came to the King of Caſtile beeing at Roa, who entertained him kindly, and hauing beene there ſome dayes together, without ſpeaking of any affaires, the King of Caſtile went to Segobia, and hee of Nauarre to Medina del Campo. Soone after, in the beginning of the yeare one thouſand foure hundred twenty and ſix, hee came to Toro to the King of Caſtile, where hee gaue him an accompt of that which hee had negotiated with the King of Arragon his Brother, wherewith the D King ſeemed to bee very well ſatiſfied. The Eſtates were held there, by the which the King was let vnderſtand of the ſuperfluous charge of a thouſand Lances which hee led for his garde, the which coſt eight Millions of Marauidis, wherevpon they were reduced to a hundred, vnder the Conſtables charge, who was in ſuch authoritie and fauour, as euery man feared him openly, or hated him ſecretly. The Eſtates requiring alſo that the Kings exceſſiue gifts ſhould bee cut off, it was ordained, that all that had or ſhould be giuen by the King before the age of twenty fiue yeares, ſhould bee reputed voide: Many other good decrees were made, but they laſted little.

Eſtates at Toro, and their remonſtrances.

The King of Nauarre ſtaied in Caſtile, where he had great poſſeſſions, and was much E fauoured, yea for his ſake many Noblemen Caſtillans were aduanced to Offices in the Kings houſe, as *Ruy Dias* of Mendoça was made Lord Steward, and *Ihon Aluaro* of Gadillo Standard-bearer. As for himſelfe hee was wholy gouerned by *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, whom he made Earle of Caſtro Xeris, a place which was of his patrimonie. There were three Leagues beginning in Court, one for the king of Nauarre, the ſecond for *Henry* his brother, and the third for the Conſtable Don *Aluar de Luna*, who increaſed dayly in authoritie. The king ſpent the reſt of that yeare one thouſand foure hundred twenty and ſixe, at Fuente del Sauco, at Vailledolit & at Zamora, where he cauſed ſome pettie mutiniers and rebels to bee puniſhed by Iuſtice, whileſt that great men, which troubled the realme, liued in all aſſurance.

F In the beginning of the yeare one thouſand foure hundred twenty and ſeauen, the Infant Don *Henry* and his wife Donna *Catherina* came from Valencia to Ocagne, where the hatred burſt forth betwixt the King of Nauarre, and the Conſtable Don *Aluar de Luna* being much fauoured and highly ſupported by the fauor of the King, who deſired alſo to entertaine the King of Nauarre. Don *Henry* aduancing towards the Court, came to Vailledolit, accompanied by the Maiſters of Calatraua and Alcantara,

and others of the faction oppoſite to the Conſtable, it auailing nothing that the King, who was at Simanca, did write vnto him, and commanded him by many meſſages, that he ſhould not come to Court, but returne to Ocagne. The two Brethren entring into Vailledolit, being confederate with Don *Pedro* of Velaſco, who was Earle of Haro, and Lord Chamberlaine to the King, Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, Lord of Hita and Buitrago, who afterwards was the firſt Marquis of Sentillana, Don *Fernand Aluares* of Toledo Lord of the Vallee of Corneia, who afterwards was the firſt Earle of Alba, and his Vncle Don *Guttiere Gomes* of Tolledo Biſhop of Palence, the Maiſters of Calatraua and Alcantara, with other noble men of Caſtille, ſent to beſeech the King, that for ſome good reſpects he would command the Conſtable to retire from Court, for that the abſolute power which he did vſurpe In the gouernment of affaires, was the cauſe of many inconueniences. The King would haue it put to Compromiſe, and that the King of Nauarre on the one ſide, and Don *Aluar* on the other, ſhould deliuer their reaſons before Arbitrators: of which aduice *Franciſco* of Soria, a Franciſcan Friar was the Author. The Iudges named for the confederates, were Don *Lewis* of Guzman Maiſter of the Calatraua, and the Gouernour Don *Pedro Manrique*, and for the Conſtable, Don *Alphonſo Henriques* high Admirall of Caſtille, and *Fernand Alphonſo* of Robles, of the Kings Councell, and his chiefe Treaſurer: and for an Vmper the Abbot of Saint *Benets* in Vailledolit. All which gaue ſentence, that Don *Aluaro de Luna* the Conſtable, ſhould abſent himſelfe from Court, for the ſpace of eighteene moneths next enſuing, and not come within fifteene Leagues of it, and ſo ſhould they doe whom hee had put into the Kings Chamber.

Leagu. againſt the Conſtable Aluar de Luna.

D. Aluar de Luna the Conſtabl. baniſht from court.

The Conſtable yeelding to this ſentence, hee retired himſelfe to his houſe at Aillon, and the King of Nauarre with his brother Don *Henrie*, came to Cigales, where the King was, of whom they tooke their leaues with reaſonable good ſhewes of loue: yet Don *Henry* had a better countenance of him then the King of Nauarre, to whom they imputed the whole cauſe of the Conſtables diſmiſſion, which made the King the more deſirous to ſee him againe. And for that *Fernando Alphonſo de Robles*, one of the Kings Counſell, had beene one of the principall Inſtruments of all theſe alterations, hee was ſhut vp in the Caſtle of Segobia.

After all this, they treated of Don *Henries* affaires, and of his confederates. The accord which the King made there with Don *Henry*, beſides the reſtitution of his goods, and the dignitie of the maiſterſhip of Saint Iames, was, that for the Marquiſate of Villena, hee ſhould enioy Trugillo and Alcaras, with their appurtenances, and other lands in the country of Guadalajara: Moreouer they gaue him two hundred thouſand Florens of gold in ready money, and a Million and two hundred thouſand ſmall Marauidis of yeerely penſion during his life. To the King of Nauarre for his charges during the troubles, hee gaue a hundred thouſand Florins to bee payde by a certaine time. There was then preſent *Inigo Ortiz* of Eſtuniga, Marſhall of Nauarre, who had married Donna *Ioane* baſe Siſter to the Queene Donna *Blanche*.

Accord made by the King with Don Henry.

The King diſcharged and ſent home to their houſes a great number of vnneceſſarie men which followed the court without cauſe, who were but a burthen to him and the country: and to take away all occaſion of diſtruſt and new troubles, hee granted a generall pardon to all men, of what Eſtate, quality, or condition ſoeuer they were, that had medled with the precedent troubles. Hee reſtored Don *Ruy Lopes* of Auales the Conſtable (beeing accuſed to haue had Intelligence with the Moores, by letters produced to the Kings Councell) to his honour and fame, but hee neither reſtored him to his Office nor goods. Amideſt theſe treaties the Conſtable *Aluaro de Luna* was called backe againe to the court, his verie enemies conſenting therevnto, yea the King of Nauarre, and his brother Don *Henry*, who grew after ſo iealous one of an other, who ſhould bee in the Conſtables fauour, as they entred into factions: wherefore the King of Caſtile imploying therein the Queene of Nauar, and the Eſtates alſo of Nauarre, they perſwaded their King to returne into his realme. D. *Henry* went in pilgrimage to Saint Iames, and then was ſent to the Moores frontier, who began to raiſe ſome tumults, as we will hereafter ſhew.

D. Ruy Lopes of Auales reſtored to his honor and good name, but not to his goods.

The

A The King of Caſtile being at Vailledolit, D.*Leonora* Infanta of Arragon, ſiſter to the King of Nauarre, paſt thereby going into Portugal, to be married to Prince *Edward*, the heire of that Realme, to whom the King her couſin gaue the beſt reception he could, honouring her with rich preſents, money and men to accompany her. Soone after the King being at Arando of Duero, he receiued D. *Pedro* Infant of Portugal, and Duke of Coimbra, very gratiouſly, being alſo his couſin germaine: for D. *Philippe* mother to D. *Pedro*, and Donna *Conſtance* mother to the King D. *Iohn*, were ſiſters daughters to the duke of Lancaſter, but by diuers ventures. This Prince came from trauailling ouer Chriſtendome: and it is he of whom it is ſaid in Portugal, that hee had ſeene the ſeuen parts of the world, that is to ſay all: from thence he paſt much honoured into Portugal. *D. Pedro of Portugal a great trauel-ler.*

B In like manner there came the ſame yeere into Caſtile, D.*Pedro* Infant of Arragon, in his returne from Naples, whereas the affaires had not beene very ſucceſſull for the Arragonois: where he went to ſee the Queene Donna *Leonora* his mother, at Medina del Campo. The King freed D. *Garci Fernandes Manrique* out of priſon, who had beene committed with the Infant D. *Henry*. Thus paſt the gouernment of Caſtile vnto the end of the yeere 1428.

In the which the King of Arragon hauing made an accord with Pope *Martin*, he forced the Antipope *Gil Mugnos*, reſyding in the caſtle of Pegniſcola to renounce the Popedome, hauing held it foure yeeres; whereby the Schiſme in the church of Rome ended, hauing continued foure and forty yeeres. Ths *Gil Mugnos* had in recompence C the Biſhoprike of Majorca, and was receiued into the bōſome of the church, and in fauor with the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome. The Cardinals created by him gaue ouer their hats, and *Martin* remained ſole Pope. Arragon.

This yeere beganne an other ſect of Monkes of Saint Ieroſme, ſpringing out of that of Saint *Bartlemew* of Lupiana, wherevnto Friar *Lopes* of Olmedo, a Doctor of the lawes, and a religious man in that Monaſtery, gaue the beginning. Hauing beene choſen by the Monkes of Saint Bartlemew to be generall of their Order, being deſirous to reforme them, he gathered out of the Bookes of Saint Ieroſme, and others, a cetaine rule and manner of lyuing, which hee ſaid, had beene held in Bethelem, wherevpon that great Doctor, and his Monkes preſcribed that monacall weed, which he ſaid was vſed by them, 35 Caſtile.

D and hauing preſented all vnto Pope *Martin*, hee cauſed his order to be allowed, vnder the name of friars hermits of Saint Ieroſme, of the obſeruance of Bethelem, and then he ſought to haue it receiued in Spaine, by the religious of his Order, and to reforme them to bee more perfect, according to the ſame: but they told him plainely, that they would none of it, wherefore he was forced to finde out other followers. He therefore erected a conuent vnder that title neere vnto Seuile, called of Saint *Iſidro*, a name which hath remained to this new ſect, ſo as there haue beene ſince in Spaine two ſorts of Monkes of Saint Ieroſme, the one of Lupiana, and the other of Saint *Iſidro*, or of friar *Lope*. This Order of Monkes makes the fourth of them that liue vnder the Romiſh church in Spaine, numbred with the Bernadins, Benedictins and Carthuſians. Theſe *Foure Orders of Monkes which beg not.*

E Iſidres haue multiplied in ſuch ſort, as ſince they haue extended themſelues farre into Italy, and other Regions. And althought that their beginning be from Spaine, and that in the beginning the chiefe of their order was a Spaniard, yet in ſucceſſion of time, and through the negligence of the Spaniards, the Italians haue gotten it: and whereas they ſent vice-generals of this Order out of Spaine into Italy, now it is otherwiſe. Such were the effects of the doctrine of that age.

Whileſt that D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre, and his wife D. *Blanche* were in Caſtile, the E- Nauarre.

F ſtates of Nauarre aſſembled, and tooke a new oth to D.*Charles* Prince of Viana. Queene *Blanch* went firſt into Nauarre, and ſoone after the King her husband arriued, hauing made a renuntiation of certaine lands in Caſtile, in fauour of his ſonne D.*Charles*, being then ſeuen yeeres old, where the leagues were renued betwixt Caſtile, Nauarre and Arragon, King *Iohn* hauing full power from King D.*Alphonſo* his brother. And on Whitſonday 1429. the King D. *Iohn* and Queene *Blanche* his wife were crowned at Pampelone, the three Eſtates of the realme being aſſembled, and the rights, preuiledges and liberties of the country ſworne by them. D.*Martin* of Peralta Biſhop of Pampelone did the

ceremony

ceremony of the vnction, and others accuſtomed in ſuch caſes. There were preſent the Ambaſſadors of forraine Princes, the Biſhops of Calaorra, Tarraſſone and Bayone, with many Noblemen and Knights of Nauarre, Caſtile and Arragon. At this coronation there was againe ſworne and confirmed the matrimoniall conuentions betwixt the King D. *Iohn*, and D. *Blanche* the heire, made in the time of King *Charles* her father.

The Eſtate of the Moores of Granado, during theſe tumults in Caſtile, had beene quiet, by prorogation of the truce with the King of Caſtile, and his councell, in conſideration of a certaine tribute, which was paied by King *Ioſeph* vntill his death, the which was in the yeere 1423. being very old, and hauing enioyed the realme fifteene yeeres.

Mahumet the Left-handed, called Aben-Azar the foureteenth King of Granado.

Moores.

AFter *Ioſeph* reigned his ſonne *Mahumet*, called *Aben-Azar*, the Scepter of Granado continuing by him in the ſucceſſion of *Ferrachen*, who was Gouernor of Malaga. This King who was left-handed of his perſon, had alſo a ſiniſter reigne: for he was thrice chaſed from his throne, after great miſeries, and twice reſtored. Theſe ſeditious changes were ordinary, and haue alwaies beene amongſt the Arabians, who are inconſtant, treacherous, rauiſhing and ambitious, if there be any liuing. King *Mahumet* did maintaine the truce, and entertaine himſelfe in the fauour and friendſhip of the King of Caſtile, for ſome yeeres, and in like manner with *Muley Aben Ferriz* King of Tunes: but he could not get the loue of his owne ſubiects. In the beginning of his reigne, he made a Knight whoſe name was *Ioſeph*, of the family of *Aben Sarraces* (which was great and much eſteemed amongſt that nation) *Alguazil* Major or chiefe Marſhall of Granado. The troubles of Caſtile, whereas many Noblemen, yea D. *Henry* Maiſter of Saint Iames, banded againſt their King, was a preſident for the Moores, who conſpired againſt this Left-handed *Mahumet*, in fauour of an other of the ſame name, ſurnamed the Little: ſo as they made him King, and forced *Mahumet* to flie to Tunes, to King *Muley Aben Ferriz* his friend: in which exile he was followed by about fiue hundred Moores of his faction, as well horſe as foote, who were all well entertained, and afterwards aſſiſted to recouer the loſt Kingdome in Spaine.

Mahumet Aben-Azar expelled.

Mahumet the Little, the fifteenth King of Granado.

MAhumet called the Little, reigned then about the yeere 1427. the eleuenth of that name, and fifteenth King of the Moores at Granado. The ſurname of Little, was giuen him, to diſtinguiſh him from his predeceſſor, who raigned before him. This King entring by tyrany, thought that rigour and cruelty was the beſt means to maintaine him in his Eſtate, as commonly tyrants doe; wherefore he beganne to perſecute the Officers, friends and partiſans of his predeceſſor (whom he had expelled) by impriſonments, baniſhments, confiſcations and cruell deaths, whereas many were ruined, and many alſo eſcaped, amongſt the which was the Alguazil *Ioſeph Aben Sarrax*, who fled to Lorca a towne in the realme of Murcia, ſubmitting himſelfe to the mercy of the King of Caſtile, and of the Gouernor of Lorca, who was *Lope Alphonſo* of Lorca, who afterwards led him to court, and preſented him to the King D. *Iohn* at Illeſca, a towne belonging to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, ſeated betwixt Madrid and Toledo. The King gaue good entertainment to this Moore, from whom he vnderſtood the reſolutions of Granado, *Lope Alphonſo* being truchman betwixt them. The King being intreated by *Ioſeph Aben Sarrax*, to aide his maiſter to recouer his realme, hee yeelded vnto it, and hauing giuen him many preſents, and ſhewed him all fauour, he ſent him with *Lope Alphonſo* in Ambaſſage

Tyrants care not to bee hated, ſo they bee feared.

to

A to Tunes, to let King *Mahumet* vnderſtand how much hee deſired to doe him good, and to exhort him of Tunes, to aide and fauour his gueſt. The buſineſſe ſucceeded ſo well, as *Mahumet Aben Azar*, receiuing money, and all other kinde of aide, from the King of Tunes, he paſt from Tunes to Oran, and then croſſing the ſea, hee came and landed at Vera in Granado, whoſe comming being divulged through the country, the towns thereabouts, yea that of Almery, opened their gates vnto him. *Mahumet* the Little, who held the Realme, reſolued to make head againſt him, thinking that his forces were yet but weake, ſending about eight hundred horſe and ſome foote before to incounter him, moſt of which ioyned with *Mahumet Aben Azar*, who purſuing his good fortune, entred
B with the like facility into Guadix, yea hee was receiued into the city of Granado: ſo as *Mahumet* the Little, his competitor was forced to ſhut and fortefie himſelfe, in the Alhambra of Granado; where he was preſently beſeeged, *Aben Azar* lodging his campe at a place called Alcabiçar, neere to the fort of Alhambra: to whoſe obedience there preſently yeelded the townes of Malaga, Gibraltar, Ronde, and in the end the whole realme: wherefore *Mahumet* the Little, being hated and abandoned of all men, and fainting, hee was forced, and taken in the caſtle of Alhambra, with his children, where hee ended his daies miſerably, and his children were kept priſoners. Thus *Mahumet Aben Azar* recouered the realme, two yeeres after he had beene expelled, in the yeere 1429. and of the Arabians 812.

Mahumet Aben-Azar recouers his realme of Granado.

Mahumet the vſurper taken and put to death.

An. 1429.

C The King of Nauarre at his departure out of Caſtile, left *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Caſtro Xeris, his familiar friend there, who preſently cauſed the townes of Pegnafiel, Portillo and Caſtro Xeris to bee repaired, which made D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile conceiue, that there was ſome enterpriſe in hand to his preiudice, and that the King of Nauarre was gone away diſcontented with him. In which opinion he was confirmed by the newes which he receiued, that they leauied both foote and horſe in Nauarre and Arragon, the which they couered with a pretext to ſend them into France, to ſuccour King *Charles* againſt the Engliſh: Moreouer that hauing treated an accord and pacification betwixt Caſtile, Nauarre and Arragon, although the King of Nauarre had ſigned it, yet he of Arragon would not heare of it. For theſe cauſes the King of Caſtile ſent
D friar *Francis* of Soria his confeſſor, and *Peter* of Boccanegra Deane of Cuenca, Ambaſſadors into Nauarre, to know what the King of Nauarres intention was, and to complaine of the Earle of Caſtros doings, and of other things, whereof hee was aduertiſed, which were practiſed againſt him, and the Eſtate of Caſtile. To whom anſwer was made, that they did not practiſe any thing againſt him, and that the ſouldiars which were leauied, were not to bee ſent into Caſtile, and if they ſhould, it were not for any thing that might offend the King their maiſter.

37 Caſtile.

But in effect D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre, hee of Arragon, and D. *Henry* their brother, were conſpired againſt the gouernment of Caſtile, and they had an intent to trouble the State, to pull downe them that were great, and to aduance others, who were kept vnder
E or chaſed away; aboue all the King of Nauarre was furiouſly iealous of the Conſtables D. *Aluaro de Lunas* greatneſſe, and other things that were managed in that court contrary to his liking: and as he was of a turbulent ſpirit, hee did not ceaſe to ſeeke occaſion of quarrels, entertaining his brother D. *Alphonſo* king of Arragon in the hatred which he had conceiued againſt the king of Caſtile, for the impriſonment of D. *Henry*. Theſe two Princes being thus diſpoſed, all things prepared to warre, the which did much trouble the Queene Donna *Blanche*, and the Eſtates of Nauarre, who intreated him that hee would forbeare, and enioy his realme in peace, and thoſe goodly Eſtates which hee had in Caſtile, whereas the Queenes dowry was aſſigned, & the reuenues of many Lordſhips affected to Prince *Charles* his ſonne: but they were not heard, and much leſſe a ſecond
F Ambaſſage from the King of Caſtile, in which were D. *Alphonſo Tenorio*, Notary or Secretary of the realme of Toledo, and Doctor *Fernand Gonçales* of Auila councellor of State to the King of Caſtile, with two deputies of townes: wherefore the King of Caſtile made preparation, and leauied men of all ſides, to reſiſt the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and he tooke a new oth of fealty of all the Noblemen of his realme, eſpecially of the Infant D. *Henry*.

Ceremonie in taking poſſeſſion the realme of Nauarre.

Here-

Herevpon the King of Nauarre ſent to excuſe himſelfe, and to require an enterview of A
the King of Caſtile, but his excuſes were not credited, yet the enterview was graunted.
Death of D. Alphonſo Henriques Admiral of Caſtile. At this time there being dead D. *Alphonſo Henriques* high Admiral of Caſtile, baſe ſonne to D. *Frederic* maiſter of Saint Iames and grand-child to King D. *Alphonſo* the twelfth, there was ſubſtituted in his place his ſonne D. *Frederic*; his body was interred at Saint Clara in Palence, founded by him. The Kings troupes being ready to march, the conſtable went towards the frontier of Arragon with two hundred launces, and the King led the reſt of his forces towards Pegnafiel, whereas the Earle of Caſtro and the Infant D *Pedro*, brother to the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre, had fortefied themſelues. Their other brother, D. *Henry*, ſought in the meane time to leauy men about Toledo, but the B
Warre of the Caſtillan againſt Arragon and Nauarre. Inhabitants hindred him. The King ſommoned D. *Pedro* and the Earle to yeeld vp the towne of Pegnafiel, vpon paine to be proclaimed traitors, and to be ſo condemned; ſo as the Earle yeelded vp the towne, vpon honorable conditions, and amongſt others, not to be bound to carry armes againſt the King of Nauarre. The caſtle which was commanded by *Gonçalo Gomes* of Sumel, held ſome daies. On the other ſide the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre, entred into Caſtile, with two thouſand fiue hundred men at armes, and ſome few foote, whoſe entry the conſtable could not ſtop, with whom Don *Henry* ioyned with two hundred and twenty horſe, againſt the promiſes made. They ranne neere vnto Cogollado, and beeing come to Xadraque, the Conſtable following them, they preſented him battaile, the which he would not accept, for *Peter* Cardinal of C
Foix ſonne to *Archimbaud*, and *Mary* Queene of Arragon, ſiſter to the King of Caſtile, came by great iourneies out of Arragon, and put themſelues betwixt them, making an entrance to an accord, which was, that the two Kings ſhould returne into their realmes, and that the conſtable and other noblemen of the King of Caſtiles army, ſhould intreat him to reſtore vnto the King of Nauarre, and to the Infant D. *Henry* their lands: for as ſoone as the army of Arragon and Nauarre had entred into Caſtile, the King did cauſe all that the houſe of Arragon did hold in Caſtile, to bee ſeized on. By this meanes the armies parted, and the two brethren Kings came to Huerta and Hariza, in Arragon, and the Infant D. *Henry* to Ocagne; but the indignation of D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile, was ſo
great, as he did not regard, that which had beene capitulated, but ſent to all his ſubiects, D
that they ſhould hold the Arragonois and Nauarrois for enemies, and make violent warre againſt them, and comming himſelfe in perſon to the campe at Piquera, hee reſolued to goe and charge his enemies in their fort at Hariza. Queene *Mary* and the Cardinall *Foix* returned againe to the King of Caſtile, propounding many meanes of peace, but all in vaine: wherevpon they returned, very much diſcontented. D. *Frederic* of Caſtile Earle of Arjone, was apprehended in the army, vpon ſuſpition that he fauored the Arragonois: war being proclaimed throughout al Caſtile, the inhabitants of the country of Biſcay, Guipuſcoa, Alaua, and Rioja, entred ſodainely into Nauarre, where they committed infinit ſpoiles. Thus an innocent Realme ſuffred for a nocent King, whom they had earneſtly intreated to entertaine peace with Caſtile. E

The King of Caſtiles army being ſtrong and ready to enter into Arragon, hee ſent word to D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, that he would ſpare his country, if hee would forſake the king of Nauarre, the which he refuſed: wherevpon the conſtable of Caſtile beeing followed by fiue hundred horſe, marcht to Monreal, tooke it, ſpoiled Cetina, and
Army of the King of Caſtile. finding no reſiſtance, returned to the army, which conſiſted of 7000. men at armes, 3600 genets or light horſe, and 60000. foot, with the which King *Iohn* entred into Arragon, where he tooke and burnt the towne of Hariza, but hee attempted not the caſtle, which was very ſtrong: this was all the exploit was done with that mighty army: for the two brethren Kings not preſenting themſelues to battaile, and victuals fayling for ſo
great an army, he was forced to retire into Caſtile, towards Medina Celi, from whence F
he ſent for the gard of the frontier, D. *Pedro* of Velaſco his Lord Chamberlain, with 600. launces to lie with them in Alfaro, Calaorra, or Logrogno: againſt whom the King of Nauarre did fortefie Tudele, Viana and La Garde.

In the meane time D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* brethren to the kings, ouerran the country of Eſtremadura, hauing to incounter them Don *Roderigo Alonſo Pimentel*, Earle of
Benauent

A Benauent, who finding himſelfe weake, had the Conſtable ſent to him, with ſufficient forces. The king being returned to Pegnafiel, wrought ſo as the captaine of the caſtle yeelded it vnto him, fearing to be put in the ranke of rebells and traitors to their Prince. The king of Arragon ſlept not, but imploying his forces (his enemy being farre of) hee tooke in Caſtile, in the country of Soria, Deca, and the caſtles of Ciria, Boronia and Bozmediano, carrying away an infinite number of priſoners, aboue forty thouſand charges of corne, and great ſtore of cattle and other ſpoiles. The king of Caſtile was much mooued with theſe newes, and gaue all the lands which the king of Nauarre, his ſonne D. *Charles*, the Queene Donna *Blanche*, and the Infant D. *Henry* held in Caſtile, to D. *Henry* his ſonne, Prince of the Aſturia's, and he ſent D. *Pedro* of Velaſco to make moſt
B violent warres in Nauarre: and being reſolued to enter himſelfe in perſon the next yeere with a great army, he called the Eſtates to Burgos, to haue money, demaunding a hundred millions of Marauidis to entertaine it ſixe monthes: and for that their was ſome difficulty to draw together ſo great a ſumme he borrowed of rich men, and of churches, all their plate and ſiluer veſſel, and ſent it to bee coined at Seuile. During the aſſembly at Burgos, there came Ambaſſadors from the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, which were, *Peter* of Peralta, the Abbot of Ronceuaux, Doctor *Iohn* of Lezana, D. *Iohn* of Luna, and *Berenguel* of Bardaxi, to treat of a peace, to whom anſwere was made, that the king of Caſtile would ſend Ambaſſadors expreſly to giue them a conuenient anſwere: and to them of Nauarre, ſhewing particularly in the name of Queene *Blanch* and of her ſonne
C D. *Charles*, that they had not done any thing, for the which they ſhould ſeize their rents and penſions, yea the Queenes dowry, who had neuer conſented to theſe quarrels, the like anſwere was made. The Ambaſſadors of Caſtile were D. *Sancho* of Rojas Biſhop of Aſtorga, *Pero Lope* of Ayala Marſhall of the kings body, and D. *Fernando Gonçales* of Auila, of the Kings councell. Who being come into Nauarre, made great complaints of D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre, accuſing him of great faults, wherein they did alſo comprehend the Queene, ſaying, that ſhe was a confederate in the warre, ſeeing that ſhe had ſold her iewels to furniſh her husband with money, and made other demonſtrations of an enemy. From Nauarre they paſt into Arragon, where they gaue as little hope of peace: wherefore King D. *Alphonſo* ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, to Pope *Martin*, to complaine
D of the King of Caſtile, who refuſed all honeſt meanes of an accord. The Conſtable being come into Extremadura, he made the Infants D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* retire towards Albuquerque, vpon the frontier of Portugal, whether they ſent great ſtore of cattle, hoping they ſhould ſerue to victual them, for the which the King of Portugal was glad to excuſe himſelfe to the King of Caſtile, who complained. The Conſtable tooke Trugillo, and hauing ſeized alſo of the caſtle by the meanes of one of the captaines of the garriſon, he deliuered it into the Kings hands: hee attempted Montanches, and hauing taken D. *Roderigo Alphonſo* Pimentel Earle of Benauent with him, he came and camped before Albuquerque, an impregnable fort, but hee deſired to draw the Infants to fight Knight to Knight, but they would not vouchſafe to accept it: wherefore he retired his ar-
E my towards Pierrebonne, from whence hauing aduertiſed the King of the Eſtate of his affaires, he came preſently to the campe, and then the caſtle of Montanches yeelded, by intelligence which the conſtable had with the captaine. The Prouinces and townes of Caſtile did furniſh the King with fiue and forty millions of Marauidies for the warre: and there was an Ambaſſage ſent to Rome to Pope *Martin* to free the King of Caſtile of the imputations which were laied vpon him by him of Arragon. The King of Nauarre making ſhew to enter into Caſtile by Briones, D. *Pedro* of Velaſco went to field, with all the troupes he could gather together, hauing drawne out of Biſcay three thouſand men, led by *Iohn* of Abendagno, *Ordogno Garcia* Arrega, *Gonçalo Gomes* of Butron,
F and his ſonne *Gomes Gonçalo* of Muxica, Lord of the houſe of Muxica, and finding no man to make head againſt him hee went to beſeege the towne of Saint Vincent, the which was taken by aſſault, but whileſt the Biſcains were buſie at the pillage, not caring to keepe any order, nor martiall diſcipline, entring confuſedly into the houſes, without any gards vpon the approches: being entred into the houſes, the Inhabitants who were armed, and retired into the caſtles, ſeeing this confuſed multitude in their towne, they brake

Exploits of the King of Arragon.

Biſcains defeated by them whom they had vanquiſhed for want of diſcipline.

brake out vpon them, and incountring *Gomes Gonçales* in the ſtreet, with a ſmall company they tooke him, hauing ſlain moſt of his ſouldiers: whoſe father *Gonçalo Gomes* of Butron, running to ſuccour him, beeing as ill accompanied as his ſonne, was ſlaine with ſome of his men, and could not be releeued. D. *Pedro* of Velaſco, ſeeing that the caſtle could not be forced with a long and painefull ſeege, he ſet fire on the ſuburbes, and of ſome houſes in the towne, and then returned to Haro, carrying with him many of his Knights and good ſouldiers wounded. The towne of Saint *Vincent*, for the loſſe it ſuſtained then, and for the good ſeruice it did in the warre betwixt Nauarre and Caſtile, obtayned many priuiledges and freedomes for the inhabitants thereof. He among the Nauarrois which did moſt harme to the Caſtillans, was a Knight called *Sancho* of Londogno the kings Marſhall, iſſued from the houſe of Londogno, neere to Ordugna, a member of Biſcay: he running one day into Rioja, was ſurprized by the ambuſhes which *Diego Peres Sarmiento* captaine of Baſtide had layed for him, who carried him priſoner to that fort: but this loſſe was ſoone recompenced by *Ruy Dias* of Mendoça the bald, borne at Seuile, and yet he did ſerue the king of Nauarre faithfully, and was gone foorth of Tudele with foure hundred horſe and fiue hundred foot, ouer-running the countrie of Agreda, againſt whom D. *Inigo Lope* of Mendoça Lord of Hita and Buitrago (who kept a garriſon there for the king of Caſtile) ſallying foorth, and comming to fight in the field of Arauiana, he was there vanquiſhed, with the death and impriſonment of many Caſtillans. At that time the Infanta D. *Izabella* of Portugall, daughter to the king D. *Iohn*, was married to *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, Earle of Flanders, and Lord of many other Seigneuries, who had two wiues without any children. Of this mariage was born *Charles* whoſe daughter and onely heire was afterwards married to *Maximilian* of Auſtria. The very day that this marriage betwixt D. *Philip*, and the Infanta *Izabella* was celebrated with great pompe at Bruges, the Order of Bourgondie of the golden fleece was inſtituted by him, the tenth yeare after his comming to it, vppon a vow which he had made to go and make warre againſt the Infidels of Syria, and to conquer the countrie of Iurie: but his great affaires made his vow fruitleſſe. His Order had for head and patron (I know not by what diuinity) S. *Andrew*, and the ſolemnitie of the Order was to be celebrated euery yeare three dayes together, whoſe knights ſhould be the firſt day attired in red, in ſigne that heauen is purchaſed by the effuſion of bloud and by Martyrdome: the ſecond day in blacke, repreſenting mourning for the dead: and the third in white, in honour of the puritie of the Virgin *Mary*: and they ſhould carry for a marke of their knight-hood, a chaine made in faſhion of fuzils, with a rams skin & fleece hanging at it: a deuiſe taken, not from the Pagan *Iaſon*, but from the faithfull *Gedeon*, as ſome ſay. The firſt knights of this Order were foure and twenty in number, of the Nobleſt and moſt renouned of his Eſtates of Burgondy, Flanders and the Netherlands: wherewith ſince many Princes and great Noblemen of Spaine and other places, haue held themſelues much honoured. This was that Duke *Philip*, who to reuenge the death of his father *Iohn*, murthered at Montreau-faut-Yonne by the Dauphin *Charles*, drew the Engliſh into France, to the ruine of his naturall country, as you may read at large in the Hiſtory of France.

Towne of Saint Vincent obtaines new priuiledges.

Inſtitution of the Order of the golden fleece.

Ceremonie of the order of the Fleece.

1430. The yeere 1430. being come, D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile prepared to make warre againſt the King of Nauarre, againſt whom he had the greateſt ſpleene; and forgetting no kinde of rigour, he reſolued to depriue him and his of all the lands which they held in Caſtile, without euer hoping to re-enter into them: and therefore he gaue to D. *Guttiere* of Toledo Biſhop of Palence, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Toledo, the towne of Alua de Tormes, to D. *Pedro Manrique* Gouernor of Leon, the towne of Paredes de Naua: to D. *Roderigo Alphonſo Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, Majorga: to the Marſhall *Inigo Ortiz* of Eſtuniga, Cerezo: he would haue giuen to *Fernand Diaz* of Toledo, fiue hundred vaſſals in the lands which did belong to D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre, but hee refuſed them: He gaue to D. *Frederic* of Arragon Earle of Luna, baſe ſonne to *Martin* King of Sicile, Villalon and Cuellar: to Queene *Mary* his wife *Olmedo*; and other places to other Knights. The king being come to field, before the fort of Albuquerque, hee cauſed the Infants D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* to bee ſommoned, to yeeld him the place, promiſing that the Infants ſhould be herd in Iuſtice, and that all the reſt ſhould haue a generall pardon: giuing

39. *King of Nauarres lands in Caſtile confiſked and giuen away.*

giuing the Infants thirty daies time to reſolue, and the reſt forty: but their anſwers were arrowes and bullets, with great daunger to the Kings perſon, who being in a great rage at their obſtinacy, he cauſed D. *Henries* proceſſe to be made, and gaue the adminiſtration of the maiſter-ſhip of Saint Iames to the conſtable, diuiding his lands to diuerſe Knights, very prodigally, as hee had done the King of Nauarres. In the meane time D. *Diego* of Eſtuniga, or Suniga, Biſhop of Calaorra, and *Calçada* and his vncle D. *Pedro* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Ledeſma, Iuſtice Major of Caſtile, and an other D. *Diego* of Eſtuniga his couſin, with the forces of the frontier, tooke the towne of La Garde in Nauarre, by Scalado, being two leagues from Logrogno, the caſtle held out, and coſt many good mens liues, on either ſide, and beeing fortefied with new ſuccors, ſent from the King of Nauarre, they made furious and bloudy ſallies vpon their enemies, who held the towne, but in the end they were ſo preſt by the Biſhop and the Earle of Ledeſma, as they did capitulate to yeeld, if by a day prefixt they were not releeued by the King their Lord; during the which there ſhould be a ceſſation of armes; and if there came any ſuccors, the beſeeged ſhould bee bound to aduertiſe the Biſhop that hee might doe as hee pleaſed. This accord being made, the captaine of the place beſeeged made a mine vnder ground, by the which he drew into the caſtle a great number of ſouldiars, which the King of Nauarre had ſent him, vpon the aduertiſment of the capitulation. The time beeing ready to expire, the captaine aduertiſed the Biſhop, that the ſuccors were arriued, and at that inſtant he opened the mine in the mideſt of the place, from whence iſſued great numbers of ſouldiars of Nauarre, who beganne to charge the Caſtillans, which cauſed a great confuſion amongſt them, and did much trouble the Biſhop; yet beeing madde with this treachery, they put themſelues in defence, and repulſt the Nauarrois into the caſtle ditch, hauing loſt many good men of either ſide. This hauing not ſucceeded ſo happely as the Nauarrois expected & their victuals fayling them, by little and little they abandoned the fort: So La Garde both towne and caſtle remained in the King of Caſtiles power. The Queene D. *Leonora* mother to the Princes of Arragon, ſorrowful for ſo many ruines, being old, and wholy giuen to deuotion, lyuing at Medina del Campo, in her Monaſtery of S^t. Iohn de las Duegnas, was not exempt from the diſcommodities of this war: for the King of Caſtile ſuſpecting that ſhe fauored her children, cauſed her to be ſhut vp in Santa Clara of Tordiſillas, and put garriſons in her houſes of Montalban, Vruegna, and Tyedra: and would haue done as much at Caſtro Xeris, and Saldagne, but the Earle found meanes to exempt himſelfe, and yet the King was not very well pleaſed with him. The court being in Aſtudillo, there came an Ambaſſador from *Iohn* Earle of Foix, father to *Gaſton*, who afterwards married *Leonora* the heire of Nauarre, who beſought the King of Caſtile, that he would bee pleaſed that the Earle his maſter might imploy himſelfe, to make a peace betwixt him and the Kings of Nauar and Arragon: to whom the King of Caſtile anſwered, that he did thanke the Earle of Foix for his good will, but there was no meanes of a peace. On the other ſide the Earle of Armaignac, an enemy to the King of Nauarre and the Earle of Foix, hauing giuen all the hindrance hee could towards Gaſcony, that no ſuccors ſhould paſſe out of France to the King of Nauarre, for the which he had beene at great charge, hee ſent to intreat the King of Caſtile, to reimbourſe him, to whom were paied ten thouſand florins of gold. This yeere D. *Pedro* of Velaſco, Generall vpon the frontier of Nauarre, was created Earle of Haro. The King being at Burgos, had newes that the Infant D. *Pedro* ouerrunnning the country about Zamora, had taken the caſtle of Alua de Liſta: and paſſing afterwards to Oſma, which was the Rendezvous for the army of Caſtile, there came vnto him a Franciſcan friar, confeſſor to Donna *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre, whom they called Archbiſhop of Tyre: *Peter* of Perault chiefe Steward to the King of Nauarre, and *Ramir* Deane of Tudelo, councellor to the King, Ambaſſadors for the King of Nauarre; and for him of Arragon, D. *Dominike* Biſhop of Lerida D. *Raymond* of Perillos, and *William* of Vigue, Knights, ſent to treat and conclude a peace, at what price ſoeuer.

Garde taken by the Caſtillans.

Leonora Queene of Arragon reſtrained by the King of Caſtile.

The difficulties were very great, and they were forced to ſend backe ſome of the Ambaſſadors to the two brethren Kings, and in the meane time the army marched: but the reaſons, and propoſitions of the Ambaſſadors were in the end admitted, and a truce

truce was accorded at Majano, for fiue yeeres, both by ſea and land, betwixt the King of A
Truce betwixt the King of Caſtile and the King of Arragon and Nauarre. Caſtile, and D. *Henry* his ſonne Prince of Aſturia's, on the one part; and D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre, D. *Blanch* his wife, and D. *Charles* Prince of Viana, their ſonne on the other part: into which truce there entred for the King of Caſtile, the Earle of Armaignac; and for the two Kings brethren, the Earle of Foix. It was alſo agreed, that D. *Godfrey* of Nauarre, Earle of Cortes, brother in law to King *Iohn*, who had followed the party of Caſtile, ſhould not be troubled nor moleſted in the perception of his goods, nor otherwiſe. This Knight ſtaied long in Caſtile, and did the King good ſeruice in his warres againſt the Moores: the like aſſurance was graunted in regard of the Infants D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro*: and to iudge of the differences during the B
truce, there were ſeuen perſons named for Nauarre and Arragon, and ſeuen for Caſtile, whoſe ſeat ſhould be at Taraſſone and Agreda, alternatiuely. Thus ended the warre betwixt Caſtile, Nauarre and Arragon, to the great preiudice of the King of Nauarre: for he was diſpoſſeſt of all the lands he had in Caſtile, and moreouer of the towne of Garde in Nauar. During theſe treaties, D. *Frederic* Duke of Arjone died a priſoner at Pegnafiel,
Death of the Duke of Arjone. whoſe Dutchy and Eſtates were giuen to D. *Frederic* of Arragon, Earle of Luna. There were alſo reſtored vnto Queen *Leonora* her houſes & caſtles, and ſhe was ſet liberty, and freed from the Monaſtery of Santa Clara of Tordeſillas, at the intreaty of the King of Portugal, to whom the King of Caſtile ſent the proceedings againſt her foure ſonnes, the King and Infants of Arragon, and their offences, to the end that ſhe might ſee what C
reaſon he had to confiſcate their lands. The ſame yeere King *Iohn* of Caſtile, was ſollicited to make a league of friendſhip with the Engliſh, but he excuſed himſelfe touching the league, beeing loath to doe any thing to the preiudice of the King and Realme of France, an ancient friend and confederate to the crowne of Caſtile, ſending backe the Ambaſſadors with a diſcreet and friendly anſwere: and ſoone after hauing ſent D. *Sancho* of Rojas Biſhop of Aſtorgo to the King of England, hee concluded a truce betwixt Spaine and England for one yeere. At the ſame time beeing ſought vnto by the King of Granado to continue peace and friendſhip betwixt them, the ſaid Mooriſh King offring him all the force of Granado to ſerue him at his will, he gaue him thankes for the
offer, and by an Ambaſſador which hee ſent expreſly to Granado, to conclude ſome D
truce, he deſcouered the Eſtate of that realme. The Ambaſſador, who was *Lewis Gonçales* of Luna, Gouernor of Cordoua, found King *Mahumet* averſe to thoſe conditions which the King of Caſtile demaunded: wherefore he returned without any concluſion, reporting how little aſſurance there was of the Moores faith; which made the King of Caſtile to thinke vpon the affaires of that frontier, and to man it well, ſending ſome preſents to the King of Tunes, by *Lopes Alphonſo* of Lorca, his Ambaſſador, with complaints againſt the King of Granado, intreating him that he would not ſuccor him in the warre which he was reſolued to make againſt him.

Moores. *Mahumet Aben-Azar* King of Granado, was, as we haue ſaid, reſtored to his regal ſeat, in the yeere 1429. two yeeres after his exile, who ſhewed himſelfe thankefull to the King E
of Caſtile, for the fauour and aide which he had giuen him in the recouery of his realme, ſending ſundry Ambaſſages vnto him, with offers and thankes: but refuſing this yeere to pay the tribute and penſions to the King of Caſtile, which he demaunded, of friends they became enemies, and the warre was begunne by *Diego* of Riuera, Gouernor of the frontier, who running through the plaine of Granado, tooke aboue two hundred horſe, and towards Ronda, D. *Fernando Aluares* of Toledo, Lord of Val de Corneja, did great ſpoiles vpon the Moores. The King of Caſtile meaning to imploy D. *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Caſtro Xeris, in this warre, hee ſent for him to court; but the Earle diſtruſting the King, retired to Briones a place belonging to Nauarre, from whence hee ſent to make his excuſe, but it was not allowed. Wherevpon the King cauſed F
his proceſſe to bee made, and by a ſentence giuen at Zamora hee was condemned by contumacy, as a rebell, his caſtle of Caſtro Xeris was confiſked, and deliuered
Caſtro Xeris confiſked. by the Captaine thereof to *Iohn* of Luxan, Ramir of Tamojo, and to Doctor *Fernand Dias* of Toledo, whom the King had ſent thether. The Earle hauing many great men, and of the Kings fauorits which hated him, durſt neuer more appeare in his preſence.

Before

A Before he entred into Granado, Don *Iohn* King of Caſtile, keeping his Court at Medina del Campo, was ſollicited by the Ambaſſadors of Portugal, to make a perpetuall peace betwixt the two realmes, wherevnto hee conſented, and it was ſworne in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred thirty and one, by the two Kings, and their eldeſt ſonnes, and next ſucceſſors to the Crowne, Don *Henry* of Caſtile Prince of the Aſturias, and Don *Edward* of Portugall. This peace did end all quarrels betwixt Portugal and Caſtile, and continued fortie three yeares, to the great good of both realmes. This yeare dyed Don *Nugno Aluares Pereira*, firſt Conſtable of Portugal, by vertue whereof Don *Iohn*, from being Maiſter of Auiz, came to the royall dignity. This great perſonage towards the end of his dayes, poſſeſt with a ſuperfluous deuotion, left the affaires of the
B world, whereas hee mought haue ſerued God well, and beene profitable to the common-weale, retyring himſelfe into the Monaſterie of the Carmelites in the citty of Lisbone, which he had built, and there he liued very ſolitarie and ſimply almoſt nine yeares. The Portugals ſpeake wonders of the almes-deeds, faſtings, prayers, and other workes tending to piety of this Noble man, as well in his Monaſticall life, as before. Beſides the Carmelites at Lisbone, he cauſed S. *Georges* Church to bee built in the place of battaile at Aljubarote, that of Saint *Mary* of Villa vicioſa; the great Chappell of the religi-
C ous of Saint *Auguſtin* in the ſame place, the Church of Saint *Mary de Monte*, Saint *Mary* of Portel, and Saint *Mary* of Sonſel, and others. Before hee retired himſelfe, hee diſtributed his goods after this manner. To Don *Diego* his grand-child, borne of Donna *Beatrix* his daughter, and of Don *Alphonſo* Earle of Barcellos, her husband, hee gaue the Earldome of Oren, with all the lands which hee held in Extremadura, at Lisbone and there-abouts. To Don *Ferdinand* his other grand-child, borne of the aboue named, heire after his father of the Duchie of Bragance, and who ſucceeded in the Earledome of Arroyolos, with all the rents hee had on this ſide Tayo and Vdiana. To Don *Iſabella* ſiſter to his two grand-children, maried to the Infant D. *Iohn* Maiſter of Saint *Iames* of Portugal, the Kings Sonne, who was the ſecond Conſtable of that realme, hee gaue the lands of Lonſada Payua and Tendanes, and the Towne of Almadaan, with the rents of Loule: and to his familiar vaſſalls and houſhold ſeruants, he diuided his money, horſes,
D armes, apparrell and moueables. And thus naked, and diſcharged of all temporall goods hee entred into the Monaſterie, where hee was poſſeſt with ſo ſtrong an opinion to merit heauen by auſteritie of life, trauell, and affliction of his body, as hee reſolued to ſeperate himſelfe more from the company of men, and to liue alone in deſarts, if the King Don *Iohn* and Prince *Edward* his Sonne, had not diuerted him, ſhewing how much it would hurt the eſtimation which all men had of him, and of his wiſdome: wherefore hee contained himſelfe in his Monaſterie vntill his death, which was in the yeare 1431. and 71. of his age.

40 Portugal.

Peace betwixt Portugal and Caſtile.

Religious buildings of the Conſtable Don Nugno Aluares Pereira.

E

The end of the eighteenth Booke.

F

THE NINETEENTH BOOKE
of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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B

The Kings mentioned in this nineteenth Booke, are of PORTVGAL.

11. D. *Edward.* 1.
12. D. *Alphonſo.* 5.

D HE affaires of Caſtile beeing ſome-what pacefied, with the Chriſtian Princes of Spaine, made way for the warre which King *Iohn* had reſolued againſt the Moores of Granado, notwithſtanding that according to the diſcipline brought in of late, hee had alwaies a ſpleene againſt them which had preſumed to reſiſt him by armes: and therefore vpon euery occaſion he fell into new troubles within his realme: for he had mignions by whom hee was wholy gouerned, who made him iealous of many great men, and by their importune reports did eſtrange them, and in the end made them ill affected to their Prince. For beſides that which we haue related in the precedent Booke, of the Earle of Caſtro Xeris, D. *Iohn* of Soto Major, maiſter of Alcantara, being ſent E for by the King, he neuer durſt with aſſurance preſent himſelfe before him, nor come to court, what promiſe ſoeuer he made him, neither could Don *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo, Biſhop of Palence, his great friend perſwade him: Yet did he performe whatſoeuer they commanded him, that did concerne the Kings ſeruice, and the obedience which hee ought him, excepting alwaies that he would not be bound to come to court againſt his will. And moreouer, notwithſtanding any peace concluded betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre and Arragon, the King D. *Iohn* did ſtill entertaine occaſions of quarrels; and maintained the Earle of Armaignac, a great enemy to the King of Nauarre, furniſhing him with money, to the end he might be as a thorne in his foote, to annoy him towards France, ſo as hee might not attempt any thing againſt Caſtile. And for a greater proofe F of his hatred againſt this Prince, not ſatisfied to haue taken his lands from him in Caſtile, he cauſed his caſtle of Pegnafiel to be raized.

Hatred betwixt Courtiers cannot be reconciled, but by the ruine of one party.

The country of Galicia beeing in a manner all in armes through the quarrels of *Nugno Freire* of Andrada, and his ſubiects, the King ſent and pacefied them: then leauing D. *Pedro Manriques* for Gouernor general in Caſtile, he went in perſon towards Cordoua: for *Roderigo* of Pereira Gouernor of Gaçorla hauing entred raſhly with three hund-

Caſtillans defeated by the Moores.

red horſe, and one thouſand foot into the country of Granado, had beene defeated and A
moſt of his men cut in peeces by the Moores: but this loſſe was at the ſame inſtant recõpenced by the taking of the towne and caſtle of Ximena by ſcalado, through the dilligence of the Marſhal *Garcia* of Herrera: wherefore the King hearing that the warre began to grow hot, he made haſt to approch nere vnto that frontier: being vpõ the way, & paſſing by Ciudad Real, there was a great earthquake, ouer a great part of the country; for euen the city of Granado was ſhaken therewith. The King being come to Cordoua, he ſent the conſtable D. *Aluaro de Luna* with three thouſand horſe, who forraged the territories of Illora, Trajara, Loxa, Archidona and other places in the champian country of Granado, and then he returned towards Eccia. B

Moores. In the meane time a knight, called *Gilaire*, who was by birth a chriſtian, and had beene taken being but eight yeers old, and inſtructed in the law of *Mahumet*, came to the King at Cordoua, letting him vnderſtand that there was a Knight of the Moores, deſcended from King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, called the *Vermeil*, the ninth King of Granado, hee who had beene ſlaine by D. *Pedro* King of Caſtile, called *Ioſeph Aben Almao*, who was in no good termes with *Mahumet Aben Azar* then raigning, and deſired ſome fit occaſion to reuolt from him; wherefore if the King would enter into the plaine of Granado, hee did aſſure him, that this Moore would come and ioyne preſently with his army and reuolt the whole realme in his fauor. This buſineſſe being propounded in councel, they were of opinion, that King *Iohn* ſhould aduance with his forces, which were 80000. C
fighting men. On the other ſide *Mahumet Aben Azar* aſſembled al his forces of Granado, which amounted to two hundred thouſand foote, and fiue thouſand horſe, with the which hee came to make head againſt King *Iohns* army, with whom *Ioſeph Aben Almao* the Moore, had ioyned, with ſome troupes of horſe. The armies being neere, about the mountaine of Eluira, there were many skirmiſhes: ſo as on a Sonday the firſt day of Iulv, both the armies were drawne forth to battaile, in the which the Chriſtians had the victory. This was called the battaile of Figuere, for that it was fought in a country full of figs, and is very famous in Spaine; for there died aboue ten thouſand Moores, King *Iohn* remayning ſo maiſter of the field, as he ſpoiled and burnt all round about the city of Granado, and yet the Moores durſt neuer come without their walles to defend their D
houſes and fields. The King of Caſtile had greater enterpriſes, but by the councell and importunity of the Conſtable, he retired: they ſay the King of Granado had corrupted him with good ſtore of gold, which he ſent him in a preſent of figs & dried rayſins, which made him ſo preſſe the Kings retreat: who beeing returned to Cordoua, and hauing giuen order for the ſafety of the frontier, he came to Toledo, and from thence to Eſcalone, where he was wonderfully feaſted by the conſtable. After which the Eſtates were called at Medina del Campo, at the which the peace with Portugal was confirmed, and there was granted to the King of Caſtile by the deputies of the Prouinces, 45. millions of Marauidis, for the charge and continuance of the warre againſt the Moores of Granado whereof *Ioſeph Aben-Almao* intituled himſelfe King, by the aduice of D. *Iohn* King of Ca- E
ſtile, who did aſſiſt and fauor him all hee could to diſpoſſeſſe *Mahumet Aben-Azar*: and therefore he ſent commandement to the captaines and Gouernors of the frontier, to aſſiſt him in any thing hee ſhould vndertake. This Moore was ſo well followed in a ſhort time by a good number of Knights of his ſect which hated King *Mahumet*, as hauing ſurprized Montefrio, he made it his reſidence and ſtorehouſe for the warre, the which he did mannage with wiſdome, valour and iudgement: and beeing aided and fauored by Don *Lewis* of Guzman, maiſter of Calarraua, D. *Diego* of Riuera, and other Noblemen and Chriſtian captaines, within few daies hee tooke the townes of Cambil, Alicum, Illora, Ronda, Iſnajar, Archidena, Caçarobonella, Setenil, Turon, Hardales, Caſtellar and Loxa, all which yeelded willingly, except the caſtle of Loxa, which held for king *Mahumet*, into F
the which the Algazil *Ioſeph Aben Sarrax* had put a good garriſon: but ſoone after he beeing dead, it was yeelded to *Ioſeph Aben Almao*, through the fauour of a route the which hee gaue to *Mahumets* troupes: which victorie was of ſuch conſequence, as the cittie of Granado opened her gates: ſo as King *Mahumet* beeing out of hope to bee able to reſiſt, going out of Alhambra, with that which was moſt deere and

Battaile of Figuiere where the Moores were defeated.

Defeat of king Mahumet and the taking of Granado, by Ioſeph Aben-Almao.

precious,

precious,hee led with him the two ſonnes of *Mahumet* the little,who had beene vanquiſhed and ſlaine by him,with a Siſter to Captaine *Coxo* his Neece, and ſo fled to Malaga. By this euent *Ioſeph Aben Almao* remained King of Granado, in the beginning of the yeare 1432. *Mahumet* hauing raigned ſince his returne three yeares, and it was in the 815.yeare of the Arabians raigne. 1432.

Ioſeph Aben Almao, the ſixteenth King of Granado.

THis new King *Ioſeph* beeing receiued of the whole realme without contradiction, the Crowne of Granado returned by him into the family of *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*,or the *Vermeil*,who preſently made himſelfe vaſſall to the King of Caſtile,by whoſe fauour hee had gotten the realme, promiſing a certaine tribute of money and other things,whereof there were letters paſt,ſealed with his ſeale of Gold.He did aduertiſe King *Iohn* of the ſucceſſe of this warre, and did attribute all the happineſſe thereof to God and him: informing him more-ouer of the ſiege which hee went to lay before Malaga, wherein the King did aſſiſt him,as he had done before,commanding D.*Diego* of Ribera, Gouernor of that fronter,to furniſh him with men,victualls, and all ſorts of aide in that enterpriſe. Whileſt theſe things were acting,there came a Geneuois to Court,an Ambaſſador from *Muley Aben Ferriz*,King of Tunes, who had charge to intreate King *Iohn* to ſpare King *Mahumet Aben Azer*, and to finde ſome expedient for peace: but finding the realme already poſſeſt by *Ioſeph*,hee complained in the name of the King of Tunes his maiſter, of the miſfortune of *Mahumet* his Kinſman: to whom the King of Caſtile anſwered pertinently,ſaying,that he had made warre againſt him for good and iuſt reaſons,for that hee had beene dayly informed that hee had ſeeret Intelligence with the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon his enemies. This Ambaſſador ſtaied ſome dayes in the Court of Caſtile, being then at Vailledolit. The raigne of *Ioſeph Aben Almao* laſted not aboue ſixe moneths: for being old and broken, hee dyed that ſame yeare 1432.whereby *Mahumet Aben Azar* came to raigne againe the third time,who being aduertiſed of the death of his Competitor,tooke all fit courſes to make the Granadins obey him againe, wherein the King of Caſtile did not oppoſe himſelfe, it may be mooued at the requeſt of the King of Tunes,by his Ambaſſador,who returned well ſatisfied into Affrick,being accompanied by *Lope Alphonſo* of Lorca, ſent by the King of Caſtile, that hee might take with the King of Tunes ſome friendly expedient for peace, betwixt Caſtile and Granado:and in the meane time there was a ſhort truce granted to *Mahumet*,who made a Knight called *Audilbar*,who had beene faithfull vnto him, his Alguazil Maior, in the place of the deceaſed *Ioſeph Aben Sarrax*.

Mahumet Aben Azer recouers the realme of Granado.

The warre of Granado being ended after this manner: there fell out new occaſions of trouble in the Court of Caſtile by the Kings credulitie, who willingly gaue eare to reports,giuing him to vnderſtanding that the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon had ſecret intelligences with D.*Pedro Fernandes* of Velaſco, Earle of Haro, *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo,Biſhop of Palence, and his Nephew D. *Fernando Aluares* of Toledo, with other great men of Caſtile: wherevpon he ſtaied ſome, impriſoned others, and many ſeeking to eſcape,were brought back to Court,being then at Zamorra,and others eſcaped: ſo as it was full of amazement and tumult. Of the number of the priſoners were the aboue-named D.*Fernando Aluares* of Toledo,Biſhop of Palenza, and the Earle of Haro,who had the Court giuen him for priſon, putting in caution. The Biſhop was committed to the caſtle of Muzientes, and D *Fernando* his Nephew to that of Vruegna. D.*Ferdinand* of Velaſco the Earles brother fled away,and being come into his brothers country, hee aſſured himſelfe of the towne and places of ſtrength there. Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça,Lord of Hita and Buitrago, hearing what had beene done in Court, and how his friends and kinſmen were perſecuted, hee fortified himſelfe in Hita. There was no matter found to charge and conuict theſe Noblemen, ſo as they were deliuered one after

2 Caſtile.

Troubles in Caſtile by falſe reports.

after an other, but the Biſhop and his Nephew were the laſt of all. Don *Iohn* of Soto Maior, Maiſter of Alcantara remained, who beeing in diſgrace with the King, and afterwards reconciled, yet hee fell againe into diſlike, ſo as Don *Henry* Infant of Portugal was enforced to imploy himſelfe to reſtore him to grace. The King gaue charge to Doctor *Franc* to end all differences with him, who conferring with *Diego* of Manjarres Treaſurer of Alcantara, they ended all matters, ſo as the Maiſter had reaſon to bee contented: but hee ſhewed himſelfe ſo indiſcreet, as hee reiected all that they had concluded: and notwithſtanding that the Doctor ſought to ſatisfie him in all his demands, yet he was ſo tranſported with his paſſions, as contemning the King, and all them that treated in his name, he called D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* Infant of Arragon, remaining at Albuquerque to deliuer them Alcantara, and the forts which depended. The Maiſter going from Alcantara to Valencia, before he had gone two leagues, he had a conceit that hee ſhould not be ſafe in that towne; wherefore he returned to Albuquerque, to the Infant D. *Henry*: And for that he feared to be ſurprized in the towne, he deſired to lodge in the caſtle, whether alſo Doctor *Franc* was led priſoner. Wherevpon it was giuen out, that the Infant Don *Henry* kept the Maiſter of Alcantara priſoner in the caſtle of Albuquerque: wherewith *Gutiere* of Soto Maior, great Commander of Alcantara, nephew to the Maiſter, being much diſcontented, he ſtaied the Infant Don *Pedro* priſoner at Alcantara, the whole people conſenting therevnto. Don *Frederic* Admirall of Caſtile being aduertiſed of theſe things, hee went poſt to Alcantara, with all his horſemen, to the end this priſoner might bee deliuered vnto him, to conduct him vnto the King, but the Commander would not yeeld him: The Admirall wiſht him to keepe him in ſafe gard, promiſing him a great recompence in the Kings name, and from thence hee went and ſpoiled the country about Albuquerque.

The detention of the Infant Don *Pedro*, did much trouble Don *Henry* his brother, who cauſed the Maiſter to goe to field, to let the world know that hee was no priſoner: but for all this the Commander would not releaſe Don *Pedro*: for the King tempting the couetouſneſſe and ambition of this man, promiſed to make him maiſter of Alcantara in his Vncles place: ſo as it appeared to all men, that in retaining Don *Pedro*, hee had more hope to aduance him-ſelfe, then charitie to his Vncle, who indeed was depriued of his Maiſterſhip, the Commander aduanced vnto it, and the Inhabitants of Alcantara, for their forwardneſſe in the taking of the Infant, were endowed with great priuiledges. Don *Henry* ſeeing his affaires in very bad eſtate, fearing they ſhould vſe his brother vnworthily, he had recourſe vnto the King of Portugal, to mediate his peace with the King, and his brothers deliuery: by whoſe meanes an accord was made with this condition, that the fort of Albuquerque, & all others that the Infants did hold, ſhould bee deliuered into the Kings hands, and they depriued of all their lands in Caſtile.

Nephew betrayes his vncle through ambition.

Infants of Arragon looſe all their lands in Caſtile.

These things happened in the yeare 1432. when as King *Iohn* gaue the title of a Citty to the towne of Victoria, the chief in the prouince of Alaua. About the end of this yeare there fell ſuch aboundance of Snow in Nauarre and Arragon, as the townes and bourroughs were in a manner beſieged, the Snow continuing forty dayes together, ſo as they could not go from one place to another: and the long continuance thereof made many beaſts, yea the moſt ſauage, and birds of all ſorts, to come familiarly into their houſes, being preſt with hunger, and ſuffer themſelues to be taken, as if they had put off their naturall wildneſſe, and were become tame, a preſage of future miſeries.

Admirable Snow in Nauar & Arragō.

An. 1433. The truce betwixt the King of Caſtile, and *Mahumet Aben Azar* King of Granado being expired, in the yeare 1433. there were new ſupplies of men ſent vnto the frontiers of Andaluſia, vnder the command of Don *Fernand Aluares* of Toledo, Lord of Val-decorneja, who tooke Benamaruel and Bençalema from the Moores: and the Eſtates of Caſtile were held at Madrid, where they treated to continue this holy warre.

Portugal. *Death of Don Iohn King of Portugal.* This yeare D. *Iohn* King of Portugal, dyed in the Caſtell of Lisbone, a Prince full of yeares, leauing his realme in peace, and a happy memory of his gouernment, hee was ſeauenty ſeauen yeares old when hee dyed, and had raigned forty nine yeares. His body was layed in the Cathedrall Church at Lisbone, and afterwards buryed in the royall

A royall Monaſterie of S. *Mary* of the battell. Before he left this world, he ſaw a ſon borne of D. *Edward* his ſonne and ſucceſſor of the Realme, and of Donna *Leonora* of Atragon his wife, who was named Don *Alphonſo*, and raigned after the father.

D. Edward the firſt of that name, and 11. King of Portugall.

B DOn *Edward* was preſently after proclaymed king in the pallace of Alcaçaua, in the preſence of his breethren D. *Henry* Maſter of the Order of Chriſt, and duke of Viſeo, the Infant Don *Iohn*, Maſter of Saint Iames of Portugal, and Conſtable of the realm, Don *Pedro* of Meneſes Earle of Viana, the biſhop of Ebora and many other Prelates and Knights: whereas the biſhop of Ebora did celebrate the ceremonie. They ſay, that the Noblemen being aſſembled to celebrate this act, a Iew, Phiſitian to the new king, and very learned in aſtrologie, came and preſented himſelf vnto the aſſembly, beſeeching them to deferre it vntill noone, with aſſurance that he had obſerued ſome bad conſtellation, threatning that Kings raigne, that ſhould be receiued at that houre. The king (who was better inſtructed, touching theſe prognoſtications) would haue them proceed without
C delay, wherefore the Iew replyed, that the king ſhould raigne little, and with great troble. He was one and forty yeares old when he began to raigne, and had beene married fiue yeares before, too late for a Prince that was heire to a great Eſtate. His wife Donna *Leonora* was daughter to King *Fernand*, who of Duke of Pegnafiel had bene made king of Arragon, by election of the arbitrators deputed by the Eſtates of the countrie, borne of Donna *Leonora* of Albuquerque, who was iſſued of the bloud royall of Caſtile and Portugall: for Donna *Beatrix* her mother was daughter to the king Don *Pedro*, and ſiſter to Don *Iohn* king of Portugal, borne of the faire and happie *Agnes* of Caſtro, and the father was Don *Sancho* ſonne to Don *Alphonſo* king of Caſtile, the laſt. Of this Princeſſe of Arragon king *Edward* had Don *Alphonſo*, his eldeſt, and ſucceſſor to the Crowne of
D Portugall, borne in the pallace of Sintra, in the yeare 1432. then D. *Fernand* his ſecond ſonne this yeare 1433, who was Duke of Viſeo, and married Donna *Beatrix* his couſin germaine, daughter to D. *Iohn*, Maſter of S. Iames, and the third Conſtable of Portugal: of which marriage was borne Donna *Leonora* Queene of Portugall, wife to Don *Iohn* the ſecond: and alſo D. *Izabella* Dutcheſſe of Bragance, and Don *Dominicke* Duke of Viſeo, and Don *Manuel* who came to raigne in Portugal, from whome is deſcended the laſt King Don *Sebaſtian* by the maſculine line. Beſides theſe two ſonnes, Donna *Leonora* brought king *Edward*, her husband, foure daughters, D. *Philip* who dyed being but eleuen yeares old, ſtricken with the plague at Lisbon, D. *Leonora* married to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, father and mother to the Emperor *Maximilian* of Auſtria, the firſt of
E that name, the third was D. *Catherina*, who was betrothed to Don *Charles* Prince of Viana, heire of Nauar, and afterwards to *Edward* the fourth King of England, and yet married neither of them, but dyed a mayd: the fourth was D. *Ieanne*, a very faire Princeſſe, who married with Don *Henry* the fourth, king of Caſtile. This was the iſſue of king *Edward*, who is numbred for the eleuenth king of Portugall, vnfortunate at the leaſt in this, that during his raigne the plague neuer ceaſed to conſume his people: yet he was a louer of iuſtice, for the adminiſtration wherof he deputed euery three moneths one of his brethren, an Earle and a Biſhop, commanding them to do Iuſtice to euery man, and to ſuppreſſe all exceſſe: he was ſober in ſpeech, and in his manner of liuing, as much as any
F Prince of his time: he did limit the expences of his Wardrobe to fiue hundred doublons of gold by the yere, he cauſed both gold and ſiluer to be coyned of a good Standard. His reſidence at his firſt comming to the crowne was at Belin: there his brother the Infant D. *Pedro* the Traueller, duke of Coimbra, came and kiſt his hands, and ſware vnto him fealty and homage.

Genealogie of Portugal.

The firſt yeare of his raigne, and the ſecond of the age of his ſonne Don *Alphonſo*, hee cauſed

Title of Prince firſt vſurped by the eldeſt ſonne of Portugall.

cauſed him to be ſworne the lawfull heire of the Crowne, by the aſſembled at Sintra, and would haue him called Prince, a title firſt vſurped by him in Portugall, following the example of the eldeſt of other Chriſtian kings, his neighbors in Spaine. After this ſolemnitie, he cauſed the bodie of the king his father to be tranſported, whoſe obſequies were the moſt royall and ſtately that euer were made for any king of Portugall. For two moneths ſpace that he lay in the cathedrall Church, there were thirtie Maſſes ſayd euery day, and an aniuerſarie once a weeke, the bodie beeing accompanied, and watched euery night by a great number of clerkes and religious men, ſinging diuers ſuffrages for the ſoule of the deceaſed. The bodie beeing to be tranſported, it was layed vpon an high bed, garniſhed with many banners and trophees, and it was watched in the night by the Infant Don *Pedro*, beeing accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, Don *Fernand* Arch-biſhop of Braga the kings nephew, doing the ſeruice, who the next day ſung Maſſe in his pontificall habit, with great ſtate & ceremonie, after which and the Sermon made by Friar *Giles Lobo* the kings Confeſſor, the bodie was layed vpon a chariot, and conducted by the new ſtreet, where there was another Sermon made, & a third in S. *Domingo*: after which it was accompanied with a great proceſſion out of the towne, and conducted by the king and the Princes to the Monaſterie of S. Denis of Oduiella, diſtant a league and an halfe from Lisbon, where it reſted that night, where as the Infant Don *Henry*, Maſter of the Order of Chriſt, with his commanders watched: from thence it was carried to Villafranca, where they made another pauſe: the Infant Don *Iohn* Maſter of Saint Iames, with his Commanders, watching that night: Paſſing on the next day with the like pompe, they came to Arcoentre; where it reſted againe, and the bodie was watched by the Infant D. *Fernand* Maſter of Auiz, with his commanders. Continuing the next day, they came to Alcouaça, where they made the fourth pauſe, and there watched D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Barcellos, brother to the Infants aboue-named, accompanied by his two ſonnes, Don *Diego* Earle of Oren, and Marquis of Valencia, and Don *Fernand* Earle of Arroyolos, and Marquis of Villavitioſa, in all which places there was Euenſong and vigils ſayd at night when it arriued, and in the morning before it parted Maſſe being ſung pontifically by the abbot of Alcouaça, and the Biſhops of Ebora and la Garde, in all places: in the end they came to the Hermitage of Saint *George* in the place of battel, with the like proceſſion, pompe and ceremonie, as they came out of Lisbone. The Hermite came foorth to meet it, and did accompanie it to the royall Monaſterie of the battell, where it was receiued, and layd in a royall ſepulchre, with great and ſollemne Maſſes, and other ceremonies, and very rich offerings, where as aboue all others the pietie and filiall duty of the Infant D. Pedro, was remarkable, in which good and kind offices hee continued towards king *Edward* his brother, in the gouernement of the affaires of the realm committed vnto him.

Stately funerals of King Iohn of Portugal.

Modeſty of the Infant D. Pedro, and his other vertues.

This Prince is much commended by the Portugals for his modeſtie, affirming, that he would neuer ſuffer any one to kiſſe his hand, nor to ſpeake to him kneeling, nor to vſe any other tearmes of ſubmiſſion accuſtomed to great men: Hee loued learning and learned men greatly, and himſelfe did write ſome Treaties of the gouernement of Princes, and made ſome traductions out of the Latine tongue into the vulgar Portugal, not without learning and iudgement: He had a particular deuotion to *Michael* the arch-angell, as he was inſtructed by the Diuines of that age, wherefore he carried a ballance for his deuice, and was a great builder of Temples and holy places: He cauſed Saint *Michael* of Penela, and Auero to be built: and in the ſame towne he was the founder of the Monaſterie of Piety of the preaching Friars, and of the church of Tentuble: and of the hoſpitall of Saint *Eloy*: he made a collegiall Monaſterie, as it is at this preſent. Beſides which buildings, hee cauſed the Eſtates to be built in the city of Lisbon, to lodge Courtiers, to eaſe the inhabitants of that troubleſome, and many times preiudiciall ſubiection. This Prince was husband to Donna *Izabella* of Arragon, daughter to Don *Iames* Earle of Vrgel, and of D. *Izabella* Infanta of Arragon, daughter to Don Pedro the fourth of that name. Of D. *Iames*, I ſay, who thinking to raigne in Arragon after the deceaſe of D. *Martin*, rebelled againſt the determination of the arbitrators, who had choſen Don *Fernand* of Caſtile for King, the which coſt him his libertie, and eſtates, goods, and dignities, whereof being

depriued, he dyed a priſoner. The Infant Don *Pedro* had by this Ladie Donna *Izabella*, Don *Pedro* who was third Conſtable of Portugall, who in the warres which the Cattelans had againſt Don *Iohn* king of Nauarre, heire to his brother Don *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, he was choſen King of Arragon, and dyed in that warre, with that title. Moreouer he had Don *Iohn* future king of Cypres, husband to Donna *Izabella*, whome Don *Alphonſo* the fifth of that name, her couſin germaine married: a princeſſe hauing her deuotion and hope directed to Saint *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, in whoſe honor ſhee cauſed the Monaſterie at Lisbon to be built, dedicated to him on the toppe of Euxobregas. With theſe two ſonnes he had D. *Philippe*, who liued a religious woman in the Monaſterie of Odiuelas, and was ſo giuen to ſtudie, as ſhe tranſlated into the Portugal tongue, a worke of *Laurence Iuſtinians* Patriarke of Venice and of Aquilea, founder of the Order of S. *George* of Alaga, moreouer, Don *Iames* and Donna *Beatrix*, who were retired after their fathers deceaſe, by Donna *Izabella*, Dutcheſſe of Bourgondie, their aunt. Don *Iames* was aduanced to ſpirituall liuings, afterwards made a Cardinall, and Arch-biſhop of Liſbone, and Donna *Beatrix* was married to the Lord of Raueſtein, nephew to the Duke of Bourgondie. This Cardinall dyed a Virgin, as they ſay, at Florence, where he was buried, in the time of *Pius* the ſecond.

Cardinall dyes a virgin.

In the beginning of the yeare 1431. there had beene a generall councell called, the which was continued by Pope *Eugenius* Succeſſor to *Martin* the fifth, in the cittie of Baſill, this yeare 1433. but afterwards the fathers were diuided, and the Pope himſelfe, finding the councell not plyable to his affections, transferred it to Ferrara, and from thence to Florence. In this councell of Baſill, the Fathers beeing aſſembled, they were ſpectaters of a combate betwixt a gentleman of a Portugal race, but borne in Caſtile, called *Iohn de Merle*, and *Henry* of Raueſtan a knight of Bourgondie, who fought on foot, and the Bourgondian was vanquiſhed. The ſame *de Merle* had a little before fought a combate on horſeback, with the like happineſſe, in the cittie of Arras againſt *Peter* of Brecemont, Lord of Charny, in the preſence of D. *Philip*.

Councel of Baſil.

King *Edward* hauing finiſhed his fathers funerals, and all ſolemnities, oaths, reception of fealtie and homage, and other accuſtomed duties, at the firſt comming of Kings, hee aſſembled the Eſtates of his Realme at S. Iren, in the yeare 1434. to conſult concerning the gouernement thereof: from thence there was an ambaſſador ſent to the councell of Baſill, which was D. *Diego* Earle of Oren, beeing accompanied with many learned men and Prelates of Portugal: and then the warre againſt the Moores was propounded, after the example of Kings his Predeceſſors: It was alſo held conuenient to continue that which King *Iohn* had begun in Affricke: for the execution whereof he obtained a Croiſado from the apoſtolike Sea of Rome, by the meanes of the Earle of Oren, who brought the Bull into Portugall.

An. 1434.

The King of Caſtile alſo ſent many of his Prelates and Diuines to the Councell, during the which Don *Alphonſo Carillo*, Biſhop of Siguença and Cardinall, dyed, whoſe Biſhoppricke was giuen to his Nephew, carrying the ſame name, who in time came to be Archbiſhop of Toledo. The ambaſſadors for the king of Caſtile at this councell were D. *Aluaro* of Oſorno, Biſhop of Cuenca, D. *Iohn de Sylua* Lord of Cyfuentes, Standard-bearer to the king, and Doctor *Alphonſo* of Carthagena, Deane of S. *Iames* and Segobia, ſonne to D. *Pablo* Biſhop of Burgos; which Biſhoppricke Don *Alphonſo* obtayned in his life time, he being preferred to be Patriarke of Aquilea. There falling out a great queſtion in the councell betwixt the ambaſſadors of England and Caſtile for the precedence, this Doctor Don *Alphonſo* of Carthagena did ſo well defend the preheminence of the crowne of Caſtile, and gaue ſuch pertinent reaſons for the dignity and prerogatiue thereof, as the fathers gaue the precedence to the ambaſſador of Caſtile, wherein the Doctor was held to haue done great ſeruice to his countrie of Spaine, whereof he himſelfe hath made a treatiſe: notwithſtanding *Raphael Volaterran*, in his third booke, and laſt chapter, ſayth, That in the time of D. *Fernand* the 5. this cauſe was pleaded againe at Rome, and ended in fauor of the king of England, who had giuen ſentence by prouiſion, without any great examination of the cauſe.

Caſtile.

Controuerſie betwixt England and Caſtile for precedencie.

Returning to the politicke affaires of Caſtile, the King D. *Iohn* being aduertiſed that

Don

D. Frederick of Arragon Earle of Luna a priſoner in Caſtile.

Don *Fredrick* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, would haue ſeized vppon the citty of Seuile, A he cauſed him to be apprehended at Medina del campo, and to be carried to the Caſtle of Braçuelos, which is neere vnto Olmedo, where he ended his dayes, and many of his confederates were put to death, who for that cauſe were brought to Medina del campo. The warre begun in Granado, continued with variable ſucceſſe, for after the taking of Benamaruel, by Don *Diego* of Ribera, Lord of Val de Corneja, Gouernor of the fronter of Andaluſia, attempting the towne of Alora, hee had beene ſlaine by the Inhabitants, and them that defended it: after whoſe death, the King gaue the gouernement to D. *Pedro Alfan* his ſonne, a young man but fifteene yeares old. Don *Roderigo Manriques* ſomwhat to eaſe this loſſe, tooke the towne of Hueſcar by ſcalado, and the caſtle afterwards B by ſight: for the recouerie of which place, there were enterpriſes and incounters betwixt the Chriſtians and the Moores, all that yeare, 1434. in the which dyed D. *Iohn* of Contreras, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and Primat of Spaine: and to him ſucceeded D. *Iohn* of Crezuela, brother by the mothers ſide to the Conſtable D. *Aluaro de Luna.*

About that time the king of Caſtile gaue vnto the Earle of Armagnac (who had alwaies ſhewed himſelf his great friend and partizan in the wars againſt Nauar) the towns of Cangas and Tinco, with the title of an Earle: and there arriued at Madrid ambaſſadors from *Charles* the 7. the French king, to renew the league betwixt France and Caſtile, to whom the king gaue audience in great ſtate, and ſitting on a high throne he gaue them a good and friendly anſwer, who after much feaſting, were ſent home well ſatisfied: there C they did ſee a tame lyon lying at the kings feet, a thing which is not ordinarie.

Death of Don Henry of Villena.

The ſame yeare dyed D. *Henry* of Villena, the kings vncle, ſon to D. *Pedro*, and nephew or grand-child to D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, who had beene Marquis of Villena, and firſt Conſtable of Caſtile: a Prince abuſing learning, wherein he had beene bred, giuing himſelfe to infamous Magicke arts, whereof he had written many treatiſes, the which by the kings commandement, and by the cenſure of Friar *Lopes* of Barientos, then Schoole-maſter to D. *Henry* Prince of the Aſturia's, were for the moſt part burnt. The king beeing in pilgrimage at Guadalupe, D. *Guttiere* of Soto maior, the new Maſter of Alcantara, being entred into the Moores countrie with 800. horſe and 400. foot, was ſurprized and com-

Defeate of the Maſter of Alcantara by the Moores.

paſſed in by the Moors in a ſtreight paſſage, ſo as there hardly eſcaped an hundred of his D whole troupe. This croſſe ſhold haue admoniſhed him of the bad office he had done his vncle, and the Infant D. *Pedro*: the which although they would couer with a colour of the kings ſeruice, yet was it a plotted treaſon: D. *Fernand Aluares* of Toledo, Lord of Val de Corneja, had bin alſo in danger, if he had not ſpeedily retired from Huelma, which hee ſought to force, hauing failed to take it by ſcalado: for a great number of Moores marched to fight with him, and hee had not ſufficient forces to reſiſt them. Hauing retyred with his men to Iaen, he entred by Guadix, ſcoured the country, and was ſharply incountred by the Moores, who notwithſtanding were vanquiſhed: D. *Fernand Aluares* ſpoiling two leagues round about Guadix.

4 Arragon.

The truce betwixt Caſtile, Nauarre and Arragon beeing expired in the yeare 1435. E there came ambaſſadors to the court of Caſtile, from the Queenes of Arragon and Nauar, to beſeech the king for a propagation of the truce, in the abſence of their husbands, which the king granted them for ſome moneths: the which was the ſooner obtained by their ſending of D. *Iohn de Luna*, the Conſtables couſin, who gouerned the king his Maſter. Theſe two kings, breethren, were gone into Italy, to purſue the realme of Naples, where matters ſucceeded as followeth: After that king D. *Alphonſo* (being called back into Spaine, for matters which concerned him nere, namely, for the impriſonment of his brother D. *Henry*) had left Naples, Queen *Ioane* and her adopted ſonne *Lewis* of Anjou, had ſome time of breathing, and means to recouer the city of Naples, and other places of the realme; there only remained *Iohn Anthony* of Vrſins, Prince of Tarentum, a partiſan to k. F D. *Alphonſo*, who made head againſt *Lewis* duke of Aniou: the duke making war in Calabria, was ſurprized with a burning feuer, whereof he died at Coſenza, in the yere 1434 not leauing any children: and the ſame yeare dyed Queen *Ioane* alſo, leauing by her will (whether it were true or counterfeit) *Rene* of Aniou, duke of Lorraine and Bar, brother to *Lewis* deceaſed, heire of the realme of Naples, who was at that time a priſoner in the

Death of Ioane Queen of Naples, and her will.

hands

A hands of *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, by reaſon of the warre betwixt the French and the Engliſh: for whoſe libertie the Gouernors of the Realm, choſen after the Queens death, ſent ambaſſadors into France: but on the other ſide thoſe that were affected to the houſe of Arragon, as the Prince of Tarentum, *Iohn Anthony* of Marzan Duke of Seſſa, *Chriſtopher Gaetan*, Earle of Fondy, and *Roger* his brother, with other Noblemen and knights which held Capua, called backe King *Alphonſo*, who a little before was come into Sicily, hauing left the Queene D. *Maria* his wife, Regent in Arragon, and had led his breethren with him. D. *Iohn* king of Nauarre, who had left the gouernement to D. *Blanche* his wife, Queene proprietarie of the Realme, D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro*, who being diſpoſſeſſed of all they held in Caſtile, had retired themſelues vnder the fauor of the kings their breethren,

D. Alphonſo K. of Arragon called backe to Naples.

B with them, and many Noblemen and Knights, as well Spaniards, as Sicilians, King *Alphonſo* paſt into the Realme of Naples, and came and landed at Gayete, in which place were beſides the Inhabitants, and other ſouldiers of the countrie 300. Geneuois, vnder the command of *Francis Spinola* of Genoua, ſent by *Philippe Maria Angelo*, Duke of Milan, vnder whoſe protection the common-weale of Genoua was at that time, and who held the partie of *René* Duke of Anjou. The beſeeged ſeeing themſelues preſt, aduertiſed the Duke of their extremity, and what need they had of ſuccors: whereupon he preſently gaue order to prepare an armie at Genoua, of the which *Blaiſe Araxeto* was General, beeing accompanied by *Eliſa Spinola*, *Iames Iuſtinian*, *Galiot Lomelin*, and other famous Captaines & expert at ſea, who directed their courſe towards the Iland of Ponce, wher-

C of king *Alphonſo*, who was before Gayete, beeing aduertiſed, hauing nineteene great ſhips, and eleuen gallies, he left onely fiue to continue the ſeege, and reſolued to go in perſon with the reſt to encounter the enemie: but he muſt firſt pacifie a queſtion which was growne betwixt the King of Nauar, for the generall conduct of the armie, with his brother D. *Henry*, either of them aſpiring to haue it, mooued with zeale to ayde their brother.

Army ſent frō Genoua to ſuccor Gayete.

Hauing ſet ſayle, Don. *Pedro* hauing charge of the gallies, the Kings and the Infants euery one apart, well appointed, came to incounter the Geneuois armie, the which did conſiſt of twelue great ſhips, three gallies, one galeaſſe, and a foiſt. Being in ſight, and within a league and a halfe one of another, the Geneuois ſeemed as if they would not

D fight: the kings army kept it ſelfe together till noone, ſtriuing to get the wind, that they might fight with more aduantage: In the meane time the gallies of Arragon diſcouered the enemies armie, which approched neere vnto them, finding that they had left three great ſhips behind, as it were for a rereward. Before they came to ioyne the Generall of the Geneuois armie, ſent a trumpet in a boate to let the king of Arragon vnderſtand, that their intent was not to hurt him, but they had onely put to ſea to draw out of Gayete, their ſouldiers, cittizens, and merchants of Genoua, with their goods and merchandize, and to tranſport them to Genoua. The trumpet was detayned a good time, during their conſultation, but the concluſion was, that they muſt charge them: for it was likely, that

E the Geneuois had ſent this trumpet, for that they fainted, and feared the Arragonois army. The captaines and ſouldiers, with great demonſtrations of courage, cryed out for battell, and preſently diſcharged their artillerie, which the Geneuois did preſently anſwer, ſo as grapling ſhip to ſhip, and galley to galley, the fight was furious and cruell, and continued long doubtfull, vntil that the three great ſhips left by the Geneuois in the reereward, hauing gotten a full wind, came with great violence vppon the ſhips of Arragon, and among others giuing the ſtemme to that in which King *Alphonſo* was, they made it lye on the one ſide, and had ſo ſhaken and ſhattered it, as it tooke in an aboundance of water, and put the king and all them that were in it in great danger, ſo as he was forced to yeeld to *Iames Iuſtinian*, Gouernor of the Iland of Scio, who took him

F into *Spinola's* ſhip.

The ſhippe wherein King *Iohn* did fight, hauing loſt her maine-yard, yeelded, and was taken by *Galiot Lomalin*. Don *Henry* was priſoner to *Cyprian de Mare*. With theſe Princes there were taken D. *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Caſtro Xeris, and two of his ſons, D. *Iohn* of Sotomajor, who had beene Maſter of Alcantara, *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça the bald, *Fernando Auales* Chamberlaine to D. *Henry*, and another Sonne of Don *Ruy*

Priſoners taken in a battell at ſea.

Lopes d'Aualos, who had beene conſtable of Caſtile, with many other Noblemen and A
Knights of Arragon, Nauarre, Cattelogne and Valencia, and aboue 600. ſouldiers and
marriners ſlaine. The Infant D. *Pedro*, leaping with the helpe of a cable from one galley
to another, eſcaped: there were 13. ſhips taken, and moſt of the gallies were burnt, or
ſunke after they had ſpoiled them. To conclude, the Geneuois victorie was great & me-
morable, as well in regard of the priſoners, as of the rich ſpoyles who ſhewed all curteſie
and humanity, for after the end of the fight, they did ſet at liberty aboue 400. ſouldiers,
that were priſoners, beſides marriners, retayning only the chiefe men: wherein they did
wiſely, and like ſouldiers, for a multitude of priſoners of meane qualitie, are but an incum-
ber: and it is an vnprofitable charge, and doth many times make the vanquiſhed take co- B
rage to rebell, and to become Maſters of them that hold them. Among the multitude
that were ſet at liberty, there were many Knights of great worth eſcaped vnknowne. That
which gaue the aduantage to the Geneuois army, was the 3. ſhips left in the rereward,
the abundance of ſcalding lime, and wild-fire which they caſt, and finally, that they were
better ſea-men then the Arragonois.

Magnanimity of king of Alphonſo.

The victorious army approching neere to the Iland of Iſchia, King Don *Alphonſo* be-
ing a priſoner was preſt to make it yeeld vnto the Geneuois, whereunto although he were
a captiue, he would not yeeld. By this defeate the ſeege was rayſed at Gayete, and the pri-
ſoners carryed to Sauona, from whence they were afterwards, by the Duke of Milans
commandement, diſtributed into diuers priſons: King Don *Alphonſo* to Pauia, with C
Don *Henry* and others: King *Iohn*, the Earle of Caſtro, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça were
led to Milan.

Theſe lamentable newes did wonderfully trouble the Queens of Arragon and Nauar,
and all the people of theſe two Kingdomes, eſpecially Donna *Leonora* the widow-queen
of Arragon, who liued in her Monaſterie of Saint *Iohn de las Duegnas*, without the
walles of Medina del campo, very ſimply and modeſtly, who conceiued ſo great a griefe
as ſhee dyed ſoone after: This did much afflict the King and Queene of Portugall, and al
the Noblemen of that Realme. The impriſonment of theſe Princes and Noblemen was
ſhort, for Don *Philip Maria* beeing courteous, and viſiting his priſoners often, hee
was ſo perſwaded by king *Alphonſo*, that both he and his Eſtates ſhould reape more pro- D
fit in maintaining the partie of Arragon, then that of France, as vanquiſhed with his
Bounty of the duke of Milan reaſons, hee not onely let them all go free without ranſome, but gaue them many
rich preſents, after that he had entertayned them royally many dayes, ſuffering them to
go and come with all libertie, where they pleaſed. Hee cauſed Don *Iohn*, King of Na-
uarre, and Don *Henry* his brother, to bee conducted to *Porto Venere* with ſixe hundred
horſe for their guard, where they were receiued by Don *Pedro* their brother, and more-
uer he would that the Neapolitane Knights which were then at Milan, and the ambaſſa-
dors of townes ſhould take an oath of fealtie to King *Alphonſo*, acknowledging him for
their king, making ſo great a change of all things, as of an enemie he became a partiſan
and friend to the Arragonois: by reaſon whereof the Geneuois being incenſed, rebelled E
againſt the Duke.

If the newes of the defeat and taking of theſe Princes, cauſed great heauineſſe in Arra-
gon and Nauarre, the ioy was ſo much the greater, when as they vnderſtood of their de-
liuerie, the which was carried into Caſtile, where as the king of Nauarre was much deſi-
red of many, to whom the greatneſſe of the Conſtable D. *Aluaro de Luna*, was offenſiue
and hurtfull, Don *Fredericke* Admirall of Caſtile, who was one of them, ſent a meſſen-
ger to Queene *Blanche*, aduertiſing her that her husbands abſence was very preiudiciall
to himſelf and all his friends, for that his aduerſaries grew great according to their owne
deſires, and therefore ſhe ſhould do well to haſten his returne as ſoone as might be: The
like aduertiſements were giuen her by many other knights of Caſtile, wherefore ſhe ſent F
three knights of her houſhold into Italy, to the king her husband: which were *Iohn Hen-
riques* of Lacarra, *Sancho Ramires* of Aualos her caruer, and the Seigneur of Vertiz, to ha-
ſten his returne.

5 D. *Iohn* king of Caſtile at the requeſt of his ſiſter Queen *Mary* of Arragon, continued
Caſtile. the truce fiue moneths longer, vpon the newes of the defeat of the two kings brethren.

Being

A Being at Segobia, there was a Germain knight called *Robert* preſented himſelf vnto him, who would make triall of armes, with D. *Iohn Pimentel* Earle of Majorga, by whom he was vanquiſhed. The like proofe being made by other twenty Germaine knights, which came in the company of *Robert*, had in a manner the like iſſue, to the diſhonour of ſtrangers, and great commendation of the Spaniſh nation. D. *Fernand* of Gneuara, a knight of great valour, being at Vienna, the chiefe towne of Auſtria, he fought within a liſt on foot, with a Germaine knight called *Vourapach*, in the preſence of Duke *Albert* ſonne-in-law to the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who caſting his ſtaffe, cauſed the combat to ceaſe, and put them out of the liſts, to the great honour of the Spaniſh knight. Don *Iohn* of Pimentel Earle of Majorga, deſirous to trie his valour with ſtrange Knights out of Caſtile, as he
B practiſed to play with a battell-axe with a ſeruant of his called *Lope de la Torre*, hee was ſtrucke by him inconſideratly on the face, ſo as he dyed ſoone after; a due reward for this quarrelling exerciſe, which was then in ſo great eſtimation, to go ſeeking honor, (without cauſe or quarrell) in the force and dexterity of the body, more then in the gifts of the mind, humanity and iuſtice.

Whileſt that King *Iohn* was buſie at Alcala of Henares to celebrate the funerals of his deceaſed aunt Queene *Leonora*, there was hot warre made vpon the fronter of Granado, where as D. *Alphonſo Ianes Fajardo*, receiued the townes of Velez the white, and Velez the red, which yeelded voluntarily to the king of Caſtile, the Inhabitants Moores pro-
C miſing to pay him the ſame tribute which they payed to king *Mahumet*, wherewith the King was ſatisfied: but he would not heare the ambaſſadours of Baça and Guadix, who came to beſeech him to giue them another king a Moore, then *Mahumet*, for that he did intreat them ill: but k. *Iohn* knowing that this was but a deuice to free themſelues from the ſpoile which he intended againſt them, he ſent them away, and commanded his captaines to forrage and ſpoile their countrie, the which was executed by D. *Fernand Aluares* of Toledo. The Moores of Galea and Caſtilegia yeelded to D. *Roderigo Manriques*, vpon the ſame conditions like vnto them of Velez. It fell out vnfortunatly for D. *Henry* of Guzman, the ſeege which he pretended to lay to Gibraltar: for being come by ſea with ſome barkes before the towne, whether his ſonne *Iohn* of Guzman ſhould come by land
D with the reſt of his forces to beſeege it, he had no patience to attend, but landed, & began to skirmiſh on the ſhoare, neere vnto the walles, with the Moores which ſallyed out againſt him, but the ſea flowing, it forced him to retire to his barke, leauing many of his Knights on land, in prey to the enemie, who began to cry out and to complaine, that he had left them there to the ſlaughter, with ſuch vehement words, as mooued to pittie, hee cauſed his barke to approch to land to receiue them: but it was ſo ouer-laden as it ſunke, and there the Earle Don *Henry*, with about forty Knights were drowned, whoſe loſſe was great. The bodies beeing caſt vppon the ſhoare, were drawne to land by the Moores, and the Earles was put into a coffer, and ſet vppon an high tower, to be a terrour to the Chriſtians, where it continued ſome yeares. By this pittifull ſucceſſe, the ſonne retired
E from Gibraltar, and out of all Andaluſia with teares and mourning: the bones of this Earle are at this preſent in a moſt auncient Tower made of Bricke, in the higheſt part of the caſtell of Gibraltar, which the common people beleeue was built and erected by *Hercules*.

D. Henry of Guzman drowned neere Gibraltar.

Whileſt that theſe things paſt in Spaine, in the yeare 1436. the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre were deepely ingaged in the warre of Naples, whither the Dutcheſſe *Izabell* of Lorraine, wife to *Rene* of Anjou a priſoner was come, and with the helpe of Pope *Eugenius* defended her husbands right couragiouſly. The two breethren kings beeing aduertiſed of the affaires of Spaine, by their friends and ſeruants, they reſolued to ſend a ioynt ambaſſage to the king of Caſtile, to treat a peace with him vppon ſome good conditi-
F ons. The ambaſſadors found the Court at Toledo, where hauing deliuered their charge vnto the king, it pleaſed God that after many conferences and debates, a peace was concluded vpon a promiſe of marriage betwixt D. *Blanche* Infanta of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* of Caſtile, Prince of the Aſturia's, with theſe conditions:

6 Nauarre. 1436.

That the ſolemnization of this marriage ſhould bee accompliſhed within the limite of a certaine time, betwixt *Henry* heire of the Realmes of Caſtile, and Donna *Blanche*,

Conditions of peace betwixt Caſtile, Nauar and Arragon.

eldeſt daughter to D. *Iohn* king of Nauarre, to whom ſhould be aſſigned the Marquiſat A
of Villena, the townes of Medina del campo, Olmedo, Coca, Roa, and Aranda: the re-
uenues of which lands, D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre ſhould receiue the foure next following
yeares. That if there were no children borne of this marriage, the king of Nauarre ſhould
haue ten thouſand florins of gold of yearely rent aſſigned vpon the reuenues of Caſtile.
That to D. *Blanche*, Queene of Nauarre, and to her ſonne D. *Charles*, ſhould in like man-
ner be giuen an aſſignation of ten thouſand florens of gold yearely, during their liues.
That all knights ſhould be pardoned, which during the warres, and fore-paſſed quarrels,
had followed either partie, and they reſtored to their goods and dignities, except on the
part of Caſtile, D. *Iohn* of Soto-major, who had beene Maſter of Alcantara, and the B
Earle of Caſtro Xeris: and on the behalfe of Nauar, D. *Godfrey* of Nauar, Earle of Cor-
tes: Item, that to the Infant D. *Henry* brother to the kings of Arragon and Nauar, ſhould
be aſſigned 5000. florens of gold of yearely hereditarie rent: and to the Infanta D. *Cathe-
rina* his wife ſhould be giuen 50000. florens of gold in ready mony for her dowrie. Theſe
articles beeing accorded, a peace was proclaimed in the Realmes of Caſtile, Arragon,
and Nauar, and D. *Pedro* of Acugna, ſon to *Lopes Baſques* of Acugna, Lord of Buendia,
was ſent to Azagna, with ſufficient authority, to make the firſt promiſe in the name of
Prince *Henry*, and it was concluded the ſollemne betrothing ſhould be at Alfaro, whe-
ther came at the time aſſigned, the Prince D. *Henry* accompanied by D. *Aluaro de Luna*,
conſtable of Caſtile, and many other Noblemen, Knights, and Prelates, who arriuing C
two dayes before the Infanta: being aduertiſed that ſhe was at Corella, he went to meete
her with all his traine. The Queen of Nauarre, mother to the Infanta, Prince *Charles* her
brother, the Biſhop of Pampelone, with many other Prelates, *Peter* of Peralta, Lord Ste-
ward of the kings houſe, *Leon* of Garro, and other knights, many Ladies and Gentlewo-
men of Nauarre attended her, all in equipage worthy of ſuch a ſolemnitie, the which was
celebrated in Alfaro, in the yeare 1437. D. *Pedro* of Caſtile, Biſhop of Oſma ſtipulating
and receiuing the promiſes, either of them being but 12. yeares old. The Prince D. *Henry*
gaue many goodly and rich Iewels to the Infanta, and vſed the like bountie to the Ladies
and Knights of her traine. Then hauing ſpent foure dayes at Alfaro in great feaſting and
ioy, the parties ſeparated themſelues, euery one retiring into his country. By this peace D
there was alſo reſtored vnto the king of Nauar, the town & caſtle of la Garde, and the ca-
ſtles of Aſaturuguen and Burandon: and towards Guipuſcoa, there were yeelded the ca-
ſtles and places of Gorriti, Cobono, Toro, Araciel, and Saragana, which the Guipuſco-
ans had taken during the wars. Moreouer, the towne of Briones was yeelded to the king
of Nauar, touching the Seigneurie and the reuenue, but the Soueraignty remayned to
the king of Caſtile. This peace was promiſed and ſworne, vpon a penalty of 300000. flo-
rens of gold, payable by him that ſhould breake it: and it was confirmed by the chiefe of-
ficers of either realme, both clergy and ſecular, and by the deputies of the chiefe townes.
For Nauar, there ſigned D. *Martin* of Peralta biſhop of Pampelona, the archb. of Tyre,
the Queens confeſſor, the Prior of S. *Iohn*, & the Deane of Tudele, clergy-men: D. *Lewis* E
of Beaumont, *Triſtan* Lord of Luçe, *Peter* of Peralta, Lord Steward, *Philip* Marſhall of
Nauar, & Vicont of Ro, with other knights: moreouer, the deputies of the cities of Pam-
pelona, Eſtella, and Tudela, and of the towns of Sangueſſe, Olite, Arcos, Biane, S. Vincent
and others. For Caſtile, beſides the great officers of court, there did ſweare all the Noble-
men of the fronter of Guipuſcoa, Rioja, and others, yea they of the families of Lazcano,
Beraſtequi and Amezqueta: and theſe accords were written by *Bartholomew* of Renes,
Secretarie to D. *Iohn* King of Nauar, and of Queen *Blanche* his wife, and by *Alphonſo* Pe-
res of Biuera, high Treaſurer and Secretary to the king of Caſtile.

Imprisonment of D. Pedro Manrique.

This ioy was croſt according to the cuſtom of humane things, with great griefe in the
court of Caſtile, the king hauing cauſed D. *Pedro Manrique* Gouernour of Leon to bee F
committed to priſon, where at euery man did ſhew himſelfe diſcontented, ſo as the king
cauſed 2000. lances to come for his gard, which remayned continually about the court.
He ſent the priſoner to the caſtle of Fuente Duegna, commanding that hee ſhould haue
the liberty of the priſon, & that ſomtimes they ſhould ſuffer him to go on hunting, which
liberty was procured by the Admirall of Caſtile, who was diſcontented for his detention.

This

A This yeare which was 1438. there were brought vnto the King ſtones, which they ſaid, were fallen from heauen in great abondance, at Maderuelo, a houſe belonging to the Conſtable, very light: the which although they were reaſonably big, yet were they ſo light as they did not hurt any one they fell vpon, a ſtrange thing, and which was held prodigious. The Articles of the peace being brought into Italy, were allowed and confirmed by King Don *Alphonſo*, in the preſence of Doctor *Ferdinand Lopes* of Burgos, one of the Kings Councell. 1438. *Stones fallen from heauen very light.*

The warre of Granado was managed with variable ſucceſſe: many Knights among the Moores diſliking the gouernment of King *Mahumet*, reuolted, taking the party of Caſtile, of the which one *Aben Amar* was Captaine, who ſoone after went with his B men to the King of Tunes, with leaue from the King of Caſtile, hauing receiued both pay and preſents from him: and moreouer 6000. pounds ſtarling for the charge of their voyage. Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça Gouernor of the Fronter, Lord of Hyta and Buytrago, who was afterwards Marquis of Sentillana, tooke the towne of Huelma from the Moores, and had the caſtle afterwards by compoſition, cauſing the garriſon of Moores to be conducted in ſafety to *Cambil* and *Halabar*. But *Roderigo* of Perea, Gouernor of Caçorla, being entred raſhly into the Moores countrie, was ſurprized by a great number of horſe and foote, lead by *Aben Sarrax*, a wiſe and valiant man, among all them of his nation, by whom he was cut in peeces, ſcarce twenty of his men eſcaping, being in all foure hundred horſe, and a thouſand foote: yet this victory was not without loſſe C of bloud to the Moores, for their Captaine *Aben Sarrax* was ſlaine, and many Knights of note. Granado. *Caſtillans defeated by the Moores.*

The ſacred warre of Affrick, which was led by D. *Ferdinand* Maiſter of Auis, and Don *Henry* Maiſter of the Order of Chriſt, Infants of Portugal, had anſwerable ſucceſſe, who hauing obtained, by great importunity from the King their brother, leaue to paſſe the ſea, had beſieged the towne of Tanger, hauing brought but 6000. fighting men out of Portugal. The ſiege hauing continued thirty ſeauen dayes, being well aſſailed and well defended, there came an infinite multitude of Moores, both horſe and foote, to ſuccour the beſieged, being lead by the Kings of Fez, Maroc, Velez, and other Princes in perſon. Wherefore the Portugals ſought to retire themſelues, but beeing in a manner inueſted D by this great armie, they were forced to fortifie themſelues in their trenches, and changing their condition of beſiegers, they found themſelues beſieged, ſo as hauing no meanes to eſcape, they muſt capitulate with the Moores for their liues and liberties, promiſing to yeeld vp vnto them the towne of Ceuta, and all the captiue Moores that were in Portugall. Vpon this accord D. *Henry* and his men were ſent back, and came naked and ſtript to Ceuta, the Infant D. *Ferdinand* remaining for hoſtage in the hands of the King of Fez, vntill the accord were performed: But D. *Henry* being returned with this diſarmed armie into Portugall, when as King *Edward* had aſſembled the Eſtates of the realme at Ebora, being much grieued at this vnhappy ſucceſſe, to take ſome courſe for the deliuery of D. *Ferdinand*, they would neuer yeeld that the towne of Ceuta ſhould bee deliuered E vnto the Moores: but they conſented to all other meanes to free D. *Ferdinand*: the difficulties and delayes were ſuch, together with the death of King *Edward* which happened, as for want of execution of that which had beene promiſed vnto the Moores, the Infant D. *Ferdinand* paſt the reſt of his dayes in priſon in the hands of Infidels, with great conſtancie, and a rare example of patience and religion, comforting the other captiue Chriſtians, not onely for that they ſaw a Prince participare of their miſeries, but he did alſo incourage them by godly exhortations to continue conſtant in the faith of our Sauiour. King *Edward* being very penſiue for this diſhonorable loſſe, but eſpecially for the captiuitie of his brother, going out of Ebora, where as the plague was violent, hee retired to F Auiz: and to eaſe the court, and to ſpare charges, hee commanded the Infants his brethren to retire to their houſes. Hee came in perſon to Pont du Soleil, where hee cauſed a ſtrong wall to bee made, to aſſure that place from theeues, then going to the Monaſterie of *Tomar*, hee felt himſelfe toucht with a ſharpe and peſtilent Ague, whereof hee dyed in September this yeare 1438. beeing fortie ſeauen yeares old, and hauing raigned onely fiue: his body was interred in the royall Monaſterie of the Battaile. 7 Portugal. *The Portugals forced to accept of diſhonorable conditions.* *D. Ferdinand in captiuity in Barbarie.* *Death of King Edward.*

By his will he left all his moueables to the Queene Don *Leonora*, and made her Gouerneſſe of their children, and Regent of the Realme. A

Caſtille.

D. Pedro Manrique eſcapes out of priſon.

About that time Don *Pedro Manrique* a priſoner in Caſtile at Fuente Duegnas, ſlipding downe with cordes from the caſtle wall, he fled to Enzinas, a fort belonging to his ſonne in lawe D. *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga ſonne to D. *Pedro* Earle of Ledeſma, whether preſently came the Admirall Don *Frederic*, his brother, Don *Henry* and his friends, with great company. The King at one inſtant receiued this newes, and that of the death of the Infant Don *Pedro* of Arragon, who had beene ſlaine with a great ſhot, aſſayling the cittie of Naples, whereat he was equally grieued, but with diuerſe paſſions: the Infants body was buried in the caſtle *de l'Ouo*. This fort *de l'Ouo*, and the new caſtle at Naples, B had alwaies held good for the Arragonois. King *René* was come a little before to Naples, with twelue galleys of Genoua, and was there receiued with royall pompe and ſtate: after which hauing ſent back his galleys, hee filled the citty and all places thereabouts with his ſoldiars, hauing gathered together a great armie, he began to aſſaile the neighbour places, but with ſmall effect. There came a Herald in his name to King Don *Alphonſo* being at Caſtellucci in Abruzzo, with a gantlet dipt in bloud, challenging him to a ſingle combate: Don *Alphonſo* receiued the gantlet, and demanded of the Herald, if King *René* meant they ſhould incounter in ſingle fight, one againſt another, or with all their forces: the Herald anſwered, that the King his Maiſter would preſent himſelfe with his armie. Wherevpon King Don *Alphonſo* replyed, that ſeeing hee was the chal- C lenger, it was in him to make choyſe of the place, and day of battaile; and therefore he did chooſe the fields which are betwixt Nola and la Cerra, whether hee would come within eight dayes, with his whole armie, to fight as his aduerſary would. At the day aſſigned, Don *Alphonſo* preſented himſelfe vpon the place, and attended *René*, who appeared not, for that he had beene diſſwaded by his friends and ſeruants, who came to lodge with his armie at that place, from whence Don *Alphonſo* was parted, and tooke Caſtelluccio. *Alphonſo* on the other ſide tooke Arpaio in the valley of Gardano, and ſo taking places, and ruining the country, hee marcht to Naples, hauing aboue 15000. men in his armie, with which forces and ten galleys he held the towne beſieged, where happened the death of the Infant Don *Pedro*, as wee haue ſaid. But ſoone after, *René* D comming with the like, or greater forces, hee not onely preſerued the citty, but he forced the garriſons of the new caſtle, and of the fort *de l'Ouo*, to yeeld for want of victuals.

Returne of D. Ihon King of Nauarre into Spaine.

About which time the King of Nauarre returned into Spaine, to ouer-throw thoſe good accords which had beene made betwixt him and the King of Caſtile, and to trouble all Spaine, being of an inconſtant and turbulent diſpoſition.

8 Caſtile.

The enemies of Don *Aluaro de Luna* the Conſtable, relying much vpon the King of Nauarre, and his forces, had banded themſelues openly againſt him: the chiefe whereof were the Admirall Don *Frederic*, Don *Pedro Manriques* Gouernor of Leon, Don *Iohn Ramir* of Ariellan, Lord of Los Cameros, Don *Pedro* of Quingnones Merin Maior of the Aſturia's, Don *Diego* of Eſtuniga ſonne to the Earle of Ledeſma. Don *Roderigo* of E Caſtagneda Lord of Fuente Duegna, and Don *Pedro* Mendoça, Lord of Almacan, who drew many others vnto their league, namely the Earle of Ledeſma, who had his lands fronting vpon Eccia. The King called ſoldiars from all parts to ſuppreſſe this tumult (among the reſt hee was ſpeedily ſerued by the Nobility of Andaluſia) to whom the confederates did write very dutifull and reſpectiue letters, intreating him to cauſe the Conſtable to diſlodge from Court, before that hee grew ſo powerfull, as hee might be preiudiciall both to him and his realme. There was in truth ſome reaſon to ſuppreſſe the boldneſſe and greatneſſe of this man, who was inſolent, couetous, and not very faithfull to his Prince, the which was well knowne to the King, and to many of his Councell: but hee had them all ſo tyed vnto him, as not any one could attempt againſt F him, nor conſent willingly to that which ſhould diſpleaſe him: wherefore an anſwer was made vnto the letter, quite contrary to that which the Noblemen of the league demanded, with whom there newly ioyned Don *Lewis de la Cerde* Earle of Medina Celi, and Don *Pedro* of Caſtile Biſhop of Oſma, who had ſeazed vpon many places, as Don *Pedro* of Quignones had done of the Citty of Leon, ſo as the whole realme was full

D. Aluaro de Luna the Conſtable, inſolent, couetous and treacherous.

of

A of ſeditions and tumults, all in generall imputing the fault vnto the conſtable, partly with reaſon, and partly without. The King being at Roa, vſed all dilligence to aſſemble forces, to be the ſtronger, writing letters to Toledo and other great townes, admoniſhing them of their duties, and to be faithfull vnto him.

In the meane time the Marſhall D. *Inigo Ortiz* of Eſtuniga, brother to the Earle of Ledeſma, entred into Vailledolit, with fiue hundred men at armes, and ſeized on the towne in the name of the confederate Lords. On the other ſide the King was aduertiſed that the King of Nauarre, and D. *Henry* his brother, were entred into Caſtile with fiue hundred men at armes, and not knowing vpon what pretext, conſidering the accord lately concluded betwixt them, he ſent vnto them, intreating them to ioyne with him
B and to come to court: the King of Nauarre conſented, and came to the king to Cuellar, with ſixe horſe onely, whereat the whole court did much reioyce. They came at the inſtance of the confederate Lords, and alſo incited with a deſire to recouer that which they had loſt in Caſtile, by meanes of the preſent troubles, in whoſe company was the Earle of Caſtro. The King of Nauarre beeing ſeperated from the reſt, and come vnto the king, receiued great honour and good vſage: but the Infant D. *Henry* aduanced not, but ſtaied with the troupes, the which hee led to Pegnafiel, where they opened him the gates, the King hauing ſo commanded, and ſoone after hee had conference with the king of Nauarre his brother at Minquela, neere to Cuellar, there beeing good correſpondency betwixt them, although they made no ſhew of it: for the King of Nauarre
C continued with the King of Caſtile, and hee retired to Vailledolit, to the Lords of the League: there was much trouble, and many enterviewes of Noblemen of either part, with great leauies of ſouldiars to the oppreſſion of the people, and yet there was no meanes to make an accord; the confederats inſiſting ſtill that the conſtable ſhould bee baniſhed from court, the which was a hard matter to effect. The Admirall and the Infant D. *Henry* ſent to challenge the conſtable, and he accepted the combate, but yet they did not fight. The King did ſollicit D. *Henry*, promiſing him that if he would bee of his party he would make him maiſter of Saint Iames, and would giue him other things, for the which the Infant gaue him thankes, letting him vnderſtand, that whatſoeuer he did, was for his ſeruice.

D In theſe treaties of pacification the greateſt difficulty was in the reſtitution of lands forfeited, the which had beene diſtributed to many: yea to ſome of the confederats, who would not reſtore them, at the leaſt without recompence. Being in theſe garboiles and out of hope of any accord, they had newes, that D. *Roderigo* of Villandrado, firſt Earle of Ribadeo, who had ſome yeeres before ſerued *Charles* the ſeuenth, the French King, with great reputation and honour, was come into Caſtile, bringing with him three thouſand ſouldiars to ſerue and ſuccor King *Iohn* his naturall Lord: wherefore all treaties of accord ceaſing, the Kings of Caſtile and Nauarre went as farre as Pegnafiel to meet him with ſome troupes, to aſſure him from the ſurpriſes of the confederats, who
E ſent the Earle of Ledeſma with fifteene hundred horſe, to attend him at a paſſage. This ſupply, and other occaſions, together with the dilligence of certaine religious men, who ſought to reconcile theſe Noblemen, made the parties more tractable, ſo as in October 1439. a peace was concluded, vpon theſe conditions. That the conſtable D. *Aluaro de Luna* ſhould abſent himſelfe from court for ſixe monthes, and that the king of Caſtile ſhould recompence the king of Nauarre and D. *Henry* his brother, for the lands he had taken from them: and the proceſſe and proceedings made againſt them that were in armes diſanulled: that the townes and forts held by the confederats ſhould bee reſtored. Theſe things being concluded at Caſtro Nugno, the conſtable to fullfill the Article which concerned him, parted from court, leauing moſt of the kings councell
F which fauored him, diſcontented: The Noblemen diſmiſt their ſouldiars, and the king parted from Caſtro Nugno to goe vnto Toro. In the meane time the Infanta D. *Catherina*, wife to D. *Henry*, died in child-bed.

Lands of confiſcation giuen away vnder the peace.

An. 1439.

There was no peace firmly ſetled by this accord, for the king being poſſeſt by a councel made by the conſtable, was held in diſtruſt, and the courtiers in continuall iealouſie. He cauſed ſome of them, which had followed the confederate Lords, to be impriſoned at Salamanca,

lamanca, and to take Segobia from *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça, who held it, he gaue it to the A
Prince of the Aſturia's his ſonne. The King of Nauarre and his brother D. *Henry* ſeeing
theſe proceedings, they went from Madrigal, towards the court, but the King ſent to for-
bid them to come there: and to the end they ſhould not finde him at Salamanca, he diſ-
lodged and went to Bonilla de la Serra, from whence hee ſent to demaund a ſaufe-con-
duit of the Noblemen for Don *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo Archbiſhop of Seuile,
whom hee ment to ſend to treat with them, the which beeing willingly granted, the
Archbiſhop came to Madrigal, with ſome of the Kings councel, but they returned with-
out any concluſion: wherefore the King of Nauarre and the Infant his brother led ſome
troupes towards Auila, where by the meanes of *Aluaro* of Bracamont, and *Fernando* of B
Aualos, who had taken vpon them to defend it, they became maiſters, from thence the
King of Nauarre did write a letter vnto the King of Caſtile full of good councel, accuſing
Inſolencies of the Conſtable of Caſtile made knowne vnto the King. the conſtable of auarice, cruelty, tyranie, inſolency, and contempt of the Princes and
Noblemen, yea of the King himſelfe, hauing preſumed to kil a ſquier in Areualo; and a
groome, to flie his fury, hauing caſt himſelfe at the Kings feet, as in a moſt aſſured Sanc-
tury, he had beaten him almoſt in his boſome, ſtretching his armes ouer the Kings ſhoul-
ders, without any reſpect to his dignity, whom euery man (to the great diſhonor of his
royal perſon) ſaid he had inchanted: and to conclude, if he did not chaſe him away and
puniſh him, he could not be honored nor ſerued by the Princes, and Noblemen of Ca-
ſtile, who could not endure ſuch indignities from an vpſtart, whoſe beginning was ſcarce C
knowne. The King knew well that many things contained in theſe letters were true, yet
being gouerned by ſuch as fauored the conſtable, he made no anſwere: whereupon the
confederats ſent the Earles of Haro and Benauent vnto him, who after many Negotiati-
ons, concluded with the Kings councel, that they ſhould make an aſſembly of the Eſtates
at Vailledolit, whereas the deputies of the townes and Prouinces of Caſtile and Leon
ſhould meet, and determine of that which ſhould be held expedient for the quiet of the
realme, ſo as the Archbiſhop of Seuile, and his Nephew the Earle of Alba did remaine at
their houſes. Before the execution of that which had beene concluded, the Infant D.
Henry entred Toledo with three hundred and fifty knights, through the fauor of D. *Pedro*
Lopes of Ayala the Gouernor, and made himſelfe maiſter thereof, hauing good corre- D
pondency with the King of Nauarre his brother, whoſe faction was very ſtrong at that
time in Caſtile, his friends and confederats holding the chiefe townes of the realme: for
beſides that he had vnder his command the towne of Auila, and his brother that of To-
ledo, the Earle of Ledeſma held Burgos and the caſtle: *Pedro* of Quignones was maiſter
of Leon: *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça commanded Segobia, with the fort: D. *Henry Henriques*
the Admirals brother had Zamora, and the caſtle: Salamanca was in the hands of *Iohn*
Gomes of Anaya: Guadalajara of D. *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, Lord of Hita: Plaiſance of
the Earle of Ledeſma: Vailledolit of the Earle *Pedro Nugnes*: other places were held by
other Knights of that party, the which did much trouble the King, and his conſtable. To
make the aſſembly of Vailledolit more eaſie, the Earles of Haro and Benauent returned E
to Bonille, where it was againe concluded that the Kings and the Noblemen ſhould re-
tire their troupes; and there was a general paſport giuen to al them that ſhould come to
Vailledolit, with aſſurance of their goods; yea to the conſtable, who remained in his
houſe at Eſcalano, where by an ill preſage, the greateſt part of the caſtle had ſome few
daies before beene burnt with lightning: notwithſtanding the King would haue the paſ-
port ſerue alſo for the conſtables perſon. In this aſſembly it was decreed that the cities
and townes held by the confederats, ſhould bee left free at the King of Caſtiles diſpoſe,
but there was not any thing effected, and the more to trouble the realme, D. *Henry*
Prince of the Aſturia's, perſwaded by his ſpouſe, and the confederat noblemen, began to
ioyne with the King of Nauarre, his future father in law, retyring himſelfe vnto the Ad- F
miral D. *Frederics* lodging, wherewith the court was much troubled; and the King ſent
the Earle of Caſtro, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça to the King of Nauar, to vnderſtand the
cauſe of this alteration; who anſwered that he knew it not: and withal went with them
to the Admirals lodging, to vnderſtand the reaſon. The Prince anſwered, that he had re-
tired himſelfe thether, by reaſon of Doctor *Perjunez*; *Alphonſo Peres* of Biuero and

Nicholas

A *Nicholas Fernandes* of Villanicar, of the Kings councel, being vnworthy of that ranke, and beſeeching the King that he would chaſe them away, elſe he would retire himſelfe. The King promiſed to diſmiſſe them, wherevpon the Prince was pacefied, and came to the Kings palace, after midnight, the King of Nauarre accompanying him. The Prince D. *Henry* was gouerned by a yong gentleman called D. *Iohn de Pacheco*, ſonne to *Alphonſo Telles Giron*, Lord of Beaumont, who was preferred to his ſeruice by the conſtable, and was afterwards made Marquis of Villena, and maiſter of the Order of Saint Iames. The King at the Eſtates of Vailledolit, ſetled ſome order for Iuſtice, which was but badly executed in Caſtile, and ſome thing to pacefie the Princes and Noblemen that were mutined, and to diuert their armes, hee thought it now time to celebrate the marriage of D. *Henry* and the Infanta of Nauarre, being three yeeres ſince they were made ſure, and either of them being fifteene yeeres old: the bond of conſanguinity, which might hinder it, was diſſolued by Pope *Eugenius* the fourth. The Infanta being ſent for, ſhe entred into Caſtile, in the yeere 1440. beeing accompanied by Queene *Blanch* her mother, the Prince of Viana her brother, and many noblemen, prelats and knights of Nauarre. Shee was receiued in the towne of Logrogno, by D. *Alphonſo* of Carthagena, Biſhop of Burgos D. *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça Lord of Hita, and by D. *Pedro* of Velaſco, Earle of Haro. From thence the Prince D. *Charles* returned into Nauarre with his Gouernor. D. *Iohn* of Beaumont, who in the Princes name gouerned the realme, the Queene mother being abſent.

D. John de Pacheco gouerns Prince Henry.

An. 1440.

The Princeſſe with all her traine being come to Vilhorado, a houſe belonging to the Earle of Haro, ſhe was entertained with ſumptuous feaſts, great ſports and rare inuentions; and much more at Birbieſca, by the Earle himſelfe. D. *Pedro* of Acugna did the like at Duegnas, whether the Prince D. *Henry* came to meet his ſpouſe, whereas he preſented her with many rich iewels, and ſhee him: who hauing beene ſome foure and twenty howers with the Ladies, he returned to Vailledolit, whether they went. There went forth to meet them, the Kings, and al the principall Noblemen of the court, who made a ſtately entry into the towne, and the Queene and Princeſſe went to the King of Nauarres lodging, whoſe brother D. *Henry* came from Toledo to aſſiſt at the marriage, the which was celebrated with a royall pompe, D. *Pedro* of Ceruantes Biſhop of Auila, performing the ceremony. But the vnfortunate hap of this Princeſſe was ſuch, as the Prince D. *Henry* proued vnable to conſummate the marriage, the which ſhe did vertuouſly conceale for many yeeres. To honor the marriage, the noblemen ran at tilt with ſharpe pointed lances, but the ſport was ſo dangerous, as the King was forced to forbid it, for *Pedro Porto Carrero* a Knight of Torroy, and *Iohn* of Salezar loſt their liues, and others were ſore hurt in theſe incounters. This royall feaſt (which had continued many daies) being ended, the Princes and Noblemen of the court being diſperced, the Prince D. *Henry* was conducted to Segobia by D. *Iohn de Pacheco* his great mignon, who through a courtears Ingratitude, fortefied the King of Nauarres party, and that of the Noblemen confederated to ruine the conſtable, by whom hee had beene aduanced working ſo, as the Prince his maiſter ioyned with them, who reuiuing their old quarrels, ſent to beſeech the King, that without any more delay he would cauſe the conſtables proceſſe to be made, degrading him of the honour and dignity which he held, and of the gouernment of the realme. The King was much troubled to ſee new ſeditions which he thought had beene ſuppreſt, and wonderfully incenſed againſt his ſonne, would not make any direct anſwere to this demaund: beſides he had ſtill ſome of his councell which defended the conſtables cauſe: wherefore in the yeere 1441. the troubles began more violent then before. *Mary* Queene of Caſtile ſiſter to the King of Nauarre tooke then his part, which ſhe had not done before.

40 *Cardinal of Saint Peter.*

Marriage of the Prince of Caſtile and the Infanta of Nauarre.

F The Infant D. *Henry*, brother to the King of Nauarre, being after the marriage returned to Toledo, hee fortefied himſelfe there, and receiued *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, contrary to the Kings commandment: where contynuing in his accuſtomed rebellions, he ſtaied the Ambaſſadors which the King had ſent vnto him, to perſwade him to take a better courſe, yea the King being in perſon to Saint Lazaro, without the walles of the city, vpon the way to Madrid, onely with thirty horſes of his houſhold and traine, the Infant

Infant ſallied forth, and preſented himſelfe in battaile, vſing threats and proud ſpeeches, A ſo as the King was forced to returne ſpeedely. There was in his company D. *Roderigo* of Villandrado Earle of Ribadeo, who in this voiage obtained a goodly preuiledge for him and his family, which was, that the roabe which the Kings of Caſtile put on the firſt day of the new yeere, ſhould belong to him, and that hee ſhould that day eate at the Kings table, leauing this preuiledge to his poſterity in the King of Caſtiles court. As ſoone as the King came to Torijos from Saint Lazaro, he beganne to proceed againſt the Infant D. *Henry*, for the detention of his Ambaſſadors, and ſo he retired to Auila. The conſtable and his brother D. *Iohn* of Crezuela Archbiſhop of Toledo (againſt whom all this warre was intended) ſent to beſeech the King to ſend ſome of his councell vnto B them, to the end their might be ſome order taken for ſo many incoueniences, the which being done, they concluded that the King ſhould ſend vnto the confederate Lords, to aduiſe them to obſerue the accord made at Bonille de la Serra, and the more to eaſe the country, they ſhould diſmiſſe their ſouldiars.

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11 Portugal.

Gouernment of a woman cauſe of contention.

found vnreaſonable and vniuſt. They that held the party of the widow Queene Donna *Leonora*, were D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Barcellos, with his ſonnes D. *Diego* Earle of Oren and Marquis of Valencia, and D. *Fernand* Earle of Arrojolos, and Marquis of Villauicioſa, and with them the Archbiſhop of Lisbone, whoſe ſiſter D. *Conſtance*, the Earle D. *Alphonſo* had taken to his ſecond wife; D. *Nugno de Goys* prior of Saint Iohn, and D. *Alphonſo* Lord of Caſcais: who with many others their adherents, who aduiſed the Queene not to giue ouer the gouernment in the which the King her husband had placed her: vpon which quarrell the Eſtates of the realme were called, by the Princes and Noblemen, holding the chiefe dignities, where by the dilligence of the Infant D. *Henry*, there was this order taken. That the Queene mother ſhould be gouerneſſe of her childrens perſons, and of their reuenues and patrimonies, eſtates and Offices of the Kings houſe: and that the Infant D. *Pedro* ſhould haue care of the defence of the realme, and of armes, and D. *Fernand* Earle of Arroyolos, of matters belonging vnto Iuſtice: This did nothing pleaſe the Queene, being deſirous to command alone: wherefore the contention being greater then before, they made many new aſſemblies of the Eſtates: ſo as the laſt concluſion was that the Infant D. *Pedro* ſhould gouerne alone: the which was inſtantly required of all men in generall: ſo as the Queene was wholy diſpoſſeſt of the authority, whereof ſhe might haue retained a good part: Being thus fruſtrate, with extreame griefe, ſhe had recourſe to womaniſh practiſes, complaints and accuſations, as well to the Noblemen of the Realme, as to the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon her brethren: and in the end ſhe came ſorrowfull and diſcontented to the King of Caſtile, her couſin and brother in law, this yeere 1441. to complaine of the Infant D. *Pedro*, and to craue aide againſt him. She found the king at *Gomes Naharra*, a Borrough of Medina del Campo, troubled with the quarrels of the King of Nauarre, and other Noblemen, againſt the conſtable, ſo as ſhe could not obtaine any thing.

Caſtille. It was at ſuch time when as the King of Nauarre, and the confederat Lords were gone into the Realme of Toledo to ſuccor the Infant D. *Henry*, who hearing that the King proceeded againſt them with rigour, repaſt the mountaines, and came towards Medina del Campo, and Olmedo, townes belonging to the King of Nauarre, whereof he of Caſtile had ſeized. Approching neere to Medina, and waſting the time in demaunds and anſwers, they of Olmedo receiued the King of Nauarres men, whoſe army encreaſing daily, he came to lodge within two bow ſhootes of Medina, into the which the conſtable, the Archbiſhop of Toledo his brother, and D. *Iohn* of Soto Major Maiſter of Alcantara, entred the night following with 1600. horſe, ſo as for many daies there were diuerſe skirmiſhes amongſt them, in the which many good men were ſlaine and hurt. The Queenes of Caſtile and Portugall, ſiſters, and the Prince D. *Henry* propounded certaine conditions of peace, whereon there was long debate, without any frute. But whileſt they were buſie intreating and debating of theſe Articles, the King of Nauarre (who had Aluaro of Bracamont and *Fernando Rejon*, Knights well affected to his ſeruice in Medina,) delt ſo with them, as one night the conſtable and his brother beeing in gard and not caring to goe the round themſelues, but relying vpon an other, they gaue him entry by a place called Our Lady of Antigua.

Medina del Campo ſurpriſed by the confederat Lords and the Conſtable almoſt taken.

The confederats army was then growne to be aboue fiue thouſand men at armes and light horſe, and a great number of foote: wherefore the King of Nauarre and the confederate Lords, entred furiouſly into the towne with theſe forces, againſt the which there was no offer to make defence, for the King knowing well that they had no quarrell but to the conſtable, he commanded him, his brother, the maiſter of Alcantara, and others of his faction, to ſaue themſelues by an other port, oppoſite to that where their enemies entred, wherein they ſhewed themſelues nothing obſtinate. Theſe being gon, the King retired himſelfe to the place of Saint Antolin, without any care or trouble for them that entred, who came preſently to kiſſe his hands, firſt the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, and other Noblemen and captaines; then the King of Nauarre, who as a King, made onely a reuerence, but did not kiſſe his hand, at which time there was no ſigne of diſcontentment, but the King did looke of them all with a cheerefull countenance. The conſtables lodging and of the reſt of his faction were ſackt: and the Queenes of Caſtile and

A and Portugall, ſiſters, did aduertiſe Don *Gomes Guttiere* of Toledo Archbiſhop of Seuile, and his Nephew Don *Fernando Aluares* of Toledo, Earle of Alba, the firſt of that houſe which carried that title, and Don *Lopes* of Bariento Biſhop of Segobia, that they ſhould retire from Court, for that they were too much affected to the Conſtables party, the which they did the next day, and all the Officers which had beene preferred vnto the King by the Conſtable were diſmiſt. And to make a good end of theſe troubles, the Kings of Caſtile and Nauarre, and the other Princes and Noblemen which were at Medina, made a compromiſe in the hands of *Mary* Queene of Caſtile, Don *Henry* Prince of the Aſturia's, the Admirall, and of Don *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo, who con-

B cluded as followeth. That the Conſtable Don *Aluaro de Luna* Earle of Saint Stephens, ſhould abſent himſelfe from Court for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres next enſuing, appointing him for his aboade, his houſes of Saint Martin of Val d'Egliſe, or Riaca: That he ſhould not write any letters to the King, but concerning his owne buſineſſe, whereof hee ſhould ſend a coppie vnto the Queene of Caſtile and to the Prince her ſonne. That during the ſaid time, hee ſhould not make any league nor confederacie: That all Knights which had followed him ſhould retire to their houſes, and none to remaine about him but his houſehold ſeruants: Notwithſtanding the Conſtable, and the Archbiſhop of Toledo his brother, might retaine for the ſpace of thirty daies after notice giuen them of this ſentence, either of them fifty men at armes: And for the

C execution thereof, the Conſtable ſhould leaue in depoſito the caſtles of S^t. Stephen, Aillon, Maderuelo, Ganga, Rojas, Maqueda, Montalban, Caſtle of Bayuela and Eſcalona, which places ſhould remaine during the ſaid ſixe yeeres in the cuſtody of certaine Knights. And for a greater caution, the Conſtable ſhould deliuer Don *Iohn de Luna* his ſonne and heire in hoſtage to the Earle of Benauent, during the ſaid time: That after the Conſtable ſhould haue accompliſhed the aboue mentioned conditions, the townes and places which the confederats held, belonging vnto the King, ſhould be yeelded vp, and the garriſons depart: That the King ſhould reſtore priuate men to their goods, honours, and dignities, whereof hee had depriued them, by reaſon of theſe troubles. All guifts and grants made by the King, ſince the firſt of September, in the yeere

D 1438. vnto this preſent yeere 1441. ſhould be reuoked and held for voide, except to certaine perſons of reſpect: That all that were partiſans to the Conſtable, ſhould be put out of the Kings councell, who ſhould be named by the King of Nauarre, the Earles of Ledeſma and Beneuent, *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça: That all ſouldiars ſhould preſently retire, and no longer hold the field: That the King of Caſtile ſhould recompence him of Nauarre, for the loſſes he had ſuſtained in his lands in Caſtile, during the ſeditions and that he, ſhould pay the ſouldiars which the King of Nauarre and his partiſans had brought by reaſon thereof. Theſe with ſome other Articles were concluded the third of Iuly, this yeere 1441. and were confirmed by the king of Caſtile, thinking thereby to end the confuſions, whereinto he like a yong Prince, had plun-

E ged his Eſtate, by fauoring and ſupporting his mignon to much, who was both indiſcreet and inſolent, to the contempt of the Princes of his bloud, and the chiefe Noblemen of the Kingdome, who notwithſtanding vnder collour of prouiding for the publike good, tended all to their priuate. Soone after the King beeing at Caſtro Xeris, the Licentiate *Alphonſo Ruis* of Villena came vnto him, with procuration from the Conſtable, who allowed and accepted of the ſentence, requiring to haue men ſent to receiue the hoſtages. After all this the Kings went to Burgos, where they ſpent ſome time in feaſts and ſports, and to auoide all iealouſie which might cauſe troubles and diuiſions amongſt the Noblemen they made an accord amongſt them that not any one ſhould affect to be more familiar with the King then an other: notwithſtanding the Admirall

F D. *Frederic* began to be very gracious with the King of Caſtile, not without iealouſie of the King of Nauarre, who would willingly haue raiſed ſome ſtirs, after the accuſtomed manner, but his impaciency was reſtrained by the Earle of Caſtro, his ancient and faithfull ſeruant, who gaue him to vnderſtand, that it muſt needs redound to his proffit, and of other Noblemen of the league.

Conſtable diſmiſt the Court for ſix yeeres.

And to make a ſtricter bonde, hee aduiſed him, ſeeing that Queene *Blanche* his wife

was newly deceaſed, to marry D. *Ioane* the Admirals daughter: and he propounded vnto him an other marriage, betwixt the Infant D. *Henry* his brother, and D. *Beatrice* daughter to D. *Roderigo Alphonſo Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent: theſe Noblemen ſtill practiſing the Conſtables ruine, which in the end they ſaw.

Nauarre. *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre after that ſhe had conducted her daughter to the Prince of the Aſturia's into Caſtile, ſhe parted no more thence. In the abſence of the King her husband, and hers, D. *Charles* their ſonne gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, being aſſiſted by good councell. She was a religious Princeſſe, and much giuen to deuotion, and pilgrimages, eſpecially to places dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, whether ſhee made ſome voiages during the aboue mentioned troubles, wherein ſpending her time, it happened that ſhe died at Santa Maria de Nieua, in the yeere 1442. It is doubtfull amongſt the Spaniards where her body was interred, for there is not any marke or menumont found in Spaine, although ſhe ordained that it ſhould bee carried to Santa Maria of Vxue, and that the priory of Ayuar ſhould be anexed to that Church, the which notwithſtanding was not done. The Authors of the Hiſtory of Sicile write, that ſhee died in that Iſland, in the Monaſtery of Saint *Nicholas des Arenes*, at the foote of Mount Etna, and that ſhe is buried at Catanea, in Saint Francis Church. By the death of this Prince the ſucceſſion of the realme of Nauarre fell vnto her ſonne, Don *Charles* Prince of Viana, who at that time was full twenty yeeres old, bred vp by the Lords of Beaumont, whereof *Lewis* was the chiefe, who afterwards beeing made Conſtable of Nauarre by King *Iohn*, was the firſt of that houſe that was aduanced to that dignity.

Death of D. Blanch Queen of Nauarre.

Caſtile. The Conſtable of Caſtile bearing his exile from Court with the loſſe of his authority, very impatiently (wherein hee might haue maintained himſelfe, if hee could haue knowne himſelfe) beganne to make new practiſes, to grow into fauour with the confederats, ſubmitting himſelfe to *Iohn de Pacheco*, that hee might bring him into fauour with Prince *Henry* his maiſter: but the wound was to freſh, ſo as nothing was done at that time.

1442. The Eſtates beeing aſſembled that yeere 1442. at Toro, they did graunt vnto Don *Iohn* King of Caſtile (though with great difficulty) to furniſh him with foure ſcore millions of Marauidis, paiable at two termes, that yeere and the next following. There the confederate Lords beeing aduertiſed, that D. *Pedro de Acugnas* ſought all meanes to reſtore the Conſtable to fauour, the Admirall ſent to take him priſoner in his houſe at Duegnas, but ſoone after he was deliuered: and then there was an enterpriſe deſcouered, which made the Conſtable much more odious, then hee had beene: for ſome of his friends were ſo hardy, as to make a mine in Toro, the which did come vnto the Kings lodging, and to the caſtle, by the which hee would ſecretly draw in armed men, and kill, or take the King of Nauarre, the Infant his brother, and the confederate Lords, whileſt they were in councell. The Eſtates beeing ended, the King came to Vailledolit, where as he gaue vnto Don *Pedro* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Ledeſma, the City of Plaiſance, in recompence of Trugillo, which he demaunded, for that it had beene promiſed him by the King.

A hould attempt of the Conſtables fauorers.

There beeing great contention growne betwixt the Earle of Caſtagneda, and Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, about the limitation of their iuriſdictions, and vaſſals, in the lands which they held in the Prouince of Alaua by reaſon whereof their armed men, keeping the field, did ſpoile and oppreſſe the poore people: whereupon many Commonalties did riſe in armes, againſt theſe two Lords, making ſharpe warre againſt them, hauing obtained leaue from the King to doe it, to the end they might ſuppreſſe thoſe inſolencies which were committed vnder collour of their quarrels, which they might and ought for to haue ended by Iuſtice, and not by armes. This yeere died Don *Iohn* of Crezuela Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Conſtables brother, to the great hindrance of his affaires, in whoſe place Don *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo Archbiſhop of Seuile, was choſen, by the meanes of the King of Nauarre, to whom the houſe of Toledo was reconciled.

At that time there was a change of the Biſhops of Spaine, euery one aſpiring to that which was richeſt and of greateſt dignity; the which is the greateſt care of moſt of the

A the paſtors in theſe latter times. The Archbiſhoprike was giuen to D. *Garcia Oſorio* Biſhop of Ouiedo, Nephew to the Admirall; the Biſhoprike of Ouiedo to the Biſhop of Orenſe; that of Orenſe, to Doctor *Iohn* of Torquemado, of the Order of the preaching friars, Cardinal of Saint Sixte, a great Doctor in the Cannon law. *Change of Biſhops in Spaine.*

At that time in Biſcay there were deſcouered ſome followers of their opinion, whom they called Fratricelli, men condemned by Pope *Boniface* the eight, in the yeere 1290. and afterwards by *Iohn* the two and twentith, for heretikes, and followers of all impurity and abuſes, hauing had their beginning at Ferrara in Italy, by one called *Herman*. The King of Caſtile ſent *Francis* of Soria a Franciſcan friar, and D. *Iohn Alphonſo Cherino* Abbot of Alcala the royall, one of the Kings councell, to informe of their deeds, doc- *Fratricelle heretikes reuiued.*

E trine and manners: and it was found by the informations which they brought to Court that he which had reuiued, and newly practiſed this Doctrine of Fratricelli, was a Franciſcan friar, called *Alphonſo de Mella*, and that many men and women were infected with this error, in the towne of Durango and there abouts: wherefore the King ordained that they ſhould be apprehended, ſending two Prouoſts thether, well accompanied, who brought away a great number, ſome to Vailladolit, ſome to Calçada, where they were burnt. The friar *Alphonſo de Mella*, the reuiuer of this ſect, eſcaped, hearing that they informed, and paſt into the Moores country, with many yong ſtrumpets, which were taken from him, and himſelfe condemned, and made a ſlaue, where hee ended his miſerable daies.

C The King of Caſtile being ſollicited by the Queene mother of Portugal, to be a means that ſhe might be reſtored to the authority, in the which the deceaſed King her husband had left her by his will; he ſent Ambaſſadors to the young King D. *Alphonſo*, and to his vncle D. *Pedro*, and to the Eſtates and councell of the realme, to perſwade and intreat them, to leaue the gouernment of the King and realm, to the widow Queene, according to the laſt wil of the deceaſed king *Edward*, whereof they did honeſtly excuſe themſelues, eſpecially the councell, yeelding many reaſons why they could not conſent therevnto: At that time hapened the death of D. *Iohn* of Portugal, maiſter of Saint Iames, & ſecond Conſtable of the realme, being 43. yeeres old, who was a great friend to *Aluaro de Luna*, Conſtable of Caſtile, who was alſo adminiſtrator of the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iames in D Caſtile. This Infant was grandfather by the mothers ſide, to the Queene D. *Iſabella*, the heire of Caſtile and Leon, who was wife to King *Fernand* the fifth called the Catholike. Portugal.

The ſame yeere Ambaſſadors came from D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, to the Court of Caſtile, to condole with King *Iohn* for the troubles and ſeditions of his realme, and giuing him councell in their maiſters name, as a Prince that was his allie and friend, to loue the Princes of his bloud, and to win them with fauors and good vſage, admitting them into his councell of State, and gouerning his realmes by their aduice, and of the Noblemen of the greateſt and moſt ancient families of Spaine. Arragon.

The Ambaſſadors did alſo make him a relation of the happy ſucceſſe the King their maiſter had in the warre of Naples: where after diuers light exploits of warre betwixt E *René* of Aniou and him, he had beſeeged Naples the ſecond time, in the which *Renè* was: and that by the good ſeruice of a certaine Maſon, who had beene denied Iuſtice by *Renè*, he had brought into the city by an old conduit, or ſinke, about two hundred Spaniards, to ſeize vpon ſome port, and giue entry to the reſt of the army, who beeing deſcouered and pourſued, had fortefied themſelues in a great Tower, where during the fight hee had cauſed a ſcaladoe to bee giuen, and by that meanes put ſo many men into the towne as hee became maiſter of Saint Genaios gates, which hauing forced, they drew in all the armie of Arragon: That of the men of warre of the Angeuine, party had made great reſiſtance, yea there was *René* himſelfe, F fighting verie valiantly, in his owne perſon, euen vnto the laſt extremity, ſo as hee had like to haue beene taken priſoner, hauing beene ſtaied by ſome certaine ſouldiars of Cattelogne, from whom hee freed himſelfe, cutting off the hand of one them called *Eſpejo*, who held the Rheines of his horſe-bridle, and with great difficulty he ſaued himſelfe in the fort of Caſtle-Nouo, which held for him; ſo as *Rene* beeing eſcaped, and his ſouldiars retired where they could, hee remained maiſter of the city, and ſoone 13 *Succeſſe of the warre of Naples.*

after receiued the forts of Capuana and Saint Hermo by compoſition; And that *René* finding that he had need of new forces, leauing a good garriſon in Caſtle Nouo, and a Geneuois called *Anthony Caluo* to commaund there, had gone to the Florentins, and to *Pope Eugenius*, his confederats in Italy, from whom not being able to draw any ſuffici. ent aide, he ſent word vnto captaine *Caluo*, that if he could not hold the fort, he ſhould yeeld it with the beſt conditions he could, the which was done, and by that meanes the King their maiſter remained abſolute Lord of the chiefe city of the realme, and of the caſtles, where he had beene receiued and acknowledged by the Neapolitans for their King, with great pompe and triumph, his aduerſary being retired to Marſeilles, after that he and his wife had held that realme in ſuſpence and troubles by the ſpace of ſixe yeeres. These newes were pleaſing to the King of Caſtile, who with milde and friendly words ſeemed to take in good part the admonitions and councell which the Ambaſſadors had giuen him in the King of Arragons name. Thus King D. *Alphonſo* remained peaceable poſſeſſor of the realme of Naples, in the yeere 1442. after that he had contended for it one and twenty whole yeeres, from the time that he was called from Corſica by Queene *Ioane*. And ſoone after this conqueſt, making his peace with Pope *Eugenius* who had need of his aſſiſtance and aide, for the recouery of the Marquiſate of Ancona, the which Cont *Francis Sforza* held, by the meanes of Cardinal *Lewis* of Padoua, and of the Patriarke of Aquileia, the Pope graunted the inueſtiture of the realme to him and his, making D. *Fernand* of Arragon, baſe ſonne to King *Alphonſo* Legitimate to that effect, hoping to ſucceed in the realme of Naples, and diſanulling all other Inueſtitures which had beene made by him or his predeceſſors Popes, to all other Princes whatſoeuer. In regard whereof, the King did aide the Pope with his forces, againſt ſuch as oppoſed themſelues in the Marquiſate, and made him to enioy it quietly. The King of Arragons Ambaſſadors did admoniſh the King of Nauarre priuatly, to keepe friendſhip with the King of Caſtile, and to doe him ſeruice: the like admonitions they gaue to the Infant D. *Henry*, hauing ſuch charge from their maiſter.

Alphonſo king of Arragon inueſted in the realme of Naples.

The Noblemen of Caſtile hauing with ſuch contention plunged the Conſtable and them of his party in a gulphe of miſeres, and the Courtiers hell, which is the diſgrace of their Prince, and decay of their authority, they gaue him meanes by their negligence and baſeneſſe, to reſolue and to returne to that dignity, from which he was fallne: for euery one reſpecting more his priuate profit, then the publike good, or the maintenance of their league, followed that which he held to be moſt profitable for himſelfe, beginning to iarre, and to haue factions amongſt themſelues, whereof the Conſtables friends that were in diſgrace, could make vſe; wherefore Doctor *Pero Ianes*, and *Alphonſo Peres* of Biuero, very much affected to the Conſtable, had meanes to returne to Court. D. *Lopes* of Barrientos, Biſhop of Segobia, beſides that he was a very deere friend to the Conſtable, hauing or fearing to haue ſome quarrell with D. *Iohn de Pacheco*, fauorite to Prince *Henry*, hee exchanged his Biſhoprike for that of Auila, with the Cardinal D. *Pedro* of Cerbantes, for that the Prince did ordinarily remaine at Segobia, it may bee hee would haue this exchange ſerue for a collour for that which he pollitikely pretended, making ſhew to hate and flie the Prince D. *Henry*, when as he had moſt deſire to bee in fauour with him, to reſtore the Conſtable, and to retire him from the King of Nauarre and the confederats league. Soone after D. *Pedro Suarez* of Toledo, ſonne to D. *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo Lord of Oropeſa, being fauored by D. *Henry* Prince of Caſtile, who was but of a turbulent ſpirit, fortefied himſelfe like an enemy in Talauera, the which being made knowne to the King of Caſtile, who was then at Santa Maria of Nieua, with the King of Nauarre, to celebrate the Anniuerſary of D. *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre deceaſed; the two Kings marched thether with ſome troupes, and hauing cauſed the Infant D. *Henry* to come vnto them, they forced them that held Talauera to yeeld, which place they gaue in gard to D. *Fernand* of Crezuela, Archdeacon of Toledo. From thence they went al together to Toledo, where by the way they did viſit the Conſtable D. *Aluaro de Luna*, at Eſcalona where the King and Queen were his Goſſips to a daughter, who was called *Ioane*, the which did wonderfully diſcontent the Admirall D. *Frederic*, and the other confederate Lords. The Commonalties of the Prouince of Alaua, who had taken armes againſt the Earle

Caſtile.

Pollecy of the Biſhop D. Lopes of Barrientos.

Kings of Caſtile and Nauarre viſit the Infante.

A Earle of Caſtagneda, and D. *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça; did much harme vnto the gentlemen of the country, and others, ruining their houſes and committing many inſolencies, as a brutiſh people is accuſtomed to doe, being a meere folly to arme them, how iuſt ſoeuer the cauſe be: yea they proceeded ſo farre, as they did beſeege D. *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, Lieutenant and Gouernor of Guipuſcoa in the towne of Saluatierra of Alaua, which did belong vnto him, who ſeeing himſelfe preſt, ſent to intreat his Neighbour and kinſman, D. *Pero Fernandes* of Velaſco, Lord of Haro, being then at a village of his, to come and ſuccor him, who hauing ſeene D. *Pero* of Ayalas letter, he endeuored with all ſpeed to releeue him, gathering together in leſſe then foure daies aboue foure thouſand foote B and fiue hundred Launces, with which forces he marcht towards Saluatierra. The Commons being aduertiſed of his comming, diſlodged, yet not ſo ſpeedily, but he tooke many, whom he either ſlue or carried away priſoners, hauing chaſed the reſt home vnto their townes, and burnt many of their houſes.

Dangerous counſel to arme a multitude.

Inſolencie of the commons puniſhed.

In the yeere 1443. D. *Lewis* of Guzman, maiſter of the Knights of the Calatraua died: ſo as the King of Nauarre obtained that place of the King of Caſtile, for a baſe ſonne of his called D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon: whereof the King hauing written to the Commonders (to whom the election did belong) D. *Fernando* of Padilla treaſorer of the Order (who had great credit among them, and the greater, for that he held D. *Iohn Ramirés* of Guzman great Commander of that Order priſoner euer ſince the ciuill warre, and C would neuer deliuer him, neither by the Kings commandement, nor for the threats of the Princes and Noblemen) wrought ſo, as without reſpect to the Kings letters, or to any thing elſe, he cauſed himſelfe to be choſen maiſter of the Calatraua, diſapointing D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, and the King of Nauarre his father, of their pourſute, who for that cauſe made made great Inſtance vnto the King, and obtained many letters and commandements to the Commanders, to diſanull this election which was fraudulent, violent and againſt their Orders: for this new maiſter beeing choſen, had freed the great Commander, but hee had firſt made him to allow of his election, and to ſweare fealty and homage vnto him, as to his Superior, and maiſter of the Order. All this preuayling nothing, the King cauſed the rents and reuenues of Calatraua to be ſeized on, forbidding all D their ſubiects and vaſſals, to obey or acknowledge D. *Fernand* of Padilla, who notwithſtanding was fauored and ſupported by D. *Henry* Prince of Caſtile, & other Noblemen, who were ſomewhat iealous of the King of Nauars greatneſſe. Moreouer the King ſent the Infant D. *Henry* of Arragon, with an army, who did beſeege this vſurper in the fort of the Conuent of Calatraua, where he ſpent ſome daies, being defended by a good garriſon. At the laſt the war ended, by an accident which happened to D. *Fernand* of Padilla, who died, being ſhot vnaduiſedly by one of his Squiers, who aymed at the enemy. They that defended the place, hauing loſt their maiſter yeelded vpon compoſition. The Infant aduertiſed the King of Caſtile what had happened, who at the requeſt of the King of Nauarre, did write againe vnto the Commanders to chooſe D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, the E which was done, but he enioyed it little.

1434.

Election preposterouſly made.

Vſurper enioyes his maiſterſhip little.

D. Alphonſo of Arragon baſe ſonne to the King of Nauarre, maiſter of Calatraua.

The Court remouing from Toledo, to come to Madrigal, the King being at Ramaga, the Prince D. *Henry* his ſon did ſollicit him to impriſon *Alphonſo Peres* of Biuero, *Fernando Iames* of Xeris, *Iohn Manuel* of Lando, and *Pedro* of Luxan Grome of the Chamber, for crimes whereof he accuſed them, and the King of Nauarre did the like, which was an occaſion to chaſe againe from Court all the Conſtables friends, fauorers and dependants, and to change many of the Kings houſhold ſeruants, yea to giue him ſo many gards, as he was diſcontented, yet he had no wil to redreſſe it, for he was faint-hearted, and had no royall reſolution, yea hee endured that D. *Henry Henriques* the Admirals brother, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça were continually in his Chamber, to obſerue what hee did, and F to aduertiſe the King of Nauarre, and his ſonne in law the Prince Don *Henry*. It is credible that this was the practiſe of Don *Lopes* of Barriento, lately Biſhop of Segobia, and now of Auila, who ſought to giue the confederats ſome occaſion to vſe the King rigorouſly, whereby it ſhould appeere that they held him in vnworthy ſeruitude, wherewith the King, his ſonne the Prince of Aſturia's, and others whom hee would make friends to the Conſtable, might bee diſcontented, as it happened,

for this Biſhop, being a very polletike man, vſed ſuch meanes, as he wonne D. *Iohn de Pacheco*, who was the heart of Prince *Henry*, procuring him to let the Prince his maiſter vnderſtand, how vnworthy a thing it was for him to continue in their league, who intreated his father ſo vnworthely, who hauing chaſed from court by their ſeditious armes, the conſtable, and other moſt faithfull ſeruants to the crowne of Caſtile, vnder collour of ſome youth, but in effect it was for that they oppoſed themſelues againſt their tyranie, which they did build vnder a ſhew of the publike good, they held the Kings perſon as it were in captiuity, to whom it was not lawfull to ſpeake, ſee, nor heare, but by their Organes, no not to conuerſe priuately with the Queene his wife, nor with him his ſonne, without witneſſes and gards, who went and reported all to them that he did and ſaid: a ſhamefull thing, and full of contempt, the which he ſhould not ſuffer, who ſhould be the ſupport of his father, and the hope of all faithfull ſubiects, louing the greatneſſe of the crowne of Caſtile, and the honour and reputation of their Kings; with ſuch perſwaſions hee induced the Prince D. *Henry* to leaue the league, the which he did cunningly, as he was councelled by the Biſhop; who vſed the happy endeuors of *Iohn de Pacheco*, and by other diuiſes and meanes, hee drew vnto the conſtables friendſhip (who was almoſt in deſpaire, and reſolued, ſeeing himſelfe ſo purſued, to paſſe into Portugall) the new Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Earle of Haro, Alba, Caſtagneda and Ledeſma, who now intituled himſelfe Earle of Plaiſance, *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, *Pero Aluares Oſorio* and other great Noblemen. The better to couer this practiſe, beeing alſo neceſſary for the Archbiſhop of Toledo to diſſemble, hauing not yet receiued his Bulls from Rome for his Archbiſhoprike, hee and his Nephew, the Earle of Alba made a new league, with the King of Nauarre: but the Bulles receiued, and beeing in quiet poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprike, they left the league, and ioyned with the conſtable.

Prince Henry won by the Conſtables faction.

The effects of the Biſhops of Auilas practiſes beganne now to appeere, the Earle of Haro hauing complained of the ſubiection wherein they held the King, vſing ſome word of threatning that he would remedy it: going to Curiel to the Earle of Plaiſance to conferre with him about it: wherevpon the King of Nauarre ſent after him to take him, and he had beene taken, notwithſtanding that he went by vnknowne waies, if hee had not beene very well mounted, and eſcaped by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, into his owne country, where hee leauied men, and inuited all his friends to ioyne with him in ſo honourable an enterpriſe, to free the King from the oppreſſion wherein they held him, ſo as within few daies hee had gathered together one thouſand horſe, there being ioyned with him the Earle of Caſtagneda, and D. *Pedro Sarmiento*: againſt whom Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre ſent fifteene hundred Launces, led by the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent, who led Prince *Henry* with them, who did not yet deſcouer himſelfe, but onely kept theſe two parties from fighting, making them in ſome ſort friends, and ſatisfied at that time one of an other, and then hee returned to Segobia. Whileſt that the Admirall and Earle of Benauent were abſent in this voiage, hauing left the Kings in Tordeſillas, *Pero Aluares Oſorio* of the Biſhop of Auilas faction, came and preſented himſelfe before the towne, being accompanied with many ſouldiars, and did endeuor to enter, but he could not, wherevpon he retired.

Theſe things made the King of Nauarre, and the confederats very iealous, that there was ſome great conſpiracy againſt them, and not able yet to diſcouer who were the conſpirators, to bee the better certefied, they ſent to intreat the Prince D. *Henry* to come to Tordeſillas, that they might aduiſe what was to bee done for the totall ruine of the Conſtable, as they had concluded together.

The Prince hauing therein the Biſhops aduice, who demaunded nothing more, came with an intent to make knowne vnto the King his father the league which hee had newly made, to free him from Gouernment, and to comfort him. Arriuing at Tordeſillas with the Biſhop of Auila, *Iohn de Pacheco* and many other Noblemen, they were receiued by the King of Nauarre, with great demonſtration of ioy. At that time there was no meanes for to conferre together, nor to treate of any affaires, for they were readie to celebrate a marriage betwixt the King of Nauarre,

A Nauarre, and the Admirall *Henriques* daughter, which were preparing with great ſtate, at the tower of Lobaton, whither all men went.

This marriage was accompliſhed to the great griefe of Don *Charles* Prince of Viana, to whoſe preiudice the king D. *Iohn* his father, detayned the Realme of Nauar, and wold not leaue it, although it were his inheritance by his mother, which was the cauſe of great troubles. This Princeſſe D. *Ioane* was of the bloud royall of Caſtile, for the Admirall Don *Frederick* her father, was ſonne to Don *Alphonſo Henriques*, and grand-child to Don *Frederick* Maſter of Saint Iames, who by the commandement of Don *Pedro* the cruell, his brother, was ſlaine at Seuile. At the ſame time Don *Fernand* of Aualos, Chamber-
B laine to the Infant D. *Henry*, was ſent to bring Donna *Beatrix*, ſiſter to Don *Alphonſo Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, to Cordoua, being promiſed to the Infant his maſter: in which citie that mariage was celebrated, of whom came D. *Henry* of Arragon, called the Infant of Fortune, or the Fortunate, who came to be Duke of Segorbe.

14 Nauarre. *Mariage of the king of Nauar with D. Ioane Henriques.*

The Court being returned to Tordeſillas, they began to treat of matters againſt the Conſtable, whereupon the Prince told the king of Nauarre, that it were good all they of the league were together, to determine of matters of ſo great importance, the which pleaſed the king of Nauarre, whereupon there were letters and meſſengers ſent to them that were abſent to draw them to Court: and for that Tordeſillas would not ſerue to lodge ſo great an aſſembly, the towne of Areualo was appointed. The Biſhop of Auila
C was very deſirous, that the king and the Prince, father and ſonne, might conferre freely together, the which was very difficult: for there were ſpies ſet by the king of Nauarre about the kings perſon in his chamber, and in all other places, who did obſerue what hee ſayd or did, and yet the king could not helpe it: yet the biſhop found meanes to aduiſe him, that he ſhould faine himſelfe to be ſomewhat ſicke, and that vppon this occaſion, the Prince, vnder colour to viſit him, and to do his duty, might deliuer many things vnto him which might pleaſe him. The king kept his bed for a time, whereby the Prince had oportunity to diſcouer the new league vnto him, and to aſſure him, that the Conſtable whom he had chaſed away, ſhould yet deliuer him from the captiuity wherein they held him: wherewith the king was ſo ioyed, as he could not containe himſelfe, but he did out-
D wardly ſhew the hope which he had conceiued, which made the gards ſuſpect, that the father and the ſonne had had ſome diſcourſe of great conſequence, whereof they did aduertiſe the King of Nauarre, who was very iealous of the biſhop. They cauſed the Admirall to aske the king, what good diſcourſe the Prince his ſonne had vſed, wherewith he was ſo ioyed. The king wiſely concealing what he knew, anſwered, that they were tales of the follies of youth.

Caſtile.

This buſines hauing ſucceeded wiſhfully for the Biſhop, the Prince tooke his leaue of the two kings, his father and father-in-law, and ſo returned to Segobia, to attend (ſayd he) the time of the aſſembly at Areualo: but it was the leaſt of his thoughts, for he had a ſpeciall deſire to breake it if he could: whereof hauing conferred by the way with the bi-
E ſhop of Auila his Councellor, he (who was a cunning politicke man) found this expedient: he went to Areualo, beeing a towne of his Dioceſſe of Auila, with a great trayne, and finding the lodgings alreadie marked, for the Noblemen that ſhould come thither, he cauſed ſome to quarrell with the harbingers, and with ſuch of the traine as were alreadie come, ſo as he put the towne into a great confuſion. Many of thoſe which were alreadie lodged, were forced to depart, and to giue place to my Lord Biſhop and his men, and then ſeeking for other lodging, there grew other contentions among them of the Court, ſo as the king of Nauarre being aduertiſed thereof, hee was much diſcontented, and growing more ſuſpitious, he would not go to that aſſembly, fearing ſome practiſe againſt him. The Prince hauing what he demanded, he wrote vnto the king of Nauarre,
F complayning much that he was not come to the aſſembly at Areualo: wherefore they ſent the Admirall Don *Frederick* vnto him to Saint Mary de Nyeua to draw him to another aſſembly, whereunto the Prince pretending ſome excuſes, the Admirall told him, that if he came not, it would ſeeme, that he meant to withdraw himſelfe from the vnion of the king of Nauarre and the confederate Lords.

The Prince pretended many reaſons hee had for it, but he diſſembled his intent: the Admirall

Admirall intreated him for an enterview with his father in-law at Olmedo, whereof hee excuſed himſelfe as honeſtly as he could, and ſent backe the Admirall very much diſcontented: for he ſpake not but as he was aduiſed by the Biſhop of Auila, who wiſhed him not to enter into Olmedo, nor into any place belonging to the king of Nauarre. The Biſhop being vigilant and actiue to do any thing that might giue forme and effect to his enterpriſe, for the reſtoring of the Conſtable to his firſt fauour and authoritie, poſted to Alba de Tormes, whereas he made the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and the Earle of Alba his Nephew good friends and ſeruants to the Prince Don *Henry*, aduertiſing them of all that had beene done, and he gaue order in Alba, that the like aduice ſhould bee giuen vnto Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, Lord of Hita and Buytrago; and being returned to Segobia, he cauſed the Prince to write vnto him, and to promiſe to fauour him in the queſtion he had with the king of Caſtile for the Aſturia's of Santillana. During theſe practiſes in Caſtile, the Infant Don *Henry* hauing ſeized vpon the cittie of Cordoua, he ſought to draw the townes of Andaluſia into the Confederats power, and had attempted to ſeaze vpon Seuile; where finding reſiſtance, he layed ſiege vnto it, and did greatly preſſe it, at ſuch time as the Prince D. *Henry* did publiſh his reſolution openly in the cittie of Auila, which was, to continue vnder the obedience of the king his father, and to ſeeke to free him from them that did oppreſſe him: wherefore they of Seuile, vppon this newes, tooke courage, and did valiantly repulſe the Infant. The Earles of Caſtagneda and Haro, with many other Knights, hearing of this reſolution, ſent inſtantly to preſent their ſeruice vnto the Prince.

The king of Nauarre ſeeing this ſtorme approch, ſought by all meanes to pacifie the Prince, promiſing him all that he had formerly demanded, and not obtayned, but it was too late. He that carried this meſſage vnto the Prince for the king of Nauarre, was a wiſe man, called *Aluar Garcia* of Saint *Mary*, who hath written part of the Chronicle of this King of Caſtile. The king of Nauarre and his confederates ſeeing the Princes deſſeines, and that they muſt come to force, they aſſembled men from all parts, and ſo did the Prince: for the Conſtable, the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and the Earle of Alba came preſently to him to Auila, whereas they might haue ſome fifteene hundred horſe, not ſufficient to beſeege Tordeſillas where the king was: wherefore they reſolued to go towards Burgos, to ioyne with the Earles of Haro, Caſtagneda, and Plaiſance, and with Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça: whereof the King of Nauarre being aduertiſed, hauing alreadie leuied aboue two thouſand horſe, he led the king to Portillo, and hauing there left him in the guard of the Earle of Caſtro, he marched with his troupes towards Burgos, beeing reſolued to fight with the Prince and his men, and he came and camped at Pamphega in the territorie of Burgos. The Prince who was within the cittie, and had alreadie aboue three thouſand horſe and foure thouſand foote, ſallyed forth, and came and lodged within view of his father-in-lawes armie. They expected nothing but a bloudie battell betwixt theſe two factions: but they retired without any blowes, but only a light skirmiſh, the which happened, whileſt they did capitulate, at the ſollicitation of ſome good religious men: at which treatie the king of Nauarre did in a manner yeeld to all that the Prince required, leauing the king of Caſtile in full libertie to reſtore his Officers, and to do what he pleaſed. The king of Nauarre finding no meanes to make an accord beeing the weaker, he diſlodged in the night, without ſound of trumpet, and retired to Palençuela. The king of Caſtile being ill guarded in Portillo, vnder colour of going a hunting eſcaped from the Earle of Caſtro, and came to Vailledolit, whither the Biſhop of Auila came preſently vnto the Princes and the Confederates campe, which was neere vnto Palençuela. The king ſhewed the beſt countenance he could vnto the Biſhop, and acknowledging the good ſeruice he had done him in his deliuerie, he made him infinit promiſes. The King of Nauar, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, D. *Pedro* of Quignones, and other heads of their faction, ſeeing themſelues low, and at their enemies mercy, they reſolued to retire themſelues, euery one to his houſe, and there to attend the euent: wherefore the K. of Nauar, who for ſome yeares had not ſeen Nauar, went thither to prouide men and meanes, to enter ſpeedily with great forces into Caſtile, againſt his aduerſaries.

King of Caſtile deliuered.

King of Nauars league diſperſed.

15. Nauarre.

Being come into his Realme, he firſt of all furniſhed his fronter places, with all things neceſſary

A neceſſarie, to reſiſt the king of Caſtiles attempts: who had no great deſire to purſue him into Nauarre, but onely to ſpoyle him and his, of that which they held in Caſtile, and firſt of all he tooke Medina del campo, and Olmedo: then the towne of Pegnafiel was taken by force and ſacked, and the caſtle yeelded by compoſition, Roa and Aranda of Duero opened their gates vnto the Prince, who with the Conſtable (hauing nothing that made head in Caſtile the old) paſt into Andaluſia, againſt the Infant Don *Henry*, and forced him to flie into the country of Murcia, where he fortified himſelfe in Lorca, vntill that the Prince was retired into Caſtile, and then he paſſed into Arragon, and ſo ioyned with the king of Nauarre his brother, who leuied men to returne into Caſtile. In the yeare 1445. dyed the Queenes *Leonora* of Portugall, and *Mary* of Caſtile, ſiſters to the king of *An. 1445.*
B Nauarre, not without ſuſpition of poyſon: the Queene of Portugall was carryed from *Death of two Queenes ſiſters poiſoned.*
Toledo, where ſhe dyed, to the Monaſterie of S. *Mary* of the battell: and Queene *Mary* dying at Villacaſtin a burrough of Segobia, was interred in the Monaſterie of Guadalupe. Almoſt at the ſame time dyed *Lope* of Mendoça, Arch-biſhop of Seuile, whoſe place was giuen to Don *Aluaro* of Oſorno, Biſhop of Cuenca, and his Biſhopricke was conferred to Don *Lopes* of Barriento biſhop of Auila, the which was giuen to *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca, ſuch changes made the Paſtors of Spaine, ſeeking the beſt reuenues. In the *Entrance of*
ſpring-time the king of Nauar entred into Caſtile by Atiença, with foure hundred horſe, *B ſo paſſa...*
and fiue hundred foot: where at his firſt entry, he tooke Torrija, Alcala of Henares, Alcala the old, and Saint Torquat, whither the Infant D. *Henry* his brother came with 500
C men at armes.

Theſe newes made the king go from Medina into the Realme of Toledo, where hauing gathered together all the ſouldiers he could, hee marched that way, where as hee thought to find the King of Nauarre, and comming neere to Alcala of Henares the towne was yeelded to him. There the King of Nauarre preſented himſelfe to fight, but he of Caſtile would not accept the battell: wherefore the King of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* paſt the port or mount of Tablada, and led their army to Olmedo, where as the gates being ſhut, and reſiſtance made, they entred by force, and hauing cauſed informations to be made againſt them that were culpable, Doctor *Fuente*, and two other Gentlemen were condemned to dye, and were executed. The King of Caſtile following the king of
D Nauarre, came and camped at the milles of the Abbey, within a little league of Olmedo, hauing in his army the Prince his ſonne, the Conſtable, the Earle of Alba, D. *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, Don *Lope* of Barrientos, newly made Biſhop of Cuenca, and then the Earle of Haro came and ioyned with him. On the other ſide the Admirall, the Earles of Benauent and Caſtro, Don *Pearo* of Quignones, D. *Iohn* of Tobar, beeing ſent by the K. of Nauarre, entred into Olmedo with a thouſand horſe, the which being ioyned to them which the king of Nauarre and the Infant had brought, and gathered together, made about fiue and twenty hundred horſe.

Matters beeing readie to be decided by an ineuitable battell, the king of Nauarre hauing no will to hazard himſelfe, hee demaunded a parle of the king of Caſtile, of ſome *Confederats beſeeged in Olmedo.*
E Knights of either part, the which being granted, the Admiral and the Earle of Benauent of the one ſide, and the Biſhop of Cuenca, and the Conſtable on the other, conferred together many times, the King of Nauarre in a manner demanding no other thing, but that they ſhould reſtore to him the Infant D. *Henry*, the Earle of Caſtro, and others of the league, their lands and eſtates: but as for the gouernement of the Realme, and quarrels with the Conſtable, hee made not any mention. The Biſhop vſing his accuſtomed pollicy, prolonged this treaty all he could, knowing that D. *Guttiere* of Soto-major maſter of Alcantara, ſhould come within few daies to the campe with fixe hundred horſe, by which ſupply the king of Caſtile being euery way the ſtronger, he did hope to ſee his
F enemies wholly defeated, and forced to yeeld to his and the Conſtables mercie. The conference being ended without any concluſion, the king of Nauarre, and the confederates, ſent *Lope* of Angulo, and the Licentiat *Cuellar* his Chancelor, to the campe, to acquaint the king of Caſtile with the miſeries and loſſes which do follow a battel, whereunto the Conſtable, reſpecting only his priuate intereſt, aſpired tyrannouſly, for the fruits which he gaped after by the death of the beſt Knights of Caſtile: wherefore hee ſhould *Demand of the confederats of the King of Caſtile.*

do

do a thing worthie of himſelfe, to chaſe away this man, arrogant of the authoritie which he held vnworthily, and decree that they might bee heard in iuſtice, in ſome citie or other place of the Realme, whither they ſhold come like men of peace, not bringing with them aboue ten men vpon moyles: elſe they proteſted, that they would make their complaints vnto the Pope, and that the miſeries which ſhould follow, ſhould be by his fault. The king anſwered, that he would take order, requiring to haue this demand in writing.

Prince Henry made to runne away.

Two dayes after Prince *Henry* going to view Olmedo, with certaine light horſe, hee was charged by the enemies who ſallyed out of the towne, who made him to flie ſhamefully to the campe, the which did ſo much diſpleaſe the king his father, as inſtantly refuſing to heare any more ſpeech of an accord, he cauſed his Standard to be diſplayed, and his men to be put into battell; the Conſtable leading the foreward with eight hundred men at armes: the Prince the battell with foure hundred men at armes, and the king the reereward with ſixe hundred men at arms, beſides the light horſemen, which were very many and diuided into theſe ordonances, the which hee made to ſtand firme aboue an hower, in view of Olmedo, to ſee if the king of Nauarre would come foorth: who beeing wonderfully incenſed at this brauado, although he had not equall forces to his aduerſarie, yet like a couragious Prince, he would needs go foorth to fight, contrarie to the aduice of many, it beeing late, oppoſing his ſquadron, and that which the Earle of Caſtro led againſt Prince *Henry*, and the Infant his brother, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, *Pedro* of Quignones, and *Fernand Lopes* of Saldaigne, with the reſt of the forces againſt the Conſtable of Caſtile: and ſo began the battell about two houres before Sunne-ſetting,

Battel of Olmedo loſt by the k. of Nauar

whereas the king of Nauarre and the confederates, notwithſtanding their endeauours, were vanquiſhed: and it was happie for them that approching night parted them, and kept the victors from purſuing of their enemies: ſo as notwithſtanding that they did fight with great reſolution and obſtinacie, yet there were but ſeuen and thirtie ſlaine vppon the place, and about two hundred dyed after, of ſuch as had beene wounded in the battel. The King of Nauarre and his brother D. *Henry* (who was ſore hurt in the left hand) retired to Olmedo: the Earle of Benauent fled as farre as Pedraza: the Admirall was taken by a Squire called *Peter* of Carera, who notwithſtanding brought him to his owne houſe, at the tower of Lobaton: many Noblemen and others, in number aboue two hundred were taken. Among which the chiefe were, the Earle of Caſtro, and a ſonne of his called Don *Pedro* of Sandouall, *Alphonſo* of Alarcon, D. *Henry Henriques*, the Admirals brother, *Fernand* of Quignones, *Diego* of Londogno ſonne to *Sancho Roarigo* of Aualos, nephew to Don *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, ſometimes Conſtable of Caſtile, and Don *Pedro* of Quignones, but he found meanes to eſcape. The reſt of the confederates armie fled to diuers parts, and was not purſued by reaſon of the night.

The King of Caſtile much pleaſed with this victorie, ſent commandement throughout his whole Realme, that they ſhould make bon fires in ſigne of ioy, and hee cauſed a chappell to be built vppon the place of fight, which he named the holy Ghoſt of the battell, and hauing the day after ſent *Guttiere Sanches* of Aluarado priſoner to Vailledolit, he cauſed his head to be cut off. Before midnight the king of Nauarre, and the Infant his brother going out of Olmedo, with ſuch forces as they had, they tooke the way of Portillo, and by Fonte Duegna they came to Daroca, and from thence to Calatajub, where as the Infant Don *Henry* dyed of the wound which he had receiued in the hand, it beeing inflamed: his bodie was at that time layed in the chappell of D. *Iohn de Luna*, in that city, and afterwards tranſported to Poblete, whereas the king Don *Fernand* his father lyes. He left his wife Donna *Beatrix* with child, who was afterwards deliuered of a ſon, who was called Don *Henry* of Arragon, and by ſurname the Fortunate Infant. His death was the more grieuous to the King of Nauarre, for that it happened in an vnſeaſonable time, after the loſſe of a battell: beſides, ſeeing himſelfe depriued of ſuch a brother, it did but increaſe his griefe for the late death of his two ſiſters, the Queenes of Caſtile and Portugall, there remayning not any of ſo many children which the deceaſed King *Fernand* his father had left, but onely he and Don *Alphonſo* king of Arragon, who was in a manner continually reſident at Naples, and had no lawfull children. By this loſſe the king of Nauarre was wholy abandoned by the confederate Lords of Caſtile, who retired home to

Death of Don Henry Infant of Arragon.

League of the king of Nauar wholy diſſolued.

their

A their houſes to ſettle their affaires: but the King of Caſtile purſued them with all rigour of Iuſtice, cauſing them to be proclaymed Rebels, and forfeiting their lands to the crown, without reſpect of any: yet the Prince D. *Henry* laboured ſo, as the Admirall was put out of the roule of them that were condemned, but not without difficultie. In the caſtell of Medina of Rio-ſecco was Donna *Thereſa* of Quignones, with Donna *Ioane* wife to the King of Nauarre. The king being come thither, he receiued the place, and vſed the Ladies gratiouſly, by the Princes interceſſion, who preſerued the Admirals goods, eſtates, and family, vppon condition that he ſhould return to the kings ſeruice, within foure moneths: notwithſtanding Queene *Ioane* remayned in the king of Caſtiles power: and the
B League againſt the Conſtable was ſo diſperſed, as there was not any towne or caſtle, but was yeelded vp into the kings power, nor any man of name that durſt oppoſe himſelfe: but ſome retired into Nauarre, and others into remote places, and little frequented by the Court: The Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, Don *Diego Manrique*, Gouernour of Leon, Don *Pedro* of Quignones, and *Iohn Tobar*, went towards Nauarre: by reaſon whereof the King fearing ſome enterpriſe of that ſide, came to Burgos. Don *Aluaro de Luna*, the Conſtable beeing freed from ſo great enemies, grew to be in greater credite then euer, and whereas he had beene but adminiſtrator of Saint *Iames*, he was made Maſter of that Order, which honors were but baytes of misfortune which did follow him, to plunge him in extreme miſerie.

Condemnations againſt the confederates.

Conſtable reſtored to fauor & made Maſter of S. Iames.

C He entertayned friendſhip with the Princes of Portugall as his laſt refuge: and in the time of this warre had procured for the king of Caſtile a ſuccour of 1600. horſe and two thouſand foote, the which Don *Pedro* the third Conſtable of Portugal, ſonne to the Infant Don *Pedro*, Regent of the Realme, a young Prince but ſeuenteene yeares old, brought to Majorga after the battell, where they were receiued and feaſted with great ioy: but for that there was no vſe for them, they were ſent backe payed and well ſatisfied. In this voyage, the Conſtable treated with the Portugals, to haue the King his maſter, (whoſe Queene was dead fiue moneths before) to marrie with Donna *Izabella* daughter to the Infant D. *Iohn* deceaſed, who had beene Maſter of Saint *Iames* in Portugall, wherD with he had not made the king in any ſort acquainted, ſo much hee preſumed of the power he had ouer him. This marriage with ſome other things, were afterwards the cauſe that the King did hate him mortally.

Beginning of the kings hatred againſt the Conſtable.

This Prince D. *Henry*, and many other knights conſidering how great a loſſe it wold be, if ſo many great Lords and worthie men ſhould be eſtranged from Caſtile, they delt ſo with the king (who of himſelfe was patient and tractable) as they obtained a generall pardon for all ſuch as had carried armes with the King of Nauarre: vnto the which theſe Articles following were annexed:

That a pardon was granted to the Admirall, who ſhould returne into Caſtile, when he had leaue from the king, and ſhould retire vnto the tower of Lobaton, in the which, and the limits thereof, he ſhould remaine confined two yeares: The Earle of Benauent
E had the like ſentence to remaine in his houſe at Benauent two yeares: and that he ſhould take into his charge and guard Donna *Ioane* Queene of Nauarre, and not ſuffer her after the two yeares expired, to depart without the kings commandement, and the conſent of Prince *Henry*, and after that the Earle himſelfe, and that the Admirall had taken an oath of fealty vnto the king, to ſerue him againſt all men, according to the lawes of Caſtile. Theſe things beeing thus concluded, the King being at Burgos, he gaue the title of Marquis of Santillana, to Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, for his good and acceptable ſeruice: to Don *Iohn de Pacheco* in fauour of the Prince, the title of Marquis of Villena: the gouernement of the caſtle of Burgos, held till that time by the Earle of Plaiſance, was giuen to *Iohn* of Luxan. Not onely the king of Nauarre, but his ſonne the Prince Don
F *Charles*, yea Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Maſter of Calatraua, loſt at this time all they had in Caſtile. Don *Pedro Giron*, brother to Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, was made Maſter of Calatraua by the king, being at Auila, and Don *Alphonſo*, who was retired into Nauarre with his father, depriued thereof: yet D. *Iohn Ramires* of Guzman great Commander of the Order, tooke vpon him the title of Maſter, againſt D. *Pedro Giron*: which contention was afterwards reconciled by the Princes authority and others.

Pardon granted to the confederats fled into Nauarre and other places.

In

Granado. In the meane time they did write out of Murcia to the king, that they ſuſpected the Moores would make ſome attempt: wherefore it was neceſſarie to prouide for that fronter, but it was a brute without effect, for that King *Mahumet Aben-Azar*, then raigning, was forced to defend himſelfe in his owne Realme, againſt another called *Mahumet Aben Ozmen*, called *Coxo*, his nephew, who had rebelled againſt him, to depriue him of his Realme, as he did, hauing intelligence with many Moriſh Knights of Granado, by whoſe meanes he ſeized of the citty, and of Alhambra, and tooke King *Mahumet* his vncle, who at that time loſt his Realme, beeing the third time, and neuer recouered it more in the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, forty and fiue, hauing raigned thirteene yeares and three moneths. A B

Caſtile. The King of Caſtile went into Extremadura, and forced D. *Fernand* of Aualos, ſonne to the ſometimes Conſtable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, to yeeld him vp the fort of Albuquerque and others, which had belonged to the Infant D. *Henry*, in conſideration of ſome recompence which the deceaſed Infant his Maſter did owe him. The king beeing at Toledo, he tooke the Gouernement of the cittie from *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, who was a partiſan to the King of Nauarre, and gaue it to *Pedro Sarmiento*. There were many complaints made by the Officers, and leſſer Magiſtrates of the cittie, the which the king diſſembled: for that the Prince fauoured him, and was much diſcontented for that hee was put from his gouernement of Toledo. In the meane time the King of Nauarre, (who was alſo as Regent in Arragon, in the abſence of King *Alphonſo* his brother) prouided money, and all other meanes to renue the warre in Caſtile, whereas hee yet held two ſtrong places, Atiença and Torrijo, and by the meanes of *Gaſton* Earle of Foix his ſonne-in-law, (who had married D. *Leonora* his ſecond daughter, to whom afterwards the ſucceſſion of the realme of Nauarre fell) he pretended to draw ſome great ſuccours out of France. In Atiença *Roderigo* of Rebolledo was Gouernor, with a garriſon of two hundred horſe and foure hundred foot: who by their continuall courſes held the country for many leagues round about in continuall alarme, killing, burning and carrying away all they incountred, whereof there came daily complaints vnto the king of Caſtiles eares: wherefore there were ſome troupes of horſe ſent to reſtraine their courſes, vntill there might bee a ſufficient armie raiſed to beſeege the place: and the better to attend this warre, the King reconciled certaine pettie quarrels, which the Prince his ſonne did cauſe; and he granted libertie to the Admirall, and Earle of Benauent for their perſons, reſtoring them to their Lands and Eſtates freely: and moreoueer he ſuffered that Queene *Ioane*, wife to the king of Nauarre, ſhould be deliuered into her fathers hands, and kept by him, vntill that the king of Caſtile ſhould determine of her deliuerie to the king her husband. D. *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual was alſo pardoned, the King retayning his forts ſtill for two yeares: the like pardon was granted to his ſonnes, and to D. *Iohn* of Tobar, Lord of Berlanga: the fort of Berlanga did alſo remaine two yeares in the kings hands. C D

Seege of Atienſa. Theſe things beeing thus ordered, the king went in perſon to the ſiege of Atiença, the which was furiouſly battered and aſſayled with engins of warre, and alſo with ſome iron Ordinance; for the caſting of braſſe Ordinance was not then vſed in Spaine: ſo as *Roderigo* of Rebolledo, Captaine of the Garriſon, ſeeing himſelfe thus preſt, gaue the King of Nauarre to vnderſtand, that if he were not releeued, he could not hold it long: wherupon the king of Nauarre, (who was not in caſe to rayſe the ſeege) ſent to propound ſome meanes of a truce with him of Caſtile, the which was granted vpon condition, that the townes of Atiença and Torrijo ſhould be deliuered into the hands of *Mary* Queene of Arragon, for a certaine time limited: during the which they ſhould conferre of the meanes to make a good peace betwixt the two kings: and if their quarrels could bee determined, then the Queene ſhould reſtore thoſe two places to her brother-in-lawe the king of Nauarre. E F

Choler of the King of Caſtile All hoſtility ceaſing by this meanes, the king entred into Atiença, whereas mooued by ſome vnknowne occaſion, without regard of that which had beene capitulated, hee cauſed ſome houſes to bee ſacked and ruined, and others to be conſumed with fire, ſo as a good part of the towne was burnt: whereat the King of Nauarre was much offended, and would no more ſtand to the accord, nor deliuer the Caſtles and places to the Queene of

A of Arragon, reproching the King, that he had broken his promiſe, and giuing commandement to his ſouldiers, that they ſhould vſe all acts of hoſtilitie, and commit what ſpoiles they could in Caſtile, the which they did, and with ſuch exceſſe, as the king of Caſtile ſent backe in the yeare 1446. Don *Charles* of Areillan, Lord of los Cameros, a great and famous Captaine, to ſuppreſſe the robberies and inſolencies of the Nauarrois in Atiença: and againſt them of Torrijo, Don *Alphonſo Carillo* of Acugna, newly made Arch-biſhop of Toledo, by the death of Don *Guttiere Gomes* of Toledo, either of them hauing three hundred Lances: but they of Torrijo made no great eſteeme of the Arch-biſhop nor of his followers, making roades daily into the countrey, and bringing great booties into their forts. They of Atiença were held more ſhort and curbed by *Charles* 1446.

B of Areillan.

The Arch-biſhop hauing beene often beaten by the Nauarrois, and loſt many of his men, the King commaunded Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça, that taking the Arch-biſhoppes forces, with ſome new that were aſſigned him, he ſhould continue the ſeege of Torrijo, the yeare 1447. beeing well aduanced: The ſeege was long, notwithſtanding that the towne was battered both with Artillerie and Engines, for *Iohn de Puelles* who defended it, was a valiant and couragious Captaine, and of great experience: yet the continuance did ſo tyre him, as finding daily the want of men, victuals, and other neceſſarie munition, to endure a ſeege, and beeing out of hope of ſuccours from the king of Nauarre, hee reſolued to yeeld vp the place vppon very honorable conditions, and retired his men and baggage ſafe into Arragon: the towne and caſtle of Atiença remayning ſtill in the power of the Nauarrois, who in deſpight of *Charles* of Areillan, iſſued forth and ſpoiled the country; and moreouer they tooke Pegna of Alcaçar, a fort in the territory of Soria, from whence they did forrage, and carry away aboundance of cattaile and other things, which they ſent to ſell in Arragon, where they had a ſafe retreat, as in a country belonging to their Princes brother, who was then at Naples, well aduertiſed, to his great griefe, of all the troubles of Caſtile, and the ſucceſſe thereof, doing what hee could to pacefie them, both by letters and Ambaſſage, yet fauoring his brother D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre. *Torrijo beſeeged.*

C

This yeere 1447. the King of Caſtile was married at Madrigall, to D. *Iſabella*, daughter to the Infant D. *Iohn* of Portugal, Maiſter of Saint Iames, who was ſonne to the King D. Iohn, who was maiſter of Auiz. This marriage was the Conſtables ruine, the Queene being his enemy. The King of Nauarre being come to the Eſtates of Arragon, which were held at *Saragoſſa*, at that time, there to preſide as Gouernor Generall in the abſence of the King his brother, he was ſommoned by Doctor *Surban*, and a Prouoſt of the Court, ſent Ambaſſadours from the King of Caſtile, to deliuer vp Atiença, as it had beene concluded: which Ambaſſadours complayned to the Eſtates, that they that ſpoiled the countrie of Caſtile, had their retreat into Arragon: whereunto anſwer was made that they would ſend an anſwer to the King of Caſtile by expreſſe Ambaſſadours: and ſoone after they diſpatched Don *Iames de Luna*, Biſhop of Tarraſſone, and Don *Iohn* of Ixar, who found the king at Soria, hauing charge to treat of a peace betwixt the two kings: The King of Caſtile appointed them to follow him to Vailledolit, whether he was preſt to go, the which they would not do, and ſo they returned to Sarragoſſa, without any concluſion. *Second marriage of Don Iohn King of Caſtile.*

D

E

In the meane time the Captaine, who had ſuffered Pegna of Alcaçar to be ſurprized, beeing aſhamed to ſhew himſelfe before the King, by reaſon of his error, hee ſought to repaire it, and ſurprized the fort of Verdejo in Arragon, the which he gaue to the king his maſter, who hauing ſet good garriſons vppon the fronters of Arragon, hee went in great haſt to Vailledolit.

This yeare dyed Pope *Eugenius* the fourth at Rome, who had bin condemned by the Councell of Baſill, and in his place *Amadeus* D. of Sauoy was choſen, who at that time was Deane of Saint Maurice of the congregation of Saint *Auguſtin*, the hermitage of Ripaille, in the Dioceſſe of Geneua, who carried himſelfe as Pope, all the time that *Eugenius* liued, notwithſtanding that hee had retayned his dignitie: after whoſe death *Nicholas* the fift being choſen at Rome, he renounced his Popedome, hauing held it 9. years *Amadeus of Sauoy called Pope Felix.*

F

and fiue moneths, the reſt of his dayes hee paſſed with the title of Cardinall of Santa Sabina. A

The reaſon which drew the king of Caſtile in ſuch haſt to Vailledolit, was, for that hee had beene aduertiſed there were ſome knights would ſtirre vp new troubles: thither
1448. came Ambaſſadors againe to him from Arragon, in the beginning of the yeare, 1448. who hauing treated of many things, in the end they concluded a truce for ſeuen moneths, betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre: whereof the garriſons of Nauarre, beeing not aduertiſed in time, they continuing their hoſtility in Caſtile, they ſurprized the towne of S. Cruz of Campeço by ſcalado, it belonging to *Lope* of Rojas, whom they carried away, with his wife and many others. And moreouer, the Gouernour of Albarazin ſeazed vpon the caſtell of Huelamo, in the Biſhoppricke of Cuenca, the which hauing beene ill guarded by the Caſtillans, was well worſe by theſe, ſo as *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, recouered it by the meanes of a Caſtillan ſouldier, who was there in gouernement among the Nauarrois. B

The king of Caſtile ſent into Nauarre to ſummon Prince *Charles* in conſequence of the truce, to deliuer Don *Lope de Rojas*, and the towne of Santa Cruz, the which was
A combate. done. At that time a knight of Bourgondie called *Iames* of Lalain, did fight a combate, without any cauſe of quarrell, but onely to make triall of his valour, as it was the maner in thoſe times, againſt Don *Diego de Guzman*, brother to the Lord of Torrija, at Vailledolit Don *Diego* was ſore wounded in the fore-head with a battell-axe, after which they cloſed, but the King caſting his ſtaffe, parted the combate, and did great honour to the Bourguignon. C

Ambition and couetouſneſſe, as they ſay, haue neither bounds nor bottome: the which ſhewes it ſelfe chiefly in ſuch as haue the gouernement of great Eſtates, whereof at that time Don *Aluaro de Luna*, Conſtable of Caſtile was a notable preſident, who not content with the happineſſe to haue ſeene a dangerous League, conſpired to his ruine, by ſo many Princes, and great Noblemen broken, himſelfe reſtored to the Princes fauour, and to triumph ouer his enemies, but hee would plunge them into the like miſerie, as hee had eſcaped, and wholly gouerne the king and Realme with Don *Iohn de*
Practiſes of the Conſtable D. Aluaro de Luna. *Pacheco* the Princes Minion, and ſo diuide all the honours, fauours, and greatneſſe of Spaine betwixt them. Don *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca, newly made Biſhop of Auila, was an apt Councellor for their deſleigne, who was of opinion, that they ſhould cauſe ſome of the great ones, who were offenſiue vnto them, to be committed to priſon. Hauing therefore mediated an enterview of the king and Prince betwixt Tordeſillas and Villeverd, the Court beeing very great and ſtately, there were apprehended the Earles of Benauent and Alba, Don *Pedro* and *Suero* of Quignones, and Don *Henry* brother to the Admirall Don *Frederick* (who was alſo vppon the rowle, but beeing ill diſpoſed, he came not to this enterview) ſo as hee eſcaped, and ſo did Don *Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Caſtro Xeris, who beeing either aduertiſed, or doubting of ſome practiſe, ſtayed at home: and afterwards hauing aduice, that the king came to Aguilar del campo, and the Prince to Lerma, to take the Admirall and him, they both left their houſes, and retired to Nauarrette, and from thence paſſed to Tudele, where the King of Nauarre was, whoſe faction was the accuſation and colour of theſe impriſonments: the Conſtable ſaying moreouer, that they had conſpired to kill him. D E

The Admirall and Earle of Caſtro, were very kindly entertayned by the King of Nauarre, who led them with him to Sarragoſſa, where it was reſolued, that the Admirall ſhould go to Naples to the King of Arragon, to acquaint him with the gouernement of Caſtile, and to ſollicite him to come into Spayne, to ayde them to recouer their rankes, dignities and lands, or elſe that he would giue them leaue to vſe his forces of Arragon. According to this Councell the Admirall embarked at Barcelona, and went to Naples. The king of Caſtile hauing no great confidence in Don *Diego Manrique*, who had the guard of the frontier of Nauarre, he forced him to leaue the forts of Ocon, Nauarret, and Treuigno, and gaue them himſelfe in guard to the Earle of Haro his Brother-in-law for one yeare. Theſe things thus done, all the lands of them that were abſent were ſeized on, and put into the kings hands, many Noblemen in Court beeing much offen- F F

offended at theſe violences: but aboue all others they found the Earle of Albas impriſonment very ſtrange, who had alwaies ſhewed himſelfe a faithfull ſeruant to the king, and a partizan to the Conſtable: and euery man examined his conſcience: many beeing terrified, remembring that they had offended the King, or the Prince in ſome light matters: ſo as there were retreates made daily from Court without leaue, with other confuſions, which made the king to ſee from whence the miſchiefe came: beſides, throughout all Spaine they ſpake plainely and boldly, that the Conſtables ambitious deſire to raigne in Spain, had cauſed this tumult in Court, and ſo wronged the Noblemen that were priſoners. Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugall, ſonne to Donna, *Leonora* ſiſter to the king of Nauarre, beeing dead in Caſtile, as it was thought, of poyſon, beganne to apprehend it: yea the King of Granado ſtirred in fauour of them that were ſo vnworthily purſued by the Conſtable: wherewith the king of Caſtile beeing mooued, hee had a deſire to ſeize vppon the Conſtable: yet diſtruſting the inconſtancie of the Prince his ſonne, he durſt not do it.

18. *Moores of Granado incited by the king of Nauarre againſt Caſtile.*

There were ſome troupes of horſe and foote ſent to the frontiers of Nauarre and Granado, eſpecially againſt the Moores, who ſpoyled the Countrie of Murcia, King *Mahumet Aben-Ozmen* beeing ſollicited by the King of Nauarre, to do the worſt hee could to the Chriſtians of Caſtile, where all was full of ſeditions: but theſe were practiſes vnworthie of a Chriſtian Prince, yet vſuall among the Princes of this world, that are at warre, who oftentimes make religion a vaile to couer their couetous, and inordinate paſſions and affections.

Mahumet Coxo, the 17. king of Granado.

THis *Mahumet* called *Coxo*, beeing come to the Crowne of Granado, by the violence hee vſed againſt his vncle *Mahumet*, maintained himſelfe with the like art, wherat many of the Knights of Granado beeing incenſed, they retired themſelues to Montefrio, a place which onely reiected the command of this tyrant; beeing held by *Andilbar*, who had beene high Marſhall to King *Mahumet* the left-handed, who entertayned an enemie to King *Coxo*, to diſpoſſeſſe him of the Crowne, as hee had done his Vncle. Granado.

It was the Infant *Aben Izmael*, who hauing followed the warre in the ſeruice of the King of Caſtile, had retired himſelfe, with his leaue and fauour, to Montefrio, to this Marſhall, and there had beene ſaluted for King, yet weake, and ill prouided to make any attempt againſt Granado, and the Alhambra, the ſeate royall, which was held by *Coxo*: but God prepared him the meanes, and ſtirred vp occaſions in time. King *Coxo* embracing the confuſions and quarrels of Caſtile, which made them neglect the guard of the frontiers, and animated by the factions of Nauarre, entring into Andaluſia, had taken the towne of Banamaruel by force, and carried away *Iohn de Herrera*, who commanded in the place, with many other Chriſtian priſoners, after that hee had ſlaine many: hee then beſeeged Bançalema, which was defended by *Alnaro* of Pecellin; the which he forced in like manner, putting all hee found in it to the ſword: for which loſſes the Captaines were not to bee blamed, for wanting pay they could not keepe the Garriſons of thoſe forts full and compleat: and moreouer, hauing demanded ſuccours from them of Iaen, Vbeda, and Baeça, they could not obtaine it, by reaſon of the diuiſions and quarels betwixt the King and the Prince, father and ſonne, which could not be ſo well and conueniently compounded, but vppon euery occaſion they brake: ſo as the time beeing fauourable for the Mooriſh King, hee made daily and ordinarie roades into Caſtile, carrying away infinite ſpoyles of men, and innumerable multitudes of cattell and other goods, beſides the taking and ſacking of the Townes of Arenes, Hueſcar, *Exploits of the Moores in Andaluſia.*

Places vpon the frontier of Caſtile abandoned by bad councell.

Velez the white, and Velez the red, with their forts and caſtles, all through the negligence of ſuch as had the managing of affaires about the kings perſon, whereof ſome were ſo ill aduiſed, as to giue their opinions in councell, that they ſhould not trouble themſelues for thoſe pettie places, which coſt more the keeping, then they were worth, and that it was more for the profit, and the eaſe of his treaſure, to ſuffer them to bee loſt: for with that which ſhould be ſpent in keeping them, they might fortifie other places of greater importance.

This yeare 1448. after the former loſſes, King *Mahumet Aben-Ozmen*, was newly entred into the country of Murcia, making cruell ſpoiles: wherefore Don *Alphonſo Telles Giron*, couſin to Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, being newly made Gouernor of Hellin and Chumilla, deſirous to make triall of his good command, went haſtily to field, where finding ſome of the Moores troupes disbanded, he charged, and cut ſome of them in peeces, where the ſouldiers began preſently to ſpoyle the dead, not caring to keepe any order or diſcipline, or to ſee if all danger were paſt. The Moores which eſcaped, and others that were not farre off, being aduertiſed of this defeat of their men, came vnto the place where the fight had beene, and finding the Chriſtians diſperſed like beaſts, and buſie at the pillage, they charged them furiouſly, ſo as moſt of them were ſlaine. Don *Alphonſo Telles* with ſome few knights ſaued themſelues by flight in Hellin, and by this route giuen vnto the Chriſtians, the way was open for the Moores to ſpoyle and burne the countrie at their pleaſures.

Chriſtians beeing Victors, & buſie at the ſpoile, are vanquiſhed.

Caſtile.

The King of Caſtile could hardly preuent theſe miſeries, beeing continually afflicted with ſeditions and mutinies in his Court and houſe, the Prince Don *Henry* giuing him infinite croſſes, and for light occaſion: the which did much diſpleaſe the Conſtable, fearing that their diſcord would redound to his loſſe and preiudice, wherefore hee made them conferre together at Tordeſillas. At that time the Eſtates were held at Vailledolit, where the King hauing declared, that hee went to ſee the Prince his ſonne, to haue him concurre with him, to the end they might puniſh Rebels, and reward the good, euery man hauing ſpoken ſomething concerning that matter, *Diego* of Valera, Deputie of Cuenca, a wiſe Knight, did highly commend the Kings holy reſolution, to ſeeke the vnion of his royall houſe, and to put in practiſe the act to diſtribute rewards and puniſhments in equall proportion, according to euery mans merits: but hee did aduertiſe him, as a faithfull vaſſall, that to do it without errour and miſpriſion, hee muſt take the courſe of Iuſtice, and examine euery mans actions, and iudge with good aduice, the parties being duly called and heard, both preſent and abſent.

The King tooke great delight in *Diego's* ſpeech, and much more in a letter which hee writ vnto him afterwards vppon this ſubiect, full of good and holeſome councell and aduertiſements, whereof there were infinite copies taken by the Noblemen in Court, who diſperſed them ouer all Spayne: but this wiſedome was offenſiue to the Conſtable and his faction; wherefore *Diego de Valeras* his recompence was, that the King took from him a penſion which he before had giuen him, and moreouer, hee was diſappointed of his entertaynment for the voyage hee had made to the Eſtates at Vailledolit, with *Gomez Carillo* of Albornoz, as Deputie of the Dioceſſe of Cuenca, to teach him to bee a Courtier, and not ſo zealous of the good of his Prince and country.

This good Knight was receiued into houſe by Don *Pedro* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Flaiſance, who made him Gouernour of his Nephew Don *Pedro*, ſupplying with his owne, the Kings ingratitude: who hauing ſeene the Prince, and ſomewhat reconciled their diſ-ioynted affaires, paſt to Ocagne in the Realme of Toledo, where hee was aduertiſed, that the Earle of Benauent had eſcaped out of priſon from Portillo, and retired into his countrey, where hee had put a garriſon, armes and victuals into his Caſtle of Benauent, and other places: Wherefore ſeeing himſelfe engaged in a new warre, hee came diſcontented to Areualo, and ſent for his ſouldiers and vaſſalles to come thither, meaning to go againſt the Earle, who ſtayed not in Caſtile, but retired to Morgadojo, a fort of Portugall, where hee was well entertayned by the commandement of King Don *Alphonſo*, who did not greatly like the gouernement of Caſtile.

19 *Ciuill warres corrupt the beſt men.*

Ciuill diſſentions make many attempt things againſt reaſon, and oftentimes ſuch as

A as are in ſhew honorable, and of good conuerſation, who otherwiſe would not vnder- take any thing that were diſhoneſt: the which appeared at this time in Don *Bertrand* of Gueuara, Lord of Ognate, a Knight of great authority in Spain towards the North ſeas, who deſirous to ſeize vppon the towne of Mondragon, in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, by reaſon of the ſeditions of Caſtile, he vſed ſuch practiſes and meanes as hee thought would ſerue him: wherein he found the inhabitants contrarie to his will, incenſed and ſupported by *Gomes Gonçales* of Butron, a Knight of great allyance and power in Biſcay, of the Ognazin faction, contrarie to Don *Bertrand*, who held the partie of *Gamboyn*, who ſeeing himſelfe diſappointed of that which hee pretended, fell into ſuch hatred of them of Montdragon, as he cauſed the towne to be fired in diuers parts, by ſome that he B had ſet on: ſo as he made in a manner all to be moſt inhumanly burnt. Don *Bertrand* being apprehended by the kings commandement for this fact, and accuſed to haue ſet fire of a towne belonging to the Crowne, was in danger to haue loſt his life: yet as in a time of confuſion, money and fauour can do more then iuſtice, he had his life ſaued, making ſatisfaction to them that had beene burnt and damnified: to value the which there were arbitrators appointed, who by ſentence adiudged moſt part of Don *Bertrands* lands to the towne of Montdragon, and more they had giuen, if the foure arbitrators, choſen for the Inhabitants, had not beene corrupted with money. This towne of Montdragon endured this calamity, for that it would not bee alienated from the Crowne, for that they maintayned their liberties better ſo, then in beeing ſubiect to any ſubalternall Lord: and C without doubt if Don *Bertrand* could haue ſeized theron, he would haue kept it, in this time, full of reuolts and exceſſe, when as the confirmation or the pardon, had beene eaſie to haue beene obtayned by a peace or otherwiſe. In cleargie matters this towne hath alwaies beene ſtout to maintaine her rights and priuiledges, ſtill refuſing to accept any Lay patron, as well in that which concernes the fruits, as the right of preſentation in the towne and iuriſdiction.

19. *Ciuill warres corrupt the beſt men.*

Ognazins and Gamboyns, factions in Guipuſcoa and Biſcay.

In the yeare 1449. the truce betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre beeing ended, the garriſons of Atiença and of Pegna of Alcaçar went to field, and made the cruelleſt warre that might be. The King of Nauarre being exceeding glad that the Earle of Beneuent had eſcaped into Portugall, he fortified himſelfe with the fauour of king Don *Alphonſo* by his D meanes: and hauing drawne out of Nauarre and Arragon, and from the Moores in the Realme of Valencia, which were ſubiects to Arragon, a good number of fighting men, ſent them vnder the conduct of Don *Pedro* of Vrrea, Don *Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, *Rodrigo* of Rebolledo, Don *Fernand*, and Don *Diego*, ſonnes to the Earle of Caſtro, and of the iuſtice of Arragon, againſt the towne of Cuenca, making his baſe ſonne Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, late Maſter of the Calatraua, Generall of this armie: the which ioyning with the troupes which *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, and *Lope* of Mendoça his brother, ſonnes to Don *Diego*, had rayſed for his ſeruice, for that they were entred into quarell with the Biſhop of Cuenca, and were become his enemies, might amount to ſixe thouſand men horſe and foot: with theſe forces the cittie of Cuenca was beſeeged, the E which was defended by the Biſhop Don *Lope* of Barriento, a better ſouldier then a Diuine, although he had ſome fame for that facultie in Spaine, and by *Alphonſo Cherino* ſon to *Fernando Alphonſo Cherino*, Syndic of the citty, and by *Lopes* and *Iohn* of Salezar breethren, Captaines of the garriſon, and the Inhabitants who made ſuch reſiſtance, as notwithſtanding that the Nauarrois had taken Saint *Anthonies* tower, at the bridge, and giuen great aſſaults in other places, yet they defended the place, and repulſt the enemie; who deſpayring to take it, raiſed the ſeege, the which they did the rather, for that they were aduertiſed, the Conſtable came with great forces to ſuccour it. Towards Requena and Vtiel, the king of Nauarre ſent Don *Baltazar* ſonne to the Earle of Huelua, with 200 F horſe and 500. foot, who running along the riuer of Xorquera, tooke a bootie of about 10000. head of ſmall cattell: and the Inhabitants of Requena and Vtiel going foorth to reſcue the prey, they were incountred and defeated, thirty of their Knights beeing ſlaine vpon the place, and ſeuenty caried away priſoners by the Nauarrois, and the reſt were all diſperſed.

20 *Exploits of war betwixt the Nauarrois and Caſtillans.*

Theſe were the King of Nauarres exploites, attending the returne of the Admirall

Don *Frederick* who was gone to Naples with the Biſhop of Lerida, where they were ſo A
well receiued by king *Alphonſo*, and heard in their requeſts, that not beeing able to come
into Spaine as he deſired, he ſent letters and commandement to the Eſtates of Arragon
to furniſh the king of Nauarre his brother, with men, armes, victuals, money of his
rents and reuenues, and all other things, in ſuch quantitie as he ſhould need, to make
warre againſt the King of Caſtile, to recouer from him his lands and Eſtates, and to de-
liuer the Noblemen which were derayned priſoners, by the Conſtables practiſes and
ſlanders: with this prouiſion the Admirall and Biſhop imbarked to returne into Spaine:
hauing receiued gifts and preſents with all other good vſage from king *Alphonſo*. The bi-
ſhop dyed vppon the way: ſo as the Admirall returned alone to the king of Nauarre, who B
was much pleaſed with this fauourable diſpatch, calling the chiefe men of Arragon to
Saragoſſa, where he acquainted them with their kings command: whereupon the Arra-
gonois hauing held a Councell, they beſought the king of Nauarre, not to draw
them into quarrell with Caſtile, with which Realme they deſired to maintaine peace, as
long as they might. The king of Nauarre vſed many intreaties and proteſtations to per-
ſwade them: but he could not induce them to go to the warre with him, yet he drew from
them what ſummes of money he would, and ſeeing that he could not perſwade them in
generall, he induced ſome knights in particular to ſerue him: and to make his way more
eaſie to that which he pretended, being ſufficiently aduertiſed of the inſolencies and tol-
lies which the Conſtable committed daily to the great diſdaine of the Noblemen of Ca- C
ſtile, he ſought by all meanes to draw ſome into his league, letting them vnderſtand, that
if they did any longer indure this mad man to gouerne the Realme of Caſtile in that ma-
ner, they would repent it too late, and when as they ſhould not bee able to preuent the
ruine of their houſes, which he ſought, hauing no other end but to root out the great fa-
milies of the Realme, to ſettle his familiars, and men of his ſort. The king of Nauar had
a ſpeciall deſire to draw D. *Pedro de Velaſco* Earle of Haro into this league, beeing a good
Knight, louing iuſtice, rich and mighty both in meanes and friends, to whom the Con-
ſtables vnlimited ambition, and the vniuſt detention of ſo many good men, was diſplea-
ſing. To draw him to his faction, he fed him with hope to marrie his ſonne Prince *Charls*
vnto his daughter: ſo as the greatneſſe of the royall Eſtate wherein D. *Pedro* ſhould ſee D
his daughter, if this marriage tooke effect, blinded his eyes, and made him open his eares.
This beeing in ſome ſort concluded, they ſent wiſe and diſcreet men to the Prince Don
Henry, and to his great minion D. *Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena, and his brother D.
Pedro Giron Maſter of Calatraua, to D. *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoça Marquis of Santillana, to
D. *Pedro* of Eſtuniga Earle of Plaiſance, and to D. *Rodrigo Manrique* great Commander,
and who cauſed himſelfe to be called Maſter of S. Iames, to haue them ioyne in this new
league againſt the Conſtable, who was the cauſe of ſo much iniuſtice, impriſonments,
exiles, and the confiſcations of the goods of ſo great perſonages, wherunto they ſeemed
willing, and it was likely that the Conſtable would be now ruined: but all goodly begin-
nings haue not the like ſucceſſe. The king of Granado beeing aduertiſed of all theſe pra- E
ctiles, ſent to make offer to be of the partie, promiſing to enter into Andaluſia, with all
the forces of Granado, to fauor the confederates.

League made againſt the Conſtable D. Aluaro de Luna.

12. Whileſt theſe things were working, there happened a great tumult in the citty of To-
Sedition at Toledo. ledo, growing by the importune repetition which the Conſtable made of a million of
Marauidis lent, vnder colour that the king wanted mony: ſo as an artiſan went and rung
the bell, and put the people into furie, in the which a rich Merchant called *Alphonſo Coſta*
was ſlaine, and other inſolencies committed: the which the Conſtable at that time
could not redreſſe. Don *Pedro Sarmiento* Captaine of the cittie, beeing iealous, embra-
ced this occaſion to make his profite, and ioyned with the people, pretending the Kings
ſeruice, in that he did reſiſt the Conſtable who was Gouernour of the cittie aboue him: F
where hee committed ſo many outragious extorſions and theſts, as what *Pero Lopes* of
Ayala had done before him, was nothing in reſpect of him.

The King aduertiſed of this diſorder, drew neere vnto Toledo, to whom they refuſed
the entrie into their gates, and Don *Pedro Sarmiento* ſent him certaine vnreaſonable
Articles to ſigne, if hee would enter, wherewith the king beeing wrathfully incenſed, he
cauſed

A cauſed the city to be ſommoned by a King of armes, proteſting to ruine the Inhabitants if they did not obay: to whom they made anſwere with their ſhot and artillery, vſing words of diſgrace and contempt againſt the King, who leauing ſome companies about the city to cut off their victuals and to anoy them, he came to Torrijo, whether the Inhabitants of Toledo and *Pedro Sarmiento* ſent Ambaſſadors, to beſeech him to take the gouernment of that great city from the Conſtable, whom they termed a tyrant, elſe they ſhould be forced to deliuer it into the hands of the Prince his ſonne, wherewith the King was more offended then at the refuſall they had made (for that the Prince D *Henry* and he ſeemed to be diuided) ſo as he made them no anſwere: whereupon D. *Pedro Sarmiento* ſent to Segobia to the Prince, and cauſed him to come to Toledo. The King hearing
I of this, he commanded them that he had left about the city, to retire. But the Prince deſired to enter into Toledo with the good leaue and liking of the King his father, but hee could not obtaine it, wherefore he entred as he might, and gaue a generall pardon, to all men, namely to *Pedro Sarmiento*, for all the villanies which he had committed, and left him Gouernor graunting him all that he deſired, promiſing that he would not ſend him to the Court, nor he ſhould not preſent himſelfe before the King, but in his company. The Prince ſtaied ſome time at Toledo, where going forth one day a hunting, he was aduertiſed that ſome treated to deliuer the city vnto the King, wherefore he returned ſpeedily, and after information, ſome of the offenders were taken and executed, and two Chanoins kept in priſon.

Pedro Sarmiento deliuers Toledo to Prince Henry.

C In the meane time the King had taken the caſtle of Benauent, and then loſt it againe, by a ſurprize which the Earle himſelfe made, againſt whom hee prepared an army: but the Earle finding himſelfe to weake, returned to his exile in Portugal. The Prince leauing Toledo, returned to Segobia, and hauing aſſigned a day to the Noblemen practiſed by the King of Nauarre and the Earle of Haro, at Crugna, a houſe belonging to *Pero Lopes* of Padilla, they there reſolued to make ready their men, and ioyne all together at an appointed time, to beginne the warre againſt the Conſtable. The Prince was ready, and there ſpeedily ioyned with him the Earle of Haro and the Marquis of Santillana, but the reſt appeered not; yea the King of Nauarre was not ready to march ſo ſoone: wherefore the enterpriſe was broken off, and euery one beeing returned to his quarter, the
D Prince D. *Henry* reconciled himſelfe to the King his father, and ſo did the Earle of Haro and the Marquis of Santillana; whereby the treaty of marriage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the Earle of Haros daughter, was broken. Notwithſtanding all this the King of Caſtile did not ſtirre, and the frontiers of Caſtile and Nauarre where reaſonably quiet in the yeere 1450. and yet ſuch as fled into Nauarre and Arragon were there receiued, amongſt the which was D. *Pedro Sarmiento*, whom the Prince D. *Henry* was in the end forced to thruſt out of Toledo, for his violences and treacheries. He gratiouſly commanded him to be gone, and gaue him leaue to carrie away all his baggage, whereof hee had two hundred moiles or horſes laden, to the great griefe of the Toledains, ſeeing this
E theefe thus inriched with their ſpoiles, and to carry it away freely before their faces. But *Pedro Sarmiento* was much more greeued, to quit ſo rich a poſſeſſion, whoſe fleece was very proffitable. God would not permit him, to enioy that long, which hee had gotten ill, for being come with this booty to Segobia, they did not onely ſpoile him, but he was forced to ſaue himſelfe by flight in Arragon, whether he carried nothing of all his thefts, but the ſinne and ſhame thereof. By the King of Nauarres permiſſion, he dwelt a while in the city of Pampelone, with his wife and children, poore and needy, and ſcarce could they get a retreat in the towne of Baſtide neere vnto Haro. The Marquis of Villena following the Conſtables ſteps, hauing giuen the Prince his maiſter occaſion to be diſcontented with him, he had like to haue beene ſeized on, by the practiſes of D. *Pedro Portocarrero*, of the Biſhop of Cuenca, and of D. *Iohn de Sylua*, ſtandard-bearer to the King,
F but he auoided it. Afterwards it was pacefied by the marriage of Donna *Maria de Pacheco* the Marquiſes daughter, and D. *Pedro Portocarrero*, who for that cauſe was made Earle of Medellin. The King fearing new conſpiracies to the preiudice of his eſtate, being well acquainted with the Conſtables arrogancy and miſdemeanors, he reſolued to make ſome accord with the King of Nauarre, to the end hee might haue the Prince his

An. 1450. *Pedro Sarmiento forced to flie into Arragon for his theefts.*

ſonne

ſome (who was light and inconſtant) vnited vnto him, cutting off all occaſions of factions and leagues, which might diſtract him, attending a fit oportunity to make the Conſtable feele his iuſt indignation: whileſt this was working, D. *Henry Henriques*, the Admirals brother, eſcaped from his priſon of Langa, ſlipping downe by a roape tied with many knots. The Ambaſſadors of the two Kings being met, it was concluded that the Admirall and the Earle of Caſtro ſhould returne into Caſtile, to whom and to D. *Henry* their goods ſhould be reſtored; *Iohn* of Tabor de Luna ſhould bee reſtored, and D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon put againe in poſſeſſion of the Maiſterſhip of the Calatraua, the which D *Pedro Giron* held, againſt whom the King and all others would aide and ſupport D. *Alphonſo*, if he would not leaue it. Theſe matters agreed vpon, were partly effected, for D. *Pedro Giron*, being in poſſeſſion of the places which belonged to the maiſterſhip, and well aſſiſted and followed, was the ſtronger.

Accord betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Nauarre.

Houſes of ſtrength retreats for theeues ruined in Guipuſcoa.

In Guipuſcoa, they of the towne of Montdragon, being not yet well pleaſed with D. *Bertrand* of Gueuara, did ruine, by a Conuocation of the Commons, and the Kings permiſſion, the tower and ſtrong houſe of this Knight, which was in a medow called Caldiybar, which is to ſay, the valley of horſes, whether many theeues and bandoliers retired themſelues, whereby the towne was much damnified, and D. *Bertrand* was condemned in a thouſand florins of gold, for their paines that were there aſſembled. The like was done vnto an other houſe belonging vnto the ſaid *Bertrand*, neere vnto the towne of Salines, two leagues from Montdragon. Many of *Pedro Sarmientos* ſouldiars being laied hold on, in diuers parts of Caſtile, they were executed, yea a Gonner who had ſhot at the herauld, which the King had ſent to ſummon the city of Toledo, who was drawne and quartered.

22 *Birth of the Infanta D. Iſabella who was Queene of Caſtile and Arragon.*

In the yeere 1451. Queene *Iſabella* was deliuered of a daughter at Madrigal, who was alſo named *Iſabel*; ſhee was Queene by inheritance of Caſtile and Leon, and wife to D. *Fernand* King of Arragon, a Princeſſe indowed with great vertues. The accord made betwixt the King of Caſtile and the Noblemen did not hold long, for the Prince D. *Henry* had his priuate opinions, ſupporting D. *Pedro Giron*, Maiſter of the Calatraua, againſt D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, which made his attempts to returne into the Maiſterſhip vaine. D. *Pedro* at the inſtigation of the Toledans, ſeized vpon Torrijos and Orgas, places belonging to D. *Alphonſo* of Guzman, chiefe Marſhal of Seuile. The Admirall and the Earle of Caſtro, finding no ſafety for their perſons in Caſtile, returned into Nauarre, and the rather for that they performed little, of many things which they had promiſed them. The Prince D. *Henry* cauſed the Earle of Alba and D. *Pedro* of Quignones to be conducted to the caſtle of Toledo, commanding they ſhould bee well kept: for whoſe deliuery the people of Toledo, being turbulent, made great ſtirres, but without effect, yet within few daies hee deliuered D. *Pedro* of Quignones, making him to ſweare that he would follow him, and ſerue him well and faithfully: for they prepared to make warre againſt Nauarre, cauſing him to promiſe to imploy himſelfe, to draw the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent to his ſeruice, who had either of them married a ſiſter of D. *Pedros*. The Court being at Zamora, the King propounded to his Councell, in the preſence of the great men of Caſtile, an accuſation againſt *Pedro Sarmiento*, who was, by the aduice of them all, condemned as a rebell and guilty of high treaſon: which ſentence being confirmed by the Pope, they did confiſcate all his goods, and they did ſeize to the Kings vſe vpon Salinas of Agnana, Ocio, Pont Lara, and other places of his in Guipuſcoa, Alaua, Biſcay and elſewhere in Caſtile. From Zamora the King came to Toledo (being at it ſeemed in good termes with the Prince his ſonne) to goe and make warre againſt the King of Nauarre, giuing the Gouernment of that city to the Conſtable, who at his departure left D. *Lewis de la Cerde*, one of his breeding vp there, and did accompany the Prince, who marched towards the frontiers of Nauarre.

23 Nauarre.

The Caſtillan army entred into Nauarre by Viana which they could not force, the King of Nauarre hauing well furniſhed and fortefied the places of the frontier, and therefore they paſt to Torralba, where the garriſon making a furious ſally vpon the Caſtillans, had almoſt put them in diſorder, and to flight, D. *Iohn* of Beaumont prior of Saint Iohn in the realme of Nauarre, being Gouernor in Torralba. Finally he defended it ſo well,

A well,as they left it,and going through the territory of Berrueça,they went and beſeeged Eſtella, whereas *Lope* of Baquedan was Gouernour for the King of Nauarre. There the King of Caſtile came and ioyned with the Prince his ſonne, bringing a great power with him.

It is likely that the caſtle of Buradon was taken and razed at this voiage : whereat the Prince D.*Charles*, who with the royall councell gouerned the realme in the abſence of the King his father,was ſo greeued, beeing the beſt fort of Nauarre, as hee held the whole realme to be loſt : and they ſay,that as one out of hope, hee tooke a deuice of two grey-hounds gnawing of a bone,ſignifying, that the realme of Nauarre, figured by the B bone,is ſcituated betwixt Caſtile and France,and that the Kings of theſe realmes,which were the two grey-hounds did either of them deuour of his ſide. The city of Eſtella being furiouſly battred and aſſaulted, the Prince D. *Charles* was of opinion to goe and ſpeake with the King and Prince, in their campe; hauing therefore obtained a paſport, he was courteouſly receiued by them, and his well-ſpoken reaſons ſo fauourably heard, as they were in a manner forced by his modeſty and good behauiour to raiſe the ſeege, the which a great army could hardly haue done: ſo great force hath vertue, which is faſhioned by good education,in a Noble diſpoſition:and in truth, there was not to bee found(according to the report of Authors)in that age, a more generous Prince nor better taught,then D.*Charles* of Nauar : for beſides the naturall guiſts of beauty, mildneſſe, C affability to al men,and greatneſſe of courrage at need,he was learned in the Scriptures, which gouerned his maners,hauing alſo the knowledge of many good & commendable ſciences,by the which he was admirable in his life time, and famous after his death : Hee loued poeſie, hee was well read in Hiſtories, and a ſubtill Philoſopher for his young yeeres : ſo as he tranſlated *Ariſtotles* Ethikes into the Caſtillan tongue, turned into Latin by *Leonard Aretin*, who floriſhed at that time : wherein hee ſhewed great dexteritie and iudgement,treating of that ſubiect in ſuch fit termes, as without all doubt *Ariſtotle* hath not written better in Greeke,nor *Aretin* ſo wel in his traduction in Latin: this book was dedicated by him to his vncle D. *Alphonſo* King of Arragon. Moreouer hee did write a breefe Chronicle of the Kings of Nauarre his Progenitors, beginning with the D moſt ancient time, vnto King D. *Inigo Ariſta*, and from thence hath continued the Hiſtory vnto the reigne of King *Charles* his Grandfather, which Chronicle is to bee found at this day in written hand, but full of errors,made by them that haue coppied it,for it was neuer printed. He did alſo write ſome verſes, imploying the time which he could ſpare in the gouernment of the realme, in theſe honeſt exerciſes : ſo as this Prince was cheriſhed,beloued and bleſt of euery man but of his own father, of whom he demanded the realme of Nauarre,being his mothers Inheritance, which bred him great troubles, and aduerſity,wherein he made proofe of his courrage and ſingular patience,the which was better knowne and lamented after his death.

Deuice of two grey-hounds gnawing of a bone carried by the Prince of Nauarre.

Vertues of D. Charles Prince of Nauarre.

VVritings of Prince Charls.

The King of Caſtile and the Prince his ſonne hauing raiſed his ſeege from before E- Caſtille.
E ſtella, left Nauarre, without doing any other harme, and returned to Burgos, from whēce ſoone after they led an army againſt Palençuela,whereas D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, the Conſtables ſonne, had fortefied himſelfe, and committed infinite ſpoiles round about. The ſeege beeing before this place,the Conſtable going neere the walles, to view the ſcituation thereof,a ſeruant of the Admirals, called *Fernand Tremigno*,ſallied out of the towne,with thirty men well armed,who came and charged the Conſtable and them that were with him(beeing vnarmed) ſo ſodainely,as they put them all in daunger of their liues. It behoued the Conſtable to ſhew his reſolution, who like a valiant and hardy Knight (as in deed hee was) with his rapier and cloake, made head againſt this troupe, and the reſt by his example putting themſelues alſo in defence endured the F charge,vntill that ſuccors came vnto them from the next lodging of the army; which made the enemies to turne head, and retire towards the towne with ſome loſſe, the which yeelded afterwards vpon compoſition. From thence the King went vnto Madrigall, where hee had newes that the affaires vpon the Moores frontier ſucceeded verie well.

The Conſtable charged and in danger to bee ſlaine.

King *Mahumet Aben Ozmen*,called *Coxo*, that is to ſay,the Halting, had made offer to Moores.
the

the King of Nauarre, to fauour his quarrels, promiſing that when he ſhould inueſt Caſtile by Nauarre and Arragon he would enter by Andaluſia, and aſſaile the city of Cordoua with all the power of his realme. This Moore hearing afterwards that there had beene ſome accord made betwixt the Chriſtian Princes, did not forbeare to make warre on his part withall violence, ſending troupes of horſe and foot diuers waies to ſpoile, whereof a band of ſix hundred horſe and eight hundred foot were incountred nere vnto Arcos, by D. *Iohn Ponce de Leon*, Earle of Arcos, who made a notable ſlaughter. This Nobleman beeing ſomewhat ſickly in Marchena, had beene aduertiſed of the diſorder which theſe ſpoilers cauſed by a Chriſtian renegado, ſometimes called *Benedict* of Chincilla, and then he was named *Manfarres*: wherevpon drawing together about 300. horſe and 600. foot, he went that way, being led by his ſpy, where hauing marcht foureteene leagues that day and night, he came the next day where the Moores were, who expected him not, who hauing put their foot-men before, to recouer ſome place of ſafety, the horſemen made head againſt the Chriſtians, and fought long, whileſt that their foote retired: but in the end the Earle of Arcos had the victory, there being aboue foure hundred horſemen ſlaine vpon the place, and fiue and fifty taken priſoners, with a hundred good horſes of ſeruice. The Moores fainted not for this route, but within a while after, and the ſame yeere 1452. they entred by Murcia, hoping to haue better ſucceſſe in that country, being ſix hundred horſe and fifteene hundred foote, who hauing ruined a great part of the country, vſing al kinds of cruelty, they draue away aboue 40000. head of cattaile great and ſmall, and about fifty priſoners: whereof D. *Alphonſo Fajardo* being aduertiſed, hee wrate ſpeedily to D. *Diego* of Ribera, Gouernor of Murcia, Marſhall of the Kings lodging, that he ſhould come forth of the city with all that were fit to beare armes, the which he did preſently, and came to Lorca with ſeuenty horſe and fiue hundred foote, whereas D. *Alphonſo Fajardo* met him with two hundred horſe and 1500. foote, with theſe forces they went to affront the Moores, and charged them, breaking them three times, but they rallied themſelues twice againe together, yet at the third they were victors, with the ſlaughter of aboue eight hundred of their men, and twelue captaines; and of Chriſtians there were forty ſlaine vpon the place, and aboue two hundred wounded: by which victory, the booty was reſcued. There is no other mention made in our Hiſtories of the deeds of this King *Mahumet Aben Ozmen* the Lame, but that hee was depriued of his Realme by the Infant *Aben-Izmael*, who kept at Malaga, being aſſiſted and fauored by the King of Caſtile, but the yeere is not certaine.

Moores defeated nere vnto Arcos.

An. 1452.

An other defeat of Moores.

24 Nauarre.

D. *Frederic Henriques* Admirall of Caſtile, being retired againe to his ſonne in law the King of Nauarre for that they kept not the promiſes made in the aboue mentioned accord, did alſo thinke that it was lawfull for him to ſay, that for his part hee would not be bound to performe to the King of Caſtile that which he had ſworne and promiſed: wherefore he led with him Queene *Ioane* his daughter, and deliuered her to the King her husband. This married couple being together, it was not long before the Queene was with child, ſhe remayning at a place called Freſne in Arragon: where King *Iohn* beeing exceeding glad of theſe newes, he cauſed her to goe into Nauarre, there to be deliuered. She made her reſidence in the towne of Sangueſſe, the remainder of the yeere 1453. and there ſhe applied her ſelfe, with the Prince Don *Charles*, and the Councell of the Realme, to the gouernment of the State, the King her husband conſenting therevnto, but it was not very pleaſing to many Knights of Nauarre, who were affectionate ſeruants to the Prince, namely to the family and faction of Beaumont: holding that the authority of a mother in law could neither be good nor proffitable for the Prince nor Realme.

An. 1453.

25 Caſtile.

The time of the Conſtables puniſhment did now approch, the meaſure of his villanies being full, whereof he himſelfe did ſeeke Iuſtice, by his impudency, and vnlymited deſire of reuenge. He hated D. *Pedro* of Eſtuniga Earle of Plaiſance deadly, and was in like manner hated by him. The Conſtable laied an ambuſh for this Earle, to take him priſoner, which was the greateſt matter he could doe to be reuenged his mighty enemies; for being once taken, it was eaſie for him who had the authority and force of the Realme in his power, to finde them guilty.

The

A The Earle being aduertiſed of this practiſe, he did impart his deſeigne to the Prince, the Marquis of Santillana, and to the Earles of Benauent and Haro, with others: which was, to looſe his life, or to make the Conſtable looſe his. The Prince Don *Henry* made him no anſwere, as the reſt did, who by the negotiation of *Diego de Valera*, laied a plot amongſt them, that the Earle of Plaiſance and the Marquis of Santillana, ſhould ſend their eldeſt ſonnes with fiue hundred Launces, vnder pretext of a quarrell which was betwixt the Earle of Benauent, and D. *Pedro Aluares Oſorio*; and that paſſing neere vnto Vailledolit, whereas the King and the Conſtable were, they ſhould finde means to ſeize vpon a gate, & drawing their men into the town, they ſhould take or kil the Conſtable, publiſhing, that it was done by the commandement of Prince *Henry*. But it ſucceeded
B not, for the Conſtable beeing aduertiſed hee cauſed the King to diſlodge and lêd him to Burgos. Theſe things beeing imparted by the King of Caſtile to Queene *Iſabel*, who was no friend to the Conſtable, ſhe imbraced this occaſion, and induced the King to let theſe Noblemen doe what they had reſolued, the which was eaſie to effect for that the King was already diſtaſted of his Conſtable.

Queene Iſabel fauors the Lords againſt the Conſtable.

The Queene did not only this good office, but ſhe did ſollicit the confederates to make haſt, whileſt the time was fit; ſending the Counteſſe of Ribadeo vnto them, vnder colour to viſit the Earle of Plaiſance her vncle, who had fortefied himſelfe in Bejar, carrying letters of credit, who did informe them, as ſhee was commanded, of the time, place, and meanes they ſhould hold, to ſeize vpon the Conſtable, or to diſpatch him. This
C Ambaſſage deliuered vnto the Earle, reioyced him much: and for that he was lame himſelfe, he preſently ſent D. *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga his eldeſt ſonne, with *Diego* of Valera, a Secretarie and a Page, to leauy men in Curiel, where they could not for the ſhortneſſe of time aſſemble aboue ſeuenty Launces, with the which D. *Aluaro* went towards Burgos: and going before vpon a Mule, with one man that did attend him, hee entred into the Caſtle of Burgos, commanding his men to follow after, giuing it out in the Country, that they did belong vnto the Conſtable, but aboue all, that they ſhould ſo obſerue the time, as their comming into Burgos ſhould bee by night, and that they ſhould not offer to come into the caſtle, vntill they had newes from him; the which was duely executed, and theſe ſeuenty Knights entred into the caſtle on Monday at night, the firſt of May in
D the yeere 1453. whereas D. *Aluaro* had already drawne in the ſame night two hundred of his friends of the towne well armed.

Preſage of the Conſtables end.

The day following there was an vncertaine brute, that the Conſtable ſhould bee apprehended, who had many other preſages of his ruine, if hee could haue fore-ſeene it. The King being priuy to all theſe matters, had a conceit that this apprehenſion could not be made without great ſcandale, and therefore he ſent commandement to D. *Aluaro*, that hee ſhould returne to Curiel, for that he could not execute that, for the which hee was come, but D. *Aluaro*, a valiant and hardy Knight, made anſwere, that vpon his life hee would ſeiz vpon the Conſtable, and deliuer him vnto him, ſo he would be pleaſed to giue him a decree, or warrant to apprehend him, the which the King cauſed to be made in this
E forme. D. Aluaro *of Eſtuniga, my* Alguazil *Maior, or Marſhall, I command you to apprehend the body of* D. Aluaro de Luna, *Maſter of Saint Iames, and if he offer to defend himſelfe, that you kill him*. And moreouer the King commanded the Rectors and Aldermen of the city, to put the people in armes, according to their regiments and bands, and to keepe them in battaile in the Biſhops place, at the breake of day. At which time D. *Aluaro* going out of the caſtle, to inueſt the Conſtables lodging, and to take him, hee receiued diuers commandments from the King, that he ſhould not fight, but onely beſeege him, and ſet gards about his lodging, that he might not eſcape, which did much diſcontent him. Comming neere the place, his men beganne to cry, *Caſtile, Caſtile, for the*
F *Kings liberty*: At which noyſe the Conſtable came to the windoe, and his men put themſelues in defence, many ſhot, both with bowes and harguebuſes, wherewith there were ſome ſlaine, and others hurt. D. *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga ſent often to intreat the King, that hee would giue him leaue to fight, for they ſlue his men from the windoes of the Conſtables lodging, but he would neuer grant it. Therevpon arriued D. *Alphonſo* of Carthagena Biſhop of Burgos, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça Lord Steward, to whom the Conſtable,

VVarrant to apprehend the Conſtable.

Conſtable, who was armed and on horſe-backe, yeelded himſelfe priſoner, hauing promiſed him, in the Kings name, that there ſhould be no harme done vnto his perſon nor goods, but by the courſe of Iuſtice. Being taken, he was giuen in gard by the King, to *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça, and by him to his brother *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, who carried him to Portillo, whereat D. *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga was very much diſcontented, and the city likewiſe, ſo as ſome offred to goe and take the Conſtable away by force from *Iohn Hurtado*, and to deliuer him into his hands to keepe, hauing more right therevnto then any other, ſeeing he had taken him: but D. *Aluaro*, who was a diſcreet Knight, pacefied them with thankes. After this the King went to Portillo, and cauſed a great quantity of treaſure, belonging to the Conſtable to be ſeized on, and carried to Vailledolit, and he gaue him in gard to D. *Diego* of Eſtuniga, ſonne to the Marſhall D. *Inigo Ortis* of Eſtuniga, who was Earle of Nieua, commanding that his proceſſe ſhould be made, and that his Attorney Generall ſhould informe againſt him.

Nauarre.

This yeere was remarkable in Spaine, for the birth of the Infant D. *Fernand*, ſonne to D. *Iohn* King of Nauarre, by D. *Ioane Henriques* his wife, who being vnwilling to be deliuered in Nauarre going towards Arragon, ſhe was forced to ſtay at Sos, a ſmall place of Arragon, where ſhe had this Prince, who was famous, for the great things he did: for by him the Moores were chaſed out of Granado, and all Spaine clenſed of that vermine; the Weſt Indies diſcouered, with many Iſlands in the Ocean ſea: the Realmes of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre and Granado, vnited vnder one crowne; many places conquered vpon the coaſt of Affrike, and ſubiected to the crowne of Spaine: And that which may ſerue to make him famous, the Inquiſition was inſtituted vnder him, the only ſupport of the authority of the Sea of Rome, and of the Clergy in Spaine. The yeere of Prince *Fernands* birth 1453. was the laſt of the Chriſtians Empire in the Eaſt, the city of Conſtantinople being then taken by *Mahumet* Emperor of the Turkes, whoſe poſterity doth hold it at this day, with many other great Realmes and Prouinces, conquered ſince by that infidell Nation.

Birth of D. Fernand, who was King of Caſtile and Arragon, and husband to D. Iſabel.

Caſtille.

D. *Iohn* King of Caſtile, hauing reſolued to be rid of the Conſtable D. *Aluaro de Luna*, whom he had raiſed to that greatneſſe, he ſought to ſeize vpon his places and caſtles, hee got Maqueda eaſily, but not the reſt: for whileſt he liued, he had men at his deuotion, who would not abandon him, hoping that he ſhould recouer both his liberty and grace, as he had formerly done; wherefore the King, to take away all theſe lets, reſolued to put him to death, and therefore he gaue charge to them of his Councell, to make an end of his criminall proceſſe. The which was done at the Inſtance of the Kings Attorney, by twelue lawiers that were deputed; who hauing conuicted him to haue attempted againſt the crowne of Caſtile, to haue taken and conuerted to his owne vſe the Kings treaſure, and committed many tyranous acts, he was condemned to looſe his head, the which being ſet vpon a high pole, ſhould remaine vpon a ſcaffold nine daies together, as an example and ſpectacle for all the Noblemen of the Realme. This ſentence beeing confirmed by the King, D. *Aluaro de Luna* was brought from Portillo to Vailledolit, by D. *Diego* of Eſtuniga, being accompanied by a great number of men, where hauing ſtaied one night, his ſentence of death being read vnto him, he was carried vpon a little Mule, an Officer crying out with a loude voice before him, that it was the Iuſtice which the King cauſed to bee done vpon that cruell Tirant, vſurper of the royall crowne &c. Being come to the place of execution, he was beheaded: his head continued there nine daies, and his body three, then they carried it to Saint Andrewes Hermitage, where malefactors are vſually buried: but ſome daies after both his body and head were tranſported to Toledo, and buried in a Chappel built by him, in the quier of the Cathedrall Church. A man in whom we may obſerue the inconſtancy of humaine greatneſſe, but what auailes inſtruction to them, who from little come to great Eſtates, to make them maintaine themſelues with modeſty, and to relie vpon a good conſcience: for Princes fauours haue deceiued many, whereof both antient and moderne hiſtories are full, and the examples ordinary. All his goods were forfeited, and applied to the crowne, the which were very great; for beſides the dignities of Conſtable and Maiſter of Saint Iames, he was Duke of Trugillo, and Earle of Saint Stephen de Gormas, he held the

The Conſtable D. Aluaro de Luna executed at Vailledolit.

A good conſcience is a ſure ſupport.

held the Cities of Oſma and Truxillo, the townes of Cuellar, Maqueda, Montalban, Valdoliuas, Alcocer, Salmeron, Saint *Peter* of Palmiches, Tremble, Zebreros, Villalua, Alamin, la Tour Pre, Colmenar, Arenas, Adrada, Caſtel Valuel, Figuiere, Albuquerque, Azagala, Aillon, Sepulueda, Riaca, Maderuelo, Caſtel-nouo, Eſcalona, Saint *Martin* of Val d'Egliſe, with other places and forts, to the number of 70. and fiue Earldomes, ſo as he might number twenty thouſand Vaſſalls, beſids the dependances of the Maiſterſhip of Saint *Iames*, and the Vaſſalls thereof, from all which places and lands, he drew aboue an hundred thouſand double ducats of rent, beſids the eſtates, offices and infinit preſents, and other profits and commodities which he found out: being a man which hunted after great gaine, yet he hid not ſcorne ſmale preſents, after the manner of thoſe that grow great of nothing. All which things came vnto him, by the Kings bounty, fauour and ſuffrance. Hee was ſubtill, and a great diſſembler, pleaſing himſelfe much in ſuch practiſes, he was ſuſpitious, enuious, an enemy and perſecutor of great men, the which coſt him his life: A glorious vanter of his race and progenitors, not remembring his mothers courſe of life, which made his beginning doubtfull. Hee was a good man at armes and an actiue Knight, ſtrong of body, though little of ſtature, yet well ſet: hardy in warre, aduiſed, very affable and familiar in Court, gratious to his friends, diſcreet in his ſpeech, eloquent, and furniſhed with good reaſons; giuen to pleaſures, dauncing, and in ſome ſort a Poet. And for that the King had ſeazed vpon all that did belong vnto him, they did ſet a ſiluer baſon whereas his head ſtood, to the end that ſuch as would giue any thing for his buriall, might caſt in it there: whereby they gathered much mony. It is ſtrange that hauing on a time inquired of certaine diuines of his future fortunes, they anſwering him that hee ſhould die vpon a ſcaffold, which the Spaniards call Cadahalſo, hee then remembred that hee had a place called Cadahalſo; into the which hee would neuer ſet his foote, but he mounted vpon another Cadahalſo, which hee doubted not. In the death of this Conſtable, and the diſgraces of *Ruy d' Auales* his Predeceſſor, in the ſame dignity, wee may note that Kings doe many times ruine men with the like error that they haue rayſed them: for it is certen, that they were both caſt downe from that high degree of fauour, for that they were ſtrangers, ſeeing that they alone did not trouble the realme, nor vſurpe the rights thereof, but kindred, allyances and friends did preſerue many, who had deſerued no leſſe then theſe: and there is no doubt but Don *Iohn* King of Caſtile would haue winckt at all the Conſtables miſdemeanors, and borne with them ſtill, had not the perſwaſions of his wife, the diſhonor which they layed before him, and feare drawne him vnto it. He therefore put him to death as a rebell, and guilty of high treaſon (notwithſtanding that he neuer brake lance, nor carryed armes againſt the ſtandard royall) whome hee had ſo deerely loued, more to pleaſe another, then for any deſire he had to doe iuſtice, and moued therevnto rather through baſe couardiſe then by any vertuous reſolution. This execution paſt, the King beſeeged Eſcalona, and ſent letters to all the great Citties and townes of the realme with an ample declaration of the iuſtice he had done vpon *Aluaro de Luna*, ſetting downe his offences particularly, aduertiſing them that hereafter hee would haue iuſtice duly adminiſtred, expreſly forbidding them to aſſiſt, or to giue any fauour and ſupport vnto *Iohn de Luna* his Sonne. The fort of Eſcalona was yeelded vpon theſe conditions, that the Counteſſe, the Conſtables widow, ſhould haue halfe the treaſor and iewells that was within the place, and the King the reſt; and to D. *Diego* of Auellaneda, who was gouernor thereof, ſhould bee giuen two thouſand doublons of gold, with the towne and caſtle of Langa. During his ſmall aboad in this place, hee had newes that Queene *Iſabel* his wife was brought in bed of a Sonne, at Tordeſillas, who was named D. *Alfonſo*.

Conſtables great poſſeſſions.

Diſpoſitions & qualities of the Conſtable Aluaro d'Luna

Deuines delude the Conſtable.

The King put the Conſtable to death more through feare and baſeneſſe, then for loue of Iuſtice.

Birth of D. Alfonſo of Caſtile.

The yeare following the King beeing at Auila hee ſent for D. *Lopes* of Barriento Biſhop of Ciquença and Friar Gonçal of Illeſca Prior of the Monaſtery of Guadalupe, to make them of his counſell to the ende that hee might by their aduice reforme the great abuſes paſt: to effect the which hee reſolued to rayſe a power of eight thouſand lances with an ordinary entertaynment, and many other things. Being in this diſcours, hee felt himſelfe to be much troubled with a quartaine ague, which had held him ſome-time, yet hee did not forbeare to trauell to Madrid, and from thence to Vaylledolit,

26
An. 1454.

where the Queene his wife was, leauing the whole gouernment of his Realmes, to the a- A
boue named Biſhop and Prior. His ſickneſſe increaſing, he made his teſtament, and left
to Queene *Iſabel* the city of Soria, with the townes of Madrigal and Areualo, and to his
Death of D. Iohn King of Caſtile. ſonne D. *Alphonſo* the adminiſtration of the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iames, whom hee
would willingly haue made heire of his crowne, and King of Caſtile and Leon, if it had
beene lawful, ſo much he did miſlike Prince *Henry* his eldeſt ſon, for his diſobedience and
lightneſſe. To his daughter D. *Iſabella*, he gaue the towne of Cuellar, with a great quan-
tity of gold for her dowry. He did not long ſuruiue his Conſtable, but died of the vio-
lence of his quarten ague, at Vailledolit, in Iuly the ſame yeere 1454. hauing held the
Realm 47. yeers, being 49. yeeres old and fiue months: his body was for that time laied in B
the Monaſtery of St. Pablo of Vailledolit, to be tranſported to the Carthuſians of Mire-
fleurs at Burgos, as he had ordained by his teſtament. The Conſtables death had recon-
ciled the King of Nauarre vnto him, and reſtored all the other Noblemen to fauour, yea
the Admiral D. *Frederic*, who was then fled into Arragon: notwithſtanding hauing made
to much haſt to re-enter into Caſtile, without an ample licence from the King, hee had
commandment to goe backe, and not to returne into Caſtile, vnleſſe he were ſent for, vp-
on great penalties. This King had reſolued to make warre againſt D. *Alphonſo* King of
Portugal, for the deſcoueries which he made vpon the Weſterne coaſt of Affrike, be-
yond Cap Verd, towards Guinee, ſaying theſe conqueſts did belong to the crowne of
Caſtile, but death brake of this deſſeigne, and continued the peace of Portugal. C

27 Portugal. The Eſtate of which Realme after the death of King *Edward* had beene gouerned by
the Infant D *Pedro*, in quality of a Regent, choſen by the Eſtates, by reaſon of King Don
Alphonſos yong yeeres. D. *Pedro* had for his greateſt Aduerſary his brother D. *Alphonſo*
Earle of Barcellos, and his ſonnes, the Earles of Oren and Arroyolos, notwithſtanding
which contention, King D. *Alphonſo* beeing come to the age of ſixteene yeeres, married
at Saint Iren, with Donna *Iſabella*, daughter to the Infant D. *Pedro*, receiuing the nuptial
bleſſing from the hand of D. *Fernand* Archbiſhop of Braga. D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Barcel-
los, ſonne to King *Iohn*, had obtained in the yeere, 1448. of his brother D. *Pedro* Regent
of the realme, although they were in quarrell, the Eſtate of Brangance, in title of a
Dutchie, and the caſtle of Lotero, by the deceaſe of Don *Gonçalo*, who held all thoſe D
places.

This good turne was ill requited by the new Duke: for he ſeeing him make no ſhew
to giue ouer his Regency, notwithſtanding that the King had beene declared capable to
gouerne his realme himſelfe, and being married, he put a conceit into the Kings head,
that the Infant D. *Pedro* had cauſed Queene *Leonora* his mother, to be poiſoned in Ca-
ſtile, and that he ſought to doe the like to him, that he might ſeize vpon the crowne. For
this cauſe the king did perſecute D. *Pedro* his vncle: ſo as he forced him to retire to
Coimbra, of which hee was Duke. Being much incenſed at this iniury, hee had certaine
practiſes with them of Lisbone, to giue him entry and ſupport in that city, with his par-
tiſans and friends, whereof he had many, meaning to rebel againſt the king his Nephew. E
Theſe practiſes being diſcouered, the king gathered together all the men he could with
great ſecrecy, to ſurpriſe D. *Pedro* vpon the point of the execution of his enterpriſe: and
came and incountred him as he was comming to Lisbone, at a place called Aforrobei-
ra, where hauing fought with him, vanquiſhed, and ſlaine him, hee ended thoſe troubles.
Deſeat and death of the Infant D. Pedro Duke of Coimbra. It may be the Infant was innocent of the death of Queene *Leonora*: but if it be true that
he cauſed poyſon to be giuen her, hee was paied with the like money, for hee was ſlaine
with a poiſoned arrow. There died many good knights in this battaile, and amongſt o-
thers D. *Alaaro* of Almada, Earle of Abranches.

They did for a long time refuſe to burie the Infants bodie in the royall Monaſtery
of the battaile, an argument of the kings great hatred, and of the Duke of Bragan- F
ça's againſt him: yet they had cauſe to lament him, for they wanted him in the Go-
uernment; The duke of Braganee ſoone after demaunded the City of Porto, and
the towne of Guimaranes of the king, the which hee gaue him: Guimaranes re-
ceiued him, but Porto would not in any ſort: for they would maintaine themſelues
for the king, and ſo did Portalegre, which the king had giuen vnto the Earle Don

Sancho

A *Sancho* of Logrogno, brother to D.*Conſtance*, the Duke of Braganca's ſecond wife, being ſiſter alſo to D.*Pedro* Archbiſhop of Lisbone.

In the yeere 1451. Donna *Leonora* the Kings ſiſter was married to the Emperor *Frederic* the third duke of Auſtria, and the betrothing was in the city of Lisbone, by the Noblemen that were deputed by him, hauing ful power and authority, who afterwards conducted their Empreſſe by ſea to Piſa, being accompanied by the Marquis of Valencia, by D.*Lewis Coutin*, Biſhop of Coimbra, D. *Lope* of Almada Earle of Abrantes, and other Noblemen of Portugal: whoſe marriage was celebrated at Siena, the yeere following 1452, In the which King *Alphonſo* had a ſonne by his wife, called D.*Iohn*, which liued little. That yeere the body of the Infant D.*Pedro*, vncle and father in law to the King, was
B taken from Alberca where it had beene interred, and tranſported to the caſtle of Abrantes, or at the leaſt his bones.

Marriage of the Emperor Frederic the 3 and D.Leonora of Portugal

The coaſt of Affrike, towards the Weſterne and South ſeas, were at that time deſcouered by the Portugals, who brought gold from Guinny, whereof King D.*Alphonſo* cauſed a certaine coyne to be made, which hee called Croiſats, by reaſon of the Croiſadoe graunted by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth to make warre againſt the Infidels. D.*Aluar Gonçales* Biſhop of Lamego, was the bringer of this Croiſadoe into Portugal. D.*Iohn* the ſecond King of Caſtile, being growne iealous of theſe nauigations and conqueſts, as I haue ſaid, ſought to hinder them, ſending word vnto the King *Alphonſo* that they did belong vnto the crowne of Caſtile, and therefore he did forbid the Portugals to goe thether a-
C ny more, elſe he would make violent warre againſt him. King *Alphonſo* anſwered his Ambaſſadors (who were D.*Iohn de Guzman*, and Doctor *Fernand Lopes* of Burgos) very mildly, that he had alwaies held that the conqueſts and deſcoueries of thoſe coaſts did belong vnto the Realme of Portugal: yet he would alwaies, if need were, ſubmit himſelfe to iudgement, and would deſiſt, if it were ſaid, that it did belong to any other: and therefore he intreated him that, without good information, hee would not breake the peace betwixt the two realmes: Herevpon the King of Caſtile died, in the yeere 1454. at which time King *Alphonſo* had a daughter borne, called D.*Ioane*, which was a very vertuous and religious Princeſſe.

Deſcouerie of the coaſt of Affrik by the Portugals which diſcontented the Caſtillans.

In the end, the body or bones of the Infant D. *Pedro*, hauing remained ſome time in
D the caſtle of Arantes, and remoued from thence to Saint Eloy at Lisbone, they were buried, at the interceſſion of the Pope, the Duke of Burgondy, of the Ducheſſe his wife, and of the Queene D.*Iſabella*, and of many Noblemen and Prelats, in the Monaſtery of the battaile: ſo great account they made of a ſmall matter in theſe ceremonies, as the whole world muſt of force bee therein imployed. The funeralls were celebrated with great pompe and ſolemnity.

The end of the nineteenth Booke.

THE TVVENTETH BOOKE
of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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D

Here follow the names of the Princes raigninge *in Spaine in this twentith Booke.*

E

CASTIL, *and* LEON.	ARRAGON *and* NAVARRE.
19. D. *Henry* the 4. and XL.	18. D. *Iohn* 2.----himſelfe.

F KIng *Iohn* the ſecond being dead, his ſonne *Henry* the fourth of that name ſucceeded him in the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon: who by diuers was ſurnamed the liberall: for he was not onely bountifull, but a great water and prodigall, the which he did inherit from the King his father. The ſurname of vnhable was giuen vnto him, by reaſon of his naturall weakeneſſe, being in the company of women, the which his Queenes had experience of: and yet thoſe which haue written of his ſtature and proportion, ſay, that he was ſtrong and bigge, of a manly aſpect, fierce and hairy. *Surnames of liberal and vnable.*

This Prince was light-headed, variable & inconſtant: yet for all that of faire demeanure, curteous and affable to his familliar friends, in ſo much as he neuer ſaid thou to any one *Qualities and manners of the King D. Henry the fourth.*

he did euer maintaine his grauity with Princes: he was a louer of peace and did naturally put of from himſelfe the managing of matters of State. Hee would at one time bee bold and confident, without ſuſpition, and within a while after contrary to himſelfe, ſolitary, and an enemy of company; moſt of which quallities he had by inheritance from his father. He did take great pleaſure in hunting, in muſicke, and in buildings of houſes of pleaſure, and he did likewiſe erect monaſteries with other religious houſes: he would oftentimes ſit and ſing in Churches with ſinging men: he was a great eater, but he did neuer taſt any wine. By his bounty and liberality he raiſed diuers to great honors and riches who were iſſued from baſe and obſcure families. Thus King *Henry*, at the age of one and thirty yeeres was proclaimed King at Valiodolite in the preſence of D. *Iohn* of Pacheco Marques of Villena (his moſt priuate and familliar friend) and his brother D. *Pedro Giron* Maiſter of Calatraua, D. *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza, great Maiſter of the houſehold to the late King D. *Iohn*. D. *Pedro d' Aguilar*, Lord of Priego and of Cagnette, the Marſhal D. *Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua Lord of Baena, and other Noblemen which were then at the Court.

The beginning of his reigne was very plauſible, by reaſon that he did enlarge of his owne accord, without being therevnto ſolicited by any one, D. *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo Earle of Alua, and D. *Diego Manriques* Earle of Treuigno, reſtoring them to all their former riches honours, and dignities; and hauing made a certaine ſpeech to the Lords that were then about him, they gaue him great and humble thankes, reputing that demonſtration of his clemency as an high fauour, and ſo with al reuerence kiſſed his hands. He diſplaced none of all thoſe which were in any office or place of dignity during the life of his father, but receiued them into his ſeruice in the ſelfe ſame quality that they were in before. In regard whereof all men thought the Kingdome happy being fallne into the hands of ſo good, ſo curteous and liberall a Prince, and they did yeeld infinite thankes vnto God, the only giuer of ſo deſired and neceſſary a fauour for the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon.

Diuers great Lords ſo ſoone as they heard of the death of King *Iohn*, came in all haſt to mourne with him for the ſame, to do him reuerence and to take the oth of alleageance due to the new King. The Eccleſiaſticall perſons were, D. *Alphonſo Carillo d' Acugna*; Archbiſhop of Toledo, D. *Roderigo de Luna* Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, D. *Alphonſo Fonſeca* Archbiſhop of Seuil, D. *Alphonſo de Carthagena* Biſhop of Burgos, Frier *Lopes de Barriento* Biſhop of Cuenca, D. *Alphonſo de Madrigall*, called Toſtado the moſt renowned Biſhop of Auila, D. *Pedro Baca* Biſhop of Leon, D. *Pedro* of Caſtile Biſhop of Palença, D. *Gonçall* of Illeſca Biſhop of Cordoua, D. *Lewis d' Acugna* Biſhop of Segobia, D. *Inigo Manrique* Biſhop of Ouiedo with diuers other prelats. The ſecular Lords were D. *Fernand de Velaſco* Earle of Haro, D. *Alphonſo Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, D. *Gaſton de la Cerde* Earle of Medina Celi, D. *Diego Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, D. *Iohn Manrique* Earle of Caſtagneda, D. *Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Paredes, D. *Gabriell Manrique* Earle of Oſorno, D. *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga Earle of Plaiſance, whoſe father was newly dead, much about the time of the Conſtables deceaſe, D. *Pedro Aluares Oſorio* Earle of Tranſtamara, D. *Pedro d' Acugna* Earle of Valencia, an other D. *Pedro d' Acugna* Lord of Duegnas and Tariego, brother to the Archbiſhop D. *Alphonſo Carillo*, D. *Iohn de Sylua* Standard-bearer to the King, and many others, who with the deputies of townes and Prouinces there aſſembled, ſware to the Kings fealty and homage after the accuſtomed manner.

The King of Nauarre and other Lords pacified, recompenced & repealed by the new king D. Henry.

Now the King being deſirous to ſuppreſſe al fore-paſſed quarrels, and to ſettle a firme peace in his dominions, did at his comming to the crowne ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of Nauarre, who greatly complained becauſe of the confiſcation of all his goods in Caſtile, wherevpon it was concluded that in recompence of all the wrongs that hee could pretend, he ſhould haue certaine yeerely penſions aſſigned him out of the ordinary reuenue of the Kingdome of Caſtile, in regard of which aſſignation he ſhould deliuer vp into the King of Caſtiles hands, the townes of Atiença, La Pegna de Alcaçar: it was likewiſe agreed vpon that the Admirall D. *Frederic*, D. *Iohn* of Touar Lord of Berlanga, the children of the Earle of Caſtro lately dead, and all the Knights and others which were

A were fled out of the Kingdome by reaſon of the late warres, ſhould be repealed and reſtored to all their goods and lands. Theſe things were ſoone effected, and the Admirall with the reſt returned to Valiodolit to kiſſe the Kings hands, who receiued them very graciouſly, and yet for all that did put them in minde of the faith and obedience due to Kings, to the end they might the better remember it afterward, and ſo with his free pardon diſmiſſed them. And beſides all this the better to confirme his peace on all ſides with Chriſtian Princes, he ſent Ambaſſadors into Italy to *Alphonſo* King of Arragon, to the end to renue the leagues and antient alliances betwixt the crownes of Caſtile and Arragon, who were receiued and entertained with great honour; a notable ar-

B gument whereof was, that as the Ambaſſadors of Caſtile and the Commiſſioners of Arragon ſtood vpon termes who ſhould be firſt named in the inſtruments and writings, the King D. *Alphonſo* decreed that the precedency ſhould be giuen to Caſtile, in regard that he himſelfe reigning ouer the Arragonois was a Prince iſſued from the ſtocke of Caſtile, an antient race of the Kings of Gothes: ſo that in all the writings which did concerne the league and alliance, the King of Caſtile was firſt named, the which his Ambaſſadors at their returne certified to him and his councell to their exceeding ioy and contentment.

Caſtile preferd before Arragon.

But notwithſtanding theſe good beginnings, if the reigne of the late King *Iohn* was turbulent and troubleſome, and if euer Spaine was ſeene to be ſhaken with furious tem-

3

The gentlenes of a Prince not accompanied with iuſtice & ſeuerity, is both hurtful to himſelfe and his Eſtate.

C peſts, it was now moſt of all by the miſerable gouernment of his ſonne King *Henry*, whoſe clemency and careleſſe gentleneſſe was the onely cauſe thereof, making him to forget the other part of the duty of a Prince which is Iuſtice, by meanes whereof he fell into the contempt of the great ones of his Court, and namely of his moſt priuate minions, ſo that both hee and his Kingdome fell into very dangerous ſtreights. At the beginning he and his affaires were gouerned by D. *Iohn de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, a wiſe, rich, and diſcreet perſon, and one well ſeene in the mannaging of ſtate-affaires, likewiſe by the Archbiſhop of Seuil, D. *Alphonſo de Fonſeca*, a prelate of an excellent wit, but leſſe graue then beſeemed the place and ranke he held; by whom for certaine yeeres ſpace the Kingdome was well gouerned to the contentment of all men.

4

Moores and Caſtile.

D The firſt martiall enterpriſe attempted in the reigne of King *Henry* was againſt the Moores of Granado, ouer whom reigned *Iſmael*, the ſame who had taken the crowne from *Mahumet* the Lame: for the execution whereof King *Henry* aſſembled the Eſtates of his kingdome in the city of Cuellar, vnto whom hauing propounded what he ment to doe, D. *Inigo Lopes de Mendoça*, Marquis of Santillana in the the name of them all, anſwered him in ſuch eloquent and diſcreet termes, as did highly pleaſe and content him. The warre beeing reſolued and decreed in that aſſembly, euery man went home to his houſe to make preparation, and in the beginning of the yere 1455. they began to march towards the frontiers of Andaluzia. The King parting from Segobia ordained viceroys in Caſtile and Leon for matters of Iuſtice, D. *Alphonſo Carillo* Archbiſhop of Toledo

E and D. *Pedro Fernandes de Velaſco* Earle of Haro, who ſhould keepe their reſidence at Valiodolit. The army being in a redineſſe entred into the Moores country, being in number fiue thouſand horſemen, and a great company of footmen making great ſpoile euen to the walles of the city of Granado, notwithſtanding that *Iſmael* had beene eſtabliſhed King by the helpe and fauour of the King of Caſtile D. *Iohn* deceaſſed. On the fourth day the Chriſtian army returned to Eccia, and ſome few daies after went towards Malaga, burning and ſpoyling as before, albeit that a great company of Mooriſh horſemen did oftentimes preſent them the combate, which the King by the wiſe and diſcreet councell of his captaines did euermore refuſe, and brought backe his army in ſafety to Cordoua loaden with all manner of ſpoiles.

F This yeare the ſute (begunne many moneths paſt betweene king *Henry* of Caſtile and 5

Caſtile.

Ladie *Blanche* of Nauarre his wife) was ended before Pope *Nicholas* the fift, of whom he entreated to be diuorced from her, and to take another wife, becauſe, as he ſaid, ſhe was barraine. The Pope granting his requeſt, ſeparated them, albeit it was very well knowne that the fault was in himſelfe, and not in the Ladie, who with great griefe returned home into Nauarre, hauing loſt the title and dignity of Queene of Caſtile: but King *Henry*,

not

not beeing contented with the experien ce which he had made of himſelfe with this La- A
die, would needs make proofe of anothe r, and by D. *Fernand* his great Chaplaine cau-
Second marriage of the K. Don Henry the Vnable. ſed a marriage to be treated of betweene him and the Infanta Donna *Ioane* of Portugall,
ſiſter to king Don *Alphonſo*, and daughter to the late king Don *Edward*, a Princeſſe of
great beauty, who was betrothed vnto him, notwithſtanding ſhe had ſufficient notice of
the kings inſufficiencie, yet ſhee conſented thereunto, beeing tickled with a deſire to bee
Queene of Caſtile. The king Don *Henry* without receiuing any thing with her, did en-
dow her with an hundred and twenty thouſand florens, to be leuyed vpon cite Real, Ol-
medo, and their lands, and for her ordinarie expences, a million, and 500000. marui-
dis then currant. It was alſo agreed, that the Infanta his next wife might bring with her a B
douzin Ladies of noble parentage, vnto whom the King would giue husbands fitting
their degrees, and of theſe the Ladie *Beatrix de Norogno* ſhould be gouerneſſe, who for
her part had leaue to bring with her foure yong Gentlewomen, with like hope. All theſe
things promiſed and confirmed by the king, Don *Iohn de Guzman* the firſt Duke of Medi-
na Sidonia, and Earle of Niebla, was ſent to meet the Infanta, who brought her to Cor-
doua where the marriage was ſolemnized with great magnificence: the Arch biſhop of
Tours beeing then Ambaſſadour in the Court of Spaine for the French king *Charles* the
7. performed the ceremony. All manner of pompes, ſhewes, and paſtimes accuſtomed
at ſuch feaſts were there performed, ſauing that in the opinion of all men, the Bride re-
mained the next day as pure a virgin as ſhe was borne of her mother. Both King *Henries* C
Queenes were his couſin germaines once remoued, daughters, the one to the king of Na-
uar, the other of Lady *Leonora* of Arragon his ſiſter, couſin-germains to his father.

About this time Pope *Nicholas*, by his death, gaue place to a Spaniard borne in Xati-
ua, a towne in the kingdome of Valencia, called Don *Alphonſo Borgia*, Cardinall of the
title of S. *Sixtus*, who was named *Calixt* the 3. a man of 77. yeares of age, who had beene
a Counſeller to *Alphonſo* K. of Arragon. By him was made Cardinall a nephew of his
named *Rodrigo Borgia*, yet he was not of the family of Borgia, but of the Lançoles, a no-
ble family in the kingdome of Valencia, ſonne to Don *Ieffrey Lançol*, Lord of Canales,
and to a ſiſter of Pope *Calixts*, he did intitle him Cardinall of S. *Nicholas in carcere Tul-
liano*, who afterward attayned the Papacie. D

Ambition of D. Ioane of Portugall. Whileſt that the mariage laſted at Cordoua, great numbers of ſouldiers were drawne
from all parts of Caſtile into Andaluſia, the number of them amounting to about four-
teene thouſand horſe, and foureſcore thouſand foot, whoſe chiefe Commanders were
the Admirall *Frederic*, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Santillana, hee of
Villena, the Earles of Alba de Tormes, Benauent, Arcos, S. *Eſteuan*, Alba de Liſta, Va-
lence, Cabra, Caſtagneda, Oſorno and Paredes, and the Arch-biſhop of Seuile, beſides
others of leſſer note: with theſe forces the king entred into the Moores country, and with
out diſ-banding his army, or giuing aduantage, or hope to the enemy to come to bat-
tell, hee made roades vp and downe for 20. dayes ſpace, ſo as it was thought, that the
Moores would not be able in many yeares to gather any profit or fruit in their country, E
the which the king thought to be the ſureſt and eaſieſt way vtterly to ruine & ouercome
them. Hauing brought backe his army to Eccia laden with ſpoiles, not long after, he diſ-
charged the greateſt number of them, and diſmiſſed the Marquis of Santillana, the
Earles of Benauent, Alba, Plaiſance and others home to their houſes, he himſelfe remai-
ning in Andaluſia with the people of the country, and the town garriſons did make con-
tinuall roades vpon the Moores all that Sommer, at the latter end whereof he returned
to Auila and Segobia, to giue order for the war of the yeare following.

Wars againſt the Moores. *Alphonſo* king of Portugall hauing by the marriage of his ſiſter confirmed the peace
and auncient alliances with the Crowne of Caſtile, determined with himſelfe to vex the
Moores in Affrica: the ſame yeare in the city of Lisbon was born vnto him a ſonne, who F
at his chriſtening was named Don *Iohn*: the baptiſme was ſolemnized by Don *Fernand*
Arch-biſhop of Braga, the Infant was carried by Don *Fernand* his vncle, his Godfathers
were the Earles of Arroyolos, and Don *Vaſco* of Attaydo, Prior of S. Iohns, and D. *Payo
Correa*: the godmothers, the Infanta D. *Catherine* the Kings ſiſter, and the Ladie *Beatrix
de Meneſes* one of the Queenes chiefeſt Ladies.

In

Nauarre.

A In theſe times began the troubles and calamities in Nauarre, occaſioned by the factions in that kingdome, after this manner. The Prince of Viana Don *Charles* was in his flouriſhing age, and in the abſence of his father had, very vertuouſly, with great iuſtice, and to the liking of all men, gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, by the good councell of the Lords of the countrey: and namely by the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont: now the king his father hauing married to his ſecond wife the Ladie *Ioane Henriques*, daughter to the Admirall of Caſtile, would haue made her a partaker in the gouernment, the which was diſtaſted by many, who did ſtirre vp the Prince, beeing lawfull heire of the Kingdome, not to ſuffer his mother-in-law to thruſt her ſelfe into the command of his poſſeſſions.

Don Charles cannot endure his mother-in-law partaker with him in the regencie.

The deſire of rule which tickleth all great and magnanimous natures: did ſo farre poſ-

The deſire of rule, an affection of a magnanimous nature.

B ſeſſe the Prince Don *Charles*, hitherto obedient to his father, as hee declared vnto him the purpoſe that he had to enioy alone the right of his mothers inheritance, in which his mother-in-law had no part, and thereupon made preparation to ſend her foorth of the countrie, and to reſiſt the king his father, if he oppoſed himſelfe againſt his determination, and in concluſion to haue by way of armes that which he purpoſed. From this pernitious quarrell, which prooued ſo ſucceſſeles to the ſonne againſt the father, did ſpring the two factions of thoſe of Beaumont and Grammont, which ſo many yeares did infect the kingdome of Nauarre, names taken from two mighty families, to wit, that of Beaumont beyond the Pirenean hils, and that of Grammont on the hither ſide neere vnto France, albeit that the houſe of Beaumont had his originall from Normandy, and was firſt of all

Factions of Beaumont and Grammont in Nauarre.

The houſe of Beaumont called of old, Luſa.

C called Luſa; neuertheleſſe both of them of old iſſued from the bloud royall of Nauarre, the which the armes of both thoſe houſes do witneſſe, and namely, the chiefe of the faction of Grammont, who are the Marſhals of the kingdome, the Marques of Cortes, do not intitle themſelues of Grammont but of Nauarre. Now the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont Conſtable of Nauarre, beeing chiefe of his houſe, he and all his followed the Princes: on the contrarie, the houſe of Grammont and their adherents, did maintain the Kings quarell againſt his ſonne, and of this houſe were chiefe, the Lord *Peter* of Peralta, who by reaſon of theſe tumults was made Conſtable, and the Marſhall Don *Pedro* of Nauarre. The ſonnes reaſons were, that beeing ſonne and lawfull heire to Lady *Blanche* the right Queene and heire of Nauarre, he ought to gouerne, ſeeing that the king his father had

D made a ſecond marriage, which barred him from any pretence of right or claime. On the contrarie the king ſayd, that by agreement of his firſt marriage, it was concluded, that whether he had any children or no by his wife Queene *Blanche*, that he ſhould raigne during his life: to the which article the Lords and States of the kingdome were ſworne, and therefore it ought to take place.

The Prince diſputed againſt this poynt, as beeing made to his preiudice, not good in law, and therefore of no force: for as by the lawes of the Realme, two beeing married, the ſuruiuer enioyeth the goods of the partie deceaſed, ſo long as they continue in widdow-hood, but ſo ſoone as they marrie againe, they loſe that right. Now the queſtion was, whether the condition agreed vpon in the contract of marriage, in the behalfe of K.

E *Iohn*, made againſt the lawes of Nauarre, and to the preiudice of the Prince his ſonne, were good or no: but how iuſt ſo euer it was, they fell to armes. Queene *Ioane* remaining in Eſtella, beeing aduertiſed of Prince *Charles* his conſpiracie, gaue foorth-with notice thereof to the king her husband, who came out of Arragon into Nauarre with a great company of men at armes, vnto whom thoſe of Grammont ioyned themſelues. Firſt of all he tryed by meſſages and ambaſſadors, if hee could diuert the Prince his ſonne from this diſhonorable pourſute, whereby (as he ſayd) he did blemiſh the ſhining luſter of the races of Nauarre, Caſtile, Arragon, and France, from whence he was deſcended: the queſtion betwixt the father and ſonne was brought to very good termes, by the reaſons al-

F leaged by King *Iohns* Ambaſſadors, had not the counſel of the chiefe of the part of Beaumont hindred it, who kept the Prince in his firſt reſolution, to haue the abſolute rule of his kingdom without any exception: and thoſe of Grammont did incite the king againſt his ſonne, both parts thinking (as it is very likely) to increaſe their honours, riches, and dignities rather by theſe troubles, then by the peace of the kingdome.

All treaties and negotiations of peace ceaſſing, the Prince aſſembled his forces, as wel

Knights

An. 1456. *The Prince of Viana Don Charles cauſed himſelfe to bee called king of Nauar.*

Knights as the common people of his partie, and carried himſelf as king the yeare 1456, giuing gifts, priuiledges, and liberties, with other royall acts, the letters and writings whereof were found in theſe times in the citie of Toralba, and other places of the country: he called alſo from Caſtile diuers of his friends, of whom certaine troupes entring by Logrogno into Nauarre were ouerthrowne neere to Viana, by the King Don *Iohn*; who like a wiſe and a diſcreet Captaine went and met them, not ſuffering all his ſonnes forces to ioyne together, before that he had fought with them: after which exploit there were diuers encounters betwixt them with doubtfull victorie, neere to Eſtella, Pampelona, Olite, and Lombier: ſo as the laſt battell of this firſt ciuill warre, was fought neere to the citie of Ayuar, in the which, by the proweſſe and valour of *Peter* of Peralta, and *Lopes* of Caſtillo, and others of the faction of Grammont, thoſe of Beaumont were vanquiſhed, and Prince *Charles* taken priſoner, who was carried to Tafalla by the commandement of the king, who came thither ſoone after, and did labour to bring him to ſome agreement of peace, the which the ſonne (beeing ill aduiſed) did contemne: and that which was worſe, he going about to incite his neighbour kings to take in hand the defence of his cauſe, a packet of letters was taken which he ſent to king *Alphonſo* of Portugall, wherein diuers matters were diſcouered, by reaſon whereof hee was ſhut vp in the caſtle of Mont-Roy. Hereuppon the factions were ſo fleſhed one againſt the other, as through all the cities of the kingdome, betweene neighbors and townſ-men, whole families did ſo bandie themſelues, that infinite cruelties, murthers, burning of houſes, and other inſolencies and impieties of ciuill warres were committed. The impriſonment of the Prince was ſo irkeſome to the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, as he did not ceaſe by all meanes, and aſſurances that he offered, till that he had obtained his deliuerie of the King, for the which he himſelfe (ſo dearely did he loue him) gaue his owne perſon in hoſtage, and remained in priſon the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. But when the Prince was at libertie, he wanted no counſellers to animate him to a new warre: for the deſire of rule will not be bridled, eſpecially in Kings children. Leauing then the Earle of Lerin as hoſtage, hee ranne to armes, and entred the field the ſecond time, and then the factions of Beaumont and Grammont, returned euery one to his ſide, and made more cruell and barbarous warre then before, which the Realme did feele many yeares after. The end was, the Prince was againe defeated neere to Eſtella, and his people diſperſed, but hee eſcaped by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, and hauing reſolued neuer more to pourſue this warre, he went to Naples to the king *Alphonſo* his Vnkle, leauing his friends in Nauarre in great trouble and danger, where the ſeede of diſcord betwixt the two factions did encreaſe and ſpring vp diuers times afterward.

The great loue of the Earle of Lerin to the Prince Don Charles.

Arragon.

The Prince Don *Charles* paſſing thorow France and Italy, was euery where receiued with great honor, and namely at Rome by Pope *Calixtus* a Spaniard: but chiefly his vncle D. *Alphonſo* did feaſt and welome him, admiring his graue wiſedome and kingly qualities, anſwerable in euery point to the report that had beene made of him: and beeing deſirous to ſee him reconciled to the King Don *Iohn* his father, hee laboured very much therein, performing thereby all the Offices of a louing kinſman and Chriſtian Prince: for he did daily put him in mind of the duty of children towards their fathers, whereunto Princes are more bound than other men, in regard that their ſubiects do commonly faſhion themſelues after their examples: and on the other ſide, hee did write to the King D. *Iohn*, alledging all reaſons that might be auaylable to induce him to loue and deſire the preſence of his ſonne: but this good and vertuous king had not the meanes to accompliſh ſo holy and laudable a work, beeing preuented by death, which ſeazed on him in the new caſtle of Naples, the yeare 1458. hauing raigned two and fortie yeares and two moneths in Arragon, and foure and twenty yeares in Naples, in the 65. yeare of his age.

This Prince, after that *Reneé* of Aniou had retired himſelf into France the yere 1442, finding himſelfe maſter of the whole kingdome of Naples, had contention with the Venetians, in the behalfe of *Philip Maria* Duke of Milan, then againſt his ſonne-in-lawe *Francis Sforza*, who was duke of Milan, and laſt of all againſt the Venetians, Geneuois, and Florentines in league together, in which wars he alwaies maintained the reputation of

A of a great and excellent Captaine. And againe, in the yeare 1453. he had ſome likelihood of a future warre about his kingdome of Naples, againſt *Reneé* of Aniou, who had repaſſed the mountaines, and was come downe into Lombardy accompanied with *Lewis* the Daulphin of France, with two thouſand men at armes, hoping by the fauour of the duke *Francis Sforza*, and the Florentines to be able to re-enter into his loſt kingdome, and to driue *Alphonſo* out of it, but that iourney proued vaine: then the King D. *Alphonſo* being a king in peace, purchaſed the friendſhip of the Duke *Francis Sforza*, and contracting allyance with him, he cauſed D. *Alphonſo*, ſonne to his ſon D. *Fernand* of Arragon, duke of Calabria, to marry with *Hippolita Maria* daughter to the Duke *Sforza*: and hee did be-

B troth D. *Leonora*, daughter to his ſon *Fernand*, to *Sforza Maria* ſon to the ſame Duke *Sforza*, notwithſtanding that his ſecond mariage took no effect, for D. *Leonora* was afterwards married to *Hercules de Eſté*, the ſecond Duke of Ferrara. The king D. *Alphonſo* being in league and friendſhip with the moſt part of the Potentates of Italy, Pope *Calixtus* a Spaniard borne in Xatiua, his ſubiect, and one that had beene of his councell, did euer carry a particular hatred againſt him, the which hee declared by the anſwer which hee made to the kings Ambaſſadors at Rome, at ſuch time as they came to congratulate his aſſumption to the papall dignity: for they asking him in their maſters name, how they ſhould carry themſelues one toward another: the Pope ſayd; Let him gouerne his kingdome, and let me alone with my Popedome. And he did more openly manifeſt it after

C the death of D. *Alphonſo*: for he did as much as in him lay, to miniſter all hinderances to D. *Fernand* his ſon and ſucceſſor in the kingdome of Naples, diſputing with him about his right therein, ſaying, that D. *Alphonſo* his father could not appoint a king in the kingdome of Naples, which held of the Church, and that it was in the Popes power to inueſt therein whome he pleaſed: and the king D. *Fernand* could neuer haue other remedie of him, who afterward was confirmed and eſtabliſhed by Pope *Pius* his ſucceſſor. Now D. *Alphonſo* had beene abſent halfe the time of his raigne out of his kingdome of Arragon, leauing his wife D. *Maria* of Caſtile Gouernor in his Realmes and Dominions in Spain, a vertuous and chaſt Princeſſe, aſſiſted by his brother D. *Iohn* of Nauarre. By this Lady he had no children, and he parted from her the ſecond time in great anger, by reaſon of

D her iealouſie wherewith ſhe was greatly poſſeſſed, the which made her to commit an act inhumane, cruell, and in no ſort royall: for ſhee vnderſtanding that the king her husband made loue to one of her Ladies, named D. *Margaret* of Ixar, ſhe cauſed her one night to be ſtrangled in her bed, beeing with child in the citie of Valencia, the king beeing at that time for his pleaſure abroad on hunting, which was a ſpeciall cauſe that hee cared neuer after to liue with her. By other wiues he had D. *Fernand*. who ſucceeded him in the kingdome of Naples, D. *Maria* of Arragon married to the Marquis of Ferrara, D. *Leonora* of Arragon, Princeſſe of Roſſano wife to *Martin Marzan*. At his death hee left for heire in his kingdomes of Arragon, Valencia, Sardynia, Majorca, Minorca, and Sicill, his brother the King D. *Iohn* of Nauarre.

Ingratitude of Pope Calixtus.

A cruell act.

Genealogie of Arragon.

E The gifts and qualities of this Prince comprehended in few words, although they deſerue a great volume, were theſe: concerning the bodie, he was of meane ſtature, actiue and well proportioned, of colour ſomewhat pale, quicke-ſighted, and gracious, he had a hawke noſe, a ſigne of an haughtie nature: hee was briefe and ſuccinct in his ſpeech, but neate and eloquent, ſweet and amiable in his anſwers, and oftentimes quicke and pleaſant: few kings had their minds more diſpoſed to goodneſſe then he: the Religion according to thoſe times, and the ceremonies belonging thereunto hee had in ſingular recommendation, ſo that it is reported of him, that beeing on a time at Maſſe, by meanes of a great Earth-quake the church wherein he was, was ſo ſhaken, as the people fearing to be ſlaine by the fall thereof, fledde out at the doores, hee onely remayned vnmooued

F and feareleſſe. And ſeeing the prieſt which ſung Maſſe readie to runne away for companie, hee ſtayed him and enforced him to make an end of his ſeruice. He was liberall to all men, and magnificent in gifts, eſpecially to Princes and their Ambaſſadours: Hee was a louer of iuſtice, and yet neuertheleſſe mercifull, full of commiſeration, and ſlow to condemne any man to death, the which he could temper ſo well, as his clemencie profited, and redounded to the benefite of diuers: yet offenders were puniſhed and corrected, in ſuch

Diſpoſition of King D. Alphonſo of Aragon the 5.

ſuch ſort, as his Realmes were neuer ſince his time ſo well gouerned, and cleanſed from A
all manner of violence and outrage. When hee had ouercome his enemies, hee did al-
waies ſhew himſelfe meeke and gentle, hee tooke delight in all excellent things, vſing
alwaies great modeſtie therein: hee was ſumptuous in mooueables, in gold and ſiluer
plate, iewels, and other ornaments of rare eſteeme, except about his owne royall perſon,
which was euer apparelled according to the common vſe and faſhion of his Gentlemen,
not delighting in rich and coſtly ſtuffes, nor new faſhions: hee was ſtately and magnifi-
cent in martiall playes and ſhewes, which were frequent in his Court, and no leſſe in buil-
dings, whereof the royall pallace, the bridge, and great Hoſpitall of Sarragoſſa do make
mention. B

The new caſtle at Naples, brought into the forme which now it is, is a worke of his: he
made the fortreſſe of the Egge habitable and commodious: hee cauſed the marſhes a-
bout the cittie to be dryed vp: hee builded ſhippes of no meane greatneſſe, which ſee-
med like caſtles vppon the ſea, he entertayned a great number of huntſmen: but his chief
delight and pleaſure was in hawking. And beeing a warlike Prince, hee made two enter-
priſes into Barbarie, the one to Zerba, anciently called the Iſle of the Lotophages, the
which he tooke, and defeated in battell *Butifer* king of Tunis, who came to driue him
thence with aboue an hundred thouſand Moores: the other againſt the towne properly
called Affrica, the ſituation whereof hee very well viewed, hauing a purpoſe to returne
thither, where he burned all the ſhippes and veſſels that he found in the hauen: when hee C
was at peace in the kingdome of Naples, he gaue ayde and ſuccour to the Deſpotto of
Acarnania aſſayled by the Turkes, and to *Scanderbeg* Prince of Albania warring vpon the
ſame nation, where his ſouldiers gaue ſufficient proofe of braue warriours, which did
greatly redound to the Kings honour. A man would ſcarce beleeue what honour and
reſpect he did beare to learning and learned men, beeing oftentimes wont to ſay, *That a
King without learning, was like a crowned Aſſe*, the which ſentence he had read in the pre-
face before the Spaniſh Tranſlation of Saint *Auſtens* booke *Of the Cittie of God*, and
therefore he employed part of his time in the ſtudy of letters, although he were of good
yeares before he beganne: and he did neuer neglect the reading of Bookes, nor his con-
ference and diſputations with learned men, how great affaires of State or warre ſoeuer D
hee had.

Learning and learned men beloued of king Don Alphonſo. Sentence of D. Alphonſo.

Beeing well ſtricken in yeares, hee euer had in his company an old Grammarian cal-
led Maſter *Martin*, with whome hee delighted greatly to diſcourſe both abroade and at
home, and he did ſo profit at his ſtudie, that hee did tranſlate *Seneca's* Epiſtles, a worke
very hard, intreating of morall Philoſophie, into the Spaniſh tongue: hee tooke ſuch
pleaſure in reading the holy Scriptures, as hee would often vaunt, that he had read the
old and new Teſtament fourteene times ouer. To ſhew the ſingular affection hee did
beare to learning and learned men, hee gaue for his Deuice in armorie an open booke,
and hee would ſay, that Bookes were Princes beſt Councellors, with proteſtation, that
he had receiued beſt counſell of the dead, meaning of his bookes. E

In the deuaſtations and ſpoyles of Cities during his warres, hee reſerued for his
part of the ſpoyle, bookes, which were carefully ſought for and brought vnto him, hee
would reade with great delight *Titus Liuius*, and *Cæſars* Commentaries, ſo that beſides
the ſundry reparations of Schooles and Auditories, where hee aſſigned penſions to the
Doctors, Regents, and ſchollers, his Court was daily frequented with the learneſt men
of his time, to wit, *Bartholomew Facio*, *George* of Trebiçonde, *Laurentius Valla*, *John Auriſ-
pa*, *Antonio* of Palermo, and others. Hee did honour the great Captaines and worthie
men in the Art militarie, of what nation ſoeuer they were, likewiſe Grauers, Architects,
excellent Enginers, skilfull Marriners, and generally any man of worth and deſert in
what art or ſcience ſoeuer: ſo that hee left behind him the eternall and euer-during me- F
morie of a Prince truly vertuous, valiant, bountifull, and eſteeming vertue as it rightly
deſerued.

Learned men welcome to K. Alphonſos Court.

Now King Don *Alphonſo* beeing dead, and his ſonne Don *Fernand* beeing in trou-
ble at his firſt comming to the Crowne, diuers cities, and ſome great Lords of the king-
dome of Naples, did mooue and ſtirre vp the Prince Don *Charles* of Nauarre to take

to

A to himſelfe the ſame Crowne which they offered vnto him: but he made them ſuch an anſwer, as they perceiued thereby, that he had learned to be modeſt, to follow equity and right, and not raſhly to caſt himſelfe into another mans poſſeſſion. And for that hee would not giue any euill ſuſpition of himſelfe, hee went into Sicill, a Kingdome fallen by the death of Don *Alphonſo* to the King his father, with thoſe of Arragon, Sardynia, Majorca, Minorca, Valencia, and the Principalitie of Cattelogne, in the which by right belonging to the eldeſt ſonnes of the Kings of Arragon, hee obtayned in *eſſe* the principalitie of Girona, and the right of ſucceſſion in all theſe Kingdomes afterwards: He remained and continued a while in Sicill, greatly honoured and beloued of the Sicillians, during which time he was amorouſly familiar with a very fayre and beautifull Gentlewo-

B man of a meane of-ſpring and parentage, named *Capa*, on whome hee begate two children, the one named Don *Philip* of Nauarre and Arragon, who was Maſter of the Order of Monteça, and dyed in the warre of Granado in the ſeruice of the King Don *Fernand* his Vncle: the other was called Don *Iohn*, who was Biſhoppe of Hueſca. Hee had alſo a daughter named Donna *Anne* of Nauarre and Arragon, who was Dutcheſſe of Medina Celi, and wife to Don *Lewis de la Cerde*: but it is vncertaine whether ſhee was borne of this mother. *Genealogie of Nauarre and Arragon.*

As the aboue-named tumults and diſſentions continued in Nauarre, the Prouinces of Guipuſcoa and Biſcay beeing neere-bordering neighbours, and wrapped vp in one ſelfe ſame ayre, entred into ciuill or rather vnciuill diſſentions, hauing likewiſe their fa- 8. Caſtile.

C ctions of the Gamboines and Ognazines, who could not bee repreſſed by any forme of iuſtice. Therefore the King Don *Henry* was aduiſed to go thither in perſon; the which he did, and there by the aduice of his Councell, and vppon information made of thoſe troubles and outrages, he razed and ouerthrew diuers towers, and ſtrong houſes belonging to the chiefe of the Factions, which ſerued for places of retreat and harbour for murtherers and euill-diſpoſed perſons, who committed infinite inſolencies and outrages in the Countrey. In which number were the tower of Olaço in the iuriſdiction and confines of Elgoiuar, the houſe of Leſcano, the houſe of *Inigo de Saldibia* in the Cittie of Tholouſa, that of *Fernand D'Aſtagarriuia* in the towne of Guettaria, and others in the Countrey of Anduayn, in the towne of Vergara, and elſe-where, as well in Guipuſcoa, as in Biſ-

D cay, in which iourney hee tooke into his ſeruice in the Cittie of Durango, the ſonne of an Inne-keeper, named *Perucho* of Munſaras, who afterward became a man of great repute and eſtimation. *Strong houſes in Biſcay and Guipuſcoa ouerthrowne.*

So ſoone as hee came to Victoria, hee called before him out of euery towne of Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, two or three men deputed, with whome hee intreated about the gouernement and iuriſdiction of the ſame countrey, hee confirmed diuers and ſundrie Liberties and Priuiledges graunted by the Kings his Predeceſſours, and left there for Gouernour and Commaunder *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoça, one of his priuie Councell. Notwithſtanding all theſe demoliſhments, with that of the ſtrong and inexpugnable Caſtle of Montdragon, the murthers, theſts, deuaſtations, factions, and rebellions in

E Biſcay and Guipuſcoa did continue, countries in all times infamous, becauſe of theſe matters, vntill the raigne of the King Don *Fernand* the fifth, and Queene *Izabell*, who rooted out the factions of Gamboines and Ognazines: by meanes whereof iuſtice began to take place there.

At the Kings departure from Victoria, hee came by great iourneyes to Cordoua, hauing a great deſire to the warres of Granado, into the which Kingdome he made a furi- 9 Moores.

ous entrie, finding often reſiſtance by the Moores who kept his armie cloſe, not ſuffering them to ſtraggle, who vpon a day did ſurprize certaine Caſtillan troupes, where amongſt other of note, *Garcilaço de la Vega*, a valiant Knight, and welbeloued of the king,

F was ſlaine: by reaſon whereof he commanded, that all the vines, oliue trees, and all other kind of trees bearing fruite throughout the whole territorie of Granado ſhould bee cut downe. He beſeeged and tooke the towne and ſtrong caſtle of Ximena, and did ſuch hurt, that King *Iſmael* was conſtrained, not being able to reſiſt, to begge a truce, and to ſubmit himſelfe to ſuch tribute, taxation, and other conditions as ſhould beſt pleaſe him. *Truce between Granado and Caſtile.*

It was then agred vpon that the Moore King ſhould pay to King *Henry* twelue thouſand doublons of gold for tribute, and ſhould become his vaſſaill: that hee ſhould giue him yearely during the time of the truce ſixe hundred Chriſtian priſoners, and where they were wanting as many ſlaue-Moores to bee deliuered at Cordoua at a day appoynted: And that the warre ſhould continew open on the ſide of Iaen: In regard of which things, and the preſent payment of the firſt yeares tribute, the Chriſtian army diſlodged out of the territories of Granado. The King returned to Cordoua leauing the Earle of Caſtagneda for Gouernor of the frontiers of Iaen, with two thouſand lances, & diſcharged the reſidew of his army. Albeit he vſed great dilligence in theſe warres againſt the Moores, yet it was not of ſo great importance as the wars made by his predeceſſors, whether it were through the Kings negligence, who was ſoone weary of buſineſſe, or through any other occaſion, ſo as he began to fal into the contempt of his owne people. The Earle of Caſtagneda left vpon the frontiers, to repreſſe the inuaſion of the Moores, was a Lord as careleſſe and negligent as his maiſter, and there-withall couetous, by reaſon whereof, within a while he found him-ſelfe very meanely accompanied which the Moores vnderſtanding they laid a ſtrong ambuſh for him, into the which they craftily drew him, hauing ſent ſome to forrage the fields, who beeing purſued by the Earle, hee perceaued him-ſelfe, to bee hem'd in on euery ſide, and ſo with great loſſe of his people he himſelfe was taken priſoner, whereof the King beeing aduertiſed ſent in his place another Captayne called *Michael Lucas de Françu*, with commiſſion and charge to change the truce, made with King *Iſmaell*, into a peace, prouided the payment of the tribut-mony agreed vpon by the truce, the which did greatly pleaſe the Moore King: and ſo ended the warres of Granado, the Earle of Caſtagneda beeing redeemed with a great ſumme of mony.

A ſword bleſſed by the Pope on Chriſtmas Euen.

Pope *Calixtus* taking pleaſure in theſe warres againſt the Moores, did about that time ſend to the King Don *Henry* a Hatte and a Sword, which they vſe to bleſſe vpon Chriſtmas Eaue, at night, laying them vpon the Altar where they ſay Maſſe, which they terme the Maſſe of the Cocke: and hee did write vnto him, exhorting and annimating him to purſue ſo holy a warre. About this time died D. *Alfonſo* of Carthagena, Biſhoppe of Burgos a Prelat highly eſteemed of the Spaniards, who wrote an Hiſtory of Spaine intitled *Anacephaleoſis* with other workes.

The King contemned by his ſubiects.

Now the ſmall eſtimation of the King was manifeſt ouer all Spaine and came vnto his owne eares, which made him become ſuſpitious, and hee began againſt his nature to diſtruſt the great ones, to counterpoſe whome, hee aduanced diuers of his ſeruants of baſe and meane degree to great honours, and authority. Hee made *Gomes de Caceres* and *Solis*, Maiſter of Alcantara, and gaue the Citty of Coria to a brother of his: he made *Bertrand de la Cueua*, Sonne to *Diego de la Cueua* of Vbeda, great Maiſter of his houſe and Viſcount of Huelma, who hauing beene his page, and carried his lance, became one ſo greatly in his fauour, as no man ſo much. The office of Conſtable was giuen to *Michael Lucas* of Erançu borne in Beaumont, a meane gentleman, and with that the towne of Agreda, the Caſtles of Verato and Voſmedian, with the Captaineſhip of Iaen, the towne of Andujar, with other rents and poſſeſſions: and to one of his brothers the commandery of Montizon, and that of Orjea to another; which are the beſt places belonging to the order of Saint *Iames*: he gaue the Priory of Saint *Iohn*, to *Iohn de Valençuela*, the Biſhoppe-ricke of Iaen to *Alfonſo de Peleas*, and that of Auila to *Martin de Vilches*, euery one of theſe places to bee ſurendred ſo ſoone as they ſhould be voyde.

Giſts giuen by King Henry the ſorth.

The Marques of Santillana Don *Inigo lopes de Mendoza* being dead, who was alſo Count de Real de Mançanares, his Sonne Don *Diego Hurtado* was confirmed by the King in his Fathers dignities, but hee was compelled to come and ſtay at the Court, and to bring thether his brethren, Don *Pedro Gonçales* de Mendoza, Biſhoppe of Calaorra, who was ſince the Arch-Biſhoppe of Toledo, and Cardinall. Don *Inigo Lopes* de Mendoza, Don *Lorenzo Suares*, Don *Iohn Hurtado*, who hauing kiſſed the kings hand, were with the Marquis commaunded not to ſtirre from the Court.

Beeing

A Beeing at Madrid the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, fifty eight, where hee celebrated with great coſt and royall magnificence, the Funerals of the King Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, dead at Naples, hee committed an act in the behalfe of the Marquis of Villena, ſcarce well digeſted. This Marquis in regard of the affaires and gouernement of the kingdom had the ſame power, and almoſt equall boldneſſe which the Conſtable *Aluaro de Luna* had in the time of the King Don *Iohn*, and hee would let nothing fall to ground which was profitable or commodious for him or his: Now hee had a great deſire to make a marriage betweene his eldeſt ſonne Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco* with the Counteſſe of Saint *Steephen de Gormas*, daughter and heire to Don *Iohn de Luna*, and Grand- *An.* 1458.

B child to the Conſtable Don *Aluaro*, who at that time was in the gouernement of an vncle of his named alſo Don *Iohn de Luna*, Nephew to the Conſtable, who was Captaine of Soria, and the Marquis did not onely practiſe the marriage of his eldeſt ſonne with his Neece, but alſo to diſpoſſeſſe him of his Captaineſhip of Soria, with other lands which he held: For the obtayning whereof, hee cauſed the King to haue him in ſuſpition, ſaying, That hee was one of the conſpiratours which were ioyned in league and confederacie againſt his ſeruice. *Violent marriage of the Counteſſe of S. Stephen de Gormas, and D. Diego Lopes Pacheco.*

The King did eaſily and willingly beleeue this report made by the Marquis, and feigning to ride on hunting, hee came to Aillon where Don *Iohn de Luna* kept his reſidence, who did receiue and feaſt both him and his trayne very ſumptuouſly, and with great

C magnificence, who riding amongſt the reſt of the companie, hee was no ſooner entred into the fields, but he was arreſted as priſoner, without knowing any cauſe or reaſon thereof. In the end hee was enioyned to diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of Soria, and other fortreſſes and places of ſtrength, and to receiue into them ſuch garriſons as ſhould pleaſe the king: whereunto hee muſt needes obey, on paine of looſing his head, ſo as hee did not onely yeeld vp Soria, but all that which did belong to the Counteſſe his Neece, and her perſon alſo: and ſo the Marquis had that which he deſired.

The contempt of this Prince encreaſing daily, Don *Alphonſo Faiardo*, the chiefeſt Knight of Murcia, holding a long time Carthagena, Lorca, and other places againſt the Kings will, and theſe that ruled and gouerned him, had likewiſe in a manner taken to

D himſelfe by force, the Maſter-ſhippe of Saint *Iames*, and the Marquiſate of Villena, committing many outrages and inſolencies vppon the lands and reuenues belonging to the King and Marquis, beeing ayded and releeued ſometimes by the Moores of Granado. Againſt him *Gonçalo de Sahauedra* was ſent with ſixe hundred horſe, by whoſe care and diligence, Don *Alphonſo* loſt all that which he held of his owne and other mens, and ſo became a poore and miſerable Knight, hauing nothing left him but onely his ſword and his cloake, accounting and eſteeming it for a great fauour and extraordinarie kindneſſe to haue his life ſaued. *Don Alphonſo Faiardo, a contumelious rebel chaſtiſed.*

This man had his deſerts, and the King continued in his careleſneſſe, ſo as he was no more feared. Aboue all the townes of his Kingdome, the abode at Segobia and Ma-

E drid pleaſed him beſt, becauſe hee louing hunting better then affaires of conſequence, this Countrey beeing woody was very fit for it, as alſo abounding in victuals and prouiſion for his Court, which was very great: for he did daily carrie about with him, a guard of horſe-men to the number of three thouſand and ſixe hundred Lances, with an incredible expence, wherewith his reuenues was charged to the vttermoſt; the which his chiefe Treaſurer Don *Diego Arias*, like an honeſt and faithfull ſeruant, put him in mind of on a time, beſeeching him to cut of ſo ſuperfluous an expence: you ſpeake (quoth he) like *Diego Arias*, *but I will liue like a King*, and that was all the anſwer hee could receiue. By his bountie and liberalitie he was well ſerued and attended on by diuers, and in thoſe dayes thoſe of his Councell, Chancerie, and Iudges, did diſcharge their duties very ſuf- *The Kings Guard burthenſome and ſuperfluous.* *An anſwer of K. Henry ſauouring of ſmall iudgement.*

F ficiently. In Arcualo one of his Secretaries named *Pedro de Tieda* was put to death, and others of his complices, for counterfeiting the Kings letters, and ſelling them for great ſummes of money. Beeing in the cittie of Leon, hee cauſed certaine Gentlemen to bee brought out of Gallicia which had diſpoſſeſſed a Knight of his houſe, hauing commanded their proceſſe to be made, they were there for the ſame put to death. Such iuſt executions were ſometimes done, but he did greatly faile in other matters.

At the end of the yeare 1458. Queene *Ioane* made hir magnificent and royall entrie into the Cittie of Leon: then they came to keepe Chriſtmaſſe at Eſcalona, where the Kings chiefe delight and recreation was in hunting, and ſinging in the Church, where he himſelfe in his owne chappell would beare a part, which in thoſe dayes was the beſt furniſhed with cunning and experienced Muſitians of any one particular place in the whole world.

Portugal. The ſame yeare Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugall led his armie into Affricke, where he tooke the towne of Alcaçar, diſtant ſixe miles from Ceuta, his Vncle Don *Henry*, and his brother Don *Fernand* Duke of Viſeo accompanying him in that expedition. Alcaçar was taken by meanes of certaine honeſt conditions, and Don *Edward de Meneſes* baſtard ſonne to Don *Pedro de Meneſes*, Earle of Viana, who ſucceeded his father in the Earledome, was left there as Gouernour. After the kings returne into Portugall, the Moores did indeauour, but in vaine, to recouer the place: for the repayring and fortifying whereof, the King cauſed a great quantitie of ground, betweene the towne and the ſea, to be encloſed with a great and ſtrong wall, defended and guarded with towers, the ſtone, lime, and other prouiſions neceſſarie for ſuch a worke of worth, was by him brought from Portugall.

Caſtile. *An.* 1459. The yeare 1459. the King Don *Henry* of Caſtile, ſent Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoça*, ſonne to Don *Inigo*, and brother to the Marquis of Santillana, Ambaſſadour to the Councell held at Mantua by Pope *Pius* the ſecond, before times called *Æneas Syluius Picolomini*, who had newly ſucceeded *Calixtus* the third. There with great deliberation and hope, the warres againſt the Turkes was debated, which in the end came to nothing, and Don *Inigo* returned into Caſtile, carrying home onely a Iubile of full remiſſion of ſinnes, the collections whereof were ſo great and ineſtimable, as hee therewith builded and erected the Monaſterie of Saint *Anne de la Pegna*, in his towne of Tendilla, of the Order of Saint *Ierome*. The King beeing returned to Madrid, entertayned himſelfe there a long time with feaſts, playes, and ſhewes, where the Arch-biſhop of Seuill Don *Alphonſo de Fonſeca*, hauing feaſted the King, Queene, and the Ladies, among other ſingularities, there was ſerued in after dinner for the banquet, two plates filled with rings of gold, ſet with rich and pretious ſtones for the Ladies, amongſt whom Donna *Guiomar* was held, next the Queene, to be the fayreſt and moſt beautifull Ladie of Spaine without compare: to her the king ſhewed many amorous fauours at this feaſt, which the Queene perceiuing, grew very iealous, and euer after vſed the Ladie vnkindly and rigorouſly, by reaſon whereof the King ſhewed himſelfe ſtrange to her, and appoynted her a Court and trayne apart, not ſuffering her to come neere his Court by two leagues: Whereunto the Arch-biſhop of Seuille, who was well ſeene and experienced in ſuch buſineſſes, did willingly employ his beſt endeauours in the behalfe of *Guiomar*: for whatſoeuer the king did, was but fayned and imaginarie ſhewes, who was ſo farre from beeing offended and diſpleaſed with his friends in ſuch affaires, as hee was content to ſpare them his owne wife: for the common rumor was, that not beeing able to endure that men ſhould eſteeme him vnapt for venereall acts, which he reputed a great and ignominious diſgrace, hee dealt with the Queene his wife to receiue Don *Bertrand de la Cueua* into her bed, (his baſe and degenerate mind deſiring and conſenting that this Knight ſhould lye with her, to the end ſhee might prooue with child by him, and ſo by that meanes ſuppoſe an heire to the kingdome in his owne name, though vnlawfully begotten by another.)

12. *The loues and vanities of D. Henry the vnable king of Caſtile.*

Baſeneſſe of K. Henry the vnable.

It was credibly reported, that at the firſt the Queene would by no poſſible meanes bee drawne to agree and giue her conſent to ſo vile, deteſtable, and diſhonorable a deede, but yet afterwards, ſhee had more neede to haue beene curbed in with raines and bridle, then of ſpurres. Now Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, was a gallant and moſt accompliſhed Knight in all points belonging to an excellent Courtier, and ſo eſteemed and beloued of the King, as for his ſake, becauſe he ſo valiantly, and with ſuch an vndaunted courage, defended a paſſage at the arriuall of an Ambaſſadour of Brittayne: hee builded a Monaſterie on the high way from Madrid to Pard, which for him was named, the Monaſterie of Pas.

The

A The King the better to couer his owne naturall weakneſſe, made ſhew of loue to diuers Gentlewomen in ſundry places: for before he made loue to Ladie *Guiomar*, he had profeſſed himſelfe ſeruant to another Ladie, named *Catherina de Sandouall*, whom he had oftentimes entertained priuatly, but ſhe not contented with his vaine embraces, and beeing deſirous to furniſh her ſelfe with a more able Knight, ſhee grew familiarly acquainted with a young Gentleman named *Alphonſo de Cordoua*, whom ſhe kept companie with a long time ſecretly, which turned to his deſtruction: for the King hauing notice thereof, commanded *Alphonſo* to be beheaded at Medina del campo. In this ſort did this King behaue himſelfe in his moſt priuate affaires, giuing occaſion to all men to ſpeake euill and vncharitably of him, which beeing reported vnto him, hee entred into diſtruſt
B and hatred againſt the great perſons of his realme, and oftentimes for ſleight occaſions he would rayſe great troubles.

And not beeing pleaſed, that Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoça* Marquis of Santillana ſhould hold the cittie of Guadalajara, where hee did not onely commaund the towne and caſtle, as Gouernour both in matters of State and warre, but alſo had authoritie and preheminence to beſtow publike Offices, hee cauſed him to bee taken by the Commander *Iohn Fernandes Galindo*, who entred into the towne with ſixe hundred men at armes, by meanes of intelligence that he had with one of the Marquis his Captaines, called *Alphonſo de Gaona*, who was corrupted with money, and the Marquis was compelled to leaue that Gouernement to the Kings diſpoſe, hauing giuen him no iuſt nor
C lawfull cauſe of offence or iniurie, and ſo hee retired and with-drew himſelfe to Hita. Soone after, the King and the Queene came thither, and left *Alphonſo de Gaona* Gouernour there.

Don Iohn the ſecond of that name, and the eighteenth King of Arragon.

D WHileſt theſe affaires continued in Caſtile, the King Don *Iohn* of Nauarre tooke quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Arragon, fallen vnto him by the death of his brother: vnto whome came Ambaſſadours from the Prince Don *Charles* his ſonne, to beſeech him that all faults paſt might be forgotten, and that it might pleaſe him to receiue him into grace and fauour: the which requeſt the father eaſily graunted, for he was very kind and gentle to his children, but eſpecially to the Prince Don *Charles*, who beeing daily ſollicited by thoſe of the faction of Beaumont, who continued and maintayned the warres in certaine forts and ſtrong holds in Nauarre, not beeing able without him to bring their buſineſſe to effect, hee deſired to returne into Spayne, either
E to helpe them to make their peace, or to defend them by force of armes. 13 Nauarre, and Arragon.

Hauing then had a pleaſing anſwer from the King his father, hee departed that yeare 1459. from Sicill, beeing accompanied with a great number of Sicillian Lords and Gentlemen, and landed at Barcelona, where beeing welcommed and receiued with great pompe, magnificence, and honour, by the Barcelonois, hee dealt ſo wiſely, that for his ſake the King pardoned thoſe of Beaumont, and declared that his pleaſure was, that all former matters of what kind ſoeuer, ſhould be buried in perpetuall obliuion: thoſe of Cattelogna beeing ſureties for the ſonnes faith and obedience to his father, and for the fathers loue and good-will to his ſonne. *Agreement betweene the King D. Iohn of Arragon, & his ſonne Don Charles.*

This reconciliation beeing made to the great ioy and contentment of the whole kingdom, the King D. *Iohn* knowing himſelf to be a mightie Prince, thought vpon fit and conuenient meanes how to recouer his lands which were confiſcate in Caſtile: for the effecting whereof, hee entred into league and confederacie with Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugall, and agreed vppon a marriage betweene the Prince his ſonne, and the Ladie *Catherine* of Portugall, ſiſter to King *Alphonſo*, and to Donna *Ioane* Queene of Caſtile: into the which league entred Don *Alphonſo Carillo*, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, *New deſſeignes to trouble Caſtil.*

the Admirall Don *Frederic* father-in-law to King *Iohn*, Don *Pedro Giron* Maſter of Calatraua, and all the *Manriques* of Caſtile, with others: whereof when the king of Caſtile Don *Henry* had notice, by the aduertiſement of D. *Alphonſo de Fonſeca*, Arch-biſhop of Seuill, he was aduiſed by his councell, to ſend the biſhop of Cité Rodrigo, and *Diego de Ribera* Ambaſſadours into Arragon, vnder pretence of congratulating in his name the welcome-home of Prince *Charles*, and his reconcilement with the king his father: but they had commiſſion to deale vnder-hand ſecretly with Prince *Charles*, to offer him all friendſhip, and to treate of a marriage betweene him, and Donna *Izabella* of Caſtile, the Kings ſiſter. A

The Ambaſſadours hauing cunningly executed their commiſſion, poſſeſſed the mind of Prince *Charles* with new thoughts, and made him hope to bee able by meanes of his marriage with Caſtile, and friendſhip that he ſhould gaine thereby, to obtaine his kingdome of Nauarre. Therefore hee did forſake the Infanta of Portugall, who for griefe thereof retired her ſelfe into the Nunnerie of S. *Clare* at Lisbone, where ſhee ſpent her time in Virginity, dying ſoone after, when as ſhee was betrothed to *Edward* the fourth, King of England. Alſo this other marriage came to no effect, by reaſon of the ſhortnes of Prince *Charles* his life, God hauing ordayned that Princeſſe to be wife to his younger brother. B

The deſire of rule an vntamed fury.

Prince *Charles* vppon hope of ayde from Caſtile, began againe to encourage thoſe of the faction of Beaumont, and to ſollicite certaine of Cattelogna to begin new troubles in Nauarre and Arragon: for the mind of man beeing once bewitched with the deſire of rule, cannot be contained in any bounds. In theſe times the Cardinall *Beſſarion* a learned man, a Greeke by nation, was perpetuall adminiſtrator of the church of Pampelona, by the death of the Biſhop of D. *Martin* of Peralta. C

14. Caſtille.

The King Don *Henry* of Caſtile, hauing with wiſe councell and diſcretion broken the league of Portugall, determined to perſecute thoſe of his kingdome which had any hand therein. And becauſe hee was aſſured, that the Maſter of Calatraua was of the number, hee ſhewed very bad countenance to his brother the Marquis of Villena, but hee was ſo wiſe and cunning, as he ſoone excuſed himſelfe to the King, and wiped out of his mind all ſuſpition conceiued againſt him. That was the occaſion why the two brethren, the Marquis, and the Maſter of Calatraua did conceiue ſuch mortal hatred againſt the Arch-biſhop of Seuile, who about that time obtained for a nephew of his named alſo *Alphonſo Fonſeca*, Deane of Seuile, the Arch-biſhoppricke of Saint Iames: but vnderſtanding that Don *Lewis Oſorio*, ſonne to the Earle of Tranſtamara, had intruded himſelfe into the ſame, with the fauour and ſupport of the whole Countrie of Galicia, he made a feigned bargaine with his Nephew, and reſigned to him the Arch-biſhoppricke of Seuile, taking that of Saint *Iames* for himſelfe, with this condition, that matters beeing pacified, they would each of them returne to their former dignities: for the vncle thought that by meanes of his great credite and authoritie hee ſhould be beſt able to deale with Don *Lewis Oſorio*. D E

1460. *An importunate manner of reforming Nunnes in caſtile.*

The yeare 1460. the King Don *Henry* did expell the Abbeſſe of Saint *Peter de las Duegnas* out of Toledo, named Donna *Marqueſada de Guzman*, a Ladie of a religious and holy life, ſaying, That he did it to reforme the Nunnes of that place, who had the report to liue diſſolutely, and he gaue them for their Abbeſſe and Gouerneſſe, the Ladie *Catherine de Sandouall* his quondam Miſtris, wherewith the Arch-biſhop and the whole Clergie beeing offended, the houſe was interdicted, and diuers of the Clergie degraded and baniſhed, but the King made an end of the matter.

15 Nauarre, and Arragon. *The K. of Nauar & Arragō aduertiſed of all the enterpriſes of Prince Charles.*

This yeare running on, king *Iohn* of Nauarre and Arragon did aſſemble the Eſtates of the principalitie of Cattelogna at Lerida, and aſſigned thoſe of Arragon to meete at Fraga. At the aſſembly at Lerida, the Prince Don *Charles* arriued, where whileſt they conſulted of the affaires, a Gentleman named *Iohn Carillo*, preſented letters of credit to the King, from the Admirall of Caſtile Don *Frederic* his father-in-law, and he was by him aduertiſed of all that which had paſſed betweene the Prince his ſonne, and the king Don *Henry*: adding thereunto, that thoſe of the faction of Beaumont, incited and ſtirred vp by the Prince Don *Charles*, did prepare to armes, and addreſſe themſelues F

for

A for the warres, vnto whom the Cattelans ioyned themſelues, the which did greatly trouble the King who hauing had therevpon the aduice of his moſt priuate and faithfull councellors, he cauſed the Prince to be called into a Chamber a part, and there hauing declared vnto him what he knew of his dealings and practiſes, he did ſharply reprehend him, ſaying, that he thought that he had begotten a fury, who did torment and trouble his Kingdomes, falling ſo often into rebellion, and abuſing his fatherly pitty and meekeneſſe, but that now the time was come, wherein it behooued him to vſe fit remedies to repreſſe his madneſſe, and to puniſh him in ſuch ſort, as the vnhappy example of a father, liuing in continuall feare and ſuſpition of his ſonnes treacheries, ſhould now ceaſe in his family: wherevnto the Prince would haue replied, but he could not bee heard; and by

B the appointment of the King his father, being areſted, he was condemned to cloſe priſon in the caſtle of Mirauet: Neuertheleſſe at the earneſt requeſt of diuers great Lords, vnto whom it ſeemed ouer rigorous, hee was committed vnder ſure keeping to a more eaſie priſon in the Aljaferia of the city of Saragoſſa, to the great diſcontentment of the Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon, and likewiſe of the King of Caſtile, who being in the towne of Madrid was ſoone after aduertiſed of the durance of Prince *Charles*. With him was likewiſe impriſoned Don *Iohn* of Beaumont, brother to the Conſtable Don *Lewis*.

Impriſonment of Prince Charles.

The Cattelans who were ſureties for the reconcilement made betweene the father and the ſonne at Barcelona, hearing thoſe newes, ſent ſpeedily fifteene men of great

C authority in Ambaſſage to the King, to know of him the reaſon of the Princes captiuity, becauſe it ſeemed to them that the King therein had infringed the aſſurance which they had giuen for him, and that his promiſe was to intreat him louingly like a father. Hauing heard by the King that it was for conſpiracy and intelligences with his enemies, againſt his Eſtate and perſon, being the third time that he had fallne into open rebellion, they vſed many praiers and intreaties for the behoofe and deliuery of the Prince: but ſeeing it to be in vaine, they returned with the Kings anſwere to them that ſent them. Then the Cattelans being very much mooued, added to theſe fifteene Ambaſſadors, three ſcore more, and ſent them backe to Lerida to the King, vnto whom the Abbot of Ager (being chiefe) hauing ſhewed with great liberty how grieuouſly the Cattelans did

D take the impriſonment of his ſonne the Prince of Viana and Girone, who expected to haue beene well and kindely intreated by him, vpon the promiſes and ſurety which they had giuen for him, and did hope thereby to haue beene ſufficiently defended againſt the ſlanderous and malitious attempts of his Aduerſaries, chiefly of the Admirall D. *Frederic*, who openly and by all meanes did labour to extirpe the eldeſt ſonne and lawfull heire of the Realmes of Nauarre, Arragon and other Dominions annexed to the ſame crowne, to the end to raiſe and aduance to thoſe dignities his daughters children againſt all right and piety, and he proteſted that the whole ſtate of the principallity of Cattalogna would imploy their goods, liues, meanes, and friends (which he knew to be very great

E in that Prouince) to defend Prince *Charles* from wrong, and to deliuer him from ſo vniuſt a captiuity: wherefore he beſought him to conſider thereof with a fatherly affection, and at their requeſts to ſet him at liberty, and to heare how he could iuſtifie himſelfe, and not to truſt ſo much to his owne opinion in affaires of ſo great importance onely to pleaſe the Queene his wife and her father, and to preuent by wiſe and good councell the great troubles and miſeries which might thereby enſue. To this rough diſcourſe, full of threats, the King anſwered with great grauity and moderation, concluding, that hee knew how to doe Iuſtice, and that hee was not determined to giue ouer his purpoſe in puniſhing his rebellious ſonne, who had ſo often abuſed his clemency, for any paſſionate or importunate ſoliciting of his ſubiects.

The Cattelans intercede in vaine for the Prince.

A free remonſtrance of the Cattelans to their King.

The King of Nauarre and Arragon his anſwere to his ſubiects of Cattalogna.

F The Ambaſſadors hauing written and ſent backe this anſwere, there followed forthwith a manifeſt reuolt of the Cattelans, who hauing leauied a great company of men of warre, and obtained by their Ambaſſadors, ſent to Segobia, aide from King *Henry* of Caſtile, of fifteene hundred horſe, vnder the conduct of the Commander *Gonçalo de Sahauedra*, they aduanced their forces towards Lerida, with intent to ſeaze vpon the kings perſon, and to put to death all thoſe of his priuy councell. And for the more eaſie

execution

execution of their enterpriſe, they had ſecret intelligence with diuerſe courtiers, the chiefe of whom were *Francis de Eſpla*, *Gerrard Ceruillon*, and *Iohn Agullen*: but God preſerued the King and his from ſo furious a conſpiracy, diſcouered at the inſtant when it ſhould haue beene executed, and yet ſo happily as the King had leaſure to get away thorough the gate of the preaching friers, notwithſtanding that D. *Pedro d'Vrrea* Archbiſhop of Tarragon, one of the Ambaſſadors of Cattalogna had councelled him not to leaue the towne of Lerida, but there to make head againſt his enemies, whoſe aduiſe was approued by all the other Lords there aſſembled. The King was no ſooner gon, but the conſpirators entred the pallace with intent to haue committed their purpoſed maſſacre, but to their great diſcontent they found it empty. The King retired himſelfe to Fraga, whether the Ambaſſadors determined to haue followed him, and to try once againe if they could induce him to forgiue his ſonne, hoping that the taſt and new beginning of the troubles, which he had ſeene, would make him more mild: but they altering their purpoſe returned home into Cattalogna. The rebels forces marched towards Fraga where the King was, who from thence went to Saragoſſa, and left them the ſpoile of that place.

In the meane time thoſe of Barcelona tooke their Gouernor D. *Lewis de Requeſens* priſoner, thoſe of Valencia, Arragon, Sicil and Majorca, aſſiſting them, and ioyning with them for the Princes deliuery. But aboue the reſt, the faction of Beaumont in Nauarre ſhewed themſelues violent in the purſute of their enemies of Grammont which held the Kings party, cauſing ſuch ruines and calamities in the Kingdome as can hardly be expreſſed, the mindes of the multitude of each ſide being ſo inflamed againſt their contrary faction, as they knew not vpon what termes, nor for what occaſion, they had taken arms: for if one ſhould haue demaunded of thoſe of Beaumont or Grammont, wherefore they were ſo animated one againſt the other: they could make no other anſwere, but that they did it becauſe their neighbours, friends and kinſ-folkes did the ſame. The ruines and deſolations increaſing on euery ſide King *Iohn* feeling himſelfe touched in conſcience, as if ſuch troubles had falne vpon him by the iudgement of God, who would haue him to taſte and ſee in his owne Kingdomes, that which he the yeeres before had cauſed the Realme of Caſtile to endure, he did therefore harken, to the admonitions which were newly made to him by diuerſe wiſe men, namely by a Charterhouſe Monke of the Monaſtery of Scala Dei in Cattalogna, held at that time for a Prophet, whoſe name is ſuppreſt or forgotten by the Authors, and through their perſwation he did reſolue to ſet the Prince at liberty, and to giue him to the Cattelans who did ſo earneſtly deſire it: He was then taken from the Aljaferia of Saragoſſa by his mother in law Queene *Ioane*, who by the commandement of the King went with him into Cattalogna, and in the City of Villa-franca deliuered him vnto them: The common and conſtant report was, that from the time the Prince came forth of priſon, hee neuer had one daies health, but his life did daily conſume and decay, and diuerſe did impute the cauſe thereof to Queene *Ioane*, who (as they ſay) poyſoned him, to the end to aduance and raiſe her ſonne D. *Fernand* Duke of Momblancke, to the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome of Arragon and dependances of the ſame, a certaine ſtranger phyſitian being actor of ſo impious a deed, and the ſickneſſe wherewith the Queene was ſoone after afflicted, being an vlcerous canker ouer her whole body was attributed to the iuſt iudgement of God, who did puniſh her for committing ſo execrabld an act: others, reiect this accuſation as falſe, and counterfeited by thoſe of the faction of Beaumont, who notwithſtanding the Princes deliuery, continued in armes againſt thoſe of Grammont, namely in the towne of Lombier which by *Charles d'Artieda*, in the name of Prince *Charles*, was taken: againſt whom this King ſent his ſonne D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon Duke of Villa Hermoſa with a great number of ſouldiers, who beſeeged the towne, and ſoone after the King came thither in perſon, with thoſe of Sanqueſſa and other townes of the faction of Grammont. *Charles* of Artieda perceiuing himſelfe to be ouerlaied with numbers, demaunded aide of the Caſtillans, who forthwith marched thither, to meet the troupes of the Commander *Gonçalo de Sahauedra*, and thoſe of Rodrigo de Marchena, who raiſed the ſeege. The King D. *Iohn* hauing put garriſons into Pampelona, Lerin, and other places belonging to

Don Charles Prince of Viana, deliuered out of priſon, but poyſoned by his ſtepmother.

Queene Ioane puniſhed by the hand of God.

A to them which he diſtruſted, came to the Eſtates at Catalajub, leauing the gouernment of Nauarre to his children D. *Iohn*, and *Alphonſo* of Arragon, fearing and foreſeeing the warre againſt Caſtile.

During theſe ſtirres in Nauarre and Arragon, the country of Andeluzia was aſſailed by *Mulei Albohacen*, or as ſome others termed him *Hali Muley Hacen* eldeſt ſonne to *Iſmael* King of Granado, contrary to the peace betwixt the Realmes of Caſtile and Granado, which his father King *Iſmael* deſired ſincerely and inuiolably to obſerue and keepe. This young Prince impatient of reſt, with fifteene thouſand footemen, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen came into Caſtile ouer-running and burning the country 16 Moores.

B of Eſtepa, from whence he led away many Chriſtian priſoners, and a great number of cattaile: to repreſſe whoſe ſpoile and robberies D. *Roderigo Ponce* of Leon, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle of Arcos, and *Lewis de Pernia* captaine of Oſuno, came in all haſt to Eſtepa, with about two hundred and threeſcore horſe, and ſix hundred choſen footmen onely; who being come to the riuer of las Ieguas, eſpied the Moores going vp the hils of Madrogno, who hauing diſcouered this ſmal Chriſtian troupe, they ſent out two thouſand three hundred horſe in three Squadrons to make head againſt thē, commanding the reſt of their people to goe on their iourney with the priſoners and ſpoile: the Chriſtians at the firſt were amazed at their enemies force; but being incouraged by the captaines, they marched brauely againſt them, and charged them ſo valliantly as they brake them

The Moores defeated at Madrogno.

C and put them to a ſhameſull flight, with an incredible ſlaughter: for the dead bodies being viewed, there was found ſlaine on the Moores part foureteene hundred, and of the Chriſtians onely thirty horſemen and a hundred and fifty footmen. The little victorious army of the Chriſtians hauing reſted and rallied their troupes, at the fountaine of ſtone, perceiued the herds of cattaile as they returned toward the places of their accuſtomed paſture, being forſaken by the flying Moores; the which they tooke and brought backe, with their booties and ſpoiles, which were great and rich: and ſo they returned home to their garriſons and houſes, bearing along with them in great ioy and triumph, the colours, trumpets, and drums of the Moores: for the which victory, publike & general proceſſions were made ouer al Spaine: King *Iſmael* on the other ſide was

D much greeued for the great loſſe of his raſh and vnexperienced ſonne: but moſt of all, for the breach of the peace betwixt him and the King of Caſtile, which was the occaſion of the totall ruine of the ſtate of the Moores in Granada, as ſhalbe hereafter declared.

D. *Henry* King of Caſtile did graunt this yeere to diuers valleies and places of Guipuſcoa, the rights and cuſtomes of the towne of Saint Sebaſtian of the ſame Prouince, correcting and reforming thoſe which they had of olde times, as the royall priuiledge of the yeere 1461. dated at Segobia doth teſtifie, ſigned by *Garcia Mendes*, ſecretary to the King. From Segouia the Court remoued to Sepulueda, where the King reſtored D. *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of Santillana, to the rights which he claimed in 17 Caſtille.

D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza reſtored to his right in Guadalajara.

E Guadalajara, as he had enioyed them in times paſt, with this condition, that his brother D. *Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza* Biſhop of Calaorra, with the eldeſt ſonne of the Marquis D. *Iohn de Mendoza*, ſhould follow the court: which things were practized and brought to paſſe by the Archbiſhop of Siuil, D. *Alphonſo de Fonſeca*, and by D. *Iohn de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena. Theſe two were the principal perſons about the King, by whoſe councel the whole Kingdome was ruled; and yet for all that they were enemies, and extreamely iealous the one of the other, as it is ordinary among great men in court: as alſo for the reaſons, which we haue heretofore mentioned. Now the Marquis being deſirous to driue the Archbiſhop, his coriuall, from the Court, the better to manage his affaires alone, he ſolicited the King his maiſter to make warre vpon King *Iohn* of Nauarre and

F Arragon, ſeeming therein to agree with the Archbiſhop, who had councelled the ſame euer ſince the impriſonment of Prince *Charles*, which was by reaſon of the league which hee had with Caſtile. For the effecting whereof, it behoued him to take ſome aſſurance of the Admirall D. *Frederic*, and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, D. *Alphonſo Carillo de Acugna*, who remained together at Yeſpes, making ſhew to fauour the King of Nauarre and to be of that party.

The

The Marquis laboured to bring them to agreement with the King Don *Henry*, and did promiſe that his brother Don *Pedro Giron* Maiſter of Calatraua, ſhould bee ready to doe him all ſeruice; but that it did behoue him to leaue ſome one of great authority at Valiodolit, as Gouernor and Viceroy, knowing very well that this charge could be layd on none other but the Arch-Biſhoppe of Siuill. Theſe things were brought to paſſe in Aranda of Duero euen as the Marques had deuiſed and aduiſed: for the King gaue credit to whatſoeuer he ſayd, and was wholy ruled by him. About this time Don *Pedro* of Caſtile Biſhop of Palencia departed this mortal life, Don *Guttiere* de la Cueua being promoted to the ſame dignity: hee was brother to Don *Bertrand* de la Cueua the King and Queenes chiefe minion, who at that time prooued to be with child, to the Kings great ioy and content, albeit hee knew very well, that Don *Bertrand* had done the deede, he himſelfe being altogether vnable to performe ſuch an act.

The Queene of Caſtile got-ten with child by D. Bertrand de la Cueua.

Don *Pedro Grion* Maiſter of Calatraua arriued at Aranda with two thouſand fiue hundred horſe, which forces beeing ioyned with king *Henry* his great gard, made vp the liſt of a mighty army, wherewith the king marched towards Logrogno where hee aſſembled all men fit for the warres out of the Prouinces of Alaua, Biſcay, and Guipuscoa, from the age of twenty to threeſcore yeares, declaring by his ordonances and proclamations, that hee did vndertake that warre in his owne perſon in the behalfe of his welbeloued Coſin *Charles* Prince of Viana, the proper heire of Nauarre. The Kings forces were ſo great as the Nauarrors which held the part of the King Don *Iohn*, being terrefied with ſo mighty an army, did yeeld vp diuers places without any fight at all, ſpecially la Garde, Arcos, and Saint Vincent: As for Viana it was furiouſly battered and aſſayled, and as brauely defended but in the end, Don *Pedro* of Peralta at that time Conſtable of Nauarre, was forced to yeeld it vp to Don *Gonçall* de Sahauedra generall of the Kings army at that ſiege, a Nobleman very expert in the art of warre: the Conſtable being in mourning habit went out at one gate, and at another the Caſtillans entred, in which place the King appointed Don *Iohn Hurtado* de Mendoza to be gouernor. The Prince Don *Charles* remayned at that time in Barcelona, reuerenced and well entertayned by the Cattelans, who vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe of that warre of Nauarre, ſent a Gentleman of Cattalogna called *Iohn Traillas* to the king Don *Henry*, with charge to conclude the Articles of the marriage betweene him and the Infanta Donna *Iſabell* the kings ſiſter: the which this knight hauing effected, beeing accompanied with the Biſhop of Aſtorga, by the Kings leaue hee paſſed on to Areuallo, where the Infanta lay with Queene *Iſabell* her Mother, whom in the Princes name he viſited, and ſo returned: but not long after, Prince *Charles* languiſhing euer ſince his laſt impriſonment, dyed, not without ſuſpition of beeing poyſoned by the practiſes of his mother in lawe Queene *Ioane*, as hath beene already declared. The Barcelonois perceiuing the Princes end to draw on, did entreate him to marry *La Cava* his concubine, by whom hee had two ſonnes, Don *Phillip*, and Don *Iohn*, to the end that by the ſame marriage, they might bee ligitimated, and ſo conſequently become capable to inherite after him, the which tooke none effect. There was no manner of vowes, prayers, or pilgrimages omitted for the recouery of the Princes health, but there was no remedy, natures debt muſt bee payed, and ſo hee departed this life, to the great griefe of the Cattelans. It is reported that vpon his death bed he did confeſſe to haue greatly offended in banding himſelfe againſt his father, vnto whom hee owed his eſtate, goods, and his proper life, crauing pardon of him before ſundry witneſſes: forgiuing likewiſe all thoſe which in any ſort had offended him: he died in the fortith yeare of his age, and his body was interred in the monaſtery of Pobleta, where the ancient Kings of Arragon were wont to be buried. A litle before his death, by agreement made betwixt him and the King his father, by the meanes of Queene *Ioane* his ſtep-mother, hee had obtayned the gouernment, iuriſdiction and reuenew of the principality of Cattalogna reſeruing onely to the King, the title of ſoueraigne: and by the ſame agreement, were deliuered out of priſon by exchange, Don *Iohn* of Beaumont on the one part, and Don *Lewis* of Requeſens on the other. By the deceaſſe of Don *Charles*, the Principallity of Viana, with the right of ſucceſſion in Nauarre, returned backe againe to the Lady

18 Nauarre, *The King of Caſtill makes warres vpon Nauarre.*

A Lady *Blanch* his sister the some-time Queene of Castile, diuorced from King *Henry* then reigning, and his brother the Infant D. *Fernand* Duke of Mombланc, sonne to King *Iohn* by his second wife Lady *Ioane* became heire apparant to the crowne of Arragon.

The King D. *Henry* being aduertized of the Princes death, made account to keepe still the towne of Viana, and continuing the warre, he went to beleege the towne of Lerin, which place by reason of the inexpugnable scituation thereof, he could not take: wherefore he brought backe his army to Logrogno, hauing lost certaine of his troupes as they forraged the country, who were incountred and defeated by D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, and other captaines committed to the guard of Pampelona, and the country neere to Abbarçuça. From Logrogno the King went to Aranda of Duero, where the Castile.

B Queene lay, vnto whom he gaue that towne: there he receiued letters from D. *Iohn Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, by the which he certified him, that by his endeauor, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Admirall, were returned to his seruice, by reason whereof he aduised him to come backe to Madrid: to which place D. *Alphonso* of Fonseca, Archbishop of Siuill came, beeing weary of so long absence from the Court: but finding his entertainment to bee cold, hee returned much discontented to Valliodelit: for the King had wholy abandoned himselfe as a prey to the Marquis, at whose entreaty hee came to Ocagna, whither the Archbishop of Toledo came first and kissed his hand, bringing along with him all the *Mauriques*.

These being gonne backe to Yespes, the Admirall Don *Frederic* came likewise to

C salute the King, who receiued them all very gratiously and promised them all fauour. The Archbishop of Toledo, returned to Court to be of the Kings Councell, and it was decreed that once euery weeke vpon the Friday, the councell for Iustice should be held in his house: which was continued a while, with great hope that Iustice would florish in Spaine more then euer: but as these Courtiers, intent were not iust and pure, but onely shewes and maskes to couer their enuies and emulations, this lasted not long, and the Realme was as badly gouerned and troubled as before: the Marquis of Villena and the Archbishop of Toledo practizing nothing more, then to remoone him of Siuil.

Now the King being returned to Madrid, hee sent *Roderigo* of Marchena to Aranda 19

D to accompany and bring thither the Queene, to the end that she might there be deliuered of child, whither she came with a great traine, the King and the whole Court going forth to meet her, of whom she was receiued with great ioy, and loue of all those which knew not her behauiour; which continued, till by her vndiscreet and open carriage, she discouered her filthy life. The Infant Don *Alphonso* and the Infanta D. *Isabella* were likewise by the councell of the Marquis and the Archbishop brought to Court, the gouernment and bringing vp of the Infant was giuen to *Diego* de Riuera, and the Infanta remained in the palace in the company of the Queene, the King making great shew of brotherly loue to them, albeit that a little before, he had continually placed a gard of two hundred horse about their persons.

In the beginning of the yeere 1462. the Queene was deliuered of a daughter, with 1462.

E hard labour, betweene the armes of Don *Henry* Earle of Alua de Lista: the King, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena being present; for ioy of whose birth, great triumphes were made ouer all Spaine: the eight day following shee was christned in the chappel of the Kings house, by the Archbishop of Toledo, accompanied with the Bishops of Calaorra, Osma and Carthagena, and shee was called Donna *Ioane* by her mothers name: her Godfathers were the Earle of Armignac, Ambassador at that time in the Court of Castile for the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, and the Marquis of Villena; the Godmothers were the Infanta Donna *Isabel*, and the Marqueſſe of Villena, the child was carried and held at the font by the same Earle of Alua de Lista, with great

F pompe and royall magnificence. *Queene Ioane deliuered of a daughter.*

And the better to recompence Don *Bertrand* de la Cueua, who acted the chiefe part in this Commedy, the king, by the aduise of his councell, who knew that it was his plea- *D. Bertrand de la Cueua created Earle of Ledesma.*

sure, did create him Earle of Ledesma: the office of great Maister which hee held, was giuen to *Andrew* of Cabrera, a young man, very wise and discreet: The new Earle was inuested and receiued into the number of the Lords of the councell, with the fauour of

all

The Infanta D. Ioane newly borne, ſworne and declared heire of the kingdome.

all men: and being a noble and bountifull Knight, he kept open Court for certaine daies with great feaſting and pompous ſhewes. The Infanta being ſcarce two moneths old, the Kings pleaſure was that ſhe ſhould be ſworne and declared Princeſſe, and inheritrix of his Realmes in the aſſembly of the generall ſtates aſſembled at Madrid for the ſame purpoſe; the Infants D. *Alphonſo* and Donna *Iſabella* his ſiſter being the firſt that did ſweare in this ſolemnity: there grew a contention at this parliament about the precedencie of the citties, who ſhould firſt ſweare: but the Kings pleaſure was that Segobia ſhould ſweare firſt before any of the reſt, without preiudice to their rights and preuiledges. The Court remained certaine months at Madrid and Segobia, the King taking great delight to hunt in thoſe wooddy countries: from thence he went to Alfaro, to treat of the affaires of Nauarre and Arragon, and hee left the Queene at Segobia three monthes gonne with child, but ſhe miſcarried ſoone after the Kings departure, being

Fire kindled in Queene Ioanes haire by the Sunne beames.

flighted with a ſtrange fire kindled in her haire by a beame of the Sunne, as ſhe ſate in her chamber, which burnt part of her lockes, a rare thing, but yet proceeding from certaine ointments apt to kindle, wherewith ſhe vſed to die and collour her haire, a thing ordinary amongſt amorous Ladies, whoſe only care and ſtudy, is, to correct and amend the naturall forme of their bodies, with artificiall receits, to make them ſeeme the more louely: this abortiue child was a ſonne.

Nauarre. and Arragon.

King *Henry* being at Alfaro, the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Admirall D. *Frederic* began to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of Caſtile and Arragon: and for that purpoſe King *Iohn* came to Tudela, vnto whom the Marquis of Villena was ſent, the King of Caſtill hauing firſt taken D *Iohn* of Arragon as oſtage for him. At Tudela, diuerſe meanes were propounded for the concluſion of the peace, which taking no effect, it was thought fit that the Marquis ſhould goe with King *Iohn* and the Queene his wife to Saragoſſa to conſult more amply of thoſe affaires. The Marquis made ſumme ſtay there, but King *Iohn* had occaſion to goe in all haſt into Cattalogna; in the meane time the Queene did entertaine him very ſumptuouſly, and among other fauours, ſhe cauſed him to eate at her owne table, which as then was ſerued onely with Ladies and gentlewomen without any men at all. At the Kings returne to Saragoſſa, the peace was concluded, vpon the deliuery of oſtages and certaine places for aſſurance on each ſide, to weet La Gardo, Saint Vincent, Arcos and Larraga by the King of Arragon, and on the part of Caſtil, Lorca in the Kingdome of Murcia, and Comago in the territory of Soria. The Nauarrois were diſcontented that King *Iohn* ſhould giue any places of the Realme of Nauarre in pawne, rather then thoſe of the Kingdome of Arragon: but of neceſſity it behoued them to bee content therewith. The Cattelans alſo were reconciled to the King, and they did acknowledge by oth the Infant D. *Fernand* being then nine yeeres old, for heire and lawful ſucceſſor to the crowne of Arragon, who from thenceforth was intituled Prince of Girona.

Peace betweene Caſtile and Arragon.

20

Sedition in Cattalogna.

This peace, betweene King *Iohn* and his ſubiects laſted not long, whether it were becauſe they were certified of the Princes vntimely death whom their did ſo deerely loue, and which they deſired to reuenge, or for any other occaſion: but it fell ſo out that in the country of Roſſillon, Ampurdam and other places of Cattalogna, there aroſe great tumults and mutinies, the Earle of Pallars being chiefe of that rebellion: there was a rumor ſpred abroad, that Prince *Charles* his ghoſt did nightly complaine in the ſtreets of Barcelona, crauing vengeance on Queene *Ioane* his ſtep-mother, who by poiſon had parted his ſoule from his body.

Queene Ioane beſeeged in Girona.

The Queene to reſiſt thoſe diſorders came to Girona, where ſhe was forthwith beſeeged by the Earle of Pallars, and conſtrained, with the Prince D. *Fernand* her ſonne, to fortifie her ſelfe with great daunger of their liues in the tower of the Cathedral Church of the ſame city. At the ſame time the Barcelonois did driue al the Kings officers forth of their city, and as many as did loue and affect him, reſoluing neuer more to obey him, but to become ſubiects to the King of Caſtile. The Inhabitants of Girona did greatly fauour the beſeeged Queene, who vnder the conduct of *Du Puy* maſter of the order of Monteſa made great reſiſtance, but the Earle of Pallars entred the city by force, and did furiouſly aſſaile and batter the ſtrong tower, deſirous to take the Queene and the Prince her ſonne:

but

A but they one her ſide vſed ſuch dilligence as the Earle was beaten out of the towne with great loſſe of his people.

The King being much troubled with the reuolt of the Cattalans, and other places alſo of his Kingdomes, ſent into France, to intreate of King *Lewis* aide of men and money, vnto whom he engaged, for the ſumme of three hundred thouſand crownes of gold for the paiment of his ſouldiars, the Earledome of Roſſillon and Cerdagne. He obtained of him two thouſand fiue hundred horſe, amongſt whom were ſeuen hundred Launces furniſhed, of which forces, *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, ſonne in law to King *Iohn* was Generall. In this warre, which was long and troubleſome, diuers

B Knights of the faction of Grammont did good ſeruice to the King, the chiefe of whom were Don *Peter* de Peralta, Conſtable of Nauarre, *Sanches* of Londogno ſonne to the Marſhall of Nauarre, *Fernand* of Angulo *Stephen* of Garro, *Roderigo* of Puelles, the Viſcount *Bertrand* of Armendaris, *Iohn Henriques* of Lacarra, and *Gyles* de Aualos, *Iames Diaz* of Armendaris Lord of Cadreita, *Pedro* of Anſa, *Iohn* of Aquerri, and *Sancho* of Erbiti ſurnamed the obſtinate, who did beare for his motto or deuiſe, *So, or no*: glorying in that he was contentious: by reaſon whereof, this Knight had in his time many quarrels to maintaine. The comming of the French, cauſed the Earle of Pallars to raiſe his ſeege from before Girona. So the Queene beeing freed, ioyned with the army of the Earle of Foix, and purſued the Rebelles, cauſing diuerſe of them to craue pardon.

C The King hauing leauied men at armes, ſent them vnder the commaund of his ſonne Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon to ioyne likewiſe with the Earle of Foix his forces: hee himſelfe following after, ſtaied a while in the City of Bellaguer to appeaſe the tumultuary Inhabitants, into the which towne he entred in armes, and there receiued newes of the yeelding vp of Tarraga, whether he forthwith went, but ſoone after he was conſtrained to diſlodge from thence, being aduertized that Don *Iohn* de Agullon with certaine Regiments came thitherward to ſurpriſe him, and ſo he returned to Bellaguer. Thoſe of Barcelona, mooued with extreame hatred againſt their King, did by publike proclamati-

D. Iohn declared enemy by the Barcelonois and deſpoiled of his right in that principality.

on declare him enemy of their country, ſaying that they did iuſtly withdraw themſelues from his obedience, he being the murtherer of his own ſon, an oppreſſor of his ſubiects,

D breaker of his faith and promiſe, and one that did violate their rights, priuiledges, and antient liberties: and they ſent the acts and formall proceedings thereof to Rome to the Pope then reigning, who was called *Pius* the ſecond, a Siennois of the family of Picolomini. And by a decree of the three Eſtates of the country, they ſent an Ambaſſage to the King of Caſtile, to the end they might be receiued, maintained and defended, by him againſt the power of King *Iohn*.

The Ambaſſador was a Gentleman very learned, named *Copus*, who in diſguiſed habit paſt into Caſtile, and found the King Don *Henry* at Atiença, who came thither to recreate himſelfe, after the marriage made by him of the youngeſt daughter of the Marquis of Santillana, with his Minion. *Bertrand* de la Cueua Earle of Ledeſma and one

Caſtile.

E of his priuy councell. The Ambaſſador ſpake with the King, and declared vnto him the cauſe of his comming, which was to giue him notice of the title which hee had to the principallity of Cattalogna as alſo to the crowne of Arragon, the which was much better then King *Iohns*, becauſe hee was iſſued from the eldeſt ſonne of Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, Queene of Caſtile, whereas King *Iohn* and his brother King *Alphonſo*, came of the yonger ſonne, and that he had now a fit occaſion offered him for the recouery thereof, by the meanes of the Cattelans, iuſtly prouoked by the wrongs and tirannies of the King D. *Iohn*. The King hauing heard theſe things, referred the Ambaſſador to his councel at Segobia, whither he ſhortly came, and propounding there in the open aſſembly of the great Lords, and of his councel, that which the Ambaſſador of Cattalogna had decla-

F red vnto him, their opinions were diuers. In the end the Ambaſſador was called, and being asked wherefore he came, hee told them that hee was ſent to requeſt two things, to weet, that it might pleaſe the King of Caſtile to receiue the Cattelans for his ſubiects, and to aide them with certaine number of ſouldiers to defend them from their enemies, ſhewing the charge and commandment which he had from the three Eſtates to take the oth of obedience to him in their names.

Iohn of Arragon pawneth Roſſillon to Lewis the eleuenth.

The councell perceiuing that theſe offers did pleaſe the King, did wholy conſent there- A
vnto, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe were appointed to ſuccour the Cattelans, whoſe captaines were D. *Iohn* of Beaumont, Prior of Saint Iohns of Nauarre, and *Iohn* de Torres a Knight borne in Soria. Theſe forces being ſent away King *Henry*, fauoring this warre, came to Agreda.

Nauarre. Thither came an Eſquier of Nauarre dwelling in Tudela, who told Don *Bertrand* de la Cueua, Earle of Ledeſma, that if King *Henry* would well reward him, he would deliuer vp into his hands the city of Tudela: promiſe was made to this Squire of certaine lands neere to Agreda, and according to the agreement made, at an houre appointed, *Pedro* de Guzman was ſent, with twenty braue ſouldiars to ſeize vpon one of the gates, B
and by the ſame to let into the towne a certaine number of ſouldiars which ſhould follow after him. *Pedro* de Guzman and his men were no ſooner entred into the city, but they were all taken, whereat King *Henry* being greatly mooued, ſent his troupes to ſpoile all the contry round about Tuleda, with commandement to burne all places, and to put the people to the ſword: but this ſpoile ſoone ceaſſed by reaſon that they of Tudela deliuered the priſoners.

The King Don *Iohn* beeing aduertized of all theſe things, fortified himſelfe on euery ſide, and had in readineſſe an army ſufficient to aſſaile the rebells, with their allies and protectors, Don *Iohn* Archbiſhop of Tarragon the Earle of Prades, Don *Mathew* de Moncada, Don *Anthony* of Cardona, Don *Guillen Arnau Ceruillon* and ma- C
ny other Cattelan Knights beeing ioyned with him. Therevpon hee came and beſeeged Lerida, which they of Tarraga endeauoring to releeue, they were defeated by Don *Iohn* of Arragon, who was ſent by the King his father to incounter them, who led away diuerſe priſoners with him to the campe: Neuertheleſſe the King raiſed his ſeege from before Lerida, beeing aduertiſed that a captaine called *Martimon* came to the aide thereof with tenne thouſand ſouldiars; and that in an other place *Iohn* de Agullon was in field with forces, for the ſame purpoſe, and that Don *Hugo* of Cardona held his ſeege before Miralcampe, a ſtrong towne and greatly importing the affaires of Arragon, wherefore with all ſpeed hee haſted thitherward, but Don *Hugo* was departed from thence, not beeing able, by reaſon of the great heate in thoſe parts, to continue D
his ſeege: then the King ioyned his forces with the troupes of Don *Alphonſo* his ſonne, who held *Iohn* d' Agullon beſeeged in Caſteldas: thither alſo came the Earle of Foix with the French men at armes. By theſe forces the towne and caſtle of Caſteldas were ſo beaten, as *Iohn* d' Agullon was conſtrained, for all his propounding of diuers conditions, to yeeld himſelf to the Kings mercy, who cauſed him, with other captaines, to be executed by forme of law at Bellaguer: and he committed the towne to the keeping of D. *Iohn* de Londogno.

21 *Complot betweene King Iohn and his ſonne in law Gaſton de Foix to the hurt and ruine of Lady Blanch the true heire of Nauarre.*

Gaſton Earle of Foix had married Donna *Leonora* the ſecond danghter to King *Iohn*, by his firſt wife Queene *Blanche* of Nauarre; and becauſe the ſucceſſion in that King- E
dome, by the death of Prince *Charles* did belong to Donna *Blanche* her eldeſt ſiſter, who was married and diuorced from *Henry* King of Caſtile, becauſe ſhee had no children, the father in law, and the ſonne in law practiſed together, how they might keepe this forſaken Queene of Caſtile from marrying any more, that ſhee might haue no children, by meanes whereof the Realme of Nauarre ſhould fall to the Lady Donna *Leonora* and to the houſe of Foix: wherefore ſhe was deliuered into the hands of Earle *Gaſton* her brother in law, who ſent her into France to the towne of Leſcar, vnder the power and keeping of the Counteſſe *Leonora* her ſiſter.

Among the captaines which did ſerue the King Don *Iohn*, there was a Caſtillian called *Iohn* of Sarauia, who did greatly annoy the enemy, who found a time to ſurpriſe him: for vpon a day as hee ſpoiled and ouer-runne the country neere to Ceruera, hee F
was charged by *Hugo* of Cardona, accompanied with about foure thouſand men as well horſe as foote, ſo as hee was conſtrained to leaue his booty, and to aſſure himſelfe in the caſtle of Rubinate, where hee was furiouſly beſeeged and beaten with ſtore of Artillery and Engins: hee fearing to bee forced to yeeld vp the caſtle, found meanes to aduertiſe the King of his neceſſity, who came thither with all his forces:

A by reaſon whereof Don *Hugo* hauing left fiue hundred of his people at the ſeege of this caſtile, retired himſelfe to a ſtrong hold; from whence euery day he offered the King battaile, beeing come to fight the victory remained for a while doubtfull on either ſide, but at the laſt it fell to the King: there died as well in this incounter, as in the skirmiſhes of the ſeege, more then fifteene hundred of the enemies, and very neere as many on the Kings part: ſo as hee had ſmall occaſion to reckon this victory in the number of his happy ones. From thence the Kings army marched to the aide of the Archbiſhop of Tarragon whom thoſe of Lerida and Ceruera held beſeeged in a place very diſcommodious, who freed him from thence. In an other place Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon obtained a great victory neere vnto the towne of Saint Colomba, with whom the Kings
B army ioyning, that place yeelded: beſides this the towne of Ceriall was taken by force, and all the country thereabout whileſt the Queene and the Earle of Foix in an other place, tooke the towne of Moncada by aſſault, with many other places which for feare yeelded vnto them.

A bloudy fight betwixt the Kings army, and that of D. Hugo de Cardona.

Whileſt the affaires of King *Iohn* ſucceeded well in Cattalogna, the King of Caſtile made open warres vpon the frontiers of Granada, ſince the defeate of the Infant *Haly Muly-Hacen*, wherein Don *Iohn* de Guzman the firſt Duke of Medina Sidonia, ſonne to Count *Henry* of Niebla, who was drowned before Gibralter, made excellent proofe of his valor and good conduct, and he had the good hap to ſubiect the city of Gibral-
C tar to the crowne of Caſtile, which his father had attempted in vaine. The newes of this conqueſt were ſo pleaſing to King *Henry* as amongeſt his other titles hee would bee called King of Gibraltar: for this city had beene the chiefe in the Kingdome of Abomelech the Infant of Marocco, ſonne to King *Alboacen* of the kindred of the Merins. This happie exploite was accompanied with the taking of the City of Archedona by the Maiſter of Calatraua Don *Pedro Giron*, brother to the Marquis of Villena. The keeping of Gibraltar was committed for that time to *Pedro* de Porras.

Moores.

Gibraltar taken by the Caſtilians.

About this time diuers Princes and Potentates ſent their Ambaſſadors to the King of Caſtile, namely from his coſin King *Fernand* of Naples, from Pope *Pius* and the Colledge of Cardinals, and from the Venetians, who deſired his perpetuall friendſhip and confederacy. The Geneuois offered him fealty and homage, and withall to be-
D come his ſubiects: but King *Henry* contenting himſelfe with his owne eſtates, not being by nature ambitious, did not deſire to meddle in thoſe forraine buſineſſes, albeit there wanted not diuers of his councell to animate him therevnto.

Caſtile.

King *Iohn* hauing, at Moncada, ioyned his army with that of the Queene his wife, and his ſonne in law the Earle of Foix, the councell thought it fit to ſend to beſeege the City of Barcelona, and it was ſo concluded, notwithſtanding that the King was of a contrary opinion. The Barcelonois had receiued the aboue mentioned aide from Caſtile, and reſoluing neuer more to obey the King of Arragon, they had ſet vp the ban-
E ners of Caſtile: the citty was very rich, and greatly furniſhed with men and munition, very ſtrong in their walles and towers, and excellently wel prouided of al things belonging to the ſea, by reaſon whereof they made ſundry ſallies and skirmiſhes with the Kings army, to the great loſſe and hinderance thereof as well by land as by ſea: and namely they gaue chaſe to captaine *Vilago*, who kept the ſea from them with eight Gallies of Arragon: ſo as the King thought it the beſt way to raiſe his ſeege, after that hee had beene before it by the ſpace of twenty daies, cauſing his ſonne Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon to ſpoile the country round about the citty. From thence the army marched to Villa-franca, which was taken by force: and there the King cauſed to be executed by order of law foure hundred of the Inhabitants; beeing prouoked therevnto by the death of two French captaines which were ſlaine at his entery into the towne, which be-
F came ſuch a terror to the reſt of the townes thereabouts, as diuerſe yeelded, without any reſiſtance at all.

Nauarre. and Arragon.

Barcelona erecteth the banners of Caſtile.

They beſeeged the city of Tarragon, which at the firſt made reſiſtance yet neuer ſallied forth of their wals: but when they beheld their fields burnt, and the continual battery and aſſaults of the enemies, their courage began to ſhrinke, eſpecially when the aide, which was ſent them from Barcelona, was at their landing conſtrained to flie backe to their

Tarragon yeelded to the king.

Gallies, then with very eaſie conditions they yeelded to the King, who left *Roderigo* of Rebolledo for their Gouernor, he himſelfe going backe to Ballaguer. A

The Cattelans thus diſtreſſed, ſent new Ambaſſadors into Caſtile, one of them was the Archdeacon of Girona, who being ioyned to the Ambaſſador reſident with King *Henry*, made new offers of ſubmiſſion and full obedience vnto him, beſeeching him to intitule himſelfe King of Arragon and Earle of Barcelona, ſeeing that hee was aſſured that thoſe dominions did by all diuine and humaine right belong vnto him, and that now the voluntary conſent of the people did inuite him therevnto, requeſting moreouer aide of ſouldiars. The King of Caſtile, beſide this publique Ambaſſage, was ſolicited therevnto by ſundry Lords, and other cities of Valencia and Arragon; and B to ſpeake truely, hee did greatly incline to their demaunds: but the Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, the Kings chiefe councellors, after whoſe appetite the whole affaires of the Kingdome were gouerned, were of a contrary opinion, and peraduenture they had intelligence with King *Iohn* of Arragon, but it was not certainely knowne whether it were ſo or no; wherefore the buſineſſe beeing debated on by the councell, the Ambaſſadors receiued this anſwere, that if they ment to haue any aide of ſouldiars, it did then behoue them to bring ſtore of money with them, and as for the title to the crowne of Arragon, and county of Barcelona, King *Henry* would conſider thereon with more mature deliberation.

The Ambaſſadors replied, that if it would pleaſe the King to take their cauſe in hand, C and to ſhew himſelfe openly in their defence as his ſubiects, they would venture their heads, if within threeſcore daies after, they did not bring into the Kings coffers the ſumme of ſeuen hundred thouſand florins of gold. This ſeemed a dreame to the Archbiſhop and the Marquis, for the ſumme was exceeding great for thoſe times; and they two hauing an other purpoſe, wrought ſo well, as king *Henry* not onely refuſed their offers, but withdrew himſelfe wholy from the warre of Arragon: giuing them to vnderſtand, that he had rather with the helpe of the French King, mediate a good peace for them.

The King of Caſtile attempts to deceiue the Barcelonois, and king Iohn likewiſe.

Now the Marquis and the Archbiſhop did purpoſe, and hope to deale in ſuch ſort, as the Realme of Nauarre, or a great part thereof, ſhould by the treaty of peace fall D to the crowne of Caſtile: To giue a certaine forme wherevnto, they ſent word to King *Iohn* and to the Earle of Foix, to ſend vnto them certaine French captaines, of thoſe which were in Cattalogna, to conferre about meanes of agreement with the King of Caſtile; and they vſed other practizes to giue the French a diſtaſt of that warre, ſeeking their owne profit, vnder collour of making an agreement betweene the King of Arragon and his ſubiects: whileſt the broiles continued in Cattalogna, the Earle of Pallars, and the Lord of Cruillas, with a great number of ſouldiars, hauing againe beſeeged Girona, were ouerthrowne and put to flight by *Peter* of Roquabertin Gouernor of the City, and they loſt many of their people with their baggage. The French marching towards Morella, brought diuers places on the coaſt of Vrgel vnder the Kings obedi- E ence, but meeting neere Ixar with the Caſtillians, hauing good meanes to charge them, it is ſaid that they gaue them to vnderſtand, that in regard of the friendſhip and perpetuall confederacy betweene the Kings of France and Caſtile, they would couch their Launces againſt the Caſtillian ſtandard, and thereof they excuſed themſelues to the King of Arragon, ſaying that they were ſo commaunded to doe, and therefore beſought him to take in good part, if they went about to appeaſe the differences betwixt them.

The French refuſed to fight with the Caſtillians

The King of Arragon faſhioning himſelfe to their aduice, and hauing great hope in the good iudgement of the French king in thoſe buſineſſes, hee did conſent that one of the French captaines ſhould paſſe into Caſtile to the towne of Mountagu, where F king *Henry* ſhould meete to conferre with him about fit meanes to compoſe all thoſe differences: the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena brought the king thither vnder collour of hunting: and it was agreed vpon, that the French king ſhould be entreated, to ſend an Ambaſſador into Caſtile, to cauſe the warre to ceaſe. The captaine being returned, related to the king of Arragon and to his ſonne in law the Earle

A Earle of Foix, what hee had concluded with the King of Caſtile: and at their entreaty the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, ſent an Ambaſſadour to the King of Caſtile, who found the Court at Almaçan; and hauing had audience, a day was taken for the enterview of the three Kings of France, Caſtile, and Arragon, vpon the frontiers betweene Fontarabie, and Saint *Iohn de Luz*: and in the meane time there was a ceſſation from armes on all ſides; the Cattelans were excluded from this accord remayning doubtfull betwixt hope and feare, attending the iſſue of that enterview.

The King Don *Iohn* allowing all theſe things, came to Saragoſſa, with intent to meet at the day appointed for the Kings enterview. The Earle of Foix, the preſumptiue heire of Nauarre in the right of his wife went thither, being very honourably receiued,
B eſpecially of the Beaumonts faction.

Now the time of the enterview being come, the King of Arragon, for diuers reaſons, could not, or would not appeare, relying in the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, with the King of Caſtile, and vpon his ſonne in law *Gaſton* of Foix, who knew very well how to maintaine his honour and to increaſe his profit with the French King. About the end of March in the yeere 1463. the King Don *Henry* arriued at Saint Sebaſtians in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, and king *Lewis* came the ſame time to Bayonne, vnto whom were ſent as Ambaſſadours from the king of Caſtile, the Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, with *Aluar Gomes* of Ciudad-reall
C his principall ſecretary (they hauing ſo councelled him) to the end to treate with him about the agreement and pacification of the troubles betweene the kings of Caſtile and Arragon, the vncle and Nephew, and betweene the king of Arragon and the Cattelans his ſubiects. It is reported, that the Marquis of Villena made an agreement with the French king, being by him recompenced with a yeerely pention of twelue thouſand crownes.

The Marquis of Villena, becommeth pentionar to the King.

Matters beeing then thus handled by them, king *Lewis* as Iudge and arbitrator betweene both parties, ſet downe his ſentence in this manner: That King *Henry* of Caſtile ſhould wholy abſtaine from medling in the buſineſſe of the Cattellans; that within twenty daies hee ſhould call all his ſouldiars out of Cattalonia and that for the
D expences which hee had beene at in the ſame warre the King of Arragon ſhould giue vnto him the towne of Eſtella with all the demaines belonging therevnto, which is one of the fiue members of the Kingdome of Nauarre, with a certaine ſumme of doublons of gold, all which he ſhould be bound to performe within ſixe monthes, in which meane time, Queene *Ioane* of Arragon ſhould bee held as oſtage in the towne of Larraga vnder the ſafe keeping of the Archbiſhop of Toledo: That the Cattelans ſhould become obedient to their King, vnto whom a generall pardon ſhould bee graunted of all that was paſt; for aſſurance whereof King *Iohn* ſhould giue them ſufficient oſtages. This ſentence, hurtfull to the Kingdome of Nauarre, odious to the Cattelans, and little to the King of Caſtiles honour, was allowed of and receiued by the three
E Ambaſſadors aboue named, who wrote to King *Henry*, aduiſing him to ſet forward with his Court and traine to Fontaraby, and at that inſtant the Marquis of Villena arriued, bringing along with him the Earle of Comminges Admirall of France, who came from the King his Maiſter to entreate the King of Caſtile that they might ſee one an other vpon French ground; the which they had before concluded vpon at Bayonne.

King *Lewis* beeing come to Saint Iohn de Luz, the two Kings met at the riuer of Vidaſo, which in that place parteth both the Kingdomes: the which riuer (as the Spaniards ſay) which all that which the flowing of the ſea couers, belongs to Spaine. King *Henry* with diuerſe great Lords and Knights beeing in diuerſe boates did paſſe
F the riuer, amongſt whom were Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza Biſhop of Calaorra, Don *Iohn* de Pacheco Marquis of Villena, Don *Gomes* of Caceres Maiſter of Alcantara, Don *Iohn* of Valençuela Prior of Saint Iohns, Don *Lewis* de Acugna Biſhop of Burgos, Don *Bertrand* de la Cueua Earle of Ledeſma, with others verie brauely and richlie appointed: The French King and his Courtiers beeing meanly cloathed, were by the Spaniards derided and ſcorned. Theſe two great Princes hauing

Enterview of King Lewis the eleuenth and King Henry the fourth of Caſtile, at Endaya.

louingly ſaluted and imbraſed one an other vpon the ſhoare, with diuerſe kinde ſpeeches and ceremonies vſuall at ſuch times; King *Henry* ſpeaking firſt, they went to a village called Endaya belonging to the French King, where in the preſence of the two Kings, the arbitratiue ſentence was read by the ſecretary *Aluar Gomes*, the Ambaſſadors being preſent: and after ſundry complements, and friendly ſpeeches, they departed the one from the other with great content, and ſo returned each of them into his owne territories. A

The Castelans complaine of the ſentence and treachery of the king of Caſtile.

King *Henry* being come to Fontaraby called the Ambaſſadors of Cattalonia into his preſence, who had followed him in that iourney, and declared vnto them the contents of the ſentence, and that which they were bound to doe by the ſame, whereat they were much amazed and diſcontented; ſo that being ouer-come with impatience, by reaſon of the indignity which they thought was offered them, they vttered in choller many proude and high words, preſaging miſery and future calamity to the Realme of Caſtile, accuſing the King of careleſſeneſſe, for conſenting to the ſame ſentence, and his councellors and Ambaſſadors of treaſon. According to this ſentence, the King withdrew his ſouldiars from Cattalonia, and did wholy giue ouer the warre. B

23 Caſtile.

A Iew collecter to the kings reuenues ſlaine in Guipuſcoa by the nobility.

Whileſt the King remained at Fontaraby, it happened that a certaine Iew named *Gaon*, who was a farmer of his reuenues, comming from the towne of Victoria where he dwelt, to exact, by reaſon of the kings preſence, the tribute called Pedido, in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa (which was euer denied and reſiſted by the nobility of the country) was ſlaine in the city of Tolouſe, the gentlemen being mooued to commit ſuch an outrage, to the end it might ſerue as an example to other exacting receiuers, not to attempt vpon their antient liberties and priuiledges: whereat the king was greatly offended ſo as after the enterview, he came to Tolouſe with diuers men at armes being reſolued ſeuerely to puniſh ſuch an act: the Inhabitants being very fearefull, left the city and retired themſelues into the mountaines giuing place to their Princes fury, who at his firſt arriuall into the towne, commanded that the houſe wherein the Iew was murthered, ſhould be ouerthrowne to the ground: but proceeding on, hee was fully and certainely informed, that the tribute, then in queſtion, was a thing not due, not neuer paied by the gentlemen of that country, ſo as hee conuerted his wrath into clemency, and gaue a generalll pardon to them all, decreeing, after the example of the Kings his predeceſſors, that from thence forth on account ſhould bee made of ſuch like money; and hee did for euer acquit his receiuers, treaſurers and exactors of his reuenues, of any ſuch receipt. C D

24. Nauarre, and Arragon.

Hauing ordered the affaires of that Prouince, he went to Segobia and the Archbiſhop of Toledo came to Larraga, a towne in the Kingdome of Nauarre, there to receiue the Queene Donna *Ioane*, who, according to the ſentence of King *Lewis*, was to remaine in his keeping, till the King of Arragon her husband had fully performed all that which by the ſame hee was bound vnto. The Eſtates of Nauarre were much diſpleaſed with the alienating of the towne of Eſtella, it being a portion of the Kingdome: but they knew not the drift thereof, for none of the parties did gaine ſo much by the ſentence, as the king of Arragon, who held himſelfe aſſured of the King of Caſtile, by meanes of the good offices which the Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena performed for him, they being wholy at his deuotion: in ſo much as hee tooke no great thought for the committing of the Queene his wife into their hands. As for Eſtella, he neuer ment to giue it to the King of Caſtile, and the better to couer his intent, he cauſed the whole body of the Eſtates to proteſt againſt that ſentence, as giuen by an incompetent Iudge, the parties beeing not heard, and directly preiudiciall to the patrimony of the crowne of Nauarre: Therevpon Don *Pedro* of Peralta, who was Conſtable of Nauarre, ſeized vpon the towne and caſtle of Eſtella, as though it had rebelled againſt the King: then the king of Caſtile beganne to bee very highly diſpleaſed with his counceil, and in ſome ſort to diſcouer their practizes, greatly repenting that hee had forſaken the Cattelans. The Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena hauing had experience of his choller, thought for to redreſſe all by giuing the king and the Archdeacon of Girona (who was one of E F

The king of Caſtile, thinking to deceiue, is himſelfe deceiued.

the

A the Cattelan Ambaſſadours) to vnderſtand, that all was well, and that now there was greater hope of good ſucceſſe, then at any time before: Wherefore the Arch-deacon was ſent away to carry that newes to the Cattelans, and to encourage and aſſure them in the King of Caſtils name, that they ſhould ſhortly receiue greater ayde from him then they had done in times paſt: but the Arch-deacon arriued too late: for the Eſtates of Cattelogna beeing greatly diſcontent, that King *Henry* had ſo deceiued them, had abandoned all hope of helpe from Caſtile, and put themſelues vnder the protection of the houſe of Portugall, electing Don *Pedro*, Conſtable of that Realme, for their king, who was grand-child to King *Iohn* the firſt, and ſonne to the Infant Don *Pedro* Duke of Co-
B imbra, being deſcended by the mothers ſide from the kings of Arragon, for his mother was daughter to *Iames* Earle of Vrgell, and to Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, daughter to King *Peter* of Arragon the fourth of that name.

Don Pedro of Portugal elected king of Arragon.

Deſcent of Portugal.

The Marquis of Villena on the other ſide, acquainted King *Henry* with the reuolt of thoſe of Eſtella, and with the difficulties which hindred the execution of the ſentence, propounding other recompences to be made, rather then to fall out vppon ſo ſlight an occaſion: the which the king did not very well taſte, yet for all that beeing deſirous to play with leaſt loſſe, hee ſent into Nauarre Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, Earle of Ledeſma, and Don *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoza Biſhop of Calaorra, who afterward was Cardinal, and Arch biſhoppe of Toledo, to deale with King *Iohn*, and the Queene his wife about
C theſe matters, who excuſed themſelues by reaſon of their ſubiects rebellion, which (as they ſayd) was the cauſe why they could not performe that which they had purpoſed: they diſcouering theſe diſſimulations, aduertiſed King *Henry* thereof, who aduiſed them to negotiate as well as they could; who after diuers conferences returned without doing any thing at all, diſpoſing the King of Caſtile to a truce, which ſoone after was effected.

The King of Caſtile beeing at Madrid, an obſeruant Friar named *Fernand de la Place*, with other of his zealous companions, did greatly trouble him and his Councell, by gi-
D uing foorth, that diuerſe Chriſtians of his countrey were become Apoſtata's, forſaking the holy Catholicke faith, and were become Iewes: whereof if hee would make diligent ſearch, the crime would bee auerred. And this audacious Monke did conſtantly affirme in one of his Sermons, that hee had in his keeping more then an hundred fore-skins of Chriſtians children, which had beene circumciſed, crying out, that the king ought to puniſh them very grieuouſly: the King cauſed him to bee brought into his preſence, and commaunded that he ſhould deliuer vp thoſe fore skinnes: the Friar ſayd that hee had them not but that he was ſo informed by diuers of good name and place, the king willed him to tell their names, the which he could not, or would not doe, and ſo was diſmiſſed without any other puniſhment, then to be held a notorious lyar.

26 Caſtile.

The Arch-biſhop of Toledo Don *Alphonſo Carillo* of Acugna, and the Marquis of Villena, beeing returned from Nauarre, where they had left Queen *Ioane* at libertie, per-
E ceyuing that the King did finally fauor them, beganne to fore-ſee ſome future miſchiefe to light vpon their ſtates, honor, and perſons: to preuent which, they entred into leagues, which the king vnderſtanding, did diſſemble, committing in the meane time the gouernement of his affaires to Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, and to the Biſhop of Calaorra, whoſe Neece Don *Bertrand* had married. The Court beeing at Seuille was very much troubled with a popular tumult, occaſioned by two Prelates, namely, the old Arch-biſh. of the ſame cittie Don *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca, and his nephew, who had made betwixt them a fained exchange of the Arch biſhoprickes of Seuill and S. Iames, for the reaſons before mentioned, the nephew beeing at that time in poſſeſſion of that of Seuill, the
F which he ought to haue yeelded vp to his vncle, who had cauſed him peaceably to enioy that of S. Iames, till then held by D. *Lewis Oſorio* and his faction: Now *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca hauing brought all matters to the paſſe which he promiſed, thought to re-enter into his former dignitie of Arch-biſhop of Seuill: but the nephew, who found himſelf well at eaſe, would by no meanes leaue it, albeit that the Pope vpon paine of Excommunication had enioyned him ſo to do, ſo as thereupon aroſe a very dangerous ſedition, each of them hauing his partakers amongſt the Nobility, Clergie, and the common people, the

Contentions and ſeditions cauſed by two Arch-biſhops, the vncle and the nephew.

the vulgar ſort in generall held with the Nephew, and had ſeazed vpon the great church and other ſtrong places of the cittie, holding it againſt the Gentlemen, and the Clergie, who fauoured the old Arch-biſhoppe, and the raſcall multitude had well-neere gained the hauen with the Galleys that lay there, intending to fight both by ſea and land, had not the King ſpeedily preuented it, who hauing made inquirie of the matter, apprehended ſundry of the Rebells, who were ſeuerely puniſhed: the Nephew Arch-biſhop was committed to priſon in his owne houſe, and within ſixe dayes after, the old Arch-biſhop was reſtored to his former Sea, and diuers of the offenders were hanged out at the windowes of their owne houſes, and ſome others ſent to receiue puniſhment at Madrid. An other outrage was there committed at the ſame time, which did incite and ſtirre vp diuers againſt the king: for his Court beeing greatly frequented with Noblemen Moores, whome he did highly fauour, one of them named *Moſarras*, (who did lodge in the houſe of an honourable Cittizen called *Diego Sanches* of Orihuela) was ſo farre tranſported with a libidinous appetite, as his hoſt and hoſteſſe beeing abſent, hee rauiſhed and carried away with him into Granado a very beautifull daughter of theirs, keeping her with him ſo long as he pleaſed. The ſorrowfull father and mother at their returne home finding their houſe diſfurniſhed of their beſt ornament, accompanied with diuers of the beſt Cittizens, went to make their complaynt to the king, who told them that the fault was their owne, in leauing their daughter behind them, and ſo put them off with this impertinent anſwer: whereunto the parties grieued did reply, crauing iuſtice, but the King beeing diſpleaſed with their importunate exclamations, commaunded that they ſhould be thruſt out of his gates, ſet vppon aſſes, and publikely whipped vppe and downe the Cittie: this vniuſt ſentence ſhould haue beene executed, had not the Earle D. *Gonçal* of Guzman, gone to the King and asked him, what reaſon the Officer ſhould giue to the multitude for the whipping of thoſe innocent people: then the King finding his owne errour, was aſhamed thereof, and went into his chamber, making him no anſwer at all, the Moores fault remayning vnpuniſhed, to the great ſcandall not onely of that Cittie, but of the whole kingdome.

27 *An outrage of a Moore committed in Seuil vnpuniſhed.*

Not long after, the King made a iourney to Gibraltar, newly conquered and ſacked, where he gaue another proofe and teſtimonie of a mind little fauouring of equitie, for he tooke away the gouernement thereof from *Pedro de Porras*, whome hee had placed there at the requeſt of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who had taken the ſame cittie, and did giue and appropriate it to Don *Bertrand de la Cuena*, Earle of Ledeſma, who placed there for Gouernour *Stephano de Villacreces*, who had married an Aunt of his: the which the Duke tooke very impatiently, and ſo it continued all the time of the troubles of the kingdome, vntill he had brought it againe vnder his owne power and iuriſdiction, and ioyned it to the other poſſeſſions belonging to the houſe of Medina Sidonia, who hath alwaies enioyed it, till the entire conqueſt of the kingdome of Granado: at which time it was for euer annexed to the Crowne.

The ſame time the King Don *Alphonſo* of Portugall making warre vppon the Moores of Affricke, came from Ceuta to Gibraltar at the intreatie and perſwaſion of King *Henry*, where theſe two Princes remayned and continued together the ſpace of eight dayes, eating at one table, and ſhewing great tokens of loue and brotherly friendſhippe one to the other.

28 Portugal.

This yeare 1463. the Infant Don *Henry* of the houſe of Portugall, the kings Vncle, Maſter of the Order commonly called of Chriſt, of the age of three-ſcore and ſeuen yeares, dyed in the cittie of Sagres in Algarbe, who was buried in the Church of Lagos, and afterwards tranſlated and carried away from thence to the Abbey of Battayle, built by his father king *Iohn* the firſt, and they report in Portugall, that this Prince dyed a virgine: he out-liued all his breethren that were legitimate, to wit, Don *Iohn* Maſter of Saint Iames, Don *Fernand* Maſter of Auiz, and Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra: their elder baſtard-brother Don *Alphonſo* Duke of Bragança dyed alſo not long before, leauing behind him for his ſucceſſours in the Dutchie, his ſonnes Don *Fernand*, Earle of Arrojolos, and the Marquis of Villa-vicioſa, who was (by lawfull ſucceſſion, and by the right of inheritance) the ſecond Duke of Bragança, begotten on Donna *Beatrix*, daughter

Houſe of Braganſa.

A daughter to Don *Nugno Aluares Pereyra* Earle of Barcellos, and firſt Conſtable of Portugall: Now the loſſe of theſe great perſonages was very grieuous to the King Don *Alphonſo*, who at that time by reaſon of his warres againſt the Moores, had great need of their helpe and Councell: hee had conducted a great army into Affricke againſt the citty of Tanger, beeing followed by all the Nobility of Portugall, namely, by his brother the Infant Don *Fernand* Duke of Viſeo, his brother-in-law Don *Pedro* the third Conſtable of Portugall, ſonne to the Infant Don *Pedro*, Duke of Coimbra aboue-mentioned, D. *Edward de Meneſes* Earle of Viana, Don *Gonçal Coutin* the firſt Earle of Marialua, the Earle of Villa-reall, and other great Lords: but Don *Pedro* the third, Conſtable of Portugall, was at that time ſollicited by the Cattelans to name himſelfe King of Arragon, for
B the reaſons heretofore declared, who conſented thereunto, and went with the Ambaſſadors of Cattalonia to the cittie of Barcelona, where he was proclaymed King of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelona, vnto whom the Eſtates were ſworne: but hee had to deale with a boyſterous aduerſarie, paſſing ouer his dayes in difficult warres, and finiſhing them by poyſon (as it was thought) as ſhall be hereafter more at large declared. After the departure of the Conſtable Don *Pedro*, the King Don *Alphonſo* came to Gibraltar, and in his abſence his people receiued an ouerthrow as they went about to ſcale the towne of Tanger, where diuers men of worth were ſlaine and taken. Among the priſoners were the Earle of Marialua, and *Gomes Freyra*, who were afterward redeemed for great ranſomes.

Expedition into Affricke against the citty of Tanger.

C After his returne from Gibraltar into Affricke, hee entred in perſon into Penaca, a mountainous and woddie countrie, from whence hee was conſtrayned to retire to his great loſſe, where he left behind him D. *Edward de Meneſes* Earle of Viana, who to ſaue the kings life being in great danger, loſt his own. The Earle of Villa-reall did at that time, by his valour, ſaue the army, fighting brauely in the rere-ward, defending it againſt an infinite multitude of Moores: inſomuch as the king beeing deſirous to acknowledge his proweſſe, did publikely prayſe him, and gaue him the honor of beeing the ſhield and defender of the faith the ſame day: or to ſpeake more properly, Gods inſtrument for the deliuerie and helpe of the Portugals. Theſe aduerſe fortunes cauſed King *Alphonſo* to returne into Portugall with ſmall honor, where he applyed himſelfe to vowes and pilgri-
D mages, thinking hereby to appeaſe the Saints, patrons and conductors (as he thought) of his vnhappie and diſaſtrous enterpriſes.

King Alphonſos misfortunes in his expedition into Affricke.

29 Caſtille.

King *Henry* of Caſtile at his departure from Gibraltar, came to Eccia, where he gathered together all the cauallerie of the garriſons and countries neere about, ioyning them to his great armie, which he commonly carried about with him, wherewith he entred into the territories of Granado, where the Ambaſſadours of king *Iſmael* the Moore met with him, and preſented vnto him the tribute, with ſundrie other gifts, ſo that he paſſed on no further, but diſmiſſed his forces, and came to Iaen, whoſe Gouernor was the Conſtable Don *Michael Lucas d'Irinçu*. At Iaen remayned Don *Pedro Giron*, Maſter of Calatraua, who beeing deſirous to offend the Earle of Ledeſma, and to ſet him at variance
E with the Conſtable Don *Michel Lucas*, he told the King that he heard ſay, that he meant to beſtow the Maſterſhip of S. Iames, (which the Infant Don *Alphonſo* held onely in name) vppon the Earle of Ledeſma: and thereuppon ſhewed him diuers reaſons to perſwade him to giue that dignitie rather to the Conſtable, who was a valiant Knight, and one greatly affected to his ſeruice: but the King ſeemed to giue no eare to his ſpeech, knowing very well whereunto it tended. Don *Pedro* perceiued by many other reaſons, that he was not very welcome to the King, who (as he ſuppoſed) did ſuſpect him to bee of the league with the Marquis of Villena his brother, and the Arch-biſhop of Toledo: wherefore he returned thence, and then began they to treate of great leagues and con-
F federacies, to the preiudice of the eſtate of Caſtile, preſaged by great tempeſts of wind, which at Seuile did ouerthrow a great quantitie of the citty walls, and did blow away a great bell out of the Church of S. *Auguſtine*, aboue a bowes ſhot from the place where it did hang, tooke vp into the ayre a payre of Oxen yoaked together at the plough, and plucked vppe by the rootes diuers ſorts of trees, ſcattering them here and there in very fearefull manner: In the ayre was ſeene the proportion of armed men fighting, and three

Prodigious winds and other tokens of future calamities.

Eagles

Eagles ſtriuing together, with great furie fell downe dead to the ground. Matters ſtanding in theſe tearmes, the King returned to Madrid, where he continued ſtill careleſſe of that which concerned the good of the Realme: there was no audience nor admittance for petitioners, nor any adminiſtration of iuſtice: he permitted his porters, and thoſe of his guard to offer indignities to ſuch as he did not loue and to thoſe that did ſue vnto him, and he would winke at them when as many times they would ſhut the gates againſt the Arch-biſhoppe, and the Marquis of Villena, who were oftentimes ſent from thence with many iniurious ſpeeches. Theſe things with other of greater importance would he giue ayme to, ſo as he willingly made a readie way to the greateſt miſeries and calamities that could be imagined. And hearing that the king Don *Alphonſo* of Portugall was entred into Caſtile to viſit, for deuotion-ſake, the Monaſterie of Guadalupa, he departed from Madrid with the Queene his wife, and the Infants his brother and ſiſter, and went to meet him at a place called the Arch-biſhoppes bridge, not making the Marquis of Villena, nor the Arch.biſhop of Toledo acquainted with any thing to bee treated of in that enterview.

Enterview of the kings of Caſtile and Portugall at Guadalupa.

There were newly ſtrengthened and confirmed the auncient leagues and allyances betweene the two kingdomes, by the agreement of future marriages with the king Don *Alphonſo* who was a widdower, and Donna *Izabella* ſiſter to the king of Caſtile, and betweene the Infant Don *Iohn* of Portugall, eldeſt ſonne and heire to that Crowne, of the age of eight yeares, and the Queene of Caſtiles daughter, who was tearmed the Princeſſe *Ioane*. Theſe things promiſed and agreed vppon, the king of Portugall returned to Guadalupa to finiſh and performe his vow, and from thence into his owne countrey. In the meane time the Arch-biſhop and the Marquis beeing forewarned by the tokens of diſgrace, which they well perceyued, and by their own conſciences, abſented themſelues from the Court, fearing to bee taken and puniſhed, and with-drew themſelues to Alcala of Henares, where they ſollicited their friends, and ſtrengthened their league, into the which, by the meanes of the Arch-biſhop, entred very ſecretly the Admirall Don *Fredericke*, the Earle of Benauent, Don *Alphonſo Pimentell* ſonne-in-law to the Marquis, Don *Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Paredes, Don *Inigo Manrique* Biſhop of Coria, with all his breethren: on the other ſide the Marquis of Villena went in perſon to draw into their league Don *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo, Earle of Alua de Tormes, and Don *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Plaiſance, whom he drew into the number. In like manner the Maſter of Calatraua played his part thorough the whole countrie of Andaluſia with great ſecrecie: for their deſſeigne was to get the Infants, Don *Alphonſo*, and Donna *Izabella* from the Court into their power, to ſerue for a colour to their proceedings, not caring at all for Donna *Ioane*, who was tearmed the Princeſſe of Caſtile, whom they all held to be begotten in adulterie by Don *Bertrand de la Cueua* of the Queene. The king wanted no aduertiſement and information of the progreſſion of theſe matters, but he was negligent and careleſſe.

D. Ioane borne in adultery, the ſubiect of all the ſlirs in Caſtile.

At his returne to Madrid hearing of the Arch-biſhoppes and the Marquiſes retreate, hee beganne to thinke vppon their dangerous practiſes, and ſent to commaund them to come to the Court, to vnderſtand what hee had agreed vppon and concluded with the king of Portugall, but they excuſed themſelues, and deſired to talke with the king in a place and companie not ſuſpected. The King and the Marquis did ſee one another, and talked and conferred together betweene Madrid and Alcala of Henares, without any concluſion.

Soone after it was decreed, that the Marquis of Santillana, and the Earle of Haros ſonne ſhould be giuen as hoſtages to the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo for the Marquis of Villena his ſafe-comming to the Court, who gaue the king to vnderſtand, that he would not come, vnleſſe hee would commit the Arch-biſhop of Seuile Don *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca to priſon, for the reaſons which hee had ſhewed vnto him: endeauoring by his perſecution, to keepe the reſt of the kings ſeruants in ſuſpition, the which came to paſſe: for the King who did alreadie diſtruſt the Arch-biſhoppe of Seuille, ſent *Iohn Fernandes Galindo*, Gouernour to the Queene to take him, who beeing aduertiſed thereof by the Marquis himſelfe, who played with both hands, eſcaped, whereat all the Lords of the Councell,

A Councell, and others which were employed and negotiated in matters of State, were greatly offended: and then the violences and tyrannies which did afflict the kingdome during this kings life, began to appeare.

After this tricke the Marquis came to Court, and with him the Earles of Benauent and Paredes, and Don *Alphonſo Henriques*, eldeſt ſonne to the Admirall, euery one of them well accompanied with their acquaintance, friends, and ſeruants, with intent and purpoſe to ſeize vppon the perſons of the King, the Earle of Ledeſma, and the Infants. The King, as ill aduiſed as he was, did diſtruſt them, and therefore cauſed the Infants to be ſhut vp in the tower of homage, with ſufficient guard: and as hee was doing hereof, B the confederates, who ſhould execute that enterpriſe, came haſtily to the Pallace, and violently breaking open the gates, entred into the hall: then the King fearing and diſtruſting what might happen, withdrew himſelfe by a priuie way, with the Earle of Ledeſma, hauing made the Infants ſafe. The Marquis who was wiſe and ſubtill, perceiuing their proiect and purpoſe to faile, with a ſtedfaſt and aſſured countenance, as though he had had no hand therein, preſented himſelfe to the King, and was one of thoſe that did ſollicite him rigorouſly to puniſh ſuch an offence, which the King might eaſily haue done in himſelfe, if he had beene poſſeſſed with an heroicke ſpirit: but all that hee ſayd vnto him, was: How now Marquis, do you thinke that this which is attempted in my " houſe, is well done? aſſure your ſelfe that I will be now no longer patient. The Mar- " C quis who was thoroughly acquainted with his humour, found meanes to appeaſe him, and ſo returned to his lodging. But this ſenſleſſe King thought that he ſhould be ſufficiently reuenged if hee ſhould giue ſharper ſpurres to thoſe who were alreadie to much gauled with enuie and emulation to ſee the Earle of Ledeſma ſo honored, aduanced, and enriched.

His determination then was, in deſpight of all his enemies, to honour him with the Maſterſhip of Saint Iames, which was kept, ſince the death of the Conſtable Don *Aluaro de Luna*, by the King Don *Iohn*, and by this King Don *Henry* his ſonne, as an appendix to the Crowne, with the diſpenſation of the Popes *Nicholas* the fifth, and *Calixtus* the third, vntill that time. And for to obtaine the conſent and Bull of Pope *Pius* the ſecond, D he diſpatched one of his Chaplaynes called *Suero de Solis* to Rome, who caried with him fourteene thouſand golden *Henryes*, to get expedition. Before this Chaplayne returned, the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes*, who had written the Kings letters to the Pope, went and reuealed it to the Marquis, whoſe familiar friend and partiſan he was, the which did the more enflame the confederates to the ruine of the King, his Minion, and the whole kingdome.

The Marquis who was very expert in all points belonging to a cunning Courtier, perſwaded the King to remoue to Segobia, ſaying, that there the affaires in hand might bee better managed then at Madrid: but the truth was, he did it of purpoſe to haue him neerer vnto the countries of the Confederates, if the matter ſhould happen to come to E ſtrokes. And he dealt in ſuch ſort, making ſo great a ſhew of diſtruſt, as the Biſhoppe of Palença, brother to the Earle of Ledeſma, was giuen in hoſtage to the Maſter of Calatraua, and kept in the towne of Pegnafiel. When they were all come to Segobia, the Marquis fained to beare a great grudge to the Earles of Plaiſance, Alua, and others: in which meane ſpace arriued the meſſenger from Rome, bringing with him the Popes Bull for the Maſter-ſhippe of Saint Iames for the Earle of Ledeſma, whereat the king greatly reioyced, and told the Marquis that now he muſt needes allow and tolerate the Popes graunt to the Earle: who anſwered, that hee was well contented ſo to do: neuertheleſſe hee ſhewed vnto him diuers reaſons of the manifeſt and apparent wrong done therein to the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, the which the King ſleightly paſſed ouer, and did F not regard: and the day following hee did inueſt the Earle in that place and dignitie, giuing and willingly ſurrendring vnto him the Enſignes and Ornaments thereunto beelonging.

Conſpiracie againſt the K. Queene, her daughter, and D. Bertrand. de la Cueua.

This deed did ſo highly diſpleaſe the Marquis, as from thencefoorth hee did ſollicite the Confederates to arme themſelues, and to practiſe how they might take the king, Queene, her daughter, together with the Infants Don *Alphonſo*, and Donna *Izabella*, and

and to kill the new Maſter of Saint Iames: and the better to execute their plot, they A
dealt with a Captaine of the Kings named *Fernand Carillo*, that his wife (who was one of
the Ladies attending on the Infanta Donna *Izabella*) ſhould in the night open a doore
of the Queenes lodging: and it was decreed amongſt them, that the Earle of Pare-
des ſhould take the King, the Earles of Plaiſance and Alua ſhould ſeize vpon the Queene
and his daughter *Ioane*, the ſuppoſed Princeſſe, the Marquis ſhould leade away the In-
fants, and his brother, the Maſter of Calatraua ſhould diſpatch the Earle of Ledeſma.
Treaſon diſcouered but not puniſhd. Theſe matters thus concluded, they were diſcouered and reuealed to the King ſome three
howers before they ſhould haue beene executed, who was as ſlacke in redreſſing this, as
other former matters, for if he had ſo pleaſed, hee might eaſily haue taken or ſlaine the B
Marquis beeing in the Court: but he ſayd, that he would keepe the promiſe which hee
made him, and ſo he onely ſent *Gonçal* of Sahauedra, and the Secretarie *Aluaro Gomes*
vnto him to reproch his trecherie, which did much trouble the Marquis, who neuerthe-
leſſe denyed the matter, and ſayd, that God forbid, that euer he ſhould be partaker in ſo
vile a treaſon, whereof he would enquire, and if he found any of his people to haue a
hand therein, that hee would deliuer them ouer into the hands of Iuſtice: and with this
ſhew hee departed from the Kings houſe, and went directly to the Abbey of Parrall,
where hee gathered together great companies of his followers and partiſans, meaning
to keepe the ſame, and not intending any more to enter into the Cittie, ſo that if the
king meant to talke with him, it behooued him then to come foorth willingly and meete C
him.

The Confederates perceiuing this enterpriſe of theirs to prooue vaine and of no ef-
fect, did intreate the King to heare the Marquis ſpeake, and to come foorth of the cittie
into ſome place not ſuſpected, but their intent was to ſeize vppon him abroade in the
Countrey, ſince they could not bring it to paſſe in the cittie: The King conſented, and
appointed to meete them betweene Villa Caſtin, and the Monaſterie of Saint Peter de
las Duegnas, to the which Monaſterie the King came, but he had there notice giuen him
of two things: the one, that the Admirall Don *Frederick* had in Vailledolit erected ban-
ners in the name of the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, naming him king, and that the towne had
withſtood it, and in ſuch ſort reſiſted the Admirall, and his people, as they had driuen D
him thence: The other was, that hee ſhould by no meanes go on to meete with the Mar-
quis of Villena, becauſe the Maſter of Calatraua, and diuers of the Manriques were in
the fields with ſixe hundred horſe to take him.

The king beeing highly mooued at theſe practiſes, did prouide a remedie in time: for
hee diſpatched *Conçal* of Sahauedra with fiue hundred horſe of his owne Guard for to
ſuccour thoſe of Vailledolit, and for the preſent danger, he ſent the Biſhop of Calaorra
to Villa Caſtin, and the Licentiat *Diego Henriques del Caſtel*, his Councellor and Chro-
nicler to the Earles of Plaiſance and Alua, to diſcouer that which was done there. Theſe
hauing met with others, who came to warne the king of the ſelfe ſame danger, they ſe-
parated themſelues, and the Licenciate returned with ſpeed to the Monaſterie, to cauſe E
the king to diſlodge, who at that inſtant departed from thence and returned to Segobia,
entring into the cittie with fiue thouſand men gathered together from the places there-
abouts. The Biſhoppe went on, and met with the Earles, who marched in Armes and
militarie Order, with whome he had ſome ſpeech and conference to no purpoſe, and ſo
returned to Segobia. The new Maſter of Saint James, beſides his owne people, hauing
with him the kings Guard, came neere to the Maſter of Calatraua, beeing in a place fitte
for a fight, and was reſolued to charge him, if the night had not hindred him, notwith-
ſtanding that he had commandement from the king not to do ſo, wherefore he brought
backe his troupes to Segobia.

Burgos in the power of the Confederates. The knights of the League ſeeing their enterpriſes to bee diſcouered, marched towards F
the Cittie of Burgos, the Caſtle whereof was vnder the commaund of Don *Aluaro* of
Eſtuniga, Earle of Plaiſance, one of the Confederates. The Cittie being mooued with
theſe ſtrange newes, would not conſent to ought that they propounded: but Don *Iohn
de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, could ſo well ſet foorth the iuſtice of his cauſe in eloquent
tearmes, as they did beleeue that hee and his complices were in the right, but diuers of
the

A the inhabitants who were of good iudgement, did very well perceiue, that each of theſe confederate Lords, was carried away with enuie, hatred, iealouſie, and other diſeaſes of Court, and with a deſire of their owne priuate good, rather then that of the Commonwealth.

Now at the requeſt of the Marquis certaine chiefe men of the citty met together, who ſigned the letters which they wrote to the King, which contained foure principall accuſations, which they required to haue redreſſed: The one was, that the king kept ordinarily in his Court Moores which were enemies of the faith, whome hee did animate to commit infinite out-rages which were vnpuniſhed: as the rape of the daughter of *Diego Sanches* of Otihuela d'Seuill. Againe that the places of Iudges with other Offices were be-
B ſtowed vppon perſons wholy vnworthy of them, by meanes whereof diuers exactions and tyrannies were committed: Thirdly, that to the manifeſt contempt and hinderance of the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, vnto whome that dignitie did belong, he had beſtowed the Maſter-ſhip of Saint Iames vppon *Bertrand de la Cueua* Earle of Ledeſma: The fourth, and moſt important, which could not be excuſed, was, that he cauſed Donna *Ioane* to be ſworne vnto, as Princeſſe and heire of the kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon, whome hee very well knew to be none of his daughter, highly wronging the Infants Don *Alphonſo*, and Donna *Izabella*, by depriuing them of their patrimonie and inheritance: to remedie which, it was requiſite to cauſe the Eſtates of Spaine to make a new oath, in the behalfe of the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, and to reſtore to him the Maſter-ſhip of Saint Iames. Theſe
C reaſons were indeed of great moment, if they had beene proſecuted by lawfull and iuſt meanes, and with a true zeale of the good and reputation of the Crowne of Caſtile, but there is ſeldome any good order kept in ſuch raſh proceedings.

Accuſations propounded by the colleagues.

The king reproched with the adulterat birth of Donna Ioan

The letter was preſented to the King at Vailledolit, whither he was come with a great traine: but notwithſtanding that moſt of the articles contayned matter of truth, wherein his honour was highly touched, he neuertheleſſe made ſuch ſmall account thereof, as moſt of his Councell, and ſeruants were greatly aſhamed thereof: and yet for all that he had then about him forces ſufficient to diſſolue and ſcatter that league without any danger at all: but it was Gods will to puniſh both the king and the people. The chiefe poynt
D that the Confederates ſtood vppon, was, that Donna *Ioane* the ſuppoſed Princeſſe, wrongfully reputed Princeſſe of Caſtile, ſhould be declared to bee the daughter of Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*.

The opinion of the Biſhop of Calaorra, of Friar *Lopes de Barriento*, of the Maſter of Saint Iames, and others which were preſent at the reading of the letter, was, to go preſently and find out the rebells, and to offer them battaile, alleadging diuers reaſons, as namely the ſmall forces which they had then together: but the King would not conſent thereunto, deſiring perhaps to bee reputed meeke and gentle, rather then warlike and valiant: whereuppon the Biſhoppe of Calaorra, told him plainely, that hee very well perceyued, hee did not deſire to raigne peaceably, ſeeing that hee made ſo ſmal account
E of the defence of his honour, in not reuenging the wrongs and iniuries which were done vnto him, and that for his part he did verily beleeue, that hee would neuer leaue behind him the fame and report of a generous and magnanimous King, but that he was aſſured, that hee would become the moſt vnhappie King that euer raigned in Spayne, and that he would repent his cowardize when it was too late. Notwithſtanding this free admoniſhment, hee remayned cold, and gaue eare to the agreements which they offered him: Hee ſent word to thoſe of the League to meete at Duegnas, the which they did, and thither came the Admirall, and the Arch-biſhop of Seuill. There they beganne to treate of diuers matters: but the better to conferre, it was thought fit and conuenient, that the King ſhould come to Cabeçon, and the Confederates to Cigales, and places thereabouts, which beeing done, the King and the Marquis of Villena ſpake and conferred together in the open fields, each of them beeing accompanied with three perſons, and fiftie horſe on each part, to diſcouer, viſite, and make ſure the Countrie round about.

The King will rather ſeeme meeke than valiant.

Sharp ſpeeches of the Biſhop of Calaorra to the king.

After long conference together, it was concluded, That the king within twelue daies after, ſhould deliuer into the Marquis his hands, the perſon of the Infant Don *Alphonſo*,

who ſhould be acknowledged for Prince and heire of the kingdome of Caſtile, and oath made vnto him in that nature at the ſame inſtant according to the cuſtome of Spaine, by the Lords and Deputies of the townes and Prouinces that ſhould be there preſent: and that the Lords and Knights ſhould promiſe, that the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, who was then eleuen yeares old, ſhould marrie Donna *Ioane* the Queenes daughter, ſo ſoone as ſhee ſhould come to age: againe, that the Earle of Ledeſma ſhould giue ouer the Maſterſhip of Saint Iames, the which ſhould be reſtored to the Infant Don *Alphonſo*: That for the gouernement of the affaires of State, and other great buſineſſes of the kingdome, two Knights of each ſide ſhould be choſen, Don *Alphonſo* of Oropeça Generall of the Ieronomites ſhould be as vmpire betweene the two parties: on the Kings part for the aſſurance of the deliuerie of the Infant, ſhould be giuen in hoſtage for the kings fidelitie, the Maſter of Saint Iames, and the Earle of Benauent for that of the confederates.

Articles agreed vpon for the pacification of the troubles.

Theſe things beeing agreed vppon, the King came to Segobia, in the caſtle of which cittie, the Queene and the Infants lay, and he cauſed the Infant Don *Alphonſo* to depart thence to be deliuered to the Lords of the League, albeit it was fore-told him, that the Infant ſhould be declared King of Caſtile: but the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes*, who was wholly at the Marquis his deuotion, aſſured him of the contrarie: vnto whome the charge to conduct the Infant to Sepulueda was committed, where he deliuered him into the hands of the confederate Lords. The King returned to Valiodolit, from whence the next day, he returned to Cabeçon. The confederates on the other ſide, brought the Infant into the fields, where he was ſworne vnto, and acknowledged Prince and heire of thoſe kingdomes, being eleuen yeares of age.

Don Alphonſo the kings brother acknowledged heire to the crowne.

The Prelates and Knights of the league which were preſent at this ceremony, were D. *Alphonſo Carillo* of Acugna, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, Don *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca Arch-biſhop of Seuile, Don *Inigo Manrique* Biſhop of Coria, Don *Frederick Henriques* great Admirall of Caſtille, Don *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga Earle of Plaiſance, Don *Garcia Aluaro* of Toledo Earle of Alua, Don *Rodrigo Manriques* Earle of Paredes, the Earles of Saint Marta and Ribadeo with others, who promiſed that the marriage betweene the Infant, and Donna *Ioane* ſhould be accompliſhed. And on the Kings ſide to conſult vppon the adminiſtration of the affaires was choſen, Don *Pedro* of Velaſco, eldeſt ſon to the Earle of Haro, Don *Pedro Fernandes* of Velaſco, and *Gonçal* of Sahauedra: the Confederates appoynted the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Plaiſance: and for a third perſon Friar *Alphonſo* of Oropeſa was named.

The King beeing come backe to Valiodolit, did handle the matter ſo with the Earle Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, as he for quietneſſe ſake renounced the Maſter-ſhippe of Saint Iames, and yeelded it vp into the Popes hands: For which deed of his, the King vſing his accuſtomed bountie, gaue him in recompence the towne of Albuquerque, with the title of Duke, with the townes of Cuellar, Roa, Molina, Atiença, la Pegna d'Alcaçar, and beſides all this, three millions and fiue hundred thouſand Marauidis of yearely rent, to be leuied vppon Vbeda, Baeça, and other places of Andaluſia: we will therefore hereafter call him Duke of Albuquerque, and Earle of Ledeſma.

Don Bertrand de la Cueua, created Duke of Albuquerque

Thoſe things beeing accompliſhed, the king went to Olmeda, and the Iudges or arbitrators which were choſen to Medina del campo, where whileſt they conferred and diſputed about the affaires, the Confederates had inuented new meanes to continue the troubles. The Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and the Admirall Don *Frederick* made ſhew to be diſpleaſed with the Marquis, and made a craftie reconcilement with the King, making him beleeue, that they had both will and meanes to ruine the Marquis: the King receyued them very fauourably, and for ioy thereof ſent to Don *Gomes* of Caceres, Maſter of Alcantara, and to Don *Pedro Puerto Carero* Earle of Medellino, whome hee very much truſted, to come to him with as many ſouldiers as they could leauie. Thereupon hee was aduertiſed, that the arbitrators had giuen vp their ſentence, by the which there remayned nothing to him but the name of King onely: for the Marquis beeing a man very wiſe, eloquent, and well experienced, did ſo handle the other Deputies, as he made them to condiſcend to whatſoeuer he pleaſed, hauing the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes* wholy at his deuotion, by whoſe meanes he drew *Gonçalo* of Sahauedra to his party.

The

A The King being greatly troubled therewith, ſent for *Aluaro* and *Gonçalo* to come and ſpeake with him: but they beeing kept backe with ſhame, and their owne euil conſcience, durſt not appeare in his preſence, but ſecretly tooke an other way, where by chance they met with the maiſter of Alcantara and the Earle of Medellin who were going to the King with a thouſand horſe, whom theſe two run-awaies made beleeue, that the King had giuen charge to take them, and that he did greatly diſtruſt them, and therefore aduiſed them not to ſhut them-ſelues vp in a place from whence they could not eſcape at their pleaſures.

The King betrayed on all ſides.

They knowing the king, by many like examples, to be apt enough to do ſuch a matB ter, did eaſily beleeue what the ſecretary and *Gonçalo* had told them, and at their intreaty they went altogether and ioyned them-ſelues with their confederats, the which did wonderfully trouble the King, who had great cauſe to complaine of the ingratitude of *Aluar Gomes* de Cité Reall aboue the reſt, becauſe hee had truſted him with his greateſt ſecrets, and had highly aduanced him, hauing giuen him the Lordſhippe of Maqueda, and enabled him, by meanes of his fauour, honours and offices, to purchaſe Saint *Silueſter* and *Torrejon* de Velaſco, and other-waies aduanced him, although hee were of no Noble parentage. Apprehending then this treaſon of *Aluaro*, hee confiſcated all his goods, and gaue the towne of Torrejon de Velaſco, to *Pedro Arias* de Auila, ſonne to *Diego* of Segobia, his high treaſorer. And afterward made an edict, whereby hee

Aluar Gomes perfidious and diſloyall to his King.

C declared the deputies and arbitrators, aſſembled at Medina del Campo, ſuſpect, and enemies to his crowne, reuoking, and declaring their ſentence to bee of no force. Afterthat, hee came to Segouia, and the confederates went to Playſantia, carrying with them the Prince Don *Alfonſo*.

The King diſanuls the Arbitratots ſentence for the peace.

Matters being broken of, the Maiſter of Calatraua went into Andaluzia to drawe the Lords of that country into the league. In the meane time the Arch-Biſhoppe of Toledo and the Admirall, the better to aſſure the king of their fidelity, remayned in their houſes, making no ſhew of cleauing to any ſide in thoſe latter tumults, and they ſayd, that they ſtayd there expecting when the King would ſend for them: Now the King, the better to oblige them to his ſeruice, had promiſed to giue vnto the

D Archbiſhop la mota of Medina del campo, and the Citty of Auila, and to the Admirall the Captenſhip of Valiodolit, and of Val de nebro, with a certaine ſumme of Henries of gould to pay their ſoldiors, to weete the Arch-Biſhoppe fourteene hundred Launces, and the Admiral eight hundred, the which they obtained within few daies after. The king hauing left in Segobia, with a good and ſure guard, the Queene his wife, with her daughter, and the Infanta Donna *Iſabell*, hee went to Madrid whether the Arch-Biſhop came as it were flying, becauſe, (as hee ſayd) the *Marchiones* of Villena had cauſed him to bee purſued by the commandement of her huſband, and the other confederates: beeing receaued and welcommed by the whole Courte, the King, the day following, held a

King Henry ill aduiſed giueth his enemies meanes to war vpon him.

counceil, wherein hee complayned of the diſobedience and rebellion of the Marquis

E and his confederats, who had made ſundry attempts againſt his perſon, & the welfare & quiet of his realmes, which was wholy diuided in armes, & was ſo troubled, that without a fit and ſpeedy remedy, both he himſelfe, who was King, & the Lords, Citties, and other eſtates, ſhould bee expoſed to the appetite of ſuch as gaped after their liuings, places, and dignities: wherefore hee craued aduice what was to bee done in a time ſo troubleſome, wherein hee himſelfe, with his faithfull friends, and councellors, were ready to fall into extreame daunger.

The Arch-Biſhop as a Prelate of greateſt authority, & who was the mouth of the reſt, aunſwered, and gaue the King counſell to demand the Prince Don *Alfonſo* of the confederate Lords, ſaying that hee ſhould liue better according to his dignity, beeing with

F him than in their company, ſeeing that the troubles were encreaſed by meanes of his deliuery vnto them, were as peace and quietneſſe was expected: and if that they ſhould refuſe to ſend him, that then the King ſhould proceed againſt them by rigor of armes, as rebells and guilty of treaſon.

This counſell was receyued and allowed of them all: and therefore the King went to-

wards Salamanca, ſuppoſing to take the Rebels vnprouided. By the way, the Earle of Alua, who was in his houſe, lodged and entertayned the King and his Court very ſumptuouſly, and with great magnificence, and did ſincerely reconcile himſelfe vnto him, vterly forſaking the League, vnto whome the King promiſed to forget what was paſt, and great fauours in time to come: The fourth day after hee went from thence and came to Salamanca, with the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, the Biſhop of Calaorra, the Duke of Albuquerque with others of his priuie Councell, from which place he did write to the confederate Lords, according as he was aduiſed by the Arch-biſhop of Toledo. Then did the Arch-biſhop ſollicite the King to giue vnto him and the Admirall, Auila, and the other places, with the money promiſed for the leauying and payment of their men at armes: the King promiſed him the places, and willed them in the meane time to aſſemble their forces.

The Earle of Alua forſaking the league, reconciled to the King.

The Lords of the League who were at Plaiſance, hauing receyued the Kings commandement, anſwered him, that they would ſerue him no longer, and there withall aduiſed him not to marrie the Infanta Donna *Izabella* to the King of Portugall, without the conſent of the three Eſtates of the Kingdome. The letter beeing read, diuers told the king that he ſhould well conſider the tenour thereof: for albeit the Confederates ſayd, that they would no longer ſerue him, it was euident by the diſcourſe thereof, that they did not intend to ſequeſter themſelues from the ſeruice of the Crowne, but onely from that of his owne perſon, and that they would for a certaine eleƈt his brother Prince Don *Alphonſo* for their King. And moreouer, they did aduiſe him not to truſt ouer much to the Arch-biſhop of Toledo; for they were ſufficiently aduertiſed, that the Admirals intent and his was, ſo ſoone as they could get the caſtles and places, which they demaunded, in their owne power, to retire then with all their forces, to his enemies: but the King who was not ſuſpitious, but by accident, and by nature credulous, did for all that giue the Arch-biſhop whatſoeuer he demanded. Hauing then debated how to beginne this warre, the Councell was of opinion, and amonſt the reſt the Arch-biſhop, that Areuallo ſhould bee beſeeged, a cittie belonging to the Confederates, who before they would looſe that place, would perhaps come to any honeſt agreement: this being ſo ſet downe, the Arch-biſhop was ſent away to gather his forces together, with commaundement, that he himſelfe and the Admirall ſhould with their troupes meete before Areualo: in the meane ſpace the Biſhop of Calaorra, and the Duke of Albuquerque remayned at Salamanca, to giue order for things neceſſarie for the ſeege: that beeing done, the King departed thence accompanied with the horſe-men of his guard toward Medina del Campo, but before his comming foorth of Salamanca, there aroſe ſo terrible a tempeſt of wind, as blew vp the whole roofe in the great place there, bearing it more then a ſtones-caſt from thence, the which was held prodigious by the Mathematicians and Aſtrologians of the ſame place.

Prodigious wind.

The King cauſed the Queene his wife, and the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, to come to Medina del campo, and Donna *Ioane* his ſuppoſed daughter was left in the caſtle of Segouia, vnder the keeping of *Perucho* of Muſarras, Gouernour and Captaine thereof. The King came from Medina del campo to the campe before Areualo, and perceiuing that the Arch-biſhop came not, he ſent one of his Secretaries to bid him make haſt. This Secretarie called *Fernand Badajos*, found the Arch-biſhoppe with his troupes going towards Auyla, where after he had deliuered his meſſage, the Arch-biſhop ſayd vnto him, *Tell your King from me, that I am wearie both of him and his affaires, and that ſhortly the true King of Caſtile ſhall be knowne.* The Secretarie hauing reported theſe ſpeeches to the King, at the ſame inſtant newes came, that the Admirall Don *Fredericke*, had made himſelfe Maſter of Vailliodolit, where he had openly proclaimed Don *Alphonſo* King: and that the the Marquis of Villena, and all the Lords which were in the cittie of Plaiſance were come to Auila, there to make the Prince *Alphonſo* king. Then this miſerable and infortunate King *Henry*, being touched with the feeling of his offences, and acknowledging the iudgement of God, all ſorrowfull and humbled with-drew himſelfe apart, (as the Licenciate *Diego Henriques* who wrote his life and deedes doth report) kneeling vpon the ground, and lifting vp his hands to heauen, he prayed in this manner:

The Arch-biſhop of Toledo betrayeth the king his maſter

K. Henry deſtitute of humane helpe, hath recourſe to God.

O Lord

A O Lord God vnto whome belongeth the defence and protection of Kings, and by whome they raigne, I recommend my cauſe vnto thee, and commit my life into thy hands: I yeeld thee infinite thankes, for that it hath pleaſed thee to puniſh mee in this ſort for mine offences, which are worthie of a ſharper ſcourge, and I confeſſe that the ſame which I ſuffer is very ſmall in reſpect of my deſerts: May it pleaſe thee (O Lord) that theſe troubles may diminiſh the paines which are due to my ſoule in regard of my ſins, and if it be thy will that I ſhall paſſe thorough theſe miſeries and afflictions, I beſeech thee from the bottome of my heart to giue me patience to endure them, and reaſon and vnderſtanding to guide my ſelfe in them.

This prayer beeing ended, he commaunded to ſound to horſe-backe, and rode to Me-
B dina del campo, from whence hauing taken the Queene his wife, and the Infanta, hee came backe to Salamanca. At the ſame time the Arch-biſhoppe was buſied in taking of Auila, whether the confederates came, to wit, the Marquis of Villena, the Maſter of Alcantara, the Earles of Benauent, Paredes, Plaiſance, and Medellin, with others. There in a playne field without the cittie a great ſcaffold was ſet vp, vppon the which was placed an effigie or picture repreſenting King *Henry* in a mourning habite, ſitting in a regall throne, the Crowne vppon his head, the Scepter in his hand, and the ſword laid before him. Into the ſame fields the Lords and Knights of the league came, bringing the Prince Don *Alphonſo* with them: the Marquis, the Maſter of Alcantara, the Earle of Medelin, *Gonçalo* of Sahauedra, and the Secretarie *Aluaro Gomes*, ſtood a great ſpace from
C the ſcaffold: the reſt went vp, and ſtanding round about the ſtatue, a certaine writing was read, by the which King *Henry* was degraded, and condemned to looſe his royall dignitie; contayning foure chief points, according to which, and as each of them were reading, the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, did firſt take the Crowne from his head, as deſeruing to bee depriued from the dignitie of King: then the Earle of Plaiſance tooke away the ſword, when they read the Article, that he was no more worthy to adminiſter iuſtice: afterward, the Earle of Benauent, euen as the Cryer pronounced, that he was vnfitte to gouerne the kingdom, tooke the ſcepter out of his hand: and finally, when they came to the chiefe point, which did depriue him of his royall throne, the ſtatue was thrown down from his ſeate, with many vnworthie and outragious ſpeeches, by *Diego Lopes* of Suni-
D ga, or Eſtuniga brother to the Earle of Plaiſance. After that this ceremonie was ended, the other Lords drew neere with the Prince *Alphonſo*, and mounting the ſcaffold, they tooke and liſted him vp on their ſhoulders, and began to cry, Caſtile, Caſtile for the king Don *Alphonſo*: then the trumpets did ſound, and they all were to kiſſe his hand, as their King.

King Henry ſhamefully degraded in effigie at Auila.

D. Alphonſo the kings brother declared king of Caſtile.

This was done in the moneth of Iune, in the yeare 1465. which when King *Henry* vnderſtood, he tooke it very patiently, and rehearſed the verſe of the Prophet *Eſay*: *I haue nouriſhed and brought vp children, and they haue deſpiſed me*: but although theſe trecherous and diſloyall ſeruants, haue ſo wronged and ſcorned me by the ſtatue which they
E haue degraded, and throwne away all reſpect and duty which they owe vnto me: yet they cannot keepe me, who am the true king from hauing ſtrength and courage to chaſtiſe and diſperſe them: for I hope in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which is the iuſt Iudge of Kings, that their wickedneſſe ſhall be deſtroyed, and my innocencie made knowne to the whole world. Then he wrote to the three Eſtates, citties, and communalties of Caſtile, concerning theſe diſorders, and leauied men at armes from all parts, promiſing exemptions, liberties, priuiledges, and recompences to ſuch as would ſerue him in that extremity; for he knew very well, that Toledo and Burgos had erected Don *Alphonſo's* banners, and that the Maſter of Calatraua, who was ſtrong in Andaluſia, had cauſed Seuile and Cordoua to rebell, and had drawne the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Earle of Arcos, and Don *Al-*
F *phonſo* of Aguilar, with many others, to their league: wherefore this poore vnfortunate King would oftentimes ſay: Naked I came out of my mothers wombe, and the earth muſt receiue me naked: no man can become ſo poore as he was born: and if God do now chaſtiſe me for my ſinnes, he will comfort and preſerue me hereafter; for his infinite power killeth, and giueth life, hurteth and healeth, giueth kingdomes, and taketh them away, lifteth vp kings, and throweth them downe againe euen as he pleaſeth.

1465.

Patience of king Henry.

31 Arragon. and Nauarre.

Whileſt that Caſtile was thus troubled, the kingdome of Arragon was not at reſt: for King *Iohn* hauing made a truce with the King of Caſtile, ſince the yeare 1464. being contented to liue at peace on that ſide, albeit he was depriued of that which was adiudged him by the ſentence of the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, he did notwithſtanding ſince continually preſſe the Cattelans, and other Rebels by force of armes, to the end to reduce them to their former duties and allegeance: This truce was ſworne vnto by Commiſſioners on either ſide, namely, by *Gaſton* the Earle of Foix, in the name of the king *Iohn* his father-in-law, and by Donna *Leonora* his wife, heire to the Crowne of Nauarre, who to obtaine the right of ſucceſſion (if we may beleeue the Spaniſh Authors) was not affraid to cauſe Donna *Blanche* the Queene of Caſtile, her eldeſt ſiſter, to be poyſoned, who was kept for a time by her and her husband priſoner at the towne of Leſear in the Countrey of Bearne, by the conſent of King *Iohn* her father, to the end to keepe this poore Princeſſe from marrying any more.

A cruell appetite of rule in the Counteſſe of Foix

32 *Continuance of the warre of Cattelogne.*

As concerning the warres of Cattelogne, the eſtates of that Country did not faint, although they were forſaken by the King of Caſtile, nor abated any iotte of their hatred againſt their Prince, but reiecting him as a wicked murtherer of his owne ſonne, they chooſe (as hath beene alreadie ſayd) Don *Pedro* the third Conſtable of Portugall, ſonne Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra, vnto whom for the ſame effect they ſent Ambaſſadors to Ceuta, where he remayned with the King Don *Alphonſo* of Portugall, warring vppon the Affricane Moores: whileſt they attended his comming, (the Spaniards ſent to their ayde by the king Don *Henry*, not beeing yet departed) the warre continued cruelly in the countries of Cattelogne and Arragon with variable ſucceſſe.

The Knights of the Order of Monteſa taking the Kings part, did greatly trouble the towne and countrey of Tortoſa, and tooke the cittie of Eſmereta, which the Caſtillans had wonne in the laſt warres, who had giuen many ouerthrowes to thoſe of Tarraſſona and Borja, and others which were on K. *Iohns* ſide. Thoſe of Barcelona, being maſters of the ſea, and ſtrong enough by land, did obtaine ſundrie victories, and defeated the Prior of S. Iohns. Thoſe of Lerida rebelling againe, conſtrayned the king to beſiege their towne, wherein commanded as chiefe *Pedro de Deça*, who dared to offer the king battell, where they fought ſo valiantly, that albeit the king obtained the victorie, yet hee loſt more men then the beſeeged, who made diuers furious ſallies vppon the Kings armie, leauing ſtill behind them bloudie markes: but in the end beeing conſtrayned by famine, they yeelded with condition, to haue their liues and goods ſaued, which the king graunted them, becauſe he would not appeare ouer rigorous, and to the end that hee might bring others to do the like, by that example of clemencie. *Iohn de Lazcano* a Knight born in Guipuſcoa was left Gouernour of Lerida; the army marching againſt Ceruera, to inueſt which place Don *Alphonſo* and Don *Iohn* of Arragon the kings baſtard ſons were ſent before. In the meane time, D. *Pedro* of Portugall beeing arriued, receiued, and crowned King at Barcelona, according to the vſuall ceremonies of Arragon, hee determined with the forces which he found in Cattelogne, thoſe which he had brought from Portugall, and with certaine Caſtillan Knights who of their owne accord remayned in that countrey, to ſuccour Ceruera: but beeing come to Igualada, and vnderſtanding by his ſpies, that his forces were not ſufficient to raiſe Kings *Iohns* army from before that place, he returned to Barcelona with great difficultie. Afterward to diuert the Earle of Pratas, who did furiouſly batter the towne of Tarraga for King *Iohn*, he brought his army into his countrie, where he tooke Pratas, and committed diuers ſpoyles there, which king *Iohn* hauing notice of, he cauſed the Earle to depart from before Tarraga, and ſent him more ſouldiers, conducted by his ſonne Don *Fernand*, with commaundement to meete with Don *Pedro*, whoſe armie conſiſted of ſixe thouſand and fiue hundred men at the moſt, beeing Cattelans, Portugueſes, Nauarrois, Burgondians and others: with theſe forces he came foorth of Pratas, and met with the enemie about Calaf. As both the armies were in ſight, an infinite multitude of ſtorks appeared flying in the ayre, which troubled the minds of all men on either ſide, reputing it as prodigious: The battayles beeing ioyned, D. *Pedro* was ouer-come, and ſaued himſelfe by fauour of the night in Pratas, where he had left a ſufficient Garriſon.

Don Pedro of Portugal crowned king at Barcelona.

Don Pedro and the Cattelans defeated neere to Calaf.

To

A To this battaile of Calaf came Don *Henry* of Arragon, ſonne to the Infant D. *Henry*, and Lady *Beatrice Pimentel* who was ſurnamed the fortunate Infant. D. *Pedro* who intituled himſelfe King, left Pratas; and retired himſelfe to Manrreſa, from whence he ſent a captaine named *Bertrand* of Almendrades, to the ſuccour of Ceruera, and he himſelfe entred into the Prouince of Ampurdan, where he fortefied his campe with new ſuccours from the towne of Beſalu; he battred and tooke Tibrana, and came to beſeege Bisball, the which hauing beaten to no purpoſe, and ſpent many great ſhot, hee raiſed his ſeege, and came to Poblin: thither on euery ſide came King *Iohns* people in ſuch numbers, as D. *Pedro* was conſtrained to fight againe, where againe he was ouercome, and loſt a thouſand foot men, and two hundred and threeſcore horſe.

D Pedro and the Cattelans againe diſcate t before Poblin.

B As theſe exploits were performed in Cattalonia, the Earle *Gaſton* de Foix who gouerned Nauarre, with his wife Donna *Leonora*, called the Princeſſe of Viana, by the aduiſe of thoſe of his councell, reſolued to enterpriſe ſomething vpon Caſtile, in counterchange of the townes of La Garde, Arcos and Saint Vincent, which the Caſtillans had withheld ſince the laſt warre, againſt the ſentence giuen by the French King. Hauing then with great dilligence and ſecrecy aſſembled great forces, he forced eaſily and without loſſe of his people, the City of Calaorra to yeeld, wherein he did a thing very pleaſing and agreeable to the confederate Knights againſt King *Henry*, which were within Auila with Prince Don *Alphonſo*, whoſe Ambaſſador remained in the Court of Nauarre.

Calaorra taken by Gaſton de Foix from the Spaniards.

C This being done, the Earle was aduiſed to ſend to the King of Caſtile, to giue him to vnderſtand, that what he had done, was not to breake the peace betweene Caſtile and Nauarre, but onely in manner of repriſall, in ſteed of the aboue mentioned townes, which hee withheld, belonging to the Kingdome whereunto he had right: and if it might pleaſe him to ſend ſome one or other to him, to agree vpon ſome good compoſition, according to right and equity, he would then ſubmit himſelfe therevnto. King *Henry* ſent forthwith thither the licenciat *Diego Henriques*, who ſpake proudly and audaciouſly to the Earle and the Princeſſe his wife about the taking of Calaorra: They were chiefly ruled by the counſell of *Nicholas*, of Echauarri Biſhop of Pampelona, and by his aduiſe *Diego Henriques* was ſent backe, and with him an other of the ſame coate,
D to intreate King *Henry* to redeliuer the three townes of La Garde, Arcos, and Saint Vincent and that Calaorra ſhould be forthwith reſtored backe: and beſides, that the Earle and the Princeſſe ſhould aide him with forces from Nauarre againſt his owne rebels, and would in no ſort fauor nor aide them. This Ambaſſage deliuered to the King of Caſtile, at Segobia, did much content him, and he ſent backe the licenciat *Diego* with the Ambaſſador of Nauarre to accompliſh theſe reſtitutions, ſo that for aſſurance of what the Earle and the Princeſſe ſhould promiſe, they ſhould giue their children D. *Iohn* and Donna *Mary* for oſtages: The two Ambaſſadors being on their way, he of Caſtile ſtaied at Logrogno, and he of Nauarre came to the Earle, vnto whom hee gaue ac-
E count of his charge: and according to that which was ſet downe, the Earle and *Diego Henriques* met ſince in a certaine place, yet they agreed vpon nothing, the Earle of Foix being importuned to the contrary, by the league of Caſtile.

The Caſtillan Ambaſſador foreſeeing that the Earle ment to beſeege Alfaro, hee gaue order ſpeedily, that a hundred horſemen, with ſtore of victuals, ſhould enter into the ſame towne: within a while after, the Earle being at Tudela, he ſent for the Caſtillan Ambaſſador, to the end to treat againe with him about an agreement, and he cauſed the Biſhop of Pampelona, and *Martin* de Peralta to deale with him; but there was leſſe done at this meeting then before, for the Biſhop vſed many iniurious ſpeeches againſt King *Henry*, ſo as all men were aſhamed of him: but the Ambaſſador of Caſtile did car-
F ry himſelfe ſo modeſtly, and did refute the Biſhops words with ſuch good reaſons, as in the end he made him to acknowledge his fault, and to excuſe himſelfe. In concluſion, the end of their diſputation, was, that the Earle would not ſend his children, and that if the King of Caſtile would not yeeld vp the towne, which hee held in Nauarre, he would then beſeege Alfaro: with this reſolution the Ambaſſador departed, and in foure daies ſpace that he remained at Alfaro, he cauſed it to be fortified with rampiers and defenſes,

as

as much as his ſhort ſtay would giue him leaue: from thence he went into Soria, and leauied ſouldiers there, for the defence of the ſame place. Alfaro being beſeeged and furiouſly battered by the Earle, did hold out, notwithſtanding that it is ſcituated betweene Calaorra and Tudela, wherein were great garriſons of French-men and Nauarrois, ſo as within the ſpace of twelue daies, the ſuccors of Caſtile appeared, conſiſting of one thouſand three hundred horſe, and fiue thouſand footmen, conducted by *Alphonſo* de Areillan Lord de los Cameros: by reaſon whereof the Earle raiſed his ſeege, and brought backe his people to Tudela: and ſoone after he receiued newes that the Inhabitants of Calaorra had maſſacred the French Garriſon there, and returned to the obedience of their Prince King *Henry*. Theſe diſorders did greatly diſpleaſe the Earle, the Conſtable Lord *Peter* of Peralta, and others, who laide the whole fault vpon the Biſhop of Pampelona who was the cauſe that the townes of La Garda, Saint Vincent and Arcos, which of old times belonged to Nauarre, haue euer ſince remained in the power of Caſtile.

The Biſhop of Pampelona cauſeth the townes of La Garde, Saint Vincent and Arcos, to remaine vnder the power of Caſtile.

King *Iohn* after the victory, which his ſonne had obtained at Poblin, receiued diuerſe Inhabitants of the Prouince of Ampurdan, which yeelded to him, ſome willingly, others for feare. And deſiring ſtraightly to beſeege Ceruera, a ſtrong place by nature, hee ſent thither the troupes of D. *Alphonſo*, and thoſe which the Queene held before Valdecona, a towne ſeated within a mile of Tortoſa: but D. *Alphonſo*, before he marched to the campe, vnderſtanding that the Inhabitants of Igualada were at diſſention among themſelues, ſome of them cleauing to the new King D. *Pedro*, the others to King *Iohn*: hee drew nere to it, and found meanes to take it whileſt they were at variance: Hauing gotten in, he vſed them kindely that held with King *Iohn*, the others hee ſeuerely puniſhed: then he went to Ceruera, which was ſo ſpeedily battred and aſſailed, as in the end it yeelded vpon compoſition to haue their liues and goods ſaued, and their priuiledges entirely maintained: the which was graunted. The gouernment of that place was giuen to *Iohn* de Carraxona, then they went to Pratas, where the new King D. *Pedro* had left a garriſon, he himſelfe being retired to Barcelona: Pratas was yeelded, and Rodona likewiſe vpon conditions, and the army paſſed on to Tortoſa, the Prince D. *Fernand* conducting the formoſt troupes, who beganne to encampe before Ampoſta, hauing with great difficulty paſſed the riuer Ebro, hich was greatly ſwelled and riſen. The ſeege of Ampoſta was long and difficult, winter drawing neere, which prooued that yeere ſo exceeding cold, beyond the cuſtome of the country, as it is reported that wolues came into the ſouldiars tents and cabanes as though they had beene tame: and great numbers of ſundry ſorts of ſnakes were found in the fields, which did no hurt at all, which did greatly amaze the ſouldiars who held theſe things for ſtrang prognoſtications: ſo as King *Iohn* was conſtrained to comfort and animate his people with orations and friendly ſpeeches, wherein a Sicillian Gentleman named *Scipio Patello*, who was wiſe and eloquent, did him good ſeruice. By the great labour of the ſouldiars, and extreame dilligence of the captaines, Ampoſta was taken by force, where the King executed ſome of the principall Inhabitants, and pardoned others, as namely the Gouernor who with diuers others had taken the caſtle.

Igualada ſurpriſed by meanes of the diſcord of the Inhabitants.

A cold winter.

Snakes among the army in the dead of winter.

Ampoſta taken by King Iohn.

After this they beſeeged Tortoſa which the King greatly deſired, who ſent thither D. *Alphonſo* his ſon, to ſhut in the Inhabitants, and to prepare things in readineſſe to batter it. The townes-men perceiuing it was in good earneſt, ſent forty of their Citizens to the King, to perſwade him to deſiſt from that enterprize, and to aſſure him that Tortoſa would not rebel againſt him, if the other townes of Cattalonia would compound and yeeld: therefore they entreated him to go to ſome other place, and to leaue them in peace; other-wiſe, he ſhould thinke, that if the taking of Ampoſta coſt him ſo deere, that Tortoſa, which was much ſtronger, and greater, would ſtand him in no leſſe. The King knowing that the Tortoſans were none of the valianteſt, anſwered them, that if they did not ſubmit themſelues to his obedience, he would ſeuerely puniſh them: which they refuſing, the warre beganne to be very ſharpe in euery place about the City, with the dayly loſſe of many on either ſide: the towne was battered with great fury on all parts, and the beſeeged made diuerſe braue ſallies vpon the enemies. D. *Pedro* who named himſelfe

himſelfe King, did deſire to ſuccour Tortoſa; but being with his forces on the way, he died by poiſon (as it is reported) in the City of Granol, fiue miles diſtant from Barcelona. King *Iohn* being aduertized of the death of his enemy, did not diſſemble the ioy that he felt, nor the Barcelonois their griefe and ſorrow: but thoſe of Tortoſa were eſpecially greeued for the hope of ſuccor which they expected from him: ſo as being out of hope of helpe, and extreamely beaten euery day, they yeelded vpon reaſonable termes.

D. Pedro of Portugal ioyſoned.

Tortoſa yeelded to King Iohn.

These things were done in Cattalonia, at the ſame time that the Prince *Alphonſo* was proclaimed King of Caſtile at Auila, and King *Henry* degraded by the confederate Lords, vnto whoſe ſeruice and readuancement, from ſundry parts of the Realme diuers Noble men reſorted: but Don *Garcia Aluares* de Toledo Earle of Alua de Tormes was he that ſhewed the greateſt loue and affection towards him, for he brought to his aide one thouſand footmen, three hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horſe or genets: he dwelt nere to Salamanca. The King ſent the Earle of Alua and his troupes to Zamora with *Iohn Fernandes Galindo*, who had commaund of the reſidew of the army: he himſelfe with the Queene, and the Infanta *Iſabella*, went to Ledeſma, where he was ſumptuouſly entertained and feaſted by the Duke of Albuquerque for the ſpace of eight daies: from whence hauing aſſembled three hundred men at armes and two hundred genets, they accompanied the King to Zamora. The Queene and the Infanta *Iſabell* went into Portugall to requeſt aide of the King, whereof there was great need, but their labour was in vaine. At Zamora daily arriued great numbers of ſouldiars for the Kings ſeruice. The Earle of Tranſtamara brought thither two hundred men at armes, and two hundred genets, the Earle of Valencia, a hundred men at armes, and two hundred genets, others brought more or leſſe according to their habilities. The King ſent three hundred Launces to Segobia, to accompany the Lady *Ioane* his ſuppoſed daughter to Zamora, where with great pompe hee entred the City vnder a canopy and in a Kingly habit.

33 Caſtile.

In the meane time the Maiſter of Calatraua, ſtirred vp all Andaluzia for the contrary part, and drew ſome by perſwations, guifts and promiſes, & others by threatnings, force and violence. Hauing done his beſt (but in vaine) to enduce D. *Iohn* de Valençuela to ioyne himſelfe with the confederate Lords, he tooke him priſoner and would not releaſe him, till he had ſnatched diuers fortreſſes from him, with the which not being ſatiſfied, he tooke from him all the places belonging to the priory of Saint Iohn, and gaue them to D. *Aluaro* de Eſtuniga third ſonne to the Earle of Playſance; He diſpoſſeſſed alſo the Biſhop of Iaen, the Kings faithful ſeruant, from all that he held, notwithſtanding that he vſed his goods and houſes, boldly and familliarly as his gueſt. The Conſtable of Caſtile D. *Michael Lucas* de Irançu, D. *Pedro* de Cordoua Earle of Cabra and his children, the Marſhall of Caſtile D. *Diego*; the Commandor de Eſtepa D. *Martin*, and *Martin Alphonſo* Lord of Alcaudete, did oppoſe themſelues againſt the Maiſter of Calatraua. The intent of the confederate Lords was to goe and beſeege Simancas, and being gone from Valiodolit for the ſame purpoſe with great ſtore of men and munition, by the way they tooke Pegnafleur: where whileſt they were buſied, the King cauſed *Iohn Fernandes Galindo* to enter into Simancas with three hundred horſe: and not long after the towne beeing inueſted by the enemy, it was a hard matter to ſay, whether the beſeegers or the beſeeged were in moſt feare.

D. Pedro Gyron, Maiſter of Calatraua, ſtirs in Andeluzia againſt the King.

In the meane ſpace whileſt they lay before that towne, the knauiſh boies and lackies which were within the ſame did gather themſelues together vpon a day, and in deriſion of the league, they made an image repreſenting the Archbiſhop of Toledo, which they named the new D. *Opas* the Apoſtata, in the daies of Count *Iulian*, who brought the Moores into Spaine againſt King *Rodericke*: then they made one amongeſt them a Iudge, who ſitting in a ſeate, commanded the image ſhould bee impriſoned: and afterward he pronounced ſentence, which was, that *Alphonſo Carillo* Archbiſhop of Toledo, following the ſteps of the old Biſhop *Opas*, the ruine of Spaine, for that he had betraied the King his naturall Lord, rebelling againſt him, and detayning his money, townes and fortreſſes which he had committed to him, was condemned to be drawne vp and

The Archbiſhop of Toledo chiefe of the rebels derided.

and downe the ſtreets, and publike places of Simancas, a trumpet going before, who A
ſhould proclaime, that the King did command this iuſtice to bee done to the traitor *Opas*, as a recompence due for his treacheries and treaſons, and that then it ſhould bee burned. This ſentence being pronounced aloud, the image was carried forth of the towne, accompanied with more then three hundred boies and lacquaies, and burned nere to the confederats army and in their ſight. The Lords of the league perceiuing that they could not take Simancas, did raiſe their ſeege and brought their forces backe to Valiodolit.

The Kings army which was aſſembled at Toro did daily encreaſe, to the which their ioyned the Earle of Medina Celi, with fiue hundred Launces, the Marquis of Santillana B
with ſeuen hundred, D. *Pedro* de Mendoça, Lord of Almaçan, with two hundred, and a great number of footmen; diuers others alſo came thither, ſo that there were reckoned to be foure ſcore thouſand footmen and foureteene thouſand horſe, as well men at armes as light horſe: who were all of them very deſirous to fight and to doe the King good ſeruice, who by the aduice of the Lords and captaines of his army, cauſed the campe to diſlodge, and to aduance towards the enemies, the Earle of Alua de Tormes leading the vantguard, and the battaile was conducted by D. *Pedro Gonçales* de Mendoça Biſhop of Calaorra.

The army marching neere to Tordeſillas, a captaine of the Vantgarde, named C
Garci Mendes of Badajos, disbanding with about two hundred horſe, met neere to Valiodolit with *Iohn Carillo*, a Knight of the Admiralls, leading a band of fifty horſe, whom he fought with, vanquiſhed, and tooke *Iohn Carillo* priſoner, beeing grieuouſly hurt, who was brought into a Chappel thereby, where hee entreated to ſpeake with the King before he died, for he felt himſelfe wounded to the death. The King at the intreaty of his friends came to viſit the priſoner, whoſe end drew neere: he craued pardon of the King for bearing armes againſt him, and told him that he was come from Valiodolit the ſame day, by the commandement of thoſe that had power ouer him, to finde meanes to kill him, and he did moreouer reueale to the King ſundry other vilde practiſes; the King ſaid, that he pardoned him with all his heart, and prayed God to pardon him likewiſe, and he enquired further of him, who thoſe were which ſought his life, and which did D
ſet him a worke; he entreated the King to ſend away them that ſtood by, and then in great ſecrecy he told their names, which could neuer after be knowne, for the King neuer told it to any man liuing: the next day after *Iohn Carillo* died of his hurts. The King being at Simancas, his great and mighty army ſtretched it ſelfe euen to the gates of Valiadolit, where the confederats did remaine, neuertheleſſe the affaires were drawne out at length, without any matter of note. Thither came the Queene Donna *Ioane*, with the Infant Donna *Iſabella*, who were returned from Portugall, where they had obtained nothing at all for the good of Caſtile: for notwithſtanding that they had endeauored for to renew the treatie of marriage mentioned at the enterview of the Kings at the Archbiſhops bridge, neuertheleſſe the King Don *Alphonſo* did abhorre E
to marry his ſonne to Donna *Ioane*, whoe was begotten in adultery, of the Queene of Caſtile his coſin, by the Duke of Albuquerque Don *Bertrand* de la Cueua

Theſe things ſtanding at a ſtay, the King and the Marquis of Villena did ſee one an other, and by the aduice of Don *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoça Marquis of Santillana, and of Don *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga, chiefe Iuſtice of Caſtile, called and choſen on both parts, it was concluded, that euery man ſhould lay by his armes and returne to his owne houſe: and that during the truce, which ſhould continue for the ſpace of ſome fiue monthes following, they ſhould treate of a peace, and of the meanes how to giue content to all men; but chiefely, to cauſe the Prince Don *Alphonſo* to renounce his royalty. This was proclaimed through the campe, neere to Montejo F
in the territory of Areualo, ſigned and ſealed by the King, the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, and vnderneath by the ſecretrary *Garcia* de Arcareſo de Montdragon.

The King knowes not how to profit himſelfe by his great forces.

The King had ſmall reaſon to yeeld to theſe things, hauing an army of a hundred thouſand fighting men; whereas his enemies were very weake in reſpect of him, and vnprouided

A vnprouided of money, victuals, munition and other things neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe, but God would haue it ſo. The King being come backe to Simancas, diſmiſſed his ſouldiars with liberall payment; then at Medina del Campo, whether hee came ſoone after, he recompenced the Lords after this manner: He gaue to D. *Peco Gonçales* de Mendoça Biſhop of Calaorra the thirds of Guadalajara with the reuenue thereof: to his brother D. *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoça Marquis of Santillana, he gaue the towne of Saint Andrew, ioyning to the lands of his Marquiſat, with a yeerely pention of ſeuen hundred thouſand Marauedis: to the other brother D. *Inigo* de Mendoça, and to Don *Lorenzo* de Suares Vicont of Torreja, and to D. *Iohn Hurtado* de Mendoça, penſions according to their degrees, to D. *Lewis de la Cerde* Earle of Medina Celi, the City of A-
B greda with the territory: to D. *Garci Aluares de Toledo* Earle of Alua, Carpia, with ſundry places nere to Salamanca: to D. *Aluar Peres Oſorio* Lord of Villalobos and Earle of Tranſtamara, the City of Aſtorga with the title of Marquis, to D. *Iohn* de Acugna Earle of Valencia, the Earldome of Prauia and Gijon, with the title of Duke of Valencia: to D. *Pedro* de Mendoça, Lord of Almaçan, a yeerely pention of 300000. Marauedis, aſſigned him, on the hill of Mountagu: to D. *Aluaro* de Mendoça, captaine of his men at armes, the City of Requegna, with the reuenue and proffit of the port and hauen thereof. Other guifts and recompences did the King make to his Knights, the which, or at leaſt the moſt part of them, haue euer ſince remained in their families.

Recompences made by the King to the Lords that followed him.

C

The end of the twentith Booke.

THE

THE ONE AND TVVENtith Booke of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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The one and twentith Booke of the Hiſtory of Spaine.

NOtwithſtanding the agreement made at Montejo, the Kingdome of Caſtile was neuer the more at quiet: for the Infant Don *Alphonſo* called himſelfe King neuertheleſſe; and in his writings and letters patents (diuers of which are to be ſeene in Spaine at this day, as namely at Valiodolit and Arcualo) he named himſelf King of Caſtile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Siuil, Cordoua, Murcia, Iaen, Algarua, Algezire, and Gibraltar, and Lord of Biſcay and Molina: neither did the confederate Lords lay downe their armes, according as they had ſworne and promiſed: perceiuing very well that all King *Henries* great forces and meanes would come to nothing through his negligence and careleſneſſe: by meanes whereof the Realme of Spaine grew infamous through the robberies and oppreſſions which the ſouldiars did dayly commit in euery place without any puniſhment at all.

1 *Thoſe of Valiodolit free themſelues from the confederates ſubiection, and ſubmit to the King.*

It happened on a day as the confederates went out of Valiodolit to Alfaro, they were no ſooner out of the towne but the Inhabitants ſhut their gates againſt them, putting themſelues againe vnder King *Henries* obedience, and did driue all thoſe out of their city which had any correſpondence with the league. The King being aduertized thereof, came ſodainely thither, where hee was receiued with great ioy. In recompence of the loſſe of Valiodolit, the confederates made an enterpriſe vpon Simancas, thinking to haue taken it by ſcalado, but they themſelues were taken, and diuers of them ſent backe to Valiodolit, where they were cut in quarters. The King did for all this harken to the agreement which had bin reſolued among them, and did bend his eare to whatſoeuer was propounded by the Marquis, whoſe onely drift was to take him, if hee could haue but drawne him into any place fit for the purpoſe: but the King hearing thereof, ſtood ſtill vpon his guarde, and when at any time there was any occaſion of meeting to conferre, he alwaies ſent the Biſhop of Calaorra and *Iohn Fernandes Galindo* vnto them. They concluded vpon nothing, ſo that many Lords which followed the Court, tooke their leaues, and returned to their owne houſes. There remained continually with the King the Biſhop of Calaorra the Marquis of Santillana and his bretheren; the Earles of Haro, Valence, and Cabra, the new Marquis of Aſtorga, the Conſtable D. *Michael Lucas* de Irançu, and the Duke of Albuquerque.

2 *The Prince D. Alphonſo choſen King, in miſerable captiuity in the keeping of the confederates.*

The King hauing left a good garriſon in Valiodolit, returned to Segobia: at the ſame time the affaires of the confederates, were in bad termes, and if the King or they which were neere about him had truely vnderſtood themſelues, he might very eaſily haue diſſolued that league, for the Marquis through want of meanes, was very badly and vnwillingly followed by thoſe which were about him.

The Prince Don *Alphonſo* diſtruſting the end of their enterpriſes, would willingly haue made an attonement with the King his brother: but they held him very ſhort, and threatned him, that if hee made but the leaſt ſhew to bend that way, to preſent him with a cuppe of poiſon: therevpon by meanes of the Archbiſhop of Siuill, a very vnſeemely agreement was made, to the which neuertheleſſe the King gaue eare willingly: which was, to marry the Infanta Donna *Iſabella* his ſiſter to Don *Pedro Giron* Maiſter of Calatraua vpon condition that hee ſhould promiſe to cauſe Prince *Alphonſo* to giue ouer the title of King, and to furniſh a certaine ſumme of money

An other agreement not well digeſted.

with

A with three thouſand launces for the Kings ſeruice: beſides this, it was concluded that the Biſhop of Calaorra and the Duke of Albuquerque ſhould leaue the Court, who forthwith without any contradiction did ſo. The Infanta Donna *Iſabella* was wonderfully afflicted with griefe when ſhe vnderſtood theſe newes, conſidering the inequality of the marriage, and the indignity offred her by the King her brother, and like a noble and couragious Princeſſe, ſhe determined rather to kill her ſelfe then euer to yeeld vnto it: but firſt of all, ſhee thought it fit to trie all poſſible meanes how to ridde this new husband of his life: ſhee had a very truſty Gentlewoman named *Beatrice* of Boadilla, who offered with the help of her husband *Andrew* de Cabrera, to kill the Maiſter vp-

B on the wedding night, as ſoone as hee ſhould offer to lie downe by the Princeſſe: this Lady was by the Infanta at her comming to the crowne of Caſtile created Marqueſſe of Moya.

Magnanimity of the Infanta D. Iſabel.

Theſe things being thus plotted; it happened that as the Maiſter D. *Pedro Giron* was on his way to the Court to ſollemnize his marriage, bringing with him great numbers of horſemen, he was taken with a greeuous ſickneſſe, whereof hee died at Villa-rubia, hauing held the Maſterſhip of Calatraua one and twenty yeeres: whether this happened accidentally, or otherwaies, it remaines doubtfull; but his death was very diſpleaſing to the King, who thought by meanes of this marriage to giue an end to all the miſeries and troubles of his Kingdome, and to re-enter into his former authority and quiet. In

C his place, his ſonne Don *Roderigo Tellez Gyron* was choſen Maiſter of Calatraua, by vertue of a grant which he obtained from Rome, who was the laſt Maiſter of that order ſauing one: a brother of his called Don *Alphonſo Tellez Giron* ſucceeded in the Lordſhip and Earledome of Vruena, both of them remayning vnder the gouernment and protection of their vncle D. *Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena. Theſe things happened in the yeer 1466. at which time there were ſeene in Caſtile ſuch huge numbers of Storks, as they did darken and hinder the light of the Sunne, the which did greatly affright the people, who did interpret it for a ſigne of miſery and miſhap to the kingdome.

Death of Don Pedro Gyron Maiſter of Calatraua.

An. 1466. *A Prodigie.*

In theſe times liued D. *Roderigo Sanches* of Areualo, who was very familliar with Pope *Paul* the ſecond, and by him made captaine of the caſtle of Saint Angelo, where he wrote

D an Hiſtory of Spaine, which at this day is common with euery man, and is called the Palentine Hiſtory, becauſe a Biſhop of Palença was author thereof, and it was dedicated to this King *Henry*. The city of Victoria, for that it had, during all the troubles, remained faithfull to the King, did obtaine this yeere a free-market, once euery weeke vpon the Thurſday, whoſe priuiledge was deſpatched by the Secretary *Pedro Arias*: it is one of the moſt frequented markets in the whole country.

After the Maiſter of Calatraua's death: the troubles were a little calmed, by reaſon that no man was reſolued what to doe: the Earle of Benauent acknowledging the offence which hee had committed againſt the King, did ſecretly withdraw himſelfe from the league, and returned to his ſeruice: the King to recompence him, gaue him the

E towne of Portillo, which hee had taken a little before his reconcilliation. About the ſame time, the Prince Don *Alphonſo*, who was termed King, accompanied with the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and many other Knights, came to Portillo, where being receiued, hee was lodged in the caſtle, and the others in the towne: on the morrow as the Archbiſhop and the other Lords came to waite vpon the Prince at his riſing, they found the gates ſhut againſt them, and they were willed to get them thence, for that Don *Alphonſo* did no longer regard their company, whereat the Archbiſhop was greatly troubled, and from that time did conceiue an extreame hatred againſt the Earle, who had put that trick vpon him, the better thereby to inſinuate himſelfe into the Kings fauour: yet for all that the Marquis of Villena, who was very wiſe

F and ſubtill, and did deſire for to maintaine the league vnited, vſed diuerſe meanes to reconcile them, and to applie a plaiſter to that wound, which in ſome ſort did heale outwardly.

The Earle in recompence of the good ſeruice which hee had done to the King, demaunded of him the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iames, at that time vacant, the which was granted to him: but perſwading himſelfe to make vſe of the Marquis of Villena's fauour,

who was his father in law, whom he made beleeue that he was ſtill of his ſide, he inwardly found the contrary. A

The continuall robberies and outrages committed ouer all Spaine by theſe Lords and their followers, not onely ſuffred in the country, but euen in townes and houſes, by reaſon the warres did conſtraine the Inhabitants of the townes and cities to make ſocieties, and fellowſhips, to oppoſe themſelues againſt theſe tyrants and robbers; and the better to bring it to paſſe, they drew certaine chiefe points and Articles, and choſe places to meet at, at daies appointed, the King backing and aſſiſting them therein, notwithſtanding that ſundry of his followers, as well as of the league, did goe about to hinder ſo proffitable an enterpriſe, whereby the Realme was defended from many euills; it being Gods pleaſure that the King ſhould perſiſt in his determination to maintaine his communalties, and to doe Iuſtice, which beganne to be ſincerely adminiſtred. B

Hermandades, or brotherhoods in Caſtile, vnion of the Prouinces and communalties holding together for the adminiſtration of iuſtice.

The concluſions of theſe ſocieties was made in the City of Tordeſillas, where the Deputies of all the Prouinces were aſſembled, where that of Guipuſcoa, moſt of all ſhaken and troubled by the factions of the Gamboins and Ognazins, did receiue the greateſt benifit. They did eſtabliſh captaines and gouernors ouer each of them: theſe are the Hermandades or brotherhoods (as they call them) who in ſome ſort may be likened to the Prouincial prouoſt Marſhalls in ſundry places of France; but that they execute their duties with greater care.

During the aſſembly at Tordeſillas, the King remained at Coca, a towne belonging to the Archbiſhop of Siuill, conferring with the confederates vnder the Bithops ſafe-conduct: but there was nothing of worth concluded on; ſo as the King returned to Segobia, and the league to Areualo. C

4 *Aſſembly at Madrid.*

An other aſſembly, at the requeſt of diuers, was aſſigned at Madrid, the ſame towne being for ſixe monthes giuen to the Archbiſhop of Siuill, to the end that euery man might come thither in ſafety and without ſuſpition: The King *Henry*, the Marquis of Villena, and the chiefe Lords of either faction did meet: the Prince D. *Alphonſo* remained in the meane time at Ocagna, whether the Archbiſhop of Toledo (who was reconciled to him) had brought him: This other conference was as fruteleſſe as the former. The Lady *Leonora Pimentell* Counteſſe of Playſancia came to Madrid, beeing called thither by both ſides to mediate the peace: this Lady was held to be greatly affected to King *Henries* ſeruice. D

King Henry oppreſſeth his truſty ſeruants, and dares not touch the rebels.

The Lords beeing buſied about theſe affaires, the Marquis beeing deſirous to entertaine the troubles and to extract diſcord from diſcord, went about to corrupt *Pedro Arias* de Auila the Kings good ſeruant: finding him firme and conſtant, he handled the matter ſo, as the Archbiſhop of Siuill, by ſlanderous and falce reports, did excite the credulous King in ſuch ſort againſt him, as he committed him to priſon beeing ſore hurt, and cauſed him to bee ſhut vp in the baſe court of the caſtle of Madrid. And not contented therewith, the King went expreſly to Segobia, thinking there to ſurpriſe the Biſhop of the ſame City, called Don *Iohn de Arias*, brother to Don *Pedro*, but the Biſhop hauing notice of what was done to his brother, retired himſelfe thence: wherefore the King ſeeing that he was eſcaped, diſſembled his intent; neuertheleſſe all honeſt people were greatly offended to ſee the King without diſcretion to oppreſſe his faithfull ſeruants, and not dare to lay hand vpon rebels. E

The Deputies of the townes, and the captaines of the communalties made meanes for Don *Pedro's* deliuerance, which the King granted, all men beeing pleaſed therewith, except the confederates, who neuer left practizing with the King till they drew him to condiſcend to goe along with them to Playſance, there to conferre with more eaſe and better commodity: which beeing allowed of by diuers of his councell, hee would needs depart thence with the Queene his wife, the Infanta Donna *Iſabell*, and Donna *Ioane* his ſuppoſed daughter, vpon the ſafe-conduct of the Earle of Playſance. This F

4 *Tumult at Madrid.*

reſolution being vnderſtood by others of the Kings faithfull ſeruants, which were not made acquainted therewith, they aſſembled in the Church of Saint Gines, where it was reſolued, that ſeeing that the King would needs goe on to his deſtruction, the lower Colonells or Captaines of the communalties, with foure other of his owne ſeruants ſhould bee ſent vnto him, to aduertize him of the daunger of ſuch a conference, at the

place

A place whether he ment to goe and if he would perſiſt in his determination, then to proteſt, that they would hinder his iourney by armes. The King tooke this meſſage in good part, and feigning to conſent thereto, debated againe with thoſe which did allow of that iourney: wherefore holding his purpoſe, there aroſe ſuch a tumult in the City as the Archbiſhop of Siuill and the Counteſſe of Playſance, fearing that the people would fall vpon them, in all haſt ranne out of the towne, and waited for the King on the other ſide of the riuer, right ouer againſt the caſtle, accompanied with three hundred horſe: the King being ready to come forth, the mutiny did ſo encreaſe, as the people and thoſe of the Court who were diſcontented with that iourney, running to arme
B themſelues, went out of the towne, crying out, kill thoſe traitors that lead away the King, whom they compaſſed about and withheld by force. The Archbiſhop and the Counteſſe being in great feare, fled to Illeſca, where the Infant Don *Alphonſo* lay, with whom they paſſed ouer the mountaine, and retired to Arevalo. King *Henry* being brought backe to his lodging, receiued a guarde to preuent the practizes of the confederates. The Court ſoone after remooued to Segobia, whether *Pedro* of Hontibero was ſent, by the league, hauing in charge to trie if hee could draw *Pedro Arias de Auila* to their party, but he loſt his labour: and where force could not preuaile, treaſons and deceits were ſet on foote of all ſides, for *Pedro de Silua* captaine of Olmedo deliuered vp that place to the confederates, who preſently lodged therein: by reaſon whereof the King
C ſent to will the Marquis of Santillana to lie with fiue hundred horſe at Saint Chriſtofers, a Bourrough halfe a mile diſtant from Segobia. The King at the requeſt of the Marquis, committed Donna *Ioane*, whom he maintained for his daughter, to the keeping of D. *Inigo Lopes* de Mendoça Earle of Tendilla his brother, who vnder good guarde, placed her in the caſtle of Buytrago: the Marquis of Santillana, the Earle of Tendilla and the Biſhop of Calaorra brethren, were at that time of the councell of State and did rule the Kingdome.

The king will'd held by force and kept from the aduerſaries of the reuels whereunto he headlong ran.

The houſe of Mendoza at this time, gouerne the kingdom of Caſtile.

Thoſe of Medina del Campo, beeing continually vexed by the garriſons of the confederats which held La Mote; demaunded aide; wherefore the King in their behalfe drew neere to Cuellar. Thither came ſecretly D. *Pedro* de Velaſco, eldeſt ſonne to the
D Earle of Haro, by the commandement (as hee ſaid) of his father, who craued pardon of the King for offending him, proteſting euer afterwards to become his faithfull ſeruant, and to bring ſeuen hundred horſe to his ſeruice, three hundred of which ſhould bee genets; and a certaine number of footmen for the ſuccour of Medina. The King, who of his owne nature was but to milde, and at that time had need of men, did freely pardon him, and ſent him backe for thoſe men which hee offred. Other Noblemen were alſo ſent for by the King, namely the Earle of Alua who made no great haſt.

Don *Pedro de Velaſco* beeing returned with the ſeauen hundred horſe, all the forces came to Cuellar. It is reported, that Don *Pedro* vſed theſe ſpeeches to the King. *Sir, the Earle my father hath commanded mee to preſent this writing vnto you (it was a gift for the*
E *tenths at ſea) beſeeching you to ſigne and grant it, and to receaue from him this ayde of horſe and foote: and if you ſhall refuſe him this grant, hee hath put it to my choyce to doe as I ſhall thinke good.* The King did very eaſily yeeld to his requeſt, conſidering what great need hee had of his ſeruice. By this time the Kings Armie was very ſtronge, and diuerſe of the great Lords of the Kings Councell, being tired with ſuch toyles which were to no purpoſe, and would neuer bee ended, vnleſſe ſome violent proceedings might be vſed, were of opinion to ſeeke meanes to come to blowes, and therefore they drew neere to Olmedo, prouoking the confederates (who had there aſſembled their forces) to battaile: the which was reſolued and determined, albeit the King withſtood it.

F As the army marched to Olmedo, there arriued in the Kings campe a King at armes, ſent by the Archbiſhop of Siuill to D. *Bertrand de la Cueua* Duke of Albuquerque, to giue him to vnderſtand that there were forty Knights of the confederates of Prince *Alphonſo's* traine, that had vowed vpon the daie of battaile to ſeeke him out in the middeſt of the rankes, and to kill him: wherefore hee wiſhed him to fight that day in diſguiſed armor.

This valiant and generous Knight, whom King *Henry* with better reaſon might haue made a ſharer in his Scepter then in his bed; anſwered the Herauld, that he did highly thanke the Archbiſhop for the good will which hee ſeemed to beare him, but yet neuertheleſſe he would not diſguiſe himſelfe: then he lead him vnto his lodging and ſhewed him the armour and coate of armes which he ment to weare on the day of battaile, ſaying that he eſteemed his honour before any daunger, and therefore he intreated him to view and marke dilligently the faſhion of his armes, and the blaſon and deuices about them, to the end hee might make the better and more certaine report thereof to the forty Knights, who by that meanes ſhould be ſure to know him in the battaile: then giuing him a garment of ſilke with a good handfull of duckats, he diſmiſſed and ſent him backe, who did not faile to relate what he had ſeene, or heard the Duke ſay: Beſide this, as King *Henries* army drew neere within two ſmall leagues of Olmedo, D. *Garcia* of Padilla being come forth of the towne, with fifty light horſe to diſcouer their forces, the Duke ſent to ſpeake with a certaine Knight of that troupe who was borne in Vbeda, who with his captaines leaue came and talked with him.

The Duke of Albuquerque deſirous to come to battaile.

The Knight being come into the Dukes preſence, was by him queſtioned what the confederate Lords in Olmedo ment to doe, and whether that to his knowledge they would come to fields to offer battaile: he anſwered him, that he did not onely beleeue it, but that he did aſſuredly know, that if they came nere the city, they would then preſent them battaile: the Duke againe asked the ſame queſtion, and was againe by him anſwered in the ſame manner: and if they doe ſo quoth the Duke, I will giue you ten thouſand Marauedies of yeerely rent. The Knight accepted the offer, and gaue him great thankes, and was ſtaied their, vntill the Kings whole army arriued, to the end that he might ſee it: Now the Duke had notice, that halfe the confederates forces were not ioyned, and therefore he was the more curious to vnderſtand their reſolution: but ſoone after there came vnto them the Admiralls troupes, with thoſe of the Archbiſhop of Siuill, of the Earle of Playſance, and his daughter the Counteſſe of Belalcaçar, they themſelues remayning at home in their owne houſes, whileſt theſe things were a doing, the Marquis of Villena, who was a great vndertaker and very pollitike in all his enterpriſes, hauing drawne the prior of Vdes and the thirteene Electors of the order of Saint Iames to Ocagna, he cauſed himſelfe to be choſen Maiſter of the ſame order, in cannonicall manner, without the councell aduiſe or conſent of King *Henry*, Prince *Alphonſo*, nor the Sea of Rome, and without any approbation of the Eſtates of the Kingdome, and intituled himſelfe Maiſter of Saint Iames, to the great admiration of the Earle of Benauent, who laied claime therevnto by reaſon of the Kings promiſe: yet in proceſſe of time the Marquis Don *Iohn de Pacheco* was confirmed therein by the Pope.

The Marquis of Villena D. Iohn de Pacheco cauſeth himſelfe to bee choſen Maiſter of Saint Iames.

The confederate Knights who were within Olmedo, with the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, being aſſured that the Kings army came vnder the walles of Olmedo with intent to giue them battaile, if occaſion were offered, came forth to fields to make reſiſtance, and then diuers meſſages and negotiations for peace were ſent from ſide to ſide, but to no purpoſe.

The battaile of Olmedo.

Amongſt thoſe which endeauored to pacifie matters and to keepe them from fighting was Don *Pedro* of Peralta, Conſtable of Nauarre, whoſe daughter was married to *Troylus Carillo* of Acugna ſonne to the Archbiſhop of Toledo: all treaties ceaſſing, the two armies made themſelues ready to fight, being deuided (as the manner then was) into ſundry ſquadrons, the one following the other, the King was not there in perſon, but the Infant *Alphonſo* appeared armed at all points, mounted vpon a ſtrong braue courſer, riding from troupe to troupe encouraging his army. The Archbiſhop of Toledo did weare vpon his armor a white ſtole, poudered with red croſſes, leading a ſquadron of three hundred and threeſcore horſe, where *Alphonſos* ſtandard ſtood, and that day hee approued himſelfe a better ſouldiar and man at armes then an Eccleſiaſticall paſtor, for he was hurt in the left arme, and yet for all that hee would not giue ouer fighting ſo long as he could ſit on horſe-backe, the battaile beeing cruell and furious for the ſpace of three houres, inclining to neither ſide.

On the other ſide the Duke of Albuquerque behaued himſelfe verie valiantlie; but

A but if he had not beene reſcued in time by his father-in-law the Marquis of Santillana, he had remayned a ſpoyle to the Knights which had conſpired his death, who did furiouſly pourſue him: but he freed himſelfe very nobly, and ſlue with his owne hand D. *Fernand* of Fonſeca, who dyed within foure dayes after.

Thoſe which write of this battell fought in the yeare 1467. two and twenty yeares and three moneths after another fought in the ſame place, do not certainely affirme whoſe ſide got the victorie: for they of the Kings part tooke Don *Alphonſos* ſtandard, with Don *Diego de Melo* that carried it, who was ſore hurt: the Standards of the Earle of Plaiſance, and his daughter the Counteſſe of Belalcaçar, thoſe of the Arch-biſhop of
B Seuill, and Don *Garcia* of Padilla, who conducted the troupes of the Marquis of Villena, Maſter of Saint Iames then abſent, fell likewiſe into the Kings power, diuers Knights of theſe bands were ſlayne, and about threeſcore and tenne taken, among whome was the Earle of Luna, and likewiſe Don *Henry Henriques*, third ſonne to the Admirall Don *Frederick*. The Confederates alſo tooke King *Henryes* banner, although it was not diſplayed, but found wrapt vp among the baggage, a great part whereof they brought to Olmedo, and beſides that, they tooke ſeauen other ſtandards, they ſlue two hundred and eight horſe-men, and tooke more than foure hundred priſoners, and yet for all that, the one ſide as well as the other, publiſhed the victorie for his owne, and bone-fires were made in token of ioy, as well at Medina del campo, as at Olmedo. All men affirme that
C they fought there in great diſorder, and in manifeſt contempt of all martiall diſcipline: the footmen on either ſide were raſcally people, who thought vpon nothing but pillage, or flight.

1467. *An vncertaine victorie.*

The King who was abſent from the Battell, hauing gathered his people together, made the ſame night a triumphant entrie into Medina del campo, giuing reſt to his ſouldiers who had need thereof, the guard of the towne beeing committed to the inhabitants, againſt thoſe which held la Mote. The Enſignes and Standards which were won, were carryed by the councell of the Biſhoppe of Calaorra, againſt the Kings will, into the Church of Saint Andrew and there left.

The victorie publiſhed and beleeued generally to bee on the Kings ſide, drew diuers
D Lords to his ſeruice: neuertheleſſe others did ioyne themſelues with the Confederates, in the number of whome was the Earle of Alua, whome the King had a long time expected in vaine, hoping to meet him at that encounter, who receyued of the Arch-biſhop and the Marquis the townes of the Arch biſhops bridge, and Montalban, for the which he was greatly blamed. The Maſter of S. Iames, who was abſent from the battell, being come from Ocagna to Olmedo, was greatly diſcontented that they had fought, and did greatly complaine of them that had giuen conſent thereunto.

Certaine dayes after, *Antonio de Veneris* Biſhop of Leon arriued at Medina del campo, ſent as Legat from the Pope and the Conſiſtorie of Rome, with ample authoritie, but no way limited, eſpecially to treate about the pacifying of the warres of Caſtile: king
E *Henry* receyued him very honorably, and with great modeſtie and reuerence to the Sea of Rome from whence he was ſent, he did anſwer his Legacie, telling him neuertheleſſe that he doubted his iourney would prooue fruitleſſe, becauſe of the rebels obſtinacie. Firſt of all the Legate enioyned both ſides vppon paine of excommunication, to lay by their armes for one whole yeare, to the end they might the better treate of peace: but the Confederates thinking that theſe State-matters and temporal differences were no game for the Pope, made no account of Eccleſiaſticall cenſures in that point. It was thought fit that the Legate ſhould conferre with the confederate Lords betwixt Medina and Olmedo. The appointed day beeing come, the Legate came to the place, where with great inſolencie, he was compaſſed about with aboue three hundred horſe of the league, which
F did greatly amaze him, for he was none of the ſtouteſt Prelats. Preſently after, Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, Maſter of Saint Iames, the Earle of Luna, the Biſhop of Coria, with other Lords of the ſame faction came in place, vnto whome the Legate ſhewed his faculties and authoritie, to do in Spaine what he thought good: Wherupon the Maſter of Saint Iames made him this anſwer, that thoſe which had informed the Pope, that hee had any power or authority to diſpoſe of the eſtate of the Kingdomes of Spaine or Leon, had deceiued

5 *The Pope ſends a legate to treat of peace.*

The confederat Lords contemn the cenſures.

The Maſter of S. Iames contradicts the Popes authoritie ouer the temporal ſtates

deceyued him: for that did belong onely to him, and to the other great Lords of the A
ſame countrie.

At this meeting, nor yet at another which was made nere to Montejo de la Veja, was there any thing concluded on: Wherefore hee beganne to proceed againſt the Confederates by Eccleſiaſticall cenſures; but the Lords of the League did appeale to the firſt generall Councell, the Licentiate *John d'Alcoter*, and the Doctor *Alphonſo* of Madrigal throwing in their appeales. The Legate perceyuing his labour to bee loſt, would haue gone backe to Medina, but diuers of the Rebells followed after him, crying out, *Wee appeale, we appeale*, and with great outrages brought him backe to Olmedo: the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, and the Maſter of Saint Iames ſeeming to bee diſcontented therewith, tooke vppon them to defend him: Whileſt the Legate was thus handled, the Confederates practiſed how to draw to their ſide *Pedro Arias* of Auila, and the Biſhop Don *John* of Segobia his brother, who beeing alreadie offended with the wrong, which the King had offered them, (whereof wee haue ſpoken heretofore) were eaſily perſwaded thereunto: the chiefe doers in this buſineſſe were *Lewis de Meſa*, *Pedro Arias* his familiar friend, *Perucho* of Munſaras Captaine of the Caſtle of Segobia, Fryar *Rodrigo* of Meſa Abbot of Parral, and brother to *Lewis*, with other Monkes and Church-men, who did lay a plotte to deliuer the cittie of Segobia to the Confederate Lords.

Appeale from the Pope to the next generall Councell.

Inſolencie against the Legate.

B

Queene *Ioane*, Donna *Izabella*, with other Ladies and Gentlewomen of great place, were lodged in the pallace of the ſame Citie, where they had notice of this practiſe, ſome C
of them with great feare beganne to diſlodge: the Queene withdrew her ſelfe into the Cathedrall Church, where thinking her ſelfe not ſafe enough, ſhee entreated to bee receyued into the Caſtle, with the Dutcheſſe of Albuquerque and other Ladies: but the Infanta Donna *Izabella* had no will to remooue: for beeing incenſed againſt king *Henry* her brother, ſhee had intelligence with the Prince Don *Alphonſo*, and did wholy adhere to the Confederates, who entred into the Cittie in armes, through a falſe port of the Biſhoppes lodgings, and made themſelues maſter thereof without any reſiſtance, to the great griefe of the Inhabitants.

The cittie of Segouia deliuered to the confederate Lords.

The Lords of the League went directly to the pallace to ſalute the Infanta, who committed her ſelfe wholly into their hands. The king hauing notice hereof, departed very D
melancholy from Medina, with ſuch troupes as hee could get about him, and marched towards Cuellar, where in the mid way, the Caſtle of Iſcar was aſſayled (at the intreatie of the Earle of Treuigno) in which Caſtle the Earle of Plaiſance kept the Earle of Treuigno's mother in diſhoneſt manner: the place beeing taken, the Counteſſe was ſent away priſoner by her ſonne into his countrie. The loſſe of Segobia did much grieue the the King: for his aboade there pleaſed him aboue all other, as well becauſe hee was brought vp there from his infancie, as for the wood of Balſain, and other places thereabouts fitte for hunting, and alſo in regard of his treaſure which lay in the caſtle thereof: and the griefe and feeling of his aduerſities, did ſo oppreſſe him, as beeing deſperate and almoſt beſides himſelfe, he was contented to be drawne by the deuices of the Maſter of E
Saint Iames to the towne of Coca, vnder the promiſe and aſſurance of the Archbiſhoppe of Seuille, not telling, or making it knowne to any of the Lords or Knights of his trayne, and taking but a very few of his houſhold ſeruants with him.

The King forſaken of his people.

Wherefore all men beeing diſcontented with theſe courſes, which did manifeſtly tend to the ruine of the King, and of thoſe which did him ſeruice, they with-drew themſelues diſcontented to their owne houſes. The Kings Officers and houſhold ſeruants ſeeing themſelues forſaken and left in ſo pittifull and miſerable eſtate, were aſhamed to tell vnto whome they did belong, when they came to any place.

The Licentiate *Diego Henriques*, the Kings Chronicler, hauing obtayned a ſafe conduct, came to Segobia, where hee had a houſe, wherin were diuers goods and papers F
of great conſequence: but neuertheleſſe he was taken, and ill intreated, his goods ſtolen, and his writings ſcattered abroade, to the great danger of his perſon, if God had not drawne him out of their hands: for the Rebels were greatly mooued againſt him, becauſe that in his written memories and chronicles hee had ſet downe the truth of their proceedings.

Diego Henriques King Henries Chronicler

The

A The king beeing come to Coca, they changed the place, and their opinion was to conferre at Segobia, in the caſtle of which cittie hee was lodged and entertayned by the Earle of Alua, and the Maſter of Alcantara, albeit that *Perucho de Munſaras*, Captaine of the place, was not well contented therewith.

The King and the Maſter of Saint Iames meeting afterward in the great Church, after diuers reaſons on either ſide, it was agreed, that the king ſhould conſent, that the fort of Segobia ſhould remayne vnder the command of the Maſter of Saint Iames, the kings treaſures and mooueables to be kept ſafe and reſtored to him, who ſhould ſend them to the caſtle of Madrid, the Captaine-ſhip of which, with the keeping of thoſe things, the King ſhould graunt to *Perucho de Munſaras*: Moreouer, that the Queene ſhould bee gi-
B uen in hoſtage and left in truſt with the Arch-biſhop of Seuile for ſixe moneths, within which time the King ſhould be reſtored to all his former honour and dignitie. Theſe articles were afterward performed, the treaſures tranſported to Madrid, and Queene *Ioane* was ſent to the caſtle of Alaejos, where holding on the courſe of life which the King had taught her, ſhee fell in loue with a certaine young man, by whome ſhee had two children, which was the cauſe of many vnworthie outrages, as ſhall bee hereafter declared. After this treatie, the King beeing in as lamentable an eſtate as before, went vppe and done his kingdome, no otherwiſe than if hee had beene a poore Gentleman. In this meane equipage, he arriued in the territories of Don *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Plai-
C ſance, who with the Counteſſe his wife did intertaine him very honorably, according to his degree, much compaſſionating his miſeries and aduerſities, wherewith beeing mooued, they comforted him as much as lay in their power: but it ſtood him in no ſtead againſt the power and obſtinacie of the Maſter of Saint Iames.

Other agreement betwixt the king and the rebels.

Euill life of Queene Ioane of Caſtile.

This yeare 1468. died Don *Fernand* of Buxan, Biſhop of Siguença: the Deane of the ſame Church, named Don *Iohn* of Madrid, ſeized both vppon the goods of the partie deceaſſed, and vppon the Cittie likewiſe, and hauing learned that a good Biſhoppricke is a thing worthie to bee deſired, hee cauſed himſelfe to bee choſen Biſhoppe by the Chapter, ſtrengthening himſelfe with the partie of Don *Alphonſo*, and the Confederats: but Pope *Paul* the ſecond reiected this election, and gaue the Biſhoppricke to the Car-
D dinall Don *Iohn de Mella* Biſhoppe of Zamorra, who pourſuing the poſſeſſion thereof by armes, (the Deane not obeying, and appealing from the Pope to a Councell) dyed. Then the Pope beſtowed it vppon Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, Biſhop of Calaorra, the kings loyall and faithfull ſeruant, and excommunicated the Dean and his Chanons, graunting their benefices and Prebendſhipps to others. For all this the Deane would not yeeld, but made greater reſiſtance than before, notwithſtanding that the King offered him, if he would leaue the Biſhoppricke of Siguença, to giue him that of Calaorra with the Abbey of La Huerta to boot.

An. 1468.

Contention for the Biſhoppricke of Siguença.

Now ſeeing that neither right, force, threatnings, nor kind and louing proffers would preuayle with this Deane, a polliticke deuiſe was thought vppon: for they practiſed with an houſhould ſeruant of the Deanes named *Gonçal Braue*, who on a night ſhold
E find meanes for *Pedro d'Almaçan*, Captaine of the Caſtle of Atiença, to ſcale the fort of Siguença, where the Deane and his brother were taken and brought to Atiença. The Biſhop Don *Pero Gonçales* hauing notice hereof, poaſted thither in all haſt, and made himſelfe Maſter of the cittie and fort: the King confirmed to *Pedro* of Almaçan the Captaine-ſhippe of Atiença, and the Pope gaue him a good Channonrie in the Church of Siguença in recompence of the good ſeruice which hee had done to the king and the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome.

In the meane ſpace that theſe Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſes were mannaged with ſuch violence, the Earle of Plaiſance had oftentimes treated with the Marquis and the Confe-
F derates in the Kings behalfe, that the matters agreed vpon at Coca and Segobia might be performed, but they had no deſire thereunto: Wherefore hee ſent vnto them a gentleman of his, named *Pedro d'Ontiberos* to draw them to ſome concluſion, beeing then at Areualo with the Prince Don *Alphonſo*. This Gentleman brought backe no anſwer: for after that hee had negotiated with the confederate Lords, as hee returned towards Plaiſance, hee was vppon the way aſſayled and ſlaine by *Gyles* of Biuero, the quarrell beeing

beeing about their wiues, and at the ſame time *Garcia Mendez* of Badajos, one of the Kings Captaines, was ſlayne at Burgos by the people, for as he had made warre vppon the inhabitants, who held the part of the League, his friend *Pedro de Maçuelo* drew him into the towne to conferre together about the peace: his death did greatly diſpleaſe his friends, and other good men, but the rude and tumultuous people could not be contained within any bounds.

Garcia Mendez de Badajos ſlayne in Burgos.

Pope *Paul* hauing notice of the ſmall reſpect which the Confederates in Caſtile had made of his Legate Don *Antonio de Veneris*, Biſhoppe of Leon, was highly diſpleaſed therewith: but hee wrote neuertheleſſe to King *Henry*, aduiſing him to pardon his rebels if they did acknowledge their faults, and returne to his obedience, comforting him beſides, concerning his aduerſities, by examples drawne from the holy Scriptures to the ſame purpoſe: he ſent likewiſe a briefe to the Confederates, enioyning them, vpon paine of his curſe, no longer to call Don *Alphonſo* King, but to acknowledge King *Henry* for their naturall and lawfull Prince, and to craue his pardon: The Confederates ſent the Abbot of Paraces, and the commaunder *Fernand d'Arze*, the Infants Secretarie to the Pope, to giue him reaſon for what they had done, and to informe him of the iuſtice of their cauſe: but for certayne dayes ſpace, the Pope would not ſuffer them to enter into the Cittie of Rome. At the laſt, vppon their great and earneſt intreaties to haue audience, they were permitted to enter, vppon this condition, that they ſhould haue an eſpeciall care, in any of their ſpeeches, not once to name Don *Alphonſo* King. Hauing deliuered their meſſage, they were by the Pope ſharpely reprehended, who threatened them and the Confederates more bitterly than hee had done by his briefe, and it is reported, that in a Propheticall ſpirit, hee declared the death of the Infant Don *Alphonſo* to be neere, after which hee told them, they would find themſelues greatly perplexed: with ſuch like ſpeeches the Ambaſſadors returned into Spayne.

8

Sedition in Toledo.

The Cittie of Toledo taking part with the League, the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes* of Citéreall commaunded therein, who ſtood excommunicate, by reaſon that hee was one of the chiefe of the League: it happened vppon a day, that he came into the great Church, at ſuch time as the Prieſts ſang diuine ſeruice, who perceyuing him, preſently left off their ſinging: but hee ſent vnto them, and commaunded them to go on, which they refuſed, ſending a certaine Clearke to him, who vſed many proud words, wherewith a ſouldiar of Don *Aluars* trayne, beeing mooued, drew his ſword, and thruſt him thorough the bodie, ſo as hee fell downe dead in the place: whereupon aroſe ſuch tumults and ſeditions in the Cittie, as after diuers murthers, burnings, and other execrable outrages, the Cleargie and their partakers remayned maſters of the cittie, chaſing away and baniſhing the oppoſites. Then they ſent the Licenciate Don *Fernand Calderon* with a meſſage to the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, to intreate him to allow of that which they had done, and to requeſt him to graunt vnto them the goods which they had ſeized on, and taken from thoſe which were ſlayne in the tumult.

Magnanimitie and iuſtice of Don Alphonſo.

The Prince hauing heard the demaunds of thoſe of Toledo, albeit hee was but very young, made them a noble and iuſt anſwer: Firſt he ſhewed the Licenciate, that it did very ill become him, who was a learned man, and therefore ought to be wiſe, to be employed in ſuch a meſſage: then deteſting the outrages of the Toledains, he told him freely, that hee would neuer authorize their wickedneſſe, nor giue away other mens goods ſo vniuſtly: the Licenciate replyed, and told him, that he vndertooke that meſſage with a deſire to do him ſeruice, and for to acquaint him with the good affection which thoſe of Toledo did beare vnto him, who would not fayle to reuolt from his obedience to the King his brother, if hee graunted not their requeſt: Whereunto hee anſwered, that therein they might do as they pleaſed, for he was reſolued neuer to commit ſo vnreaſonable and diſhoneſt an act, hatefull to God and man, and that they ought to bee ſatisfied and contented, that their offences were winked at and not puniſhed, which perhappes time would bring to paſſe.

The Infant perſeueres in being iuſt.

9

Deſire to be rich, takes away all natural and ciuill reſpect.

Wee haue ſhewed heretofore, how that Don *Alphonſo Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, had beene diſappoynted of the Maſter ſhippe of Saint Iames, whereunto he layd claime by his father-in-law Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena: from thence aroſe deadly hatred

A hatred againſt them, which prouoked and ſtirred vp the Earle to lay diuers traynes to take away his life: and this yeare the Earle miſſed very narrowly of his purpoſe and determination, in the Infant Don *Alphonſo's* houſe at Areualo, but the Marquis hauing intelligence thereof, did euer after ſtand vppon his guard, and went abrode ſecretly, and well accompanied.

The Earle neuertheleſſe diſſembled, and ſpake kindly to his father-in-law, as though he had no ſuch intent at all, ſtill wayting for a fit time and place to diſpatch him: then departing from Areualo, hee came to Plaiſance, where King *Henry* did lye, and was there well and kindly entertayned both by the King, the Earle Don *Aluaro*, together with the
B Counteſſe his wife. There the Arch-biſhoppe of Seuille, the Earles of Plaiſance, Benauent and Miranda held a councell: for they had diſcouered how that the Marquis of Villena, Maſter of Saint Iames, ſought by all meanes to deceiue the King, and namely, that hee practiſed with *Perucho* of Munſarras, who was Captaine and Keeper of the Kings Treaſures in the Caſtle of Madrid, to deliuer vp the place and treaſure into his hands. In this Councell it was concluded, that they would all go thither, and carrie the King along with them, to diſappoynt the Marquis of his deſſeigne. The Captaine who had ſome doubt, that they meant to bee ridde of him, ſtood vppon his guard, and would let the King come but ſeldome, and with a ſmall company attending vppon him into the fortreſſe.

A practiſe againſt the Maſter of S. Iames.

C In the meane time, the Cleargie of Toledo and their Faction, bearing no affection to Don *Alphonſo*, becauſe he was too iuſt, and did looke for greater modeſtie in them, then there was, practiſed among themſelues to deliuer vppe the Cittie to King *Henry*. Wherefore they gaue order to Don *Pedro de Silua*, Biſhoppe of Badajos, who dwelt amongſt them, to trie if hee could winne or induce Don *Pero Lopes d'Ayala*, Gouernour of the towne, who had marryed Donna *Maria de Silua* his ſiſter, to lend a helping hand to their proceedings.

10

The Clergie of Toledo deliuer the citty to K. Henry.

The Biſhop hauing ſundrie times, with great pollicie, conferred with his ſiſter thereupon, and ſhee beeing wholly gouerned and ruled by his councell, they two ſent *Fernand de Riuadeneyra* to King *Henry* (not acquainting Don *Pero Lopes* of Ayala with any mat-
D ter) to aduertiſe him what they had determined for his ſeruice, and to aduiſe him for the better effecting of their purpoſe, to come ſecretly to Toledo. Now their intent and determination was, to bring the King ſecretly into the towne into the Biſhoppes houſe, and then vnder colour of other buſineſſe, to ſend for Don *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, and to cauſe him to come ſuddenly into the Kings preſence, thinking by that meanes to make him eaſily to graunt whatſoeuer the King would demaund: The King leauing the Arch-biſhoppe of Seuille, the Earles of Plaiſance and Benauent in Madrid to looke vnto his Caſtle and treaſure, came to Toledo, where hee entred by night diſguiſed, by the gate called Cambron: but as hee went toward the Biſhoppe of Badajos houſe, who dwelt in the Monaſterie of Saint *Pedro* Martyr, of the Order of the Fryars Preachers, a ſeruant
E of the Marſhall *Payo de Ribera*, who was greatly affectionate to the ſeruice of Don *Alphonſo*, knew him, and went and told his maſter of it. The Marſhall went inſtantly to find out Don *Pero* of Ayala, and gaue an alarme thorough the towne: the people put on armes, and came running in a confuſed manner to enuiron the houſe and Monaſterie, where the King did lye, who was in great danger, and without all doubt hee had beene taken by the mutinous people, had not *Fernand de Riuadeneyra* employed his beſt indeuours for his ſafetie and deliuerie: Then the Gouernour ſent his two ſonnes, *Pero* of Ayala, and *Alphonſo de Silua*, with *Peralfan* of Ribera, ſonne to the Marſhall *Payo*, to in-
F treat the King to depart the Cittie, and to auoyd the preſent danger, aſſuring him that ſhortly matters would bee brought to better paſſe, and the Cittie reſtored vnto him: Whereunto the king yeelding moſt willingly, they found meanes about mid-night to put him out of the towne; and thoſe three Knights kept him companie awhile vppon the high way to Madrid.

Meanes deuiſed by the Biſhop of Badajos and his ſiſter, to giue the king entrance into Toledo.

Indiſcretion of King Henry.

VVeedome of the Gouernour Don Pero Ayala.

Now before hee came foorth of his lodging, the King who had ridden ſixteene miles that day vppon his owne horſe, intreated *Peralfan de Ribera* to lend him that which hee rode vppon, and to take his which was wearie, but hee like an vnciuill and diſcourteous Knight,

Vnmannerlineſſe of Peralfan de Ribera.

Knight, refuſed it, which the two breethren of Ayala vnderſtanding, lighted on foote, and beſought the King to take both their horſes, one for his owne perſon, and the other for his Page, the which he thankfully accepted of: then theſe two brothers went with him out of the towne on foote, with *Fernand de Riuadeneyra*, who would not go with him to Madrid, but told him that he would tarrie at Toledo, where he would liue and dye for his ſeruice.

As ſoone as he was come backe into the cittie, the Gouernour Don *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, committed him priſoner in the caſtle, and commanded the Biſhop of Badajos to depart out of the cittie within an howers ſpace: by theſe diligent meanes, hee like a wiſe and diſcreet perſon did appeaſe the tumultuous Toledans. Not long after the king ſent a graunt to the two brothers of Ayala, who had giuen him their horſes, of a perpetuall pention of three-ſcore thouſand Marauidis, in recompence of their loue and loyalty towards him.

Courteſie fully recompenced.

When all men had layd downe their weapons, and the citie at quiet, the Gouernour returned home to his houſe, where he found his wife almoſt beſides her ſelfe with griefe, for that the King, hauing come to Toledo by her perſwaſion, had beene ſo vnreuerently vſed and receyued, and conſtrayned to flie away by night: but like a diſcreete woman ſhee gathered her ſpirits together, and did in ſuch ſort put her husband in mind of his dutie, as ſhee perſwaded him to inuent ſome fitter meanes to reduce that Cittie vnder the obedience of King *Henry*, their true and lawfull Prince: which Don *Pedro* much affecting, after that hee had vnderſtood the minds of the Sheriffes and Iurates of the Cittie, the fift day after the Kings departure, hee commaunded the Marſhall *Payo de Ribera* and his ſonne, to get them home to their owne houſes: Whereunto they yeelded without any delay, and foorth-with the whole Cittie beganne to cry, *God ſaue king Henry, and let the Rebels bee deſtroyed*, ſo much power hath the preſence and authoritie of one onely man to appeaſe or ſtirre vp a multitude. The caſtle gates, bridges, and other ſtrong places, beeing ſeized vppon by the Gouernour, and furniſhed with people at his deuotion for the Kings ſeruice, *Fernand* of Riuadeneyra beeing likewiſe ſet at libertie, the morrow after, the king came to Toledo, and was lodged in the Gouernour Don *Pero's* houſe, where he gaue Donna *Maria* of Silua great thankes for the good ſeruice which ſhee had done him, and called backe the Biſhop of Badajos, who was principall authour of that enterpriſe. After dinner, ſundry mechanicall tumultuous fellowes, two thouſand in number, came before the kings lodging, crauing confirmation of the citties priuiledges, and to be freed from the tribute called Alcauales: the king deſirous to be ridde of this inſolent crew, graunted their petition.

The Gouernor D. Pero of Ayala putteth Toledo in the kings power.

The next day, the ſelfe ſame raskally companie returned, asking other confirmations of writings, gifts, graunts, and liberties: wherewith the king beeing mooued, the Gouernour who had aſſembled men at armes, by reaſon of the former dayes tumult, ioyned them with the officers of iuſtice, and ranne vppon the multitude, who after they had hurt and ouerthrowne diuers of them, and put the reſt to flight, certaine of the principall were committed to priſon, and afterward vppon enquirie of the matter, according to their deſerts, ſome of them were hanged, and the reſidue loſt their eares, and were whipped. This tumult beeing appeaſed, there remayned yet in the tower or ſteeple of the great Church, the Abbot of Medina, and other Channons, who tooke the part of the Arch-biſhoppe Don *Alphonſo Carillo* of Acugna, who were beſeeged by the Gouernor, and enforced by famine to yeeld themſelues, their liues beeing ſaued.

All troubles beeing ended, the King confirmed Don *Pero Lopes* in his gouernement, enioyning the Toledans to obey him as his owne perſon, and ſo returned to Madrid, where hee beganne to thinke anew vppon the caſtle and his treaſures, which were in the power of Captaine *Perucho* of Munſaras, whome hee did not greatly truſt, and not without cauſe: for the Maſter of Saint Iames, and the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, had wonne him to deliuer vp that place into their hands: But the king vppon a time finding meanes to enter into the caſtle, beeing well accompanied, *Perucho* was conſtrayned to giue place, who notwithſtanding that he had ſlayne the Porter, and begunne to rayſe a mutinie, was neuertheleſſe taken, and forced to begge pardon; the which, the king beeing

A beeing mild and gentle, graunted vnto him, and gaue him leaue moreouer to carry away what he would, and beſtowed ſummes of money vppon him, ſending him home to his owne houſe. Theſe newes did greatly trouble the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, who was termed King: but aboue all, the loſſe of Toledo did amaze the Marquis, and the Arch-biſhoppe with their Confederates: Wherefore they departed from Areualo, and tooke the ready way to Auila, giuing out that they went to beſeege Toledo. The Infant *Alphonſo* being arriued at Cardegnoça, a towne neere to Auila, hee was ſtricken with the plague which infected the whole country, whereof hee dyed the fift day after, which was vppon the fift of Iuly, in the yeare 1468. hauing beene declared King three yeares before, hee dyed
E not without ſuſpition of poyſon, the which was prodigiouſly publiſhed and beleeued thorough the whole Realme three dayes before it was true indeed: by this accident Pope *Psules* Prophecie was verified: for the Confederates at that time found themſelues in great perplexity, and wonderfully deſtitute of counſell: his bodie for that time was kept in Areualo in the Monaſterie of Saint Francis, and ſince tranſported to Burgos to the Abbey of Mireſloure, where his father King *Iohn* was buried.

11 *Death of the Infant Don Alphonſo.*

The confederate Lords conſulting vppon what was beſt to bee done, now that they had loſt the Prince *Alphonſo*, all of them in a manner were of opinion, that King *Henry* was to be reſiſted, and that Donna *Izabella* his ſiſter, was to bee proclaymed and crowned Queene of Caſtile in her dead brothers ſtead: the Arch biſhop of Toledo beeing de-
C puted in all their names to go vnto her to exhort her, to receiue this honour and dignitie, who in a well-compoſed Oration, hauing propounded vnto her the aduice of all the Lords of the League: the Infanta, who was endowed with great iudgement and ſingular pietie, made him this anſwer, that ſhee could not entertaine in her heart any deſire of rule which might preiudice her brother King *Henry*, vnto whome both by diuine and humane lawes the Kingdome did appertaine: the which God had manifeſtly declared, confirming him therein, as well by the victorie of Olmedo, as by the death of the Infant D. *Alphonſo*: neuertheleſſe, ſhee did greatly thanke them for their loues, which ſhee could feele with more profite, and leſſe labour, if it would pleaſe them, by agreeing with the King hir brother, to procure him to declare her heire to his Kingdomes after his deceaſe,
D and to commaund, that oath ſhould bee made vnto her to the ſame effect, according to the cuſtome of Spayne: the which ſhee propounded vnto them, not ſo much for any deſire that ſhee had to raigne, as by that meanes to keepe the kingdome of Caſtile from falling into the hands of ſtrangers, and into any other bloud then that of Caſtile, meaning thereby Donna *Ioane*, who was borne in adulterie.

D. *Izabella refuſeth the title of Queene of Caſtile.*

This wiſe and vertuous anſwer, was of ſo great waight and conſequence, and ſo admired by all the Lords of the League, as changing their minds, they reſolued to follow the Infantaes aduice, and to trye if they could winne the King to condiſcend thereunto, the Maſter of Saint Iames taking vppon him the managing of their buſineſſe, and preſuming to bring it to paſſe: for (quoth he) I know the kings nature, who doth eaſily forget
E things that are paſt, and I doubt not but he will accept of this condition, for to liue in peace, and to recouer his former dignitie, and will graunt a generall pardon for all that is paſt.

D. *Izabellas wiſe anſwer breeding the League, and procureth the peace of Caſtil.*

Vppon the newes of the Infant Don *Alphonſo's* death, the Arch-biſhop of Seuile, the Earles of Plaiſance, Benauent, and Miranda, with others which were neere the kings perſon at Madrid, did make a new oath of allegeance vnto him, and meſſengers were diſpatched to the Lords of the League, to admoniſh them to deſiſt from their wicked practiſes, and to ſubmit themſelues to the Kings obedience: the confederates anſwered, that they would ſend ſome man of authoritie to the king, and ſoon after they did write to the Arch-biſhop of Seuil, intreating him to come to Auila, to treate vpon the meanes of
F agreement, who with the Kings good liking went vnto them. In the meane ſeaſon the citty of Burgos, by the meanes of *Pedro* of Velaſco, returned to the Kings obedience. It was concluded in Areualo, that the Confederates ſhould intreat the king, that the Infanta Izabella might be ſworne vnto, and acknowledged Princeſſe and heire of his kingdomes, all other oathes made to the contrarie notwithſtanding: Which beeing done, euery of them would willingly obey him: theſe things beeing related at Madrid by the

The citty of Burgos yeelds to the king.

Arch-biſhop of Siuill, the King called a Councell thereuppon, where the opinions were diuers, ſome affecting Donna *Ioane*, whom the King ſtill called his daughter: but the Lord Steward *Andrew de Cabrera*, could ſo well ioyne reaſon to his opinion, as it was reſolued to graunt what the Confederates requeſted: then did they ſet downe theſe Articles: A

Articles of peace agreed vpon.

That the Infanta Donna *Izabella* ſhould bee declared Princeſſe of the Aſturia's, and ſworne vnto, as eldeſt heire to the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon: That pardon ſhould bee graunted to the Maſter of Saint Iames, and to the other Lords his Confederates, for whatſoeuer they had committed againſt his royall Maieſtie, and free and ſafe acceſſe ſhould be giuen them to come to Court, with reſtitution of all that had been taken from them: That the King within foure moneths after ſhould ſend backe his wife Queen *Ioan*, and Donna *Ioane* his daughter into Portugall, and to be diuorced from her by the Popes authoritie: and that the citties of Auila, Vbeda, with the townes of Medina del campo, Olmedo, and Eſcalona, and the Lord-ſhip of Molina, ſhould be giuen to the Princeſſe Donna *Izabella*, who might not marrie with any one without the conſent of King *Henry* her brother, whereunto ſhe did ſweare. Into this councell were not admitted the Marquis of Santillana, nor his brother the Biſhoppe of Siguença, who were come to court to kiſſe the Kings hand, vppon the newes of the death of the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, for they fauoured and much reſpected Donna *Ioane*, who was reſident in the Caſtle of Buytrago vnder the keeping of the Marquis: therefore they returned male-content to Guadalajara. B C

The Lords of Mendoza not called to the Councell of peace.

12

Queene Ioanes diſhoneſt life.

The Queene remayning in the Caſtle of Alaejos vnder the power of the Arch biſhop of Seuille, (as hath beene ſayd before) became enamoured on a young man, who had charge to keepe her, and as ſome ſay, hee was the Biſhoppes nephew, called *Pedro*, by whome in time ſhee had two children, namely, Don *Fernand*, and Don *Apoſtol*, who were brought vp in the Cittie of Toledo, in the Monaſterie of Saint *Dominick* the royal, by the Abbeſſe of the houſe, who was Aunt to their father Don *Pedro*: and it is reported that the King hauing notice thereof, cauſed Don *Pedro* to be taken, to the end to puniſh him as he had deſerued, but that the Queene ſhed ſo many teares, as ſhee ſaued his life, and begged him of the king, who in thoſe matters was the moſt careleſſe perſon liuing. D

Now theſe Lords of the houſe of Mendoza beeing departed diſcontented from the Court, thinking themſelues to be diſgraced, and on the other ſide, fauouring Donna *Ioane*, it happened that the Queene, hauing ſecret intelligence with certaine of her guard within and without, with Don *Lewis Hurtado* of Mendoza, ſonne to *Ruy Diaz*, eſcaped from the Caſtle of Alaejos, cauſing hir ſelfe to bee let downe in a basket from the Caſtle walles: but the rope beeing too ſhort, and thoſe which let her downe, thinking that ſhee had beene neere to the ground, did let her fall a good height, ſo as ſhee hurt her face and one of her feete, indangering alſo her life: neuertheleſſe Don *Lewis*, who was at the foote of the wall, tooke her vp, and layed her in a litter, ſtanding there readie for the ſame purpoſe, and ſo brought her away, the next day, to the Caſtle of Buytrago, where her daughter remayned, who was called all ouer Spayne, *La Bertraneja*, becauſe ſhee was reputed and ſuppoſed to bee the daughter of *Bertrand de la Cueua*, Duke of Albuquerque. E

The Arch-biſhoppe of Seuille thought himſelfe highly wronged by the violent and fraudulent deliuerie of the Queene, therefore hee haſtily perſwaded and procured the agreement to the Articles aboue-mentioned, and there was a place appoynted and determined, where the parties ſhould meete, betweene Zebreros and Cadahalſo, at a place called La venta du Tor de Guiſando, neere to a Monaſterie of Saint Hierome, the Arch-biſhoppe beeing much diſpleaſed and diſcontented with the Queene. Theſe met at Cadahalſo vppon the day appoynted and ſet downe, the King, the Arch-biſhop of Seuille, the Earles of Playſance, Benauent, and Miranda, together with others of the Councell on the one ſide: and the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, with the Confederates mette at Zebreros, the chiefe of whome were, Don *Alphonſo Carillo* Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, Don *Lewis* of Acugna Biſhoppe of Burgos, Don *Inigo Manrique* Biſhop of

Donna Izabella declared Princeſſe and heire of Caſtille.

A of Coria, and the Maſter of Saint Iames, Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, euery one of theſe, on the nineteenth day of September, the ſame yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ſixtie eight, in the preſence of the Popes Legate *Antonio de Veneris*, who afterward was Cardinall, with great ſolemnitie in the place aboue-mentioned, tooke the oath of allegeance and obedience to the King, and then they did ſweare to, and declare, the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, Princeſſe of the Aſturia's, and eldeſt lawfull heire to the kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon, with all the dependances, reuenues, and lands annexed and ioyned thereunto, the Legate Apoſtolicke diſpenſing and abſoluing all contrarie oathes, which had beene made in that nature before, and confirming the preſent.

B Great numbers and multitudes of people came running ioyfully, and with wonderfull applauſe, from all parts of the Country to this ſollemnitie, hoping that peace and quietneſſe ſhould be eſtabliſhed and planted in Spayne, and that all factions and oppoſitions of outragious and ciuill warres ceaſſing, Iuſtice ſhould euery where flouriſh. That beeing done and finiſhed, the king with the Princeſſe his ſiſter, and the reconciled Lords came to Cadahallo, the Arch biſhoppe of Toledo excepted, whoſe mind beeing not at quiet, returned to Zebrero, with the Biſhoppes of Burgos and Coria. The King paſſing on, left his ſiſter the Princeſſe, and the whole Court at Caſa Rubias, and went with the Maſter of Saint Iames to Pard, and to Raſcafria; beeing come thither, hee cauſed *Pedro Arrias* of Auila, together with the biſhoppe his brother, to leaue the cittie of Segoc uia, which greatly mooued and diſcontented them, the gouernement whereof was giuen and made ouer to his Steward *Andrew de Cabrera*, one newly come into Caſtile, and borne at Barcelona, ſonne to *Iohn Fernandes*, and Grand child to *Andrew de Cabrera*: Neuertheleſſe for that time, hee commaunded no where but in the towne, for the fort remayned in the power of the Maſter of Saint Iames, and becauſe the plague was very hotte within the Cittie of Segouia, the King, nor the Maſter would not come into the towne, but retired and went backe to Caſa Rubias, whither came Don *Lewis* of Mendoza, with a procuration from Queene *Ioane*, as Protectreſſe of her daughter, in whoſe name hee proteſted, that the oath made to the Princeſſe *Izabella* was of no force nor efficacie, and appealed to the Pope from the diſpenſations made by the Legate, but ſmall D account was made thereof.

Now did the Maſter of Saint Iames conſider with himſelfe, that the diſcontentment of the Marquis of Santillana, and the other Lords of the houſe of Mendoza, with *Pedro de Velaſco*, might produce and bring foorth ſome bad effects: Hee who ſeemed to bee borne to commaund, tooke in hand to appeaſe and qualifie them, and did inuite them to meete at Villarejo, belonging to the Order of Saint Iames, there to conſult and determine about the affaires of State with the Kings Commiſſioners. Thither came Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, Biſhoppe of Siguença, and Don *Pedro Velaſco* on the one ſide: and the Arch-biſhoppe of Seuille, the Maſter of Saint Iames, and the Earle of Plaiſance on the other: They did conclude, that the Princeſſe *Izabella* ſhould marrie with E *Alphonſo* King of Portugall who was a widdower: and Donna *Ioane* with his eldeſt ſonne, called Don *Iohn* heire to the Kingdome, and her couſin-germaine: with condition, that if the Princeſſe *Izabella* by this marriage ſhould haue no children, that then the iſſue of Donna *Ioane* ſhould ſucceed in the Kingdome of Caſtile: for the concluſion and confirmation of which marriages, there ſhould be an enterview of the King and Queene of Caſtile, and the King of Portugall. This agreement did not pleaſe the Ladies: for the Princeſſe *Izabella* had no deſire to marrie with a widower, and the Queen feared, that vnder color of this meeting ſhe ſhold be caſt off, and ſent home to Portugall, according to the treatie at la Venta du Tor de Guiſando: wherfore both of them reſiſted this determination with all their power, by reaſon wherof the Lords of Mendoza and Velaſco were F very angry with the Queene and her daughter. The Maſter of S. Iames ſollicited K. *Henry* to ſend Ambaſſadors into Portugal, to requeſt the king to meet, thinking by his coming to win the Princeſſe to condiſcend thereunto. And not long after, the biſhop of Siguença, and Don *Pedro de Velaſco* beeing with the king, perſwaded him, notwithſtanding the Queenes obſtinacy, vnder-hand to fauour D. *Ioane*, not acquainting the Arch-biſhop of Seuill, nor the Princeſſe *Izabella* therewith.

New treaties of marriage ſet a foot by the Maſter of S. Iames.

Theſe buſineſſes beeing managed with ſuch inconſtancie, there arriued daily meſſen- A
gers at Court, who complayned, for that the King had cauſed this new oath to be made to his ſiſter, which moſt men thought to be a beginning of greater troubles than before, and alſo becauſe that diuers other great Lords of the Kingdome were not called to determine vppon a matter of ſo great conſequence. And indeed all thoſe which were diſcontented therewith, did ioyne themſelues in league with the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, who thought himſelfe to bee ill dealt with, for that he had not the Princeſſe *Izabella* in his keeping, as in time before.

In the meane time, diſorders were ſtill committed in diuers Prouinces, eſpecially in Andaluſia, where this yeare Don *Iohn de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Earle of B
Niebla dyed, in whoſe goods, lands, and dignityes Don *Henry de Guzman* his baſtard-ſonne ſucceeded. It hapned at the ſame time neere to Toledo, that as an husband-man of the countrie called *Pero Moro*, did reape a corne-field, at the very firſt ſtroake which hee gaue with his ſickle, great quantitie of bloud iſſued foorth of the ſtalkes, the which his ſons perceyuing, who were at worke in the ſame field, came running vnto him, thinking that he had hurt himſelfe, but ſeeing he had no harme, they returned to their labour, and cut downe the corne in the ſame place where their father wrought, and at euery ſtroake they fetched, great ſtore of bloud iſſued, which they ſignified to the Lord of the place, who cauſed it to be recorded for a ſtrange prodigie.

13 Arragon. and Nauarre.

Whileſt the affaires of Caſtile ſtood vppon theſe tearmes, King *Iohn* of Arragon be- C
ing ridde of his enemie Don *Pedro* of Portugall, did labour by all meanes, after the taking of Tortoſa, to reduce the Barcelonois to their duties: but they, like obſtinat enemies to their Prince, would not hearken thereunto. Great were the alterations which they had among themſelues after the death of this Portugois: Some were of opinion to bring their ſtate into the forme of a Common-wealth, like Genoa, Venice, and other places of Italy, and others councelled to returne to the obedience of King *Iohn*. Each of theſe opinions being reiected, they elected for their King *Reneé* of Anion, Duke of Lorraine, and Earle of Prouence, a Prince of the royall bloud of France, who beeing alreadie old and decrepite, yet neuertheleſſe deſirous of the title of King, did accept the offer, and hauing (with the conſent of King *Lewis* the eleuenth) leauied ſouldiers in France, ſent his D
ſonne *Iohn* Duke of Calabria or Lorrayne into Spaine, who at Manreça ioyned with the Cattelans: and hauing drawne diuers of the County of Roſſillon to his deuotion, he went and beſeeged Girona, where *Peter* of Rocabertin was Gouernour, who foorthwith aduertiſed King *Iohn* thereof, who by reaſon of his indiſpoſition and blindnes, could not come thither in perſon to ayde them, but ſent his ſon Prince *Fernand*, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights, vnto whom, aboue all other things, hee recommended the Princes perſon: beeing on his way from Tortoſa towards Girona, Queene *Ioane* his mother, who loued him dearely, followed him the next day after: vpon the newes of the Princes comming, the Duke of Calabria rayſed his ſeege, and retired himſelfe to Denjat, from whence he went to Barcelona, and then returned with ſuccors in great ſecrecie, E
and no leſſe danger. The Prince D. *Fernand*, deſirous to looke vppon the enemie, being come neere to the place, and prouoking the French-men to battell, they, being fortifyed with a great number of men at armes which K. *Lewis* had ſent them vnder the conduct of the Earle of Armignac, came forth into the fields, and fought and vanquiſhed the Arragonois, the Prince Don *Fernand* narrowly eſcaping from beeing taken, who had good meanes offered to ſaue himſelfe, thorough the indeauours of *Rodrigo* of Rebolledo, who was taken in his ſtead, and brought to Barcelona, and afterwards redeemed for tenne thouſand Florens. The King Don *Iohn* hauing notice of this defeate, came by ſea with a great army alongſt the coaſt of Ampurias, blind as he was, who no ſooner ſet foote on land, but miraculouſly he receiued his ſight. Hauing ioyned his forces with thoſe of the F
Prince his ſon, he marched couragiouſly againſt the French which were in the towne of Denjat, who putting no great truſt in the place, nor yet to the inhabitants thereof, they diſlodged, and withdrew themſelues to Perpignan, which by reaſon of engagement, was at that time in the poſſeſſion of king *Lewis*, where the Duke of Calabria hauing left his army, returned into France to make new leauies.

Rene of Anion made king of Arragon.

The Arragonois defeated by the French.

A The King of Arragon lodged his armie round about Figuera, and there wintered. Theſe things were done in Arragon, at the ſame time that the battayle of Olmedo was fought betwixt King *Henry* of Caſtile, and the Lords of the League aboue-mentioned. The Duke of Calabria beeing afterward returned to Perpignan with a freſh ſupply of ten thouſand men, obtayned from King *Lewis* the eleuenth, marched foorth with his forces to aſſayle the enemies.

King *Iohn* on the other ſide departed from Figuera, and preſented himſelfe in order of battaile within two miles neere to the French: but it is not knowne vpon what occaſion he departed thence, to beſeege the towne of Peralta, where hauing begunne a furi-
E ous batterie, and alreadie made a large and ſufficient breach to aſſayle it, the Duke of Calabria came ſuddenly, and vnlooked for, vppon him in the night, not being heard nor perceyued by the Sentinels which ſlept, who cut in peeces the firſt court of guard that he mette with, and entring furiouſly into the quarters and lodgings of the beſeegers, he did ſtrike ſuch a terrour amongſt them, as euery man leauing all that hee had behind him, they all betooke themſelues to flight in great diſorder. The King eſcaped bare-headed, gallowping apace towards Figuera: neuertheleſſe there were ſome which put themſelues in defence, by whoſe valour the artillerie and munition was ſaued, and the Frenchmen beeing retired, they held a forme of a ſeege, vntill that the King with greater forces was returned to Peralta, the which in the end he tooke. The Authors do greatly prayſe
C the valour of a certaine Knight of Guipuſcoa named Don *Iohn de Gamboa* in this nightly skirmiſh, who with his own hand ſlue three French-men at armes, who hauing his horſe ſlayne vnder him in the preſſe, did yet notwithſtanding ſaue himſelfe, hauing receyued eleuen wounds. *Lewis* of Mudar, a Caſtillan Knight, is likewiſe remembred for his valor in this fight, where *Scipio Patella* the Sicillian, mentioned heretofore, beeing a wiſe and valiant Knight, was ſlayne, fighting couragiouſly. The French beeing victorious, not caring for Peralta, returned to the ſeege of Girona, which without any difficulty they tooke. After this, Duke *Iohn* of Calabria beeing come to Barcelona to take order for the affaires of the warres, was tormented with a burning peſtilentiall feauer, whereof hee dyed this yeare 1468. to the great griefe of thoſe of Barcelona, and extreame trouble of
D their affaires.

Arragonois ſur prized by the French.

An. 1468.

Now let vs returne to Caſtille, where the Princeſſe *Izabella* beeing diſcontented with the marriage which was treated of betwixt her and the King of Portugall, ſollicited hereunto by the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, ſhee came to ſpeake with him at Yepes: where by the perſwaſion of her maſter-Pantler named Don *Guttiere de Cardegna*, he conſented, that ſhee ſhould marry Don *Fernand*, Prince of Girona, the eldeſt ſonne of Arragon, and heire to the ſame Crowne, who was by the King his father, in fauour of that marriage, entitled King of Sicill, much about the time of the Duke of Calabria's death, whereby the affaires of King *Iohn* beganne to proſper the better: for the French hauing loſt their head, retired themſelues to Perpignan, by meanes whereof the armie of Arragon
E had leyſure to ſcoure the coaſt of Ampurias, the Caſtle of which towne, with other places yeelded themſelues: ſo did *Girona* and Don *Iohn Ferrier* Biſhoppe thereof, with the Vicount of Cabrera, *Martorella*, and ſoone after Saint *Felix*, *Palamos*, and *Vergues*, with diuers Lords and Prelates, who demaunded and obtayned pardon for their rebellion. Whileſt King *Iohn* was in the ſame countrey, Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, his Baſtard ſonne, did greatly moleſt the Barcelonois, forraging their territorie with a thouſand horſe, and fiue thouſand foot-men.

Caſtile.

At this time the Eſtate of Nauarre was not very quiet: for the factions of Grammont and Beaumont raigning in the countrey, the Earle *Gaſton* of Foix, husband to Donna *Leonora* heire of the kingdome, who did gouerne it, perſwaded himſelfe, that hee ought
F to enioy the kingly title, with all other rights and preheminences of the ſame, wherefore ſtrengthening himſelfe with the Beaumontois faction, whilſt his father-in-law King *Iohn* was buſied in the wars of Cattelogne, he poſſeſt himſelfe of diuers ſtrong places of Nauar, and newly beſeeged Tudele, whereof K. *Iohn* being aduertiſed, vpon the good hap of his affaires in Cattelogne, he brought his army thither, which was well exerciſed in the former wars, to ſuccor thoſe which took his part, but before he came thither, Don *Lewis*

Treaty of marriage betwixt Donna Izabel and Don Fernand.

ſeized vppon the Cittie of Pampelona, the Inhabitants whereof were for the moſt part followers of thoſe of Beaumont. A

Diuers hiſtories, of ſmall authoritie, make mention, that this Earle of Lerin made ſharp warre not onely vppon the Nauarrois of the other Faction, but alſo vppon the Arragonois, running on euen to Iaca and Exea belonging to the Knights: hauing for companion in his counſells and enterpriſes, *Charles* of Artieda, hee tooke from the Conſtable Don *Pedro* of Peralta, the towne of Andoſilla, and from Don *Inigo* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Nieua, that of Mendauia: then hee tooke Artaxona and Olito, with many other places, and did many other great exploits, by reaſon that hee held the cittie of Pampelona, diſpoſing of it, as if hee had beene Lord and maſter. At the ſame time alſo there was B
Sancho Rotta, a famous theef Death of Q. Ioane of Arragon. mention made of a famous theefe called *Sancho Rota*, whoſe retreate was in a mountaine neere to Tudele, called *las verdenas del Rey*, who with thirtie horſe that hee kept, ranne into the country of Arragon, bringing from thence great ſtore of pillage, vſing all ſuch well as hee tooke priſoners. To ſuppreſſe the inſolencies done as well by him, as by the Earle of Lerin, the people of Iaca, and the Nobility thereabouts, made ſhew of entring into Nauarre: but the Earle of Lerin ſent a great number of ſouldiers to meete with them, conducted by *Charles* of Artieda, *Machin de Gongorra* Lord of Ciordia, *Iohn d'Ayanc*, and *Fernand d'Aranc*, who meeting with the Arragonois neere to Sangueſſa, at a certaine bridge vppon the riuer of Arragon, they lighted from their horſes, thinking to fight with greater aduantage on foote: and comming to handy-ſtrokes, they did hin- C
der the Arragonois paſſage, and conſtrayned them to returne into their owne territories. Now King *Iohns* comming with his army, beeing knowne in Nauarre, encouraged thoſe of Grammont, and did greatly amaze the Beaumontois, who knew very well that they ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſuch great forces: wherefore taking counſell about the affaires with the Earle of Foix, they aduiſed him to make an agreement with the King his father-in-law, who had already reſolued, after his death, to leaue the kingdome to his daughter Donna *Leonora*, and to permit him to enioy it awhile, who by reaſon of his extreame age could not hold out long, therfore he ſhould be content to haue patience, and to ſuffer the King to enioy the title of King of Nauarre, the ſmall time he had to liue. The Earle was eaſily drawne thereto, for he ſaw no hope of victorie, if hee ſhould haue perſiſted in his raſh enterpriſe by armes: then they began to capitulate, ſetting downe arti- D
Queen Ioane her laſt confeſſion. cles, which ſhall bee hereafter mentioned. Before the finall concluſion whereof King *Iohn* beeing alreadie returned to Tarragona, to view his forces, and to take order for the warre of Barcelona, his wife Queene *Ioane*, being a long time tormented with a canker, which conſumed her, drew neere her end. It is reported, that when ſhee kuew ſhee muſt needs dye, fetching diuers ſighs and grones, remembring her ſon Prince *Fernand*, ſhee ſayd, *O my ſon, thou haſt coſt me deare*: and it is conſtantly affirmed, that ſhe did confeſſe to
Death of the younger Gaſton de Foix at Liborna. haue procured and haſtened the death of Prince *Charles*: wherwith the king was ſo highly offended with her, as he would neuer afterward looke vpon her: yet neuertheleſſe her ambition gaue her this content, to ſee before her death, her ſon Prince *Fernand* made king E
of Sicill: her body according to her will, was buried in the Monaſterie of Pobleta: about
An. 1469. this time in the yeare 1469. hapned the lamentable death of *Gaſton* of Foix the younger, eldeſt ſon to the Earle *Gaſton*, and to the Princeſſe *Leonora*, who ſhould haue ſucceeded them in the kingdome of Nauarre. There was a great aſſembly of Princes & Knights at Liborne nere to Bourdeaux, who there met to honor & accompany *Charles* of France, brother to *Lewis* the 11. newly reconciled to him, and promoted to the Dutchy of Guyenne after the ciuill war: this young Knight *Gaſton*, running at tilt, which was performed in moſt coſtly and ſumptuous maner, was run with the ſplinter of a lance into the braynes, wherof he dyed, to the great griefe of as many as knew him, but eſpecially of duke *Charles* F
whoſe ſiſter he had married, whoſe name was *Magdalen*, ſhe being likewiſe ſiſter to *Lewis* by whom he had two children, to wit, *Francis Phœbus*, who was king of Nauar, and Earle of Foix, and *Catherine* his ſiſter, who ſucceeded her brother dying without heires. Happily, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe here the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Foix, which hath inherited the kingdome of Nauar, fetching it as far as Hiſtories make mention thereof, to the which (as we haue ſayd) the Segneury of Bearn was vnited, about the yeare 1286.

We

Originall and continuance of the houſe of Foix.

A Wee finde that the countrey of Foix was erected into an Earledome about the yeare 1462. by *Raymond*, Earle of Tholouſa, who inueſted therewith *Bernard*, yongeſt ſonne to *Roger* Earle of Carcaſſone, and to *Adela* his wife: of this *Bernard*, and of *Beatrice*, daughter to the Earle of Beziers, was borne *Roger*, who was ſecond Earle of Foix, who begat an other *Roger* his ſucceſſor in the Countie of Foix, ſecond of that name, father to *Roger* the third, whom he had by *Eximena* his ſecond wife, hauing firſt of all married a Lady of Prouence called *Eſtinetta*. Of *Roger* the third, and of *Ciceliſe*, daughter to Earle *Raymond* of Barcelona, was borne *Raymond Roger*, who married a Lady called *Phillip*, by whom hee had a ſonne called *Roger Bernard*, who ſucceeded him in the Earledome
B of Foix, and a daughter called *Eſclarmonde*, married to the King of Majorca. This *Raymond Roger* cauſed his lawfull wife to ſuffer many indignities, at the requeſt of a Concubine, who was of the religion of the Albigeois. *Roger Bernard* was then Earle of Foix after his father, the ſixt in number, about the yeare 1223. and was ſurnamed the great. Hee married *Brunixenda* daughter to the Earle of Caſtelbon, by whom hee had *Roger* called *Rotfer* Earle of Foix after him, *Eſclermond* wife to the Vicount of Cardona, and *Cicely*, wife to the Earle of Vrgell. *Roger Rotfer* ſeaneth Earle of Foix, and fift of the name, married *Brunixenda*, daughter to the Vicount, on whom he begat *Roger Bernard*, the ſixt of that name, and eight Earle of Foix: of him, and of *Manigarda* of Narbona, were borne an other *Roger Bernard*, who ſucceeded in the Earledome, *Agnes* who was
C wife to *Eſquibat* Earle of Bigorre, and *Phillip* married to *Arnold* of Spaine, Vicount of Conſerans. *Roger Bernard*, ſeauenth of the name, and ninth Earle of Foix, came to the Earledome after the deceaſe of his father, about the yeer 1262. who married *Marguerit*, daughter to *Gaſton de Moncada* Lord of Bearne, and of *Martha de Foix*, by whoſe meanes he came to vnite the Lordſhip of Bearne to the Earledome of Foix, by the conſent of the eſtates of Bearne, to the preiudice of the Earle of Armagnac, who had married the elder daughter of *Marguerite*, whom *Gaſton* diſinherited, in diſdaine that her husband the Earle of Armignac did not helpe him in certaine warres that hee made, as well as his other ſonne in lawe the Earle of Foix. Now *Roger Bernard* had by his wife *Marguerite* of Bearne foure children, to weet, *Gaſton* the elder, who was Earle of Foix after his
D father, the tenth in number, and the firſt of that houſe, who enioyed the Lordſhip of Bearne, *Brunixenda* wife to *Helie* of Perigort, *Conſtance* married to *Authonie de Leui*, Lord of Mirepoix, and *Ioane* who married *Peter*, ſonne to King *Iames* of Arragon. *Gaſton* then the firſt of that name, Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearne, married *Ioane*, daughter to *Lewis* of France Earle of Eureux, and of *Marguerite* of Artois, from whom iſſued *Gaſton* heire to the Earledome, *Roger Bernard* Vicount of Caſtelbon, father of *Mathew*, and of *Iſabell* of Caſtelbon, who ſucceeded one after an other in the Earledome of Foix, and Robert Biſhop of Vaur. He had alſo a baſtard ſonne named the *Wolfe*, Lord of Arauath, who begat *Blanche* wife to *Iohn de Gaulti*, or *Grailhij Capdau de Buch*. *Gaſton* the ſecond, the eleuenth Earle of Foix, and ſecond Lord of Bearne, of this family, had by his
E wife *Elenor*, daughter to the Earle of Comming, *Gaſton Phœbus*, who ſucceeded his father, in the yeare 1344. the fourth of that name, and hauing married *Agnes*, daughter to King *Philip* of Nauarre, had by her one onely ſonne, whoſe murtherer hee was, hauing found about him a box of poiſon, which his Vncle King *Charles* of Nauarre had giuen him to kill the Earle his father, with whom he was offended, the child being in no fault at all, for he knew not what drugge it was: wherefore at his death, hee left behind him no lawfull children, but diuers baſtards, as *Iobbain* who was one of thoſe which were burnt at the Mummery of King *Charles* the ſixt, at the banquet of Saint *Marcean*, and *Gratian*, and poſſibly that *Bernard* of Foix, who was maried into Spaine to Lady *Iſabel de la Cerde*, a Princeſſe of the blood royall of Caſtile, the ſtem of the houſe of the Dukes of Medina
F Celi, if he were not ſonne to *Gaſton* the ſecond, this mans predeceſſor. Then the ſucceſſion of the Earldome of Foix and Lordſhip of Bearne, fel to *Mathew* of Caſtelbon abouenamed, who had no children by his wife *Ioane*, daughter to the King of Arragon, wherefore his ſiſter *Iſabell* inherited his Lordſhips, who was wife to *Archambald de Grailtry Captau de Buch*, from which mariage iſſued *Iohn* the elder, the fifteene Earle of Foix, *Gaſton Capdau de Buch*, from whom deſcended the Lords of *Capdolat* and *Candale*,

Arch-

Archambald Lord of Nouailles *Peter* a friar of Morlas, ſince Biſhop of Leſcar, in the end Cardinall and founder of the Colledge of Foix at Tholouſa, and *Mathew* Earle of Comminges: *Iohn* the fifteenth Earle of Foix (as hath beene ſaid) and firſt of that name, had to his firſt wife *Mary* of Nauarre, who dying without children, he married *Ioane de Albret*, of whom was borne *Gaſton* his ſucceſſor in the Earledome of Foix and Lordſhip of Bearne. The houſe of Foix hath beene much ennobled by the deeds of this man: for during the wars betwixt the French and the Engliſh, in the daies of *Charles* the ſeuenth, this Earle *Gaſton* was he that made proofe of his valor againſt the Engliſh armies which held the Dutchy of Guyenne, where he twice tooke Saint Seuer chiefe of Gaſcony, and won Dax by force of armes, with great ſlaughter of Engliſhmen, who did valiantly defend thoſe places: he did ſuccor Tartax beſeeged ſeuen monthes by the gouernor of Bourdeaux. He reſtored his vncle *Mathew* into the Viſcounty of Comminges, being diſpoſſeſt by the French King, who had inſtalled a Spaniard therein, called *Roderigo* de Villandrada Earle of Ribadeo, where he ouerthrew the caſtle of Rocheford, he made means for the liberty of the Earl of Armagnac, who was in priſon for hauing intelligence with the Engliſh, and cauſed his goods and lands to be reſtored to him. Being afterwards made Gouernor of Guyenne by King *Charles*, he made ſuch cruell warre vpon the Engliſh as in ſhort time he in a manner diſpoſſeſt them of all there forces in the ſame Prouince, ſo as Burdeaux, the chiefe city and ſeat of the warre, was conſtrained to yeeld to the French King, in the yeere 1451. and ſoone after the city of Bayonne, ſo as the Engliſh were wholy excluded out of all Guyenne. Afterward when the city of Bourdeaux rebelled againſt the Earle of Clermont *Iohn* of Bourbon, the Engliſh being recalled by them (albeit they had poſſeſt themſelues of diuers places) were by the valor & good conduct; chiefly of the Earle *Gaſton* beaten back and repulſt, Cadillac being the laſt place that hee tooke from them: In all which warres, hee was faithfully and dilligently accompanied and aided by his brother *Peter* de Foix Viſcount of Lautier, the original of the renowned houſe of Lautrec, faither to *Iohn* de Lautrec Poſthumus, from whom did ſpring *Odet* de Foix, he that was the famous captaine in the warres of Lombardy and Naples. *Anare de Aſperaut*, and *Thomas* called *L' Eſcut*: *Henry* de Lautrec was ſonne to *Odet*. *Charles* the ſeuenth did ſo greatly fauor the Earle *Gaſton* de Foix, as he gaue in marriage to his eldeſt ſonne, called *Gaſton*, like him, his daughter *Magdalen*. At the arrainement of the Duke of Alançon at Vandoſme by King *Lewis* the eleuenth, he ſupplied the place of the Earle of Tholouſa in the ranke of the Peers of France, the which preeminence hath remained vpon ſuch occaſions in the houſe of Foix, the Lordſhips whereof were by him encreaſed with the Vicounty of Narbona, and with the lands of Capdolat & other purchaſes, and in the end with the crowne of Nauarre, by his marriage with Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, daughter to King *Iohn*, of whom we now treat: of this man iſſued the poſterity which followes: *Gaſton* who ſhould haue ſucceeded him, who (as we haue ſaid) died at Liborne at the tilting which was made at the comming of *Charles* Duke of Guyenne, brother to King *Lewis* the eleuenth, left heires behind him, *Francis Phœbus*, and *Catherine* his children: then *Iohn* Lord of Narbone from whom iſſued *Gaſton* Viſcount of Narbone, and ſince Duke of Nemours, who won the battaile of Rauenna, where neuertheleſſe he died, and *Germain*, ſecond wife to *Fernand* King of Spaine: of *Gaſton* and *Elenor* were borne, the third ſonne named *Peter* who was Cardinall, and the fourth, *Iames*, a valiant Knight, who died in the ſeruice of King *Lewis* the eleuenth: more fiue daughters, *Mary* wife to *William* Marquis of Montferrat, *Ioane* wife to the Earle of Armagnac, *Marqueritte* wife to *Francis* Duke of Brittaine, mother to Queene *Anne* of France, *Catherine* married to the Earle of Candale, who had three children, the eldeſt of whom was Earle of Candall, then an Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux and a daughter called *Anne* married to the King of Hungary: the fifth daughter of *Gaſton* and *Elenor*, was called *Elenor*, who died vnmarried.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

17 *Couenants betwixt King Iohn and D. Leonora his daughter.*

Now let vs returne to the controuerſie betweene *Gaſton* de Foix, father to theſe, and his father in law King *Iohn*. Hee following the good aduice of his friends and ſeruants, and hauing acquainted the King with his intent by meſſage, the King and D. *Leonora* his daughter, met at a day appointed at Olita, *Gaſton* being abſent in France, where they agreed

A agreed vpon theſe Articles following: Firſt, that the townes, cities, communalties of Nauarre, nobility and others of what Eſtate and condition ſoeuer, ſhould without contradiction acknowledge and obey King *Iohn* as their King during his life. That the Earle *Gaſton* and the Princeſſe his wife ſhould promiſe to maintaine the priuiledges, lawes and liberties of the Kingdome, as they had beene in times paſt. That the three Eſtates ſhould take the oth of alleageance, and doe homage to the Princes the husband and wife, and acknowledge them for their naturall King and Queene after the deceaſe of king *Iohn*, notwithſtanding any other act to the contrary: that the married couple ſhould irreuocably be perpeturall gouernors of the Kingdome during the Kings life, their go-
B uernment onely to ceaſe, when the King in perſon ſhould bee in the Realme: That neither the King nor the married Princes ſhould ingage the Kingdome in whole, nor in part: That the three Eſtates ſhould endeauor that the King and the Princes ſhould accompliſh and keepe all that had beene concluded, and oppoſe againſt them that ſhould infring them.

The ſame promiſe ſhould be made and ſworne to by the King and the Princes, and that for the peace of the Kingdome, all crimes and offences, how heinous ſoeuer, ſhould be generally pardoned that had beene committed til the Kings preſent comming into the country, re-eſtabliſhing by full power and royall authority, euery man in his honor; goods, and reputation, reuoking and adnulling all ſentences and proceedings made to
C the contrary. That all places, townes and caſtles, which had beene taken from one an other, all offices as wel Eccleſiaſticall as ſecular & vſurped ſince the taking of the caſtle of Morillo, ſhould bee reſtored to the firſt lawfull poſſeſſors thereof, within the terme of ſeuen monthes, excepting the moueables and frutes which were ſpent, reiecting al guifts, grants and ingagements made by the King, Princes, or any other: Neuertheleſſe herein was not to be comprehended the differences betwixt the Earle of Lerin, and Lord *Iohn* of Beaumont, and *Charles* de Artieda, againſt D. *Pedro* of Peralta Conſtable of Nauarre, and the Marſhall of Nauarre, who were enioyned to ſubmit themſelues to the Kings obedience, within twelue daies after the publication hereof; to the end to determine thoſe ſtaſes by way of Iuſtice, vpon paine, doing the contrary, to be held as contumelious re-
D bels, and for ſuch to be purſued and puniſhed, as diſturbers of the publike quiet: That all thoſe who had beene wrongfully impriſoned, ſince the ſurceance made by the Archbiſhop of Saragoſſa the Kings ſonne, in his name, and the Princes, ſhould bee releaſed and ſet at liberty, paying their charges: That the truce granted by them or their captaines ſhould bee kept as well to ſtrangers as the naturall ſubiects, both in their perſons and goods. That whatſoeuer had beene taken, and retaken, to the preiudice of the ſame truce, ſhould be reſtored and deliuered without other ranſome then paying their expences: that the promiſes and obligations made in writing, or by word of mouth, betwixt the naturall ſubiects, by reaſon of ſuch priſes made ſince the ſurceaſe, ſhould be of no effect; and the Eccleſiaſticall ordinaries ſhould bee admoniſhed to abſolue them
E from their othes made in that behalfe, enioyning euery one to ſet the priſoners at liberty within fifteene daies, and not to ganeſay this preſent treaty, vpon forefeiture of two thouſand royalls of gold to the Kings coffers: As concerning the caſtle of Leguin, belonging to the Prior of Rounceual, which had beene taken before, with great ſtore of goods belonging as well to the prior as the Monaſtery, they who had taken the ſame goods were enioyned to reſtore them, or the value thereof, ſeeing the Prior had alway beene a faithfull ſeruant to the King and the Princes: That the King and the Princes ſhould ſollemnely ſweare to cauſe all the heads and Articles aboue mentioned to bee effectually obſerued and kept in euery point.

Theſe things agreed vpon were publiſhed in the caſtle or pallace of Olita vpon
F Thurſday the thirtith day of May in the yeere 1471. and were receiued by the ſecretary *Iohn* of Saint Iordi: the Biſhop of Oleron taking the oth, with promiſe made by the Princeſſe Donna *Leonora*, to cauſe the Earle her husband to confirme theſe Articles, an authenticall coppy whereof, ſealed with the Earles ſeale, ſhe would ſend to the King her father. At which were preſent the Biſhop of Oleron, *Pedro* Lord of Ros the Earles Ambaſſador, Frier *Bernard*, *Hugh* de Rocabertin, captaine of the Caſtle of Ampoſta,

Roderigo

Roderigo de Robolledo, *Gomes Suares* of Figueroa, and I*ohn Payes* the Kings Vicechancel- A
lor. After that, the Princeſſe, hauing ample procuration from her husband, dated at the Bathes of Caudes Aigues in the valley of Doſan, ſworne in his name to the Biſhop of Oleron to obſerue the aboue named couenants, in the preſence of the captaine of the caſtle of Ampoſta, I*ohn Payes* the Vicechancellor, and D. *Fernand* of Baquedan vicekar generall of the Church of Pampelona. All theſe capitulations were not of force to ceaſe the troubles of Nauarre, which continued along time after.

13 Caſtile. As concerning the affaires of Caſtile, King *Henry*, after reſolution taken about the marriages of the Princeſſe his ſiſter, and of Donna I*oane* in Portugall, beeing deſirous B
to ſet downe ſome good forme of gouernment in his Kingdome, called a Parliament at the city of Ocagna, where the deputies of the townes and communalties did meete, except thoſe of Andaluzia, the great Lords of which Prouince were not well pleaſed with the dealings of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, whereat the King was much mooued, but moſt of al, whē he vnderſtood of the marriag which was intended, againſt his wil, betwixt the Princeſſe his ſiſter, and the new King of Sicil, *Fernand* of Arragon, which made him now more then before, deſirous to aduance Donna I*oane*, whom hee ſtil aduo ved for his daughter, notwithſtanding he hated the Queene her mother, by reaſon of her bad life, which he himſelfe had taught her: wherefore with his owne hand hee wrote a letter to the Pope, intreating him not confirme the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome of Caſtile, ſworne to the Princeſſe I*ſabella*, but to grant it to Donna I*oane*: Hee wrote alſo to his a- C
gent at Rome, Doctor *Roderigo* de Vergara, borne in Logrogna, and likewiſe to King *Alphonſo* of Portugal, to the end that he ſhould make the like requeſt to the Pope: this was not done ſo ſecretly, but that the Archbiſhop of Siuill had notice thereof, who had it not beene for feare of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, who delt in this buſineſſe, would willingly haue daſhed that matter. The King leauing Ocagna came to madrid, where hee found *Iohn Fernandes Galindo*, captaine and gouernor of the fort of Madrid, and keeper of his treaſures ſicke to death, at whoſe entreaty, hee gaue the charge of the fort, and of that which was in it to *Andrew* of Cabrera his Steward, whom hee did dayly aduance, and made partaker of his greateſt ſecrets. The city of Leon, about that time, had like to haue beene ſurpriſed by *Diego Fernand* de Quignones, Earle of Luna; but the practize D
being diſcouerd, *Aluar Garcia*, Citizen of the ſame towne, with whom the Earle had intelligence, was taken and beheaded as a traitor. At the intreaty of the Maiſter of Saint I*ames*, the King returned to Ocagna, where hee gaue the title of Marquis of Villena to *Diego Lopes* P*acheco* his eldeſt ſonne, a braue knight, who ſoone after Married the Counteſſe of Saint *Stephen de Gormis*, daughter to Don I*ohn* de Luna, Earle of Saint *Stephen*, and grand-child to the Conſtable *Aluar de Luna*, who was in the keeping of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, who was at the ſame time confirmed in his Maiſterſhip by the Pope and poſſeſſed more riches then any Lord of Spaine. The King of Portugall ſollicited by King *Henry* about the marriage of the Princeſſe Donna I*ſabella*, ſent his Ambaſſadors, the Archbiſhop of Lisbone, and two other Lords, who were at the Court more then E
twenty daies without concluding any thing by reaſon that the Princeſſe had placed her affection vpon Prince *Fernand*, and ſo returned home, leauing the King highly diſpleaſed with his ſiſter, who diſſolued the Parliament at Ocagna, not ſuffering the peeres to ſweare to his ſiſters ſucceſſion in the kingdome.

Diego Lopes de Pacheco ſonne to the Maiſter of Saint Iames, made Marquis of Villena.

14 *The King of Caſtile's voiage into Andaluzia.* The aſſembly at Ocagna beeing broken vppe, the king beeing very deſirous to pacifie the Country of Andaluzia, which was full of diſſentions, hee went thither in perſon, leauing for Viceroies in Valiodolit, the Earle of Benauent and Don *Pedro* de Velaſco, with the Preſident and Chauncery; the Princeſſe Donna I*ſabella* remayning at Ocagna, who promiſed not to diſpoſe of her marriage till the returne of the King and the Councell. F

There went with the king, the Mr. of St. Iames, the Archbiſhop of Siuil, the Biſhop of Siguença and others of the councel, but the Archbiſhop remained ſick at Ciudad-real: the king came to Iaen, where hee was receiued & entertained by the Conſtable *Michael Lucas* d'Irançu, who proteſted to him that he would not ſuffer any one of the rebels in his traine to come into the city: wherefore, the Mr. of St. Iames ſearing to be accoũted one of

the

A the number, ſtaied at Oſuna; but *Roderigo* of Vlloa, beeing more fooliſh hardy then the reſt, receiued the diſgrace to be rudely repulſt by the Conſtable, who couched his launce againſt his breſt ſending him thence with many bitter ſpeeches: this Conſtable was very faithfull to the King his Maiſter, and was a liberall and generous Knight. To *Pedro Gonçales* de Mendoza Biſhop of Siguença, and to the whole houſe of Mendoza, who entred with the king, the Conſtable gaue openly a ſingular teſtimony of their fidelity with a loude voice as they paſſed thorow the gate. The King and the Lords of his traine, were for the ſpace of three daies feaſted at Iaen, from whence he went to Caſtro del Rio, where D. *Pedro* of Cordoua Earl of Cabra met him with a thouſand horſe, bringing with

D. Michael Lucas de Iranſo Conſtable of Caſtile a free and Generous Knight.

B him his children, and *Martin Alphonſo* Lord of Alcaudete his ſonne in law, who were all of them faithfull and good ſeruants to the King: With this company the King went to Cordoua, wherein remained *Alphonſo* de Aiguilar, one of the faction of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, the city gates were opened to him, and *Alphonſo* in recompence receiued certaine pentions: betwixt whom and the Earle of Cabra had beene old grudges, but the King went about to make them friends: the Gouernment of Cordoua, which in times paſt did belong to the Earle of Cabraes predeceſſors, was giuen vnto him, and the office likewiſe of Marſhall. Vpon a ſeditious petition preſented by thoſe of Cordoua, mentioning that *Peter* Earle of Cabra, and *Martin Alphonſo* his ſonne-in-law, and *Alphonſo* de Aguilar, ſhould deliuer vp certaine places belonging to the city and commu-

C nalty of Cordoua held by them during the troubles, it was determined that they ſhould giue caution for the deliuery of them by a certaine day: this was a tricke of Don *Alphonſo* de Aguilar, who ſtirred vp the people to conſtraine the Earle, and his ſonne-in-law, to reſtore that which they had vſurped, hee himſelfe perceiuing, that he could no longer hold the places, which hee had taken during the trouble, the which did greatly nouriſh and increaſe the hatred which the Earle and his ſonne-in-law did beare vnto him.

Whileſt the King lay at Cordoua, there arriued Ambaſſadors from the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, the Cardinall of Albj, beeing the chiefe: the effect of his meſſage was, to breake the league betwixt the King of Caſtile and the Engliſh, which was very

D preiudiciall to King *Lewis* his Maiſter: After audience, he obtained what he demaunded, the Maiſter of Saint Iames working the matter, who perhaps was a faithfuller ſeruant to the French King, then to his Maiſter the King of Caſtile. This yeere 1469. died Friar *Lopes* of Barjentes Biſhop of Cuenca, the Biſhoprike of Leon beeing likewiſe voide, *Anthony* de Veneris the Popes Legat had that of Cuenca, and that of Leon was giuen to Doctor *Roderigo* de Vergara, the Kings agent at Rome.

The Princeſſe Donna I*ſabella*, during the Kings ſtay in Andaluzia was ruled by the aduice of the Admirall and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and forgetting the promiſe which ſhee had made to the King her brother, ſhee inuented meanes to ſurpriſe the towne of Arcualo, held in the name of the Earle of Playſance by *Aluaro* de Beacamont, with

E whom ſhe practized: but ſhee was diſapointed of her purpoſe, which was diſcouered by the Earle, who preuented the Princeſſe, and committed the captaine to priſon. The Earle poſſeſt this place, as a pawne, engaged vnto him for a certaine ſumme of money, when the Infant *Alphonſo* was choſen King. The Princeſſe being deceiued in her hope, came to Madrigall, and from thence to Valliodolit, vnto whom the King ſent the Cardinall of Albi the French Kings Ambaſſador, and the Archbiſhop of Siuill, to poſſeſſe her with a diſtaſte of *Fernand* King of Sicill, which marriage did highly diſpleaſe him, fearing that by reaſon of the warres of Cattalonia, and former matters betwixt him and King I*ohn* of Arragon his father, ſome great loſſe might happen to Caſtile by that match.

F The Cardinall, and the Archbiſhop did their beſt, and made offer of a marriage betwixt her and *Charles* Duke of Guyenne, brother to the French King, but ſhee made no account thereof, perſiſting in her firſt reſolution, wherefore they returned backe without effecting that which they went about: the king iourneying thorough Andaluzia, was continually ſollicited by the Maiſter of Saint Iames (vnto whom he could deny nothing) to remoue and diſplace the captaines, gouernors & other officers of towns and caſtles,

to

This Maiſter of Saint Iames gotten out to diſplace the captaines of the Garriſons in Andaluzia, and to place therein ſuch as were at his deuotion.

to the end to place therein ſuch as were of his owne faction, which was granted to him at Eccia, where hee diſplaced *Martin* of Cordoua and put in Doctor *Garcia Lopes* of Madrid, one of his councel, and *Frederick Manrique*, and to recompence *Martin*, he aſſigned him certaine pentions hard to be recouered. And thinking to doe the like to *Hernandes* of Narbaez, the old Gouernor of Antiquera, he found himſelfe deceiued, for the Gouernor would not ſuffer the King to enter into his Fort with aboue fifteene men, and the reſidew of his traine were conſtrained to take vp their lodging in the country villages thereabouts.

These things did not diſpleaſe the King, who albeit he knew very well, that it was an vniuſt thing to diſplace the captaines that had beene faithfull vnto him, at a traitors motion, yet he had not the courage to reiect the importunities of the Maiſter, who would haue had his friend *Alphonſo* de Aguilar to haue commanded in Antiquera. The King being come to Archidonna had conference with a Moore of Malaga called *Alquizote*, an enemy to the King of Granada, who preſented him with certaine Barbary horſes and other Mooriſh preſents, vnto whom the King promiſed fauour and aſſiſtance againſt the King of Granado, as to his vaſſall. From thence he came to Carmona, where he remained a ſpace: In the ſame towne there was three caſtles, two of which were at the commandement of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, but the third was held by *Gomes Mendes* de Sotomajor, a Knight wholy leagued with thoſe of Siuill, whom the Maiſter had a great deſire to diſpoſſeſſe, and did greatly importune the King to conſent therevnto, and hee did promiſe *Gomes Mendes* a large recompence, the which hee refuſed, ſaying, that hee could not leaue that place without the conſent of the Knights of Siuill, vnto whom hauing declared the wrong that the King would haue done to him (onely to ſatisfie the Maiſter of Saint Iames) the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and *Roderigo Ponce* of Leon, *Pedro* de Eſtuniga, & *Alphonſo Henriques* Gouernor of the frontiers, ſent to aduertize the King, that they could not conſent to ſo vnreaſonable a matter, hurtfull to the crowne, as to alienate from the ſame, the town of Carmona; which the King at that time tooke in good part, but afterward hee was ouer-ruled by the Maiſter of Saint Iames, and would haue conſtrained *Gomes Mendes* to haue left the ſame place: wherefore the Duke of Medina, and the other Knights with the Inhabitants of Siuill, armed themſelues, and aſſailed the caſtle of Triana, from whence hauing driuen *Hernandes Arias* of Sahauedra, they placed therein an other captaine, then, their power increaſinge, they came into the field, giuing the King and the Maiſter of Saint Iames new matter to thinke on, who with the whole Court left Carmona and came to Alcala of Guadiaira, and from thence the King ſent to command the Duke to diſarme himſelfe and to ſend away his people: who anſwered, that hee had taken armes for his ſeruice, as alſo to defend himſelfe from his enemy the Maiſter of Saint Iames: The Maiſter fearing that this fire would kindle to his owne hurt, ſought meanes to conferre with the Duke, which the other Lords and Knights, with thoſe of Siuill would not agree vnto, ſaying that the Maiſter was a crafty wicked man, and that their talke would come to no good effect, and ſo ſent backe to the King, intreating him not to alienat Carmona from the crowne, and to confirme *Gomes Mendes* in his captaineſhip. The King, to auoide farther miſchiefes, made means himſelf, that the Duke and the Maiſter might talke together betweene Siuill and Cantillana. At this meeting it was onely determined, that the King ſhould enter into Siuill, and that the Maiſter ſhould ſtay at Cantillana, where they ſhould agree vpon thoſe things.

20 The King beeing receiued with great ioy into the city of Siuill, whileſt hee remaines there, about the appeaſing of thoſe differences, the Princeſſe *Iſabella* his ſiſter, being continually ſollicited by her Maiſter *Pantaleon Guttieres* of Cardegna to harken to the marriage of *Fernand* Prince of Girona, the heire of Arragon, and to reiect that of Portugall, and Duke *Charles* of France, with the King of Englands brother who was an other ſutor, at the laſt ſhe gaue her full conſent therevnto: wherefore the Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Admirall D. *Frederike*, wholy addicted to the ſeruice of this Princeſſe, and likewiſe to Prince *Fernand* King of Sicill, thinking that this marriage was moſt conuenient and proffitable for the affaires of the Kingdome, did conſent and conclude therevpon, cauſing the Bridegroome in a diſguiſed habit to come into Caſtile, whether hee was con-

A conducted by D. *Pedro Manriques* Earle of Treuigno, who afterwards was Duke of Nagera, and others, who brought him to Valiodolit. Where beeing preſented before the Princeſſe amongſt others, very few (nor yet ſhe her ſelfe) did know him: but her faithfull ſeruant *Guttiere de Cardegna* ſhewed her him, ſaying in his Spaniſh tongue, *Eſſe es.* This is he: to whom the Princeſſe readily replied and *Eſſe* ſhall be thine armes: for this cauſe, the houſe and poſterity of this Knight, beareth yet to this day, amidſt there blazons and deuiſes an S S: The royall aſpect and graue countenance of Prince *Fernand* did ſoone certifie the Princeſſe that it was he, therefore without any more delay, the marriage was ſollemnized and accompliſhed at Valiodolit, the eighteenth of October 1469. *Donna Iſabella of Caſtil. marrieth Fernand of Arragon.*

B in the houſe of *Iohn de Bivero*, where at this day the Kings Chancery is kept, King *Henry* not knowing thereof, who would rather haue hindred it then otherwiſe, for the ſmall good which he wiſhed to King *Iohn* of Arragon his father.

Theſe newes were preſently carried to the Maiſter of Saint Iames, who wrote to the King that he ſhould forthwith without delay come to Cantillana, the which he did, not knowing the cauſe why he was ſo haſtily ſent for: there, to his great griefe, he vnderſtood of his ſiſters marriage: wherefore vpon the inſtant hee departed out of Andaluzia, leauing thoſe of Siuill ſome-what mooued, vntill they knew the cauſe: and taking the ready way to Trugillo, hee was there ſtaied, by the refuſall of *Garcia de Seſe* captaine of the fort of that city, who would not yeeld the ſame place vp vnto him, the which hee

C ment to haue beſtowed vpon the Earle of Playſance, in recompence of the good ſeruice which hee had done vnto him. This captaine had agreed with the townes-men (who had foreſeene the Kings intent) to hold out and not to permit the ſame to bee alienated from the crowne, and giuen to a priuate Lord. The King perceiuing that hee could not gratifie the Earle with Trugillo, confirmed vnto him, and left for Inheritance to him and his heires for euer the towne of Arcualo, which was pawn'd vnto him, with title of Duke, doing thereby manyfeſt wrong to the widow Queene *Iſabella*, vnto whom that towne did belong.

Being at Trugillo, *Gomes de Caceres* Maiſter of Alcantara came vnto him, and craued pardon for his offences, the which hee freely obtained: and beſides that hee

D was confirmed in the gouernment of *Badajos*, and Caceres, which hee had vſurped during the reuolts: and at his intreaty, and of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, hee gaue to his brother *Guttiere de Caceres* the city of Coria, with the title of Earle. To *Alphonſo Monroy*, who had beene faithfull vnto him, and followed the warres at his owne charges, hee gaue many great guifts: ſo this King did good both to his friends and enemies. At the ſame place of Trugillo, hee receiued letters from the Princeſſe his ſiſter, by the which ſhee gaue him reaſon for her marriage with Prince *Fernand*, and for her refuſall of the others, intreating him to beleeue that it was done, for the good quiet and commodity of the Kingdome of Caſtile in time to come, and to aſſure him both of her good will and her husbands, who would for euer remaine his affectio-

E nate ſeruants, without inclyning to any thing that ſhould diſpleaſe him; beſeeching him to conſider with what hearty affection ſhee loued and honoured him, ſeeing that when it was in her power to take vpon her the regall dignitie, which was offered her, by the deceaſe of Prince Don *Alphonſo*, ſhee had refuſed it, and exhorted the confederate Lords to ſerue and honour him as their King: complayning beſides of many other greeuous wrongs offered as well vnto her ſelfe, as to the widow Queene *Iſabell* her mother yet liuing. The letter being read before the councell, the meſſenger receiued this anſwer, that the King would be ſhortly at Segobia, where all matters ſhould be debated on with reaſon and equity, and in deed the Court remooued thither preſentlie after, where the Ambaſſadors of the Princes *Fernand* and Donna *Iſabella* did

F arriue, who were Don *Pedro* de Baca, and *Diego* de Ribera, who had brought vp the Infant Don *Alphonſo* deceaſſed: and on the Archbiſhop of Toledos part, *Lewis* of Antecana, who beſought the King to approoue the marriage, and to excuſe the Princes, for that they had not acquainted all the great Lords of the Kingdome therewith, who by reaſon that they were deuided into diuerſe factions, could not chooſe thereby but nouriſh greater occaſions of diſcord: As for themſelues, they

wiſhed nothing more, then to be obedient vnto him, and for ſuch to be reputed, deſiring A
to imploy themſelues for the maintenance of the peace of the Kingdome, and admini-
ſtration of Iuſtice, which in a maner was chaſed away, in ſteed whereof al manner of out-
rages, extortions and confuſions did reigne. Laſtly they entreated him to appoint ſome
place where the Princes might come and viſit him, to the end to certifie him in perſon
of their ſincere affection and deſire to doe him ſeruice.

Matrimoniall Articles betwixt Fernand of Arragon, and Iſabel of Caſtile.

Beſides theſe demaunds, they declared vnto the King the Articles and Couenants,
wherevpon this marriage was contracted, which were theſe.

1 Firſt of all, Prince *Fernand* King of Sicill did promiſe to be a deuout and obedient
ſonne to the Sea of Rome, and to honour and well intreat the Eccleſiaſticall Perſons and B
Miniſters of the ſame.

2 That hee ſhould honour and acknowledge King *Henry* for his King (if it plea-
ſed him to accept thereof) and ſhould imploy his perſon and meanes to cauſe all his
ſubiects to doe the like.

3 That he ſhould likewiſe honor the widdow Queene *Iſabella*, mother to the Princeſſe.

4 That he ſhould cauſe Iuſtice to be eſtabliſhed, and ſhould aſſiſt the King therein, ob-
ſeruing the lawes and good cuſtomes of the Kingdome.

5 That he ſhould endeauor, with his vttermoſt power, to maintaine the peace betwixt
the King, Himſelfe and the Princeſſe.

6 That hee ſhould not depart out of the Kingdome of Caſtile, nor carry away the C
Princeſſe, nor the children that God ſhould ſend them, eſpecially the Prince his heire,
without expreſſe deliberation and conſent of the councell.

7 That in the letters and royall charters, the Prince and the Princeſſe ſhould bee na-
med both together, as well in thoſe which concerned Caſtile and Leon, as thoſe in the
Kingdomes and Lands which the Prince now poſſeſſeth, or may enioy hereafter.

8 That the naturall borne of the Kingdome ſhould be admitted into the councel and
offices of either of them, with conſent of the Princeſſe.

9 That the Princeſſe ſhould receiue the othes of homage and fidelity, and ſhould
haue power to place officers, captaines and guards, in the cities, caſtles and fortreſſes of
the Kingdome, as well by her preſently poſſeſſed, as in others, which might hereafter fall D
vnto her, placing therein perſons borne in the Kingdome of Caſtile, and appurtenances
thereof and none others.

10 That all guifts and pentions granted by the Princeſſe, ſhould bee approued and
confirmed by Prince *Fernand*.

11 That he ſhould not procure the hurt of any one of the Kingdomes of Caſtile and
Leon for the occaſion of the warres, quarrels, and outrages paſt, betwixt Caſtile and
Arragon.

12 That he ſhould not enterpriſe, nor make warre, league, nor confederacy, with any
neighbour King, Lord or Knight of this Kingdome, without the conſent of the Prin-
ceſſe, and her councell. E

13 That for the increaſe of the Princeſſe dowry, he ſhould giue to her Borja and Ma-
gallon in the Kingdome of Arragon: and in that of Valencia, Elche and Euillen: and in
Sicill, Siracuça and Catanea, according as thoſe places had beene aſſigned and giuen
from time to time to the Queenes of Arragon.

14. Beſides, that the Princeſſe ſhould euery yeere, during her life, receiue the rents &
reuenues of one towne in the ſaid Kingdoms which ſhe ſhould beſt like of, prouided that
it were not a capitall or chiefe towne of the Kingdome, or principallity, the gouernors
and officers whereof ſhould neuertheleſſe be natiues of the ſame country.

15 And if the Prince ſhould happen to die firſt, the Princeſſe ſhould neuertheleſſe, du-
ring her life, enioy thoſe places; after whoſe deceaſe they ſhould returne to the crowne, F
and to the heires thereof.

16 And if it ſhould be found, that greater dowries, profits, lands, authority & preemi-
nence had bin giuen to Queene *Ioane* of Arragon the Princes mother, or to Queene *Ma-
ry* wife to King *Alphonſo*, daughter to King *Henry* the Princeſſe grand-father, that the
Prince ſhould ſupply that defect within two monthes after.

17 That

17 That within the terme of foure monthes he ſhould giue to the Princeſſe in ready money a hundred thouſand florins of the coyne of Arragon for hir expences, and to beſtow as ſhe pleaſed.

18 That if any warre or ſtrife ſhould ariſe in the Kingdome, the Prince did oblige himſelfe to ſerue in perſon with foure thouſand Launces til the war were ended, and if he ſhould not furniſh ſo many launces, that he ſhould then pay with his owne money, ſuch forces as ſhould ſerue vnder him.

King *Henry* hauing heard the Ambaſſadors, anſwered, that the buſineſſe being of great conſequence, it was requiſite to aduiſe thereon with mature deliberation, and that after he had conſulted with the great Lords of his Court and councell, hee would then anſwere their meſſage, and ſo ſent them backe.

In the meane ſpace a notable Inſolency was committed in Andaluzia, which cauſed great ſtirres: for albeit that through the Kings meanes and authority it ſeemed that the Biſhop of Siguença, had made an agreement and pacified *Alphonſo* de Aguilar with the Earle of Cabra and his children, neuertheleſſe their hatred ſlept not in their hearts, ſo as *Alphonſo* vpon a time hauing inuited to a banquet in the towne-houſe of Cordoua called Caſa del Cabildo, D. *Diego* the Marſhall of Cordoua, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle, who held the place of Alguazil Major of the ſame city, hee kept him there priſoner, and ſent him away with great indignity, with a ſure guard, to his fort of Cagnete, he tooke alſo his brother *Sancho*, and kept him priſoner likewiſe, hauing the Magiſtrates of the city at his deuotion: whereof complaints being made to the King, he did write in great choller to *Alphonſo*, commanding him without delay to releaſe the brethren; otherwiſe hee would come in perſon into Andaluzia and inforce him to doe it, puniſhing him as a rebellious perſon: wherefore the Marſhall was releaſed and ſent to Baena, who reſenting this iniury, wrote a letter to the King full of accuſations, crauing leaue of him to defie his enemy, and to prouoke him to ſingle fight, thereby to conſtraine him to repaire and ſatisfie his honour and reputation: The King hauing heard the meſſenger and read the letter, would by no meanes allow of the combate, becauſe ſundry diſorders ariſe thereof; as alſo for that thoſe matters of Duell or ſingle combate, are contrary both to diuine and humaine lawes, eſpecially betwixt ſubiects belonging to one and the ſelfe ſame Prince, who hath hath power and authority, to bring them to reaſon by way of Iuſtice: herevpon the Marſhall publiſhed infamous libels and declarations, againſt *Alphonſo*, and he obtained free liberty of the King of Granado to enter the combate in his country, aſſigning *Alphonſo* to meet in the plaine of Granada, and ſending him a ſafe-conduct from the Moore King: The day appointed for the fight beeing come *Alphonſo* would not appeare: wherefore after that the Marſhall had made the acts and proteſtations which are accuſtomed in in ſuch caſes, about the ſetting of the Sun, he tooke a picture repreſenting *Alphonſo* de Aguilar, and hauing tied it to his horſe taile with the face to the ground, he gallopt vp and downe the plaine, dragging it after him; crying aloude: This is the traitor *Alphonſo* de Aguilar, who durſt not meet me in ſingle fight, nor venture his body againſt mine: Then the King of Granado adiudged him a victor, and condemned *Alphonſo*: diuerſe draughts of that picture were afterward ſent to ſundry Lords and Knights of Spaine to *Alphonſo's* great diſgrace.

A raſhall of Alphonſo de Aguilar, againſt the children of the Earl of Cabra.

Duello granted by the King of Granado to Diego of Cordoua againſt Alphonſo de Aguilar.

The city of Simancas, with the caſtle thereof, were in this meane time ſurpriſed againſt the Kings authority, by the Admirall, wherewith the King was greatly troubled, in regard that the Maiſter of Saint Iames was very ſicke, without whom he was not able to negotiate or reſolue vpon any matter of importance: This yeere King *Lewis* the eleuenth, demaunded Donna *Ioane* in marriage for his brother *Charles* Duke of Guyenne, whoſe Ambaſſadors were put in good hope that it ſhould bee accompliſhed. An other Ambaſſage was ſent to King *Henry* from the ſame King *Lewis*, to induce him to ioyne with him about calling of a councell againſt Pope *Paul* the ſecond: but his councell was of opinion that the King ſhould not medle in a matter ſo diſpleaſing to the Pope, by whom, and by the Sea of Rome his progenitors had beene alwaies fauored, wherefore the Ambaſſadors were anſwered in this manner, that the King would not harken to their requeſt, and that hee did wiſh King *Lewis* to deſiſt from his purpoſe, and to

The Admirall of Caſtile ſurpriſeth Simancas.

aſſure him that al the meanes of Spaine ſhould be emploied for Gods vickar, vnto whom King *Henry*, beſides the dignity which hee held, was particularly obliged, for that he had aided and comforted him in his troubles. At the ſame time the Knights of Alcantara, conducted by the treaſurer *Alphonſo de Mont Roy*, roſe in mutiny againſt their Maiſter D. *Gomes de Caceres*, and purſued him to death: ſo as after they had taken from him Badajos, Alcantara, and Valence of Alcantara, they fought with him and ouercame him in battaile, ſo as hee could neuer after raiſe himſelfe againe: his brother *Guttiere* Earle of Coria, hauing for his ſuccor demaunded ſouldiars of the Earle of Alua D. *Garci Aluares* of Toledo his father in law, engaged to him the city of Coria for money to pay them, who being gathered togither in great numbers, their paſſage was hindred at the riuer of Taio by the dilligence of *Alphonſo* de Mont Roy, and the other Knights his aduerſaries, who brake all the bridges, and ſunke all the boates, ſo as they could not paſſe: wherefore they returned without doing any thing, and Coria remained to the Earle of Alua. By this euill hap, the Maiſter wholy ruined and in diſpaire, died ſoone after in great pouerty and miſery: the Maiſterſhip whereof was begged of the Pope, by Donna *Leonora Pimencell*, Counteſſe of Playſance, for her ſonne D. *Iohn* de Eſtuniga. The King did willingly conſent to the purſute of the Counteſſe, whom he honored aboue all others, and allowed and confirmed the Popes Bul. And albeit that the treaſurer, *Alphonſo* of Montroy, and the Knights did oppoſe themſelues againſt ſuch an irregular election, the Counteſſe who had more then a womans heart, tooke Alcantara with other places by force, and delt in ſuch manner, as her ſonne poſſeſt the Maiſterſhip: and was the laſt that had the title of Maiſter of that Order.

Donna Leonor Pimentel Counteſſe of Playſance a woman of manly courage.

22 *Spaniſh ſuperſtitions.*

Roderigo Biſhop of Zamora at that time floriſhed in Spaine for his learning: but whileſt the Prelats and Gouernors of the Church gaue themſelues ouer to worldly greatneſſe, and to nouriſh and ſow diſcord and diuiſions, Religion it ſelfe was mannaged according to euery mans deuotion. There is in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa in the mountaine of Aloya, in the territory of Ognate a Couent of Friars, the originall, whereof began about this time: for it is reported that a certaine herdſman called *Roderigo Balçategui* who dwelt in Vribarri, keeping his goates vpon that mountaine, went down the ſame hil into a rocky place, which was nere to no high-way, where he found by chance an Image of the Virgin *Mary* vpon a green thorn. This ſeemed vnto him a wonderful matter becauſe of the deſertneſſe of the place: therefore he fell to ſaying his *Aue Maries*, and other ſuch like praiers as he had beene taught: then night drawing on hee couered the Image with boughes and other things, and went home to his village, and told this great wonder: The rumor thereof being ſpred thorow the towne of Ognate, the Miniſters of Iuſtice, the Clergy, and the common people, being guided by the ſhepheard, went to the ſame place, where they found in a hedge a very little Image of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her Sonne in her armes, before which they all kneeled downe and beganne to ſing many ſongs and hymnes, thanking God that had ſent them ſo pretious a iewell, thinking it a great miracle to haue found it in ſo deſert and remote a place: wherefore they conſulted together about building a Chappell there, and whileſt prouiſion was made for the manner and matter of that building, they reſolued to encloſe it with boords, notwithſtanding it was ſeated very diſcomodiouſly, they not daring to vndertake to tranſport it from thence, nor to build an houſe for it in any other place then where it firſt appeared, and they named it the hermitage of our Lady of Arançaçu, which is to ſay, of the thorne; the which in ſhort time was held for a very religious place, beeing viſited, and indowed by diuerſe deuout people. Wherefore thoſe of Ognate and Mondragon, which are the neereſt places to it, ſeeing that great numbers of pilgrims came thither, they beganne to make the waies plaine; and to cut the rocke to make the paſſage thither more eaſie. Vpon this beginning, grounded vpon the ſimple credulity of a ſort of rude people, it came to paſſe that this Image beeing famous and greatly viſited, certaine of the religious of La Merced were greatly deſirous to build a Couent there, wherein one of them named Frier *Peter* of Ariaran did greatly imploy himſelfe, whoſe mother was ſo ſuperſtitious, as ſhee dedicated her whole life to the ſeruice of this Couent: but theſe fathers being kept there a certaine time, as well by the almes of the good people of the country

The people of Ognate ſuperſtitious.

A country thereabouts as alſo by the bounty of the pilgrims, in the end by reaſon of the extreame cold of the winter, and barrennes of the place, they grew weary and left it: in whoſe roomes came certaine religious people of the third Order of Saint Francis, or Tercerones (as they call them) who did enlarge the Couent begonne by the Friers of La Merced, who were by the Popes prouided of diuerſe pardons and indulgencies for thoſe which ſhould viſit it, and doe them any good: now, in the reigne of the Catholike King and Queene *Fernand* and *Iſabella*, vpon the occaſion of reforming the religions of Spaine, theſe Friers Tercerons were admoniſhed by this Obſeruantines to turne to their rule: which is, ſay they, the true rule of Saint Francis, which they refuſed, and being vrg-

Friers tranſormed to Iacobins.

B ed therevnto by way of Iuſtice; theſe fathers reſolued to giue ouer their firſt religion, and did put on the habit of the Iacobins, or Friers Prechers of Saint Dominike: then there aroſe an other ſtrife betwixt the Friers of Saint Francis, and the Dominicans, about the poſſeſſion of this Couent, the Friers ſaying that it belonged vnto them, and to none others, ſeeing that the brethren of their Order had held it ſo long a time without contradiction of thoſe of La Merced: Therefore they beganne by ordinary and extraordinary meanes to contend about this poſſeſſion, and at the laſt fell to blowes: but the Dominicans being vpheld by the Inhabitants of Oguate, the friers withdrew themſelues, not attempting it any more by ſuch meanes, then they beganne their ſute about it at Rome, whether they ſent for their ſoliciter, a frier called *Martin Garibay*, who vſed ſuch

C dilligence, as the right was iudged to the brethren of his order, and the Couent reſtored to the Obſeruant friers: So at the returne of friar *Martin* into Spaine, who brought with him the execution of that ſentence, the Dominicans came forth, and left the poſſeſſion to their aduerſaries, who at this preſent doe enioy it, and haue greatly augmented it with building; and it is ſaid, that it is an harbour and retreat for many afflicted people ſpecially of Marriners, who come thither to pay their vowes: to the great commodity of the friers: theſe exercizes of religion are greatly vſed in Spain: but in the yeere 1552. vpon the ſixth of December, the whole Cloiſter, with the lodgings and other buildings were burnt downe to the ground by caſualty: but the fire touched not the Church which they account for a great miracle.

D This yeere 1469. died Don *Pedro Fernandes* of Velaſco Earle of Haro who was reputed to bee a Knight that led the moſt Chriſtian life of any other of his time, in teſtimony whereof the Spaniards write that hee did build the Monaſtery of Pomar, where hee made three of his daughters Nunnes, with an hoſpitall where twelue Gentlemen, falne into pouerty, ſhould be honorably entertained, and a Chappell for the buriall of him and his: liuing afterward very retiredly in Medina de Pomar, eſchewing the daungers and troubles of this world: theſe religious workes are practized in Spaine, by the great Lords that are rich, when they are become old and haue many children. Now his ſonne Don *Pedro* of Velaſco, oftentimes named in this Hiſtory, ſucceeded in the Earledome.

Religious deeds of Pedro Fernandes de Velaſco, Earle of Haro.

E But returning to the Hiſtory of King *Henry*, who beeing come to Segobia, the abſence of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, who was extreamely ſicke of a quartan feuer, did greatly trouble him, for without him hee could doe nothing: therefore it was thought fit, that for their better conferring together, the King ſhould come to Madrid, whether the Maiſter beeing very weake was brought, the King and the whole Court going forth to meet him, not without the wonder of diuerſe, which thought it a ſtrange matter to ſee this Prince, ſo much to abaſe himſelfe to *Iohn de Pacheco*, who notwithſtanding that hee was ſicke, yet all matters paſſed thorough his hands, and nothing was concluded on without him. About the ſame time died Don *Lewis de la Cerde*, who had held Eſcalona all the time of the troubles, and appointed at his death,

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F that his people ſhould yeeld it vp to the King: the Maiſter of Saint Iames, demaunded this place and obtained it: and becauſe the ſouldiars of the deceaſſed, did ſay that they would not deliuer it to any other but to the King himſelfe, hee came thether in perſon, and receiued the towne, and gaue it forthwith to the maiſter of Saint Iames: ſo as all that which had beene taken from *Aluar de Luna*, Maiſter of Saint Iames, fell to this man.

Contempt of Iuſtice in theſe daiesin Caſtile.

In theſe daies the great Lords of Spaine grew ſo licentious, as he which was ſtrongeſt, A would right himſelfe, the King nor his lawes beeing in no ſort feared nor reuerenced.

Quarrel betwixt the Earles of Benauent and Lemos.

There was a quarrell betwixt the Earles of Benauent, Lemos, and the Vicont of Vaçan, about the towne of Matilla, poſſeſſed by the Earle of Lemos, the Earle of Luna laboured to reconcile them, and to bring them to talke togither; but he of Benauent came thither ſo well accompanied, as hee tooke the Vicount priſoner, and ſent him away to Benauent, then he tooke the towne of Matilla by force, and reſtored to *Garcia* of Toledo, Biſhop of Aſtorga, certaine places which had beene vſurped vpon him. The fort of Çanales was likewiſe taken from the Archbiſhop of Toledo by a captaine called *Peter Bermudes* of the Kings party, who was nothing ſorry therefore. In Biſcay and B

Canales taken from the Archbiſhop of Toledo.

Guipuſcoa, the factions of Gamboinnes and Ognazines grew outragious, the chiefe heads whereof were *Peter Abendagno* and *Iohn Alphonſo* of Murica, whereof followed

Factions in Biſcay.

ſo many murthers, rapes, and other cruell and wicked acts, as the King, at the requeſt of them of the country, ſent D. *Pedro* of Velaſco the new Earle of Haro thither, with power and authority to finde out and puniſh the offenders, and to reduce thoſe two Prouinces into a quiet and peaceable Eſtate. The Earle vpon due information made, banniſhed for euer out of Guipuſcoa and Biſcay, the two ring-leaders of theſe factions, who vpon paine of death and confiſcation of their goods, ſhould neuer more ſet foote in thoſe countries, and beſides he cauſed diuerſe theeues and murtherers to bee executed. Wee haue declared heretofore, how that the confederate Lords, deſiring to draw the Earle C of Alua to their league, had giuen him in hoſtage, for the performance of the capitulations made betwixt them, the townes of Montalban, and the Archbiſhops bridge, which place the Marquis of Villena Maiſter of Saint Iames (who was now rid of his feuer, and ruled the King more then before) deſiring to draw from him, he vſed ſuch means with the Earle as he was contented to deliuer thoſe townes vnto him, the Archbiſhop of Siuill being a third man, and arbitrator betwixt them. They promiſed the Earle that the King ſhould giue him the title of Duke of Alua, and Earle of Barco: and beſides, in regard he was poſſeſſed of the city of Coria, pawned to him by his ſonne in law, deceaſſed, they would be a means to haue it confirmed to him with the title of Marquis thereof, vpon this condition that he ſhould deliuer vp Montalban & the Archbiſhops bridge D which the Earle agreeing to, the Maiſter of Saint Iames ſent him the Kings letters-patents for the confirmation of his titles: and ſo they two remained friends. Wherefore D. *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo was euer after called Duke of Alua, Earle of Barca, and Marquis of Coria. The ordinary inuaſions and ſpoiles made by the Moores vpon the frontiers of Andaluzia in theſe confuſions, by reaſon that there was ſmall or no reſiſtance at all in that part of the Kingdome, mooued the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the great Lords of Spaine earneſtly to ſollicite the King to call an aſſembly of the chiefe men of the Kingdome, where there ſhould aſſiſt the Maiſter of Saint Iames, the Dukes of Areualo, Alua and Albuquerque, the Admirall and the Marquis of Santillana, the Earles of Benauent and Treuigno, the Popes Nuntio, the Archbiſhops of Toledo and Siuill, and E the Biſhops of Siguença, Burgos and Coria, who ſhould aduiſe of ſome fit expedient to remedy ſo many inconueniences, and make Iuſtice to floriſh againe in the realmes of Caſtile. The ſame requeſt was afterwards made by the Princes D. *Fernand* and Donna *Iſabella*, and by the Deputies of the cities and communalties, vniuerſities, orders of religious men, and the Colledges of Churchmen, to call the aſſembly in ſome city or town, vnder the ſafegard of foure great Lords, there for to make ſome good concluſion with a common conſent: and if the commiſſioners ſhould not agree, that the deciſion of the whole matter might bee put to the iudgement of foure wiſe religious perſons, choſen ont of the Orders of the Chartreux, Saint Francis, Saint Dominike and Saint Ierome, vnto theſe demaunds, made with ſo great inſtance by the States of Caſtile, the King F made none other anſwere, but that hee would thinke vpon it and prouide for it accordingly by the aduice of his councell.

Muley

A

Muley Albohacen, the nineteenth King of Granado.

IN the meane ſpace the Moores, of whom wee haue ſpoken, did waſt and ſpoyle the countrey of Andaluſia. They were commaunded at that time by *Muley Albohacen* king 24 Moores.
B of Granado, or as ſome others call him, *Haly Muley Hacen*, or *Hali Aben Açan*: for *Muley* among the Mooriſh Princes, namely, of Marocco, Sus Fez, Vilez, Tremeſſen, Tunis and Eſcuray, is a common title and ſurname, ſignifying, Prince, King, or Lord. This man was ſurnamed the Great, and ſucceeded his father king *Iſmael*, who died in Almeria, the yeare 1465. after he had raigned twelue yeares: he was a valiant ſouldier, and yet neuertheleſſe for certaine yeares he was at peace with the Chriſtian Princes: hee had two wiues which were married to him, the one a Moore, by whome, among other children, hee had a ſonne called *Mahumet Boabdelin*, or *Boabdile*, who raigned after his father, and was called king *Chiquito*, which is to ſay, little: his ſecond wiues name was *Zoroyra*, who hauing beene a Chriſtian, did at her husbands inſtigation, returne to the Arabian Sect
C of *Mahumet*: by her he had two ſonnes, the one called *Cad*, and the other *Nacre*, who after the taking of Granado, and the finall conqueſt of that Kingdome, were baptized and tooke new names, to wit, the mother *Izabella*, and the children, *Fernand* and *Iohn*: of whoſe royall race, there is yet at this day ſucceſſion in Caſtile.

The Conſtable *Michaell Lucas* de Irançu, who kept a garriſon at Iaen, had regard to the dangers that might happen to the kingdome of Caſtile, on that ſide of Andaluſia in Eccia, Don *Martin* of Cordoua, with others in other places, who were aſſiſted but with weake forces, by Don *Pedro* of Cordoua, Earle of Cabra, and *Martin Alphonſo* of Cordoua his ſonne-in-law: but within the kingdome of Granado, the Moore King had to
D enemie, a knight named *Alquizot*, Captaine and Gouernour of Malaga, who had intelligence with King *Henry* of Caſtile then raigning, vnder whoſe protection hee had put himſelfe, as hath beene heretofore declared, and was held by him as one of his vaſſals: by reaſon whereof *Muley Albohacen*, (who deſired and ſought by all meanes to driue this Moore out of Malaga) beeing mooued againſt King *Henry*, and taking aduantage by reaſon of the troubles and confuſions in Caſtile, hee entred oftentimes with a great armie into Andaluſia, which he led further into the countrie, then any of his predeceſſors, Kings of Granado had done, by reaſon of the weak reſiſtance which he there found, from whence followed death and captiuitie of people, with burning and deſolation to the Countrie.

The petitions and complaints which were daily made to king *Henry*, were full fraught 25
E with the contents of theſe miſeries, but hee did not taſt them as hee ought, but partly Caſtile.
thorough negligence, and hatred which hee did beare to buſineſſes, and partly with ouer much intending his owne paſſions, he did deferre the remedies, beeing at that time buſied with a deſire to marrie his ſuppoſed daughter to the Duke of Guienne, and to the ſame effect he treated with the French Ambaſſadours, which were arriued at Medina del campo, to wit, the Biſhop and Cardinall of Albi aboue-mentioned, and the Lord of Torſi from the French King, and from the Duke of Guienne, the Earle of Bologne, and the Lord of Malicorne, who hauing declared their Commiſſion to the King, and vſed ſome ſharpe aud bitter ſpeeches againſt the Princeſſe *Izabella*, he ſeemed to like very well of the marriage, and appoynted the Arch-biſhop of Seuile, the Biſhop of Siguença, and
F the Maſter of S. Iames, to agree about the matrimoniall conditions: who whileſt they were in this ſort buſied, there happened a great riot at Guadalupa, occaſioned by Donna *Eluira*, Ladie of Belalcaçar, who hauing vnderſtood that Don *Alphonſo Ponce* of Leon, Baſtard-brother to Don *Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, Earle of Arcos, did accompany and bring backe two young Ladies, daughters to the Counteſſe of Medellin, who till then had beene kept vnder the power of the Earle of Ciſuentes, ſhee ſent her brother Don

Franciſco

Franciſco of Eſtuniga, accompanied with thoſe of the family of Chaues of Trugillo with A
a great company of ſouldiers, to make repriſall of theſe Ladies for certaine priſoners,
Kinsfolks, and friends of the Chaues, who were kept by the Counteſſe of Medellin: wher-
fore Don *Franciſco* hauing ouertaken them at Guadalupa, D. *Alphonſo Ponce*, who con-
ducted them, thought to get the franchiſe of the Monaſterie of Guadalupa, where hee
was beſeeged, and the Ladies, with thoſe that conducted them, and the Monkes of the
ſame place, did ſuffer many outrages, notwithſtanding that the King thought to remedy
the matter, by ſending thither the Licenciate Don *Henriques*, who could do no good:
in the end Don *Franciſco* of Eſtuniga and his people hauing broken vp the gates of the
Couent, enforced Don *Alphonſo* to yeeld himſelfe, and to deliuer the Ladies into his B
hands, whom they ledde away with them. Now the marriage beeing concluded betwixt
Donna *Ioane* and the Duke of Guienne, to the great diſcontent of diuers Spaniards, the
King and the Ambaſſadours went to Segobia, there to receiue Donna *Ioane*, who was at
Guadalajara, and alſo to apply to themſelues the pardons of the Iubile, which the Pope
graunted this yeare, vnto ſuch as would giue money for them: to wit, the richer ſort,
foure royals of plate, thoſe of the meaner ſort, three, and the meaneſt of all, two, the
third part whereof was to bee applyed to the ſea of Rome and chamber Apoſtolicke, and
the other two thirds towards the building of the Cloiſter of the great Church of the
ſame cittie, whereunto the King furniſhed aboundantly to that which was wanting, and
gaue vnto it certaine Coapes of cloath of gold. Donna *Ioane* was in the keeping of the C
Marquis of Santillana, who in recompence of his paynes, and coſt, beſtowed about her
entertainment, receiued in gift from the King, the three townes of the Infantaſgo, name-
ly, Alcoçer, Valdoliuas, and Salmeron, the which did belong to the Counteſſe of Saint
Steephen, wife to Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena: but ſhee was recom-
penced foure fold, for the King gaue her the towne of Requegna with the rights of the
port thereof: the Maſter of Saint Iames, father to the Marquis, beeing hee that did or-
der and diſpoſe of all matters after his owne pleaſure and profite.

Concluſion of the marriage betwixt Charls Duke of Guien and D. Ioane.

The townes of the Infantaſgo giuen to the Marquis of Santillana.

There aroſe about the ſame time a great tumult in Vailliodolit betwixt the old and
new Chriſtians, the old beeing fauoured and vpheld by *Iohn de Biuero*, a rich Cittizen
of the ſame towne, and very affectionate to the ſeruice of the Princes Don *Fernand*, and D
Donna *Izabella*, who vppon this occaſion came from Duegnas, where they remayned,
to Vailliodolit, and were lodged in *Iohn de Biuero's* houſe: the which did ſo ſtirre vp the
mutinous people, as they came running in armes to force that houſe, the Princes were
in danger to haue beene taken, if the Biſhop of Salamanca, who was Preſident of the
Chancerie, had not ſuddainly put them out of the towne, and cauſed them to returne to
Duegnas.

The King hauing notice of this tumult, came to Vailliodolit, confiſcated *Iohn de Bi-*
uero's houſe, and gaue it to the Earle of Benauent with the Captaine-ſhip of the towne,
and hauing pacified the people, he returned to Segobia, where his chiefeſt and moſt
pleaſing aboad was, the fortreſſe of the which place, held for a certaine time by the Ma- E
ſter of Saint Iames, was a little while before yeelded vp vnto him, where hee made *An-*
drew de Cabrera Captaine.

Certaine dayes after, the King remooued from Segobia, and came to lye in the Mo-
naſterie of Paular in the valley of Loçoia, bringing with him his wife Queene *Ioane*, D.
Ioane her daughter, the French Ambaſſadours, and others, the Dukes of Areualo and
Valence, the Maſter of Saint *Iames*, the Earles of Benauent, Miranda, S. Martha, the
Arch-biſhop of Seuile, with many other Lords, Knights, and Prelates: but the Lords of
the houſe of Mendoza, did chiefly accompany the Queene and her daughter, namely, the
Marquis of Santillana, the Biſhop of Siguença, the Earles of Tendilla and Crugna, and F
Don *Iohn Hurtado*, the which Lords and Ambaſſadours, beeing by the Kings comman-
dement aſſembled in an open field, vpon the banke of the riuer which runneth thorough
the ſame valley, where from all parts of the Countrie, great numbers of people of all
ſorts were gathered together.

The Licentiate *Antonio Nugnes* of Cité Rodrigo was commaunded by the king to
reade a writing ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeale, contayning in ſubſtance,
that

A that whereas he in times paſt, at the intreatie and requeſt of the great Lords of his kingdome, and for to pacifie the troubles and ciuil warres of the ſame, had declared his ſiſter Donna *Izabella* his heire, and ſucceſſor in the State and royall dignitie of Caſtile, and procured the Lords, Prelates, and Communalties of the kingdome to ſweare vnto her, vppon condition, that ſhe ſhould be obedient vnto him: ſhe notwithſtanding reiecting all reſpect and duty due vnto him, who was her king, father, and elder brother, had married her ſelfe without his knowledge, and againſt his expreſſe commandement, to Don *Fernand* king of Sicill and Prince of Arragon: in regard whereof, hee did at that preſent manifeſt and declare her to be fallen from all the right which ſhee might pretend there-
B unto, and did diſinherit her, diſanulling all promiſes, declarations, and inſtitutions made vnto her in that behalfe: commanding all his ſubiects, that from thence forward they ſhould not acknowledge her for Princeſſe, but obey (with a ſollemne oath) his daughter Donna *Ioane* there preſent: This writing beeing read openly with a loud voice, the Cardinall of Albi, the French Ambaſſadour, came to the Queene, requeſting her to affirme by oath, whether Donna *Ioane* were truly the daughter of the king her husband or not, whereunto ſhe anſwered, that vndoubtedly ſhe was: then he made the like requeſt to the king, namely, whether he did ſtedfaſtly beleeue, that Donna *Ioane* there preſent, were his daughter, the which he affirmed, ſaying, that he had alwaies reputed and accounted her for his owne naturall daughter euer ſince ſhee was borne: then preſently, the Prelates,
C Lords, and others which were preſent at that act, came and kiſſed the Infanta's hands, and following the Kings commaundement, they tooke the oath of fidelity vnto her, after the manner accuſtomed to the eldeſt ſonnes of the kings of Caſtile, all of them calling her Princeſſe and heire, the Marquis of Santillana, the Biſhopp of Siguença and his other breethren excepted, who excuſed themſelues, ſaying, that they had alreadie at another time taken the ſame oth, which was not now needfull to be reiterated. After theſe things the Earle of Bologne hauing exhibited the authoritie which hee had from the Duke of Guienne, the Cardinall tooke Donna *Ioane*, and the Earle by the hands, and betrothed them, with all the vſuall ceremonies and ſollemnities: and then the drummes and trumpets ſounded, and all ſorts of ſignes of ioy and gladneſſe were made by the aſſiſtants.
D This done, the Ambaſſadours returned to Segobia, where by the way they were ſo beaten with a violent tempeſt of wind, raine and hayle, as they were in danger of their liues, and diuers of their traine periſhed, which was an euident token, that the miſeries of Spayne were not yet at an end. From Segobia, the King cauſed the Biſhop of Siguença to accompany them to Burgos, from whence they returned highly contented to France: but the Duke of Guienne his death, who liued in continuall diſcord with his brother king *Lewis*, hindred the accompliſhment of this marriage.

King Henry of Caſtile his falſe oath.

The Lords of Mendoza refuſe to kiſſe the hands of D. Ioane.

The Duke of Guienne his death, breakes this marriage.

The Arch-biſhop of Toledo was then at home in his houſe, contriuing of new troubles, and held the party contrarie to the Maſter of S. Iames, who did wholly poſſeſſe the King, to the great indignation of the great Lords, who vppon that occaſion left the
E Court, and retired themſelues home to their houſes, the kingdome beeing oppreſt with miſeries, plagues, famines, murthers, and falſhood in all things, eſpecially in mony, to the great hurt of the people, who wanted the adminiſtration of iuſtice. *Baſco de Contreras* one of the Kings captaines, had taken the fortreſſe of Perales from this Arch-biſhop, the which cauſed new troubles: for the Arch-biſhop beeing deſirous to recouer it, aſſembled forces, and came and beſeeged it: the King on the other ſide ſent him commandement to withdraw his ſouldiers, threatning, if he refuſed, to fall vppon him and his, and was already come to Madrid, with troupes of horſe and foote. The Arch-biſhop perceyuing himſelfe inferiour in ſtrength, obeyed the Kings commandement, and brought backe his people to Alcalá.

27

New troubles by the Arch-biſhop of Toledos meanes.

F The Princes Don *Fernand* and D. *Izabella*, remayned at Duegnas, beeing counſelled and fauoured in all things by the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, and his faithful companion Don *Iohn* of Arias Biſhop of Segobia, by reaſon whereof the King complayned to the Pope by his Ambaſſadour reſident at Rome, of both theſe Prelates, accuſing them of committing many things to the preiudice and contempt of his royall Crowne. The Pope vnderſtanding ſo much, ſent to the Biſhop of Segobia, commanding him within the

Proceedings againſt the Archb of Toledo.

the terme of ninety dayes to make his perſonall appearance at Rome. And hee appoynted that the Lords of the Kings Councell, ſhould cauſe the Arch-biſhop to be ſummoned and exhorted by foure Channons, according to the forme of law, to returne to the obedience due vnto the king, which if he ſhould refuſe to do, they ſhould then thunder out his proceſſe, and ſend it to Rome, that the Pope might ſee it, to the end to proceede againſt him, and chaſtiſe him as a rebellious Prelate. The Popes Briefe beeing declared in the Chapter-houſe of Toledo, there came to the Court at Madrid, *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, baſtard-brother to *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, who had beene Earle of Fuençalida, *Diego del Gadillo*, *Marco Dias*, and Don *Franciſco* of Palencia, Prior of Arrochio, Chanons of the ſame church, who hauing ſhewed to the King, how highly their Prelates diſobedience did diſpleaſe not onely them, but the whole Chapter, they offered themſelues to performe whatſoeuer the Kings Councell ſhould thinke fit to bee done for his ſeruice, and for reducing the Arch-biſhop to his duty to his royall Maieſtie. Now, becauſe the King and his trayne were at that time in the Dioceſſe of Toledo, and fearing the Arch-biſhops cenſures and interdictions, they defended themſelues with an appeale, putting themſelues vnder the protection of the Sea Apoſtolicke: and then a Knight and a Doctor was ſent to giue the Arch-biſhop notice of the Briefe, and to commaund him to returne to the Kings ſeruice, and to abandon the Princes, whom the King deſired to chaſe out of the Realme. The Arch-biſhop excuſed himſelfe, and anſwered, that heretofore by the Kings commaundement he had ſworne to the Princeſſe Donna *Izabella*, as to the eldeſt heire of the Crowne, therefore he could not acknowledge any other but her: and he beſought the king to deale no farther in that buſineſſe, becauſe ſuch was his determinate will and purpoſe. The King vnderſtanding this anſwer, commanded to proceed againſt the Arch-biſhop with all rigour: but the Maſter of Saint Iames, who managed the affaires with more cunning, was of a contratie opinion: he aduiſed the King to ſend the Licentiate *Diego Henriques* vnto him, to offer him, if he would adhere to the Kings partie, and forſake the Princeſſe, three thouſand tennants, and two forts for his two ſons *Troilo Carillo* of Acugna, and *Lope Vaſques* of Acugna.

The Arch-biſhop reiected theſe temptations, and would by no meanes forſake the Princeſſe ſeruice. This notwithſtanding, the Maſter cauſed all proceedings againſt her to ceaſe, and the foure Channons were ſent backe to Toledo diſcontented enough, three of them were taken by the way, and brought to Torrejon de Velaſco, by *Pero Arias* of Auila, who by the Arch-biſhops commandement lay in ambuſh to ſurpriſe them. *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, onely ſaued himſelfe in Canales. The King beeing very much diſpleaſed herewith, ſent diuers horſe-men to field, who tooke diuers friends and ſeruants of the Arch-biſhos, and among others, Don *Diego* of Gueuara, a Channon of Toledo, in exchange of whome the three Chanons were deliuered. And ſo the matter paſſed on betwixt the King and the Arch-biſhop for that time.

In the meane time, the Maſter of Saint Iames intending his owne profite, and beeing aſſured of his credit and power, had taken the cittie of Alcaraz, which imported him very much, beeing neere to his Marquiſat of Villena, and was eaſily confirmed in the poſſeſſion and reuenue of the ſame by the King, which diſcontented diuers: for by his example, the Earle of Benauent, ſeized vpon Villalua, and depoſing *Pero Nugno* from his office of Merin major of the cittie of Valliodolit, he gaue it to his brother Don *Pedro Pimentell*. It was then an ordinarie tricke in Spayn, for thoſe that were able to ſeize vpon any place to do it, without caring for robberies, murthers, and other hainous crimes, which they by ſuch attempts affoorded matter and occaſion too, beeing aſſured that if they had any little fauour in Court, to poſſeſſe their booties without controule. It happened euen ſo to the Earle of Arcos, Don *Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, who hauing taken, during the furies of the League, the cittie of Cales, he obtayned the ſame in full proprietie, with title of Marquis therof, by the meanes and furtherance of the Maſter of Saint Iames his father-in-law.

Diſorders in the gouernement of Caſtile

If two Lords were at ſtrife, without any reſpect of the Royall Maieſtie, they would ſtrike vp the drumme, and raiſe forces to ruine one another, as if they had beene Soueraigne Princes, which had held of none but of God and the ſword (as they ſay.) Vppon theſe

A theſe tearmes ſtood Don *Manuel Ponce* of Leon, brother to the Earle of Arcos, and Don *Fernand* of Velaſco, brother to the Earle of Siruela, who were in the field, accompanied with great number of horſe-men readie to come to battaile betwixt Madrid and Alcala, neere enough to the Court: wherefore the King to hinder them, ſent thither his great Maſter *Andrew Cabrera* with ſufficient forces. *Cabrera* vſing great diligence, and gallowping apace in a duſtie high way, his horſe raiſing a great cloud of duſt, hee was not perceiued by thoſe which followed him, but was ouerthrowne, and ſo troden vnder the horſe feete, that beeing well-neere bruiſed to death, hee was brought backe ſpeechleſſe to Madrid, where after he had beene well viſited by the Chirurgions and Phiſitions, hee
B recouered at leyſure.

There was a quarrell betwixt the Earles of Haro and Treuigno, about certaine words of contempt vttered by the Counteſſe of Haro, the Earle of Treuigno ſtrengthened himſelfe with *Pedro Abendagno*, and *Iohn Alphonſo* of Muxica, chiefe of the Mutins of Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, who were baniſhed not long before by the Earle of Haro, committed by the King for the ordering and pacifying of thoſe Prouinces. The Earle of Treuigno then hauing giuen them entrance into the countrey, againſt the Kings leaue, and contrarie to the ſentence: and beeing confederated together, they ioyned to their league Don *Pedro Lopes* of Padilla, Gouernour and Captaine of the frontiers of Caſtile, riding vp and downe, and commaunding in the Countrie without any feare at all: wherefore
C the Earle of Haro, by the Kings commaundement, came to Burgos, and there leauied certaine forces in haſt as well hee, as the Earle of Salines Don *Lewis*, and Don *Sancho* of Velaſco his breethren, and brought them into Biſcay, beeing moſt of them horſemen. 28 *Quarrell betwixt the Earles of Haro and Treuigno.*

The Earle of Treuigno and the Gouernour, did the like on their parts, vnto whome were ioyned with great numbers of foot-men leuyed in Biſcay and Guipuſcoa, the heads of the faction aboue named, to encourage whome the Earle of Treuigno vſed a policy. My companions in armes (quoth he) is it poſſible that you can indure, that this Earle "
Pedro of Velaſco, with his credite and fauour gotten by flatterie, ſhould hence-foorth "
commaund ouer you as your Lord, and ſeparate you from the Crowne of Caſtile, into "
D the which your Predeceſſours were incorporated with ſo great affection? Will you a- "
gaine ſubiect your ſelues to follow thoſe priuate paſſions, which haue ſo often troubled "
the generall ſtate of the Kingdome, and expoſed the ſubiects to extreame miſeries, "
whereof you haue ſo many recent examples before your eyes? I do not thinke that the "
auncient valour of the Biſcans is ſo farre degenerate, as euer to conſent to ſubmit them- "
ſelues to any ſubalterne iuriſdiction, eſpecially when at this inſtant, an occaſion pre- "
ſents it ſelfe to be reuenged vppon him, who is the oppreſſour of your liberties: For if "
wee do not fight valiantly, and cut this Earle of Haro in peeces, aſſure you that hee will "
become your Lord: For hee hath without all doubt obtayned of the King (who reſpects "
not the worthineſſe or vnworthineſſe of thoſe hee doth good vnto) the Lordſhippe of "
E Biſcay, and hath Letters pattents thereof, the which I haue ſeene and read: Wherefore "
it remaynes then in your prowes and valour, to ſet free your ſelues from this inconue- "
nience. "

The Biſcains animated by this ſpeech, beeing come to blowes, neere the towne of Mugnia, in ſtreight places and aduantageous for foote-men, as they were, againſt horſmen, did fight ſo furiouſly, as they put them to flight, with great ſlaughter, & taking of diuerſe perſons of woorth, among whom were ledde away the Earle of Salines, and Don *Lewis* of Velaſco. The King hauing notice that theſe Lords were in armes, was come as farre as Burgos to hinder their fight, but hee came not ſoone enough. Wherefore hee went to Odugna, and from thence ſent commaundement to the two Earles to lay downe
F their armes, and to retire themſelues to their owne houſes, enioyning the Earle of Treuigno, vpon paine of his indignation, to deliuer the priſoners: then hee cauſed them to make truce, the better to reconcile them, and make them friends. In this incounter, the valour of one *Iohn de Leyua* was noted on the Earle of Treuigno's partie. On the other ſide Don *Pedro Manrique* ſonne to the Earle of Paredes, beeing accompanied with certaine baſe fellowes, ſurprized the Citty of Alcarras, and enforced *Iohn de Haro*, who was

Gouernor

Gouernour thereof for the Maſter of Saint Iames, to ſaue himſelfe within the Caſtle, A where hee beſeeged him: but the Gouernour valiantly defended himſelfe, and aduertized the Maſter of his diſtreſſe, who vppon this occaſion beeing come to Ocagna, and hauing ſpeedily gathered together eight hundred horſe, hee with his ſonne Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco* came to Alcarras, and cauſed Don *Pedro Manriques* to diſlodge, who at the bare report of his comming did rayſe his ſeege, beeing not ſtrong enough to attend him.

During theſe ſtirres, the Kingdome of Caſtile was like a Forreſt, where freely, and without controule, all ſorts of miſchiefes were committed, the head that had power to redreſſe them, not regarding it: Wherefore the townes and communalties were enfor- B ced to ſet downe ſome remedie for it, to the end they might liue in better ſafetie, for men were more aſſured from the violence of theeues in their owne houſes, then in the fields: *Hermandades of Caſtile.* and they eſtabliſhed in euery corner honeſt men, who went vp and downe well accompanied, preuenting thoſe outrages the beſt they could, puniſhing the offendours, as often as they could lay hands on them, leauing the wayes in ſome ſort aſſured by that meanes: the King beeing contented there-with, and letting them alone, albeit the Factious were greatly diſpleaſed there-with, and namely, the Maſter of Saint Iames, who ſayd it was not well done, to put baſe people in authoritie, and to keepe the Nobilitie vnder.

Now the Court beeing returned to Segobia, in the Caſtle of the which Cittie, the C King had cauſed his Treaſure, Iewels, and other rich ſtuffe to be tranſported from Madrid, hee determined to leauie an armie, beeing reſolued to chaſe the Prince Don *Fernand*, and Donna *Izabella* out of the kingdome of Caſtile, for they were beames in his eyes, which did hinder him (as hee ſayd) from prouiding for the preſent calamities and miſeries of his kingdome. The Maſter of Saint Iames, who euer held the euent of battell doubtfull and ſuſpitious, was of opinion to vſe meanes more cunning, and leſſe dangerous. The King beeing come to Coca with this purpoſe and determination, leauing at Segobia the Earle of Vruegna, and *Andrew de Cabrera*, with the Queene, and Donna *Ioane*, whome hee called Princeſſe, and the Maſter, who made vſe of the Arch-biſhop of Seuile at his owne pleaſure, cauſed him to counſell him not to proceede againſt the D Princeſſe by way of force, but to trie other meanes to draw them to his will. The King *An.* 1470. perſwaded thereunto, diſſolued his armie. Theſe things paſſed in the yeare 1470. at *Genealogie of Caſtile.* which time the Princeſſe Donna *Izabella* was deliuered of hir firſt child, in the Cittie of Duegnas, the firſt day of October, to wit, of a daughter called *Elizabeth*, or *Izabella* like the mother.

Moores. Then the Moores of Granado, proude, becauſe of their fore-paſſed proſperities, forraged the Countrie belonging to the Maſter-ſhippe of Alcantara, againſt whome was ſent the new Marquis of Cales, Don *Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, Earle of Arcos, who repreſſed theſe runnagates, and tooke from them the Cittie of Cardela, the which ſoone after was taken againe by the Moores: neuertheleſſe hee carried away with him great E ſpoyles, and many Moores priſoners. In the meane ſpace the Duke of Alua came to the Court at Medina del Campo, who was kindly receyued and welcommed by the King.

29 Caſtile. Now the marriage of Donna *Ioane* beeing daſhed, by reaſon of the Duke of Guiens death, who departed this life at Bourdeaux, the King by the aduiſe of the Maſter of Saint Iames, ſent Ambaſſadours to King Don *Alphonſo* of Portugall, to treate with him about a marriage betwixt him and her. This King had no deſire thereunto, becauſe of the common report, which was, that ſhee was borne in adulterie betwixt Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, and the Queene of Caſtile: and therefore he had wholy reiected it, at ſuch *Genealogie of Portugal.* time as ſhe ſhould haue beene married to the Prince Don *Iohn* his ſonne, whome hee F married about that time to Donna *Leonora*, daughter to the Infant Don *Fernand* Duke of Viſeo, and of Donna *Beatrix*, daughter to the Infant Don *Iohn*, who had beene in former time Maſter of Saint Iames, and the ſecond Conſtable of Portugall: of the which Don *Fernand*, and *Beatrix* were borne, Don *Domingo* who was Duke of Viſeo after his father, and Don *Manuell* who raigned in Portugall, after this Don *Iohn* his brother

A brother in law. Donna *Beatrice* had builded the Monaſtery of Nunnes, called the conception of Veja, where ſhee with her husband Don *Ferdinand* lye buried. Now King *Alphonſo* at ſuch time as this Ambaſſage was making ready, was buſied with good ſucceſſe about the Affrican expedition: for hauing in perſon tranſported beyond the ſea a very mighty armie, being followed by the Prince Don *Iohn* his ſonne, and by many great Lords, and experimented Captaines of his kingdome, amongſt whom the moſt renowmed were Don *Iohn Coutin* Earle of Marialua, Don *Aluaro de Caſtro* Earle of Monteſanto, and his ſonne Don *Iohn de Caſtro*, Don *Henry de Meneſes* Earle of Valencia, *Ruy de Merlo* Captaine of his guardes, who afterward was Earle of Oliuença,

Arzilla and Tanger in Affrick taken by the King of Portugall.

B and Don *Alphonſo Vaſconcello*, who was Earle of Penela, hee tooke by force Arzilla, and did ſo terrifie them of Tanger, as they forſooke the Cittie, and left it empty to the enemy, ſo as King Don *Alphonſo* hauing amply enlarged his Empire, beyond the ſea, the Kings of Portugall haue ſince intituled themſelues, Kings on this ſide and beyond the Sea. The Earles of Monteſanto and Marialua dyed at the taking of Arzilla.

The gouernment of Tanger was giuen to *Ruy de Merlo* with a good garriſon: and the King and the Armie beeing returned to Lisbone, Don *Alphonſo Baſconcello*, was made Earle of Penela, and then was the marriage of the Prince celebrated, beeing ſeuenteene yeares of age, with Donna *Leonora* his couſin germaine, with

Marriage of the Prince Don of Portugall with Donna Leonora of Viſeo.

C diſpenſation made ſince by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who ſucceeded *Paul* the ſecond in the Sea of Rome. The Ambaſſadors of Caſtile agreed vpon an enterview of the the two Kings, betwixt the townes of Badajos and Yelues: but they departed one from an other diſcontented, without any concluſion of the marriage, the principall impediment was, the ſmall truſt which the King of Portugall repoſed in the Maiſter of Saint *Iames*, whoſe inconſtancie hee merueilouſly ſuſpected; together with the diſordered life of the Queene, who was deteſted of all men. This marriage afterwards was thought vppon to bee renewed, as ſhall bee heere-after declared.

The King of Caſtile wanted no troubles and diſcontents in this iourney, by meanes 30

D of the inſolency, wherein the Lords, Prelates, and Knights his ſubiects were nouri- Caſtille.
ſhed, the one taking euill example from the other. Firſt of all the Biſhop of Siguença refuſed to accompany the King, and notwithſtanding any entreaty, he would not ſtirre forth of Guadalajara, whether hee had with-drawne himſelfe, beeing highly diſpleaſed that hee had beene diſappointed of a Cardinals Hatte, whereunto by the kings fauour hee had earneſtly aſpyred, the Maiſter of Saint Iames hauing ſupplanted him, who procured and obteined it for Don *Lewis d' Acugna* Biſhop of Burgos his nephew, the Biſhop of Siguença beeing neuer ſatiſfied with ſpeaking euill of Donna *Ioane* and the Queene her mother. The king with his traine beeing come to Badajos, hee was conſtrained to lodge in the ſuburbes, and villages there-

Inſolency of the Maiſter of Saint Iames.

E abouts: for the Earle of Feria ſhutte the gates againſt him, ſaying, that hee was certaine that hee would vpon his entry giue the ſame towne to the Maiſter of Saint Iames, to whom hee durſt deny nothing: for hee went about not long before to ſnatch the towne of Sepulueda by force as it were from the king, which was neere to the Earledome of Saint *Steuens*, the which notwithſtanding the requeſt, admoniſhment, and reſiſtance of the inhabitants, who could not endure to bee alienated from the Crowne, the king was conſtrained to grant vnto him by reaſon of his importunity: but the townesmen not reſolued to obey the Maiſter, gaue themſelues ouer to the Princeſſe, who with Prince *Ferdinand* her husband came thither, and remained for a certaine time in thoſe quarters, and in the territories of the Archbiſhop of Toledo, who

F was alwayes their faithfull ſeruant. At Siuill the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales were at great ſtrife, and ioyned battaile the one againſt the other, by meanes whereof the Marquis was driuen forth of the citty, and withdrew himſelfe to Xeres, where being fauoured by the knights of Saint *Iames*, and thoſe of Calarraua, and the Duke by thoſe of the Citty, they made cruell warres one vpon another, the Maiſter of Saint *Iames* vpholding the Marquis his ſonne in law.

In an incounter made betwixt Seuile and Alcala of Guadiaira, two baſtard ſonnes of A
the Duke of Medina were ſlayne, and other diſorders followed thereuppon: for the redreſſing whereof, the King ſent Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, to Seuile, who by his diligence and good counſell, cauſed them to lay downe their armes, and made thoſe two Lords friends, and the Duke had his towne of Medina Sidonia, and the fortreſſe of the ſame reſtored vnto him.

At Toledo *Pero Lopes* of Ayala newly made Earle of Fuenſalida, was ſollicited by the brother of his deceaſed wife Donna *Maria de Silua*, to wit, the Biſhop of Badajos, who was deſirous to bring againe the Earle of Ciſuentes, and his Vncle Don *Iohn de Ribera* into Toledo, to giue his eldeſt daughter Donna *Leonora* in marriage to the Earle of Ciſuentes, ſeeking by that meanes to reconcile and make them friends, which the Maſter B
of Saint Iames did likewiſe procure, building ſome deſſeignes vppon the ſame citty: but the king being aduertized thereof, ſent foorth-with the Licenciate *Diego Henriques* to aduertiſe the Earle of Fuenſalida by no meanes to make that marriage, and not to ſuffer the Earle of Ciſuentes nor Don *Iohn de Ribera* to enter into Toledo, becauſe he was aſſured, that as ſoone as they ſhould ſet foot within the cittie, they would driue him thence.

The Earle giuing more credit to the Biſhoppe, then to the King, was very willing to agree vppon the marriage, by reaſon whereof the Earle of Ciſuentes, and Don *Iohn de Ribera*, were no ſooner entred into the cittie, but contrarie to their oath and promiſe, *People of Tolc. do mutinous.* which was not to attempt any innouation, nor ſtirre vp any troubles, they put themC
ſelues in armes, and bandied themſelues in ſuch ſort, as there was nothing to bee ſeene but daily and continuall skirmiſhes, fights, murthers, robberies, and other miſeries, vſual in diuided Citties, the common people of this towne beeing more mutinous and apt to enter into factions and leagues, then any other Cittie of Spaine: Wherefore the King, the better to redreſſe theſe inconueniences, beeing at Madrid, ſent the Biſhoppe of Burgos, together with the Licentiate *Diego Henriques*, who for a time cauſed thoſe inſolencies to ceaſe.

The King comming afterwards thither, tooke away, againſt all reaſon, the gouernement of the cittie from the Earle of Fuenſalida, and put it againſt his will, into the hands of Doctor *Garcy Lopes* of Madrid, with charge of an aſſiſtant, and with great authoritie, D
onely to pleaſe and content the Maſter of Saint Iames. The diſpoſſeſſed Earle went home to his owne houſe, and the Earle of Ciſuentes afterward had no deſire to accompliſh the marriage with Donna *Leonora*, alleadging certaine lets and hinderances, by reaſon of their neere conſanguinitie, and ſo ſoone after married elſe-where. The Earle of Ciſuentes, and Don *Iohn de Ribera*, tooke Doctor *Garcy Lopes*, committed him to priſon, and made themſelues maſters of the Cittie gates, and other ſtrong places, and beſeeged the Caſtle, the which they had taken, with the abſolute commaund ouer the whole Citie, had not certaine Channons reſiſted them, who fortifying themſelues in the great Church, held out till ſuch time as the Marſhals *Fernand de Riuadeneyra*, and *Peraſan de Ribera* were come to their ayde, who cauſed the Earle and his people to with-draw themE
ſelues.

The Maſter of Saint Iames, who was at that time in the territorie of Leon, making his progreſſe vp and downe about the ordering of the affaires of that Prouince, beeing aduertized of that which had befallen *Garcy Lopes*, came in great haſt to Toledo, from whence hauing driuen the Earle of Ciſuentes, Don *Iohn de Ribera*, *Lope* of Eſtuniga, with *Arias de Silua*, and other of their complices, hee left the Cittie in quiet. The King not long after came to the Monaſterie of Siſla, halfe a league diſtant from the Cittie, but hee did in no ſort touch any of the ſeditious, becauſe all the miſchiefe had beene procured by the Maſter. As hee thought to returne to Segobia, hee found the Cittie in a mutinie, and reuolted from the *Corrigidor* or Gouernour of the ſame, by the meanes of F
certaine Gentlemen, who were taken, and ſent with yrons vppon their legges to the Caſtle of Madrid, where they remayned a long time after.

Now if temporall matters were ſo ill gouerned, it is to bee ſuppoſed, that ſpirituall affaires were farre worſe: for what good could happen to the people, whoſe Paſtors, neglecting their eccleſiaſticall functions, had no other care but to heape vp worldly riches

and

A and honours, making themſelues heads of Factions, and by their couetouſneſſe and ambition, did themſelues moſt of all trouble and diſquiet all Kingdomes and Commonwealths.

Whileſt theſe miſeries troubled the Realme of Caſtille, King *Iohn* of Arragon did ſtil endeauour to reduce the Rebels of Cattalonia to his obedience, and after that hee had ended the queſtion betwixt himſelfe and his ſonne-in-law *Gaſton* of Foix about the kingdome of Nauarre, hee did ſend his ſonne Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, with the Earle of Prades, who was returned to his ſeruice, into the confines of Barcelona, who encamped themſelues alongſt the riuer of Beſon, and made courſes euen to the Cittie gates, burB ning and ſpoyling, houſes, gardens, and other places of pleaſure of that countrie. Then they went to batter a ſtrong caſtle ſeated vppon the riuer, which the Barcelonois beeing deſirous to ſuccour, *Iames Galliot* Gouernour of the cittie, came into the field with a great number of horſe-men, and foure thouſand foot, bringing with him Don *Denis* of Portugall, and *Gratian* of Aguirre, who preſenting themſelues before the enemie, with intent to fight, were ſo rudely receyued, as within awhile they were defeated, with maThe Barcelonois defeated. ny of their people ſlayne, hurt, and taken priſoners, in the number of whom were *Iames Galliot*, and *Denis* of Portugall: part of thoſe which fled, came backe to the cittie, and the reſt retired themſelues into the woods and mountaines. This loſſe did ſo daunt the courage of thoſe of Barcelona, as deſpayring of their affaires, they all began to hearken vnC to peace, whereunto they were the rather incited by the Kings comming, who ioyned himſelfe ſoone after with the forces of his ſonne *Alphonſo*, taking the towne of Valdonzellas, hee made ſhew as if he would beſeege the Cittie both by ſea and land, the which The cittie of Barcelona yeeldeth to the mercie of the King. beeing filled with great feare, and yet neuertheleſſe truſting to the Kings clemencie, they ſent Commiſſioners vnto him, to craue his pardon, and to offer him the keyes of the Cittie, ſubmitting themſelues to his mercie.

These men beeing come into the kings preſence, did by the mouth of *Lewis Setenti* a Florentine, confeſſe the Cittizens fault, and did implore his mercie, preſenting him with the keyes, the which the King holding in his hands, re-deliuered forth-with to the Commiſſioners, contrarie to the expectation of all his followers, who thought, that in reKing Iohns clemency. D gard hee had beene ſo many yeares troubled and diſquieted with the obſtinate and cruell warres of the Barcelonois, hee would haue executed ſeuere vengeance vppon them: but hee on the contrarie, with a ſingular mildneſſe, did not onely pardon them, and their Confederates, for whatſoeuer they had committed againſt him, but confirmed them in their goods, liberties, priuiledges, exemptions, and auncient rights. The next day following, the Cittizens had prepared a triumphant chariot for him, that he might make his entrie with great pompe and magnificence, the which he would not accept, but was contented to enter into the Cittie riding vppon a white Courſer, by Saint Anthonies gate of the ſame cittie, which hee found vnprouided of all manner of victuals, wherewith he cauſed them preſently to bee furniſhed; ſo as without the aboue-named defeate, E neceſſity would haue enforced them to haue yeelded.

By this peace which happened ſo opportunely, the miſeries of Cattalonia were ended, which had troubled the whole State of Arragon for the ſpace of tenne yeares. He which ſhewed moſt proweſſe, and performed the notableſt exploites in this warre, was Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermoſa, a Prince worthie of great prayſe, and high commendation, who dyed afterwards in the ſeruice of his brother King *Fernand* raigning in Caſtile, at a place called Linares, leauing his ſonne Don *Alphonſo* of D. Alphonſo of Arragon his poſteritie. Arragon, heire to his Dutchie of Villa-hermoſa, who was Knight of the Order of Saint Iames, and a Daughter called Donna *Maria* of Arragon, who was maaried to the Prince of Salerne. Hee had out of wedlocke Don *Iohn* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, F Captaine of the Caſtle of Ampoſta, Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, who was Biſhop of Tortoſa, and afterward Arch-biſhoppe of Tarragone, Don *Fernand* of Arragon, Prior of Saint Iohns of Cattalonia, together with Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, wife to the Earle of Albayda.

This peace was no ſooner concluded, but the King had newes of a new rumult, raiſed in Nauarre, whereinto the Princeſſe his daughter voluntarily had runne herſelfe with Nauarre.

great danger, and many of her ſeruants loſt their liues. It happened after this manner: A
Iohn d'Athondo the Kings Auditour of his accounts, and Cittizen of Pampelona, with *Michaell Ollacarizqueta*, and others of the ſame cittie, ſeruants to the King and the Princeſſe, and of the Faction of Grammont, did vndertake, in hatred and diſgrace of the contrarie partie of Beaumont, who poſſeſſed the Cittie of Pampelona, to bring the Princeſſe Donna *Leonora* into the ſame, with troupes of ſouldiers, and to make her peaceable and abſolute Ladie thereof: they hauing then communicated together about their plot, it was thought fit, that the Princeſſe ſhould come in a morning before day to the Iewes gate, otherwiſe called the Tower of the royall gate, and the Marſhall Don *Pedro* of Nauarre, ſhould make himſelfe Maſter of the two next towers. The appoynted B
time beeing come, the Princeſſe with her attendants, found the gate opened by thoſe of Grammont, through the which beeing brought in, the Marſhall poſſeſſed the two Towers with three-ſcore and tenne Gentlemen, and on a ſuddaine, they beganne to crie, God ſaue the Princeſſe, God ſaue the Princeſſe: at this rumour thoſe of Beaumont, (albeit they were amazed at ſo vnlooked-for an accident happening in the night) ranne to armes, and behaued themſelues in ſuch ſort, as they not onely hindred their enemies from further entring into the cittie, but enforced the Princeſſe and her people to get them thence in great haſt: for the moſt part of the ſouldiers which ſhould haue followed her, were not yet arriued. Hauing recouered the gate, they beſeeged the Marſhall Don *Pedro* and his ſouldiers which were in the two towers, who at the firſt would not yeeld, C
but in the end, when they ſawe the Cannon was readie to play vppon them, they were content to parley.

Priſoners of D. Leonora Counteſſe of Foix.

Raſhneſſe of D. Leonora.

The Princeſſe fearing leaſt ſome euill might happen to the Marſhall, and thoſe that were beſeeged with him, ſent word to the Cittizens, that what was done, was by her ſpeciall commaundement, and therefore intreated them to do them no hurt. At the laſt they yeelded, vppon promiſe made, that they ſhould all depart with their Armes, without any harme either in word or deed, which notwithſtanding, they were all taken, and ſhut vp in the Kings priſons of the cittie, where ſoone after they were cruelly and perfidiouſly ſtabd to death with daggers: and it is reported, that the Marſhall was ſlaine by the hands of *Philip* of Beaumont, brother to the Earle of Lerin. This act did very much diſpleaſe D
the Princeſſe, who commaunded that the ſame gate ſhould euer after be called the gate of treaſon, or the traytors gate: and in ſome ſort to reuenge that wrong, they proceeded againſt the Earle of Lerin, and againſt Don *Iohn* of Beaumont, Prior of Saint Iohns, and Chancellor of the Kingdome, and againſt Don *Philip*, and their breethren, and Don *Iohn* Earle of Luza, *Charles* of Artieda and his children, *Arnold d'Otza*, the Prouoſts and Iurates of Pampelona, with others their allyes and complices, who by the iudgement and authoritie of the King and his Councell, were condemned to death, depriuation of honours, defamation of their houſes, and confiſcation of their goods, as guiltie of high treaſon.

The Marſhall with his followers ſlayne.

The Records of thoſe times taxe the Earle of Lerin, ſaying, that hee, to the end hee E
might the better enioy the cittie, had driuen thence the Kings and Princeſſes ſeruants, and had eſtabliſhed therein Officers and ſouldiers, ſuch as were at his deuotion, contrary to their authoritie, whoſe iuriſdiction hee did vſurpe, vexing and tyrannizing the Kingdome: That by the fauour and ayde of the Earle, the Guipuſcoans had ouerthrowne the forts of Larraun, Lecunberry, Leyça, and Gorriti: and that hee beeing ſundrie times ſent for by the Princeſſe, to come to the Parliament and Aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Kingdome, would neuer obey her commaundement: That the Earle of Foix, hauing ſent his children, *Iohn* and *Peter* of Foix, both in his own name and the Princeſſe, to perſwade him to returne to his due obedience, hee did reiect their admoniſhments, and derided Pope *Pauls* commandement in that behalfe: the which things, full of contumacie F
and contempt, had induced the Princeſſe to make that attempt. Others thinke, that her owne extreame ambition and deſire to beare rule, did more mooue her, than any of the Earles miſdemeanours which were not lightly to bee eſteemed.

On the other ſide, the Earle of Lerin, and his Faction, did arraigne and condemne others of their aduerſe partie, and as for the Marſhals death, hee excuſed himſelfe, ſaying,

A ſaying, that he came to ſeeke him, and had done his beſt to ſurpriſe the Cittie, and to cut the throates of thoſe of Beaumont who were in the ſame: yet for all that, this could not excuſe his breach of promiſe.

The King afterward recompenced *Iohn d' Athondo*, with a perpetuall rent to him and his heires of ſixe-ſcore golden Florens by the yere of the coyne of Arragon, and beſides that, did permit him to beare in a quarter of his coate, the royall of Armes of Nauarre. To *Michael Ollacarizqueta* was likewiſe giuen other rewards. This ſedition happened in Pampelona about the end of the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty one.

Concerning the affaires of Caſtile: about the time that Toledo, and other Cities Caſtile.
B of the Kingdome did reuolt, the which wee lately mentioned, Donna *Maria* of Portocarrero, wife to Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena, and Maſter of Saint Iames, died of a canker at Segobia, and it is reported, that ſhee beeing a wiſe and vertuous Lady, did greatly reprooue her husbands extreame ambition, and that at her death, ſhe made him ſundrie remonſtrances which tended greatly to his honour and commoditie, and the preſeruation of his houſe, ſhee did greatly aduiſe him to maintaine the King in his honour and reputation, towards whome hee had inſolently behaued himſelfe, and moſt commonly without reſpect, to the great griefe of all the great Lords of Spaine: whereuppon the Maſter made her many faire promiſes of amendment, which after her death were ſoone forgotten: therefore conſidering with himſelfe, that hee was now a widow-
C er, and badly beloued, he thought it expedient for him, and greatly profitable for his affaires in hand, to marrie againe, and to ſtrengthen himſelfe with ſome good allyance: wherefore he bended his thoughts vppon the houſes of Mendoza and Velaſco, rich and mightie families, the chiefe of which, hee hauing ſounded and practiſed, there was a meeting betwixt Segobia and Pedraza, by the Biſhoppes of Siguença, Palença, and Burgos, the Earles of Haro, Medina Celi, and the Maſter, who agreed vpon a marriage betwixt the ſayd Maſter, and the Earle of Haros daughter: wherewith the king was well pleaſed. *Maſter of S. Iames allyes himſelfe with the houſe of Velaſco.*

The marriage was afterward ſollemnized at Pegnafiell, a place belonging to the Earle of Vregna, who was Nephew to the Maſter. By this allyance the Biſhop of Siguen-
D ça was pacifyed, came to Court, and had promiſe of the Kings fauour for his obtayning of a Cardinals hat, whereon he dreamed day and night, from Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, newly elected, who was borne in Sauona of the family of Rouero, a Friar, and Cardinal of the title of Saint *Peter ad vincula*, whoſe Legate *Roderigo Borgia*, Biſhop of Albi, and Cardinall of the title of S. Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano*, Vice-chancellour of the ſea of Rome, who afterward was Pope, came this yeare 1471. into Spayne, where hee was receiued at Madrid by King *Henry*, with all the honour and ſubmiſſion, that a ſeruant or an obedient ſonne could vſe towards his ſuperiour and father, as alſo in all places as hee came by the way: as ſoone as he was entred into Caſtile, eſpecially when hee arriued in the territories belonging to the Maſterſhippe of Saint James, hee went vnder a rich ca-
E nopie, the King beeing on his left hand, yet a little behind him. 34 *Rodrigo Borgia Cardinal.*

Hauing then declared his legation, and ſhewed his faculties, which were to viſit the Kingdome of Caſtile, and the Iſles neere adiacent, to ordayne what was neceſſarie for the Church of Rome, the King ſhewing himſelfe very obedient and willing, hee deputed the Licenciate *Diego Henriques* his Chronicler, Chaplaine, and Councellour, to accompanie, and conferre with him about theſe matters. At the intreatie of the King and the Maſter of Saint Iames, the Legate diſpatched a meſſage to Rome, for the Biſhoppe of Siguença's hatte: this was in the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty two. When *An.* 1472.
F the Court and the Legate came to Segobia, there was made a generall aſſembly of the Commiſſioners of euery Cathedrall Church of Spaine, where a certaine Subſidie was graunted to the Pope, which was the principall cauſe of his Legation, in recompence whereof, the Legate beſtowed pardons and indulgences vppon euery place with meaſure and proportion, according to euery mans qualitie, and beſides did ordaine to euery Church two Channonries, the one for a Diuine, the other for a Chanoniſt, the which ſhould be giuen by the Biſhops and Chapters.

Some neuertheleſſe, namely, of thoſe which did cleaue and adhere to the partie of

the Princes Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Iſabella*, did not appeare at this aſſembly, in the number of whom was Don *Inigo Manrique* Biſhop of Coria, who requeſted the legate to come to Valiodolit, ſaying, that they were to conferre with him about matters touching the ſucceſſion of the kingdomes; but the King perſwaded him to the contrary, accuſing the Princes and their followers of many matters. The Legate neuertheleſſe went to Alcala to viſit the Princes, who remained there with the Archbiſhop of Toledo, by whom he was ſumptuouſly receiued and with great pompe, as alſo in Guadalajara, the Marquis of Santillanas houſe, where hee remained a certaine ſpace, with the Marquis and the Earles his bretheren.

35

Enormous ſins cauſe thoſe newly conuerted to returne to Juda iſme.

The impieties, ſuperſtitions, thefts, rapines, and other inſolencies vſed at that time among the Chriſtians in Spaine, namely the Prelates and Church-men, were ſoſcandalous to all men, as diuerſe newe Chriſtians, who were conuerted from Iudaiſme to the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, being conſtrained more by the rigor of the lawes, then perſwaded by wholeſome doctrine, and good examples, began to returne to Iudaiſme, not being able to beleeue by humaine reaſon, that the religion profeſſed by ſuch deteſtable people, could bee the true. The remedy applied to this miſchiefe was the ſame which arrogant men and ſuch as hate correction, and are deſirous to liue in their errors and corruptions, doe commonly vſe, namely the ſword, maſſacres, and all manner of exceſſe. For in the Citty of Cordoua, inſteed of bringing back theſe ſtraies by meekneſſe, holineſſe of life, and ſuch like examples, which is the duty of the miniſters of the Church, they did let looſe the bridle to the raſh mutinous people, who made a cruell ſlaughter of them, and ſpoiled their goods.

Maſſacre of the new Chriſtians.

The Conſtable Don Michael Lucas de Iranſu, murthered by the people.

Thoſe of Iaen followed this example, againſt whom the Conſtable *Michaell Lucas de Iranço* oppoſing himſelf, was moſt inhumainly murthered in the Cathedral Church by the enraged multitude. The like eruelties and robberies were committed in Andujar and other places of Andaluzia, wherewith King *Henry* was extreamly diſcontented, but being faint-harted and of no courage in theſe matters, hee did no more puniſh the murtherers, then the Paſtors were diligent in ſeeking out fit Chriſtian meanes to bring back theſe Apoſtata's into the right way. The office of Conſtable was giuen to Don *Pedro Velaſco* Earle of Haro the Kings great Chamberlaine, at the interceſſion of the Maiſter of Saint *Iames* his Sonne in law, the which dignity hath euer ſince, euen till our time, continued in that family: The King like-wiſe gaue the ſeales of his Chancery, to the Biſhogge of Siguença.

D. Pedro de Velaſco made Conſtable of Caſtill.

The King finding that Donna *Ioane* his ſuppoſed daughter, had very ill ſucceſſe in her treaties of marriage, reſolued to beſtow her vpon Don *Henry*, Sonne to the Infant Don *Henry* who was Maiſter of S. *Iames*, & brother to Don *Ferdinand* Infant of Caſtile, which was King of Arragon, who at the ſame time, remayned in the Citty of Barcelona, from whence hee cauſed him to come ſecretly into Caſtile. This Prince, who by the commandement of King *Iohn* his vnckle, was called in his dominions, the Infant of Arragon, and by ſome others the fortunate Infant, was very proud, the which hee ſhewed in Caſtile before his time, which did greatly hinder his aduancement, in that Kingdome. Hee with his mother Donna *Beatrice Pimentell*, Aunt to the Earle of Benauent, arriued at Requegna, from whence afterward, (the King hauing furniſhed them with all things neceſſary for their calling, and place which they held) the Maiſter of Saint *Iames* cauſed them to come to the Caſtle of Garcy Nugnos, ſending two of his Gentlemen to accompany them thither. During the time that this Don *Henry* remayned there, ſundry Lords and Knights came to viſit him, diuers of whome becauſe they would bee reputed ciuill and curteous, offered to kiſſe his hand, thinking that hee would not haue ſuffered it, but hee keeping a great grauity preſented his hand freely vnto them: but one amongſt the reſt taking him by the hand, ſayd to him in deriſion, my Lord you haue a very faire hand, and ſo without kiſſing it let goe his hold, whereat D. *Henry* was much offended.

Pride hinders the Infant Don Henry from his preferment in Caſtil.

36

The Maiſter of Saint *Iames* remayned at that time in Madrill, being diſcontented with an accident hapned at Segobia: Hee had ſundry times ſolicited the king to commit the Caſtle and gates of the citty to his keeping, alleadging that in that place Queene

Ioane

A *Ioane* and her daughter, might lodge more ſafely then any where elſe, and that he ſhould by no meanes giue the charge thereof to *Andrew de Cabrera*, becauſe he was aſſured that *Beatrice* of Bouadilla his wife, was drawne to the Princeſſe party, and beſides, that he being a Cattelan, was an affectionate ſeruant to Prince *Fernand*, all which was very true. The King yeelded to the Maiſters requeſt; But *Andrew de Cabrera* refuſed to diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of the caſtle: whereat the Maiſter beeing highly offended, practiſed his ruine, and thought to effect it by this practiſe: He cauſed *Diego Tapia* and certaine other Gentlemen to come into the city, giuing them charge to ſtirre vp the people, whom he knew to be deſirous to fall vpon the new conuerted Chriſtians, and to ſpoile them of their
B goods, as they of Cordoua and other places of Andaluzia had lately done; and they appointed that during the tumult, ſome band of ſouldiars ſhould force the Kings houſe and take both him and *Andrew de Cabrera*, his Steward, to make him deliuer vp the caſtle: *Diego* de Tapia needed not to vſe much labour to ſtirre vp the people who were ouermuch addicted to miſchiefe: wherefore it was concluded that at the ringing of a larum bell in the Church of Saint Peter de los Picos, they ſhould aſſaile the city in fiue ſundry places, on a ſunday after dinner, namely in the quarter of Saint Olalla, in that of Saint Colomba, Saint Martin, Saint Iohn, and that of Saint Michael, appointing a ſquadron to goe vp and downe, and to diſcouer in euery place of the city. But it was the will of God, that this complot came to the knowledge of the Legat, who lay then at Guadalaja-
C ra, who forth-with reuealed it to the King, the King ſent word thereof to *Andrew de Cabrera*, captaine of the fort, to the end he ſhould ſtand vpon his gard, & preuent this danger in the city; *Cabrera* hauing ſecretly armed many ſouldiars, and all the Conuerts which were fit to beare arms, did ſo preuent his enemies, as he ſlew and defeated moſt of them, and *Diego Tapia* was ſhot through the body with an arrow. The Maiſter hauing failed in his enterpriſe, and fearing leaſt ſome euill might betide him, departed the ſame night from Segobia, and came to the Monaſtery of Parrall, to goe from thence to Ma-
D drid: the King tooke the paines to come and viſit him in the Monaſtery, and vſed all the entreaties that he could to bring him backe: but the Maiſter ſaid vnto him, that he had no confidence in *Andrew de Cabrera* nor his wife, and that hee would neuer ſet foote in Segobia vntill ſuch time as hee were poſſeſt of the caſtle: wherefore the King returned to Segobia to pacifie and appeaſe the tumult. It is moſt certaine that the enterpriſes of the Maiſter, beeing preiudiciall to an other, were very dangerous to himſelfe: for his ſonne-in-law the Earle of Benauent, ſtill bearing in minde how hee had preuented him of the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iames, did keepe armed men in his houſe, who were appointed to haue ſlaine him in that tumult, wherefore hee did wiſely to goe to Madrid, whether neuertheleſſe, all matters being appeaſed, the King and the whole Court came, and namely the Earle of Benauent: and thither were alſo brought the Queene, and D. *Ioane* her daughter. At Madrid there arriued a meſſenger from the Pope, who aduer-
E tized the King that D. *Pero Gonçal de Mendoza*, Biſhop of Siguença, was created Cardinall of the title of holy Croſſe, the which did greatly pleaſe the King, who commanded him to be called the Cardinall of Spaine, the which title hee vſed during his life, and receiued many honors of King *Henry*.

Enterpriſe of the Maiſter of Saint Iames againſt Andrew de Cabrera captaine of the caſtle of Segobia.

The Maiſter of Saint Iames failes of his purpoſe.

D. Pero Gonſal de Mendoſa Cardinal of Spaine.

In theſe times beganne the Order of the Religious of Saint Francis of Paul, who was a Calabrian borne at a place called Paul, who was drawne into France by King *Lewis* the eleuenth, and died at Tours; his Order called the Minims of Saint Francis, was approued by Pope *Sixtus* this yeere 1473. and afterwards at the requeſt of King *Francis* the firſt, of Queene *Claude* his wife, and of Donna *Louiſe* of Sauoy his mother, the Au-
thor was canonized by Pope *Leo* the tenth, in the yeere 1529. of this Religious Order there are many Monaſteries in Spaine, diuided into two Prouinces.

An. 1473. *Order of Saint Francis of Paul.*

F King *Henry* beeing deſirous to conſumate the marriage, betwixt Donna *Ioane* and his couſin the Infant Don *Henry*, tooke councell thereupon of the Biſhop of Siguença choſen Cardinall, and of others of his councell, and cauſed the Infant with his mother to come to Xetafa, betwixt which place and Madrid, he did ſee them, and would willingly haue brought them to Madrid, but the Maiſter of Saint Iames, who did not allow of this marriage, delt in ſuch ſort as they came not thither: afterward, the king hauing founded

Mariage of D. Ioane ſuppoſed daughter of Henry of Arragon, broken by the Maiſter of S. Iames.

founded the maiſter concerning this match, hee did openly diſwade him from it, ſaying, A that he ought not to marry his daughter to any other then to a King or a mighty Prince: and that if he were determined to giue her to *Don Henry*, it behooued him then to leuie men of warre, and to appoint for their pay, more then twenty millions of Marauedis; the King (who had treaſures in the Caſtle of Segobia) ſaid, that hee would not want money; and therefore, hee ſent the Maiſter, and the new elected Cardinall to Segobia, to take out of the Caſtle ſuch ſummes as hee appointed: but the Captaine *Andrew de Cabrera*, delayed them many dayes, ſaying, that hee would cauſe the money to bee told out, but yet they did it not; for indeed hee was ſeruant to the Princes, and wholy contrary to the Kings will, as concerning Donna *Ioanes* marriage; and beſides that hee B would haue nothing to doe with the Maiſter, whom hee deadly hated, fearing that all that hee went about tended to no other end but to diſpoſſeſſe him of his Gouernment. In the meane time the Earle of Benauent (who was cooſin Germaine to to Don *Henry*,) perceiuing that chiefly by the practiſes of the Maiſter, the mariage was delayed, and incenſed with an old hatred againſt him, about the Maiſterſhip of Saint *Iames*, had bitter words with him, telling him that hee ſhould better haue conſidered of matters, and not to haue procured the Infant Don *Henry* to haue come into Spaine, in a manner to deride him, and vnder colour of lyes to abuſe the King, the Realme, and the great Lords, with many other bitter words, which the Maiſter endured with patience. C

37 The death of Don *Alphonſo* of Fonſeca, Archbiſhoppe of Siuill, did promote *Pero Goncales* of Mendoça Biſhop of Siguença to that dignity, vnto whom almoſt at the ſame time that his Bulls were diſpatcht from Rome, was the Cardinals Hatte preſented. And the King beeing ſolicited to prouide for the troubles and miſeries of his kingdome, hee did the ſame yeare one thouſand, foure hundered, ſeuenty and three, call the Eſtates to Saint *Mary de Nieua*, whether came the Deputies of the Communalties and cities of Caſtile, and Regions annexed to the ſame. There were ſundry exactions aboliſhed, which had beene leuied vppon the poore people by the Kings officers, and by ſubalterne Lords following his example, as paiments for the Portes, bridges, taxes, watching and warding, and other ſuch like impoſitions, leuied without D any lawfull cauſe, vpon wayfaring men, paſſengers, and the inhabitants of places. There was alſo granted to the King a certaine Subſidie of money: At this parlament the Infant Don *Henry*, and his mother Donna *Beatrice Pimentell* were preſent. And then the Maiſter of Saint Iames bethinking himſelfe of another pollicy, by meanes whereof hee might get the citty of Segobia into his hands, hee counſelled the King to remooue the aſſembly of the eſtates to Segobia, where more commodiouſly the affaires of the kingdome might bee managed, and Donna *Ioanes* marriage concluded vpon: the which aſſembly ſhould bee there in ſafety, vnder the faith and ſafeguard of the Marquis of Santillana, whom hee perſwaded to demand, for the ſame purpoſe, the Keyes of the gates of Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Martin*, of the ſame E citty, of *Andrew de Cabrera*: but *Cabrera* perceiuing very well whereunto it tended, and beeing reſolued couragiouſlie to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Maiſter of Saint *Iames*, found many probable excuſes, and delayed the matter, till ſome other determination was taken, wherein hee was ſupported and fauoured by the new Archbiſhop of Siuill, and Cardinall of Spaine, who had ſecretly vnited himſelfe to the Princes, and was wholy againſt Donna *Ioane*. In this manner the Maiſter was diſappointed of his purpoſes to his great greefe, who in like manner ſought to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Toledo, and raiſed ſuch a tumult there, as the King was faine to goe thither in perſon to appeaſe it: but hee cauſed no enquirie to bee made for the ring-leaders to that miſchiefe, to puniſh them according to their deſerts: by reaſon wher- F of euery man almoſt committed what miſchiefe hee pleaſed, without any feare of the lawes.

Taxes leuied by vſurpation vpon the poore people aboliſhed.

The Maiſter of S. Iames his couetouſneſſe cut ſhort.

Impunity, the nurſe of all diſorders.

Whileſt the king remained at Toledo, the Marquis of Villena, ſonne to the Maiſter of Saint Iames, came to doe him reuerence, whom hee receiued with extraordinary kindneſſe, the Maiſter beeing then at Pignafiell with his wife the Dutcheſſe

of

A of Eſcalona. And when the King returned to Segobia, the Marquis of Villena followed him, but he lodged without the city at the Monaſtery of Parrall, becauſe of the quarrels betwixt his father and *Andrew de Cabrera*: the King went often to heare maſſe at this Monaſtery, and to viſit the Marquis.

As theſe matters paſſed, the Princeſſe D. *Iſabella* hauing intelligence with the Inhabitants of *Aranda* de Duero, tooke that place which belonged to the Queene, whereat the King merueilouſly ſtorming, *Andrew de Cabrera* put him in minde of the great tirannies of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, and of his inſatiable couetouſneſſe in getting of townes and cities, and how hee had continually, without any reſpect, hurried and tired his royall B perſon, as hee himſelfe very well knew: and therefore hee perſwaded him to be pleaſed, that the Princeſſe his ſiſter might ſafely come to the caſtle of Segobia, where they might ſee one an other, and conferre together, which could not chooſe but bee exceeding profitable for the Kingdome and for all good men. The King, who was tender hearted, and eaſie to bee carried away, was pleaſed therewith, and after that hee had heard the opinion of the Cardinall of Spaine, and of the Earle of Benauent, hee was more deſirous of it; and Donna *Beatrice* of Bouadilla, wife to *Andrew* of Cabrera, diſguiſed in the habit of a country-man, and riding vpon an aſſe, went her ſelfe to Aranda to cauſe the Princeſſe to come to the caſtle of Segobia, who beeing accompanied with the Archbiſhop of Toledo, and others, came thither, and entred the caſtle in a morning before day, where *Enterview of King Henry and the Princeſſe Iſabella his ſiſter.* C ſhe was courteouſly entertained. Her comming was on the ſodaine, the King beeing abſent at that time from Segobia, hunting in the forreſt of Balſain, who was haſtned by *Cabrera*, who did greatly ſuſpect the ſtay of the Marquis of Villena at the Monaſtery of Parrall, fearing that hee remained there to make ſome practiſe vpon him. Now aſſoone as the Marquis of Villena knew that the Princeſſe was come to the caſtle of Segobia, he diſlodged in all haſt, and neuer left galloping till hee was arriued at Aillon, fearing to be taken.

The Earle of Benauent, and Cabrera, rode forthwith to the forreſt to giue the King notice that his ſiſter was come, who returned to Segobia, and after that hee had dined, he came to the caſtle to ſee the Princeſſe, to whom he vſed all ſignes of loue and friend- D ſhip: and ſitting downe, one neere to an other, they talked a long while togither, and at laſt the King tooke his leaue of her with many curteous ceremonies, ſeeming to bee highly pleaſed. The Maiſter of Saint Iames hauing intelligence of all theſe matters, thought to prouide for his owne ſafety whatſoeuer ſhould happen, and therefore hee went to Cuellar to talke with D. *Bertrand de la Cueua* Duke of Albuquerque, whether, at his intreaty, came the new Conſtable Don *Pedro* de Velaſco Earle of Haro his father in law, and there they made a league and confederacy together: afterward they began to ſollicite the King, to put the Princeſſe his ſiſter forth of Segobia; wherevnto (being bewitched by the Maiſter) hee conſented, but his councell therein was diuided. The Princeſſe, the better to order her affaires, was of opinion to cauſe the Prince her hus- E band to come to the caſtle of Segobia, thinking by his preſence the King would be ſooner brought to reaſon, and all matters concluded with more facility. The Prince beeing come, the King ſaw him, and receiued him with a cheerefull countenance, and they rode togither on horſe-backe thorough the city, to the great contentment of the people, and likewiſe of the Courtiers, though not of all. The great Maiſter *Andrew* de Cabrera made them a Royall banquet in the Biſhops houſe, at which the Earle of Ribadeo, by priuiledge from his anceſtors, did eate at the King and the Princes table. The feaſt beeing ended, with ſtore of muſike and other delights, the King grew ſicke and complained of his ſide, and was carried into his lodging, where after a while, hee recouered, but not without hauing certaine relicks of rheume, fluxes of bloud by vrine, with vomitings, and F other ſuch like mortall accidents: The Princes did hourely viſit him, and cauſed others to ſolicite him to declare the Princeſſe his ſiſter heire to the Kingdomes, wherevpon there paſſed diuerſe ſtrang and bitter words betwixt thoſe which mannaged this buſineſſe on either ſide: but nothing being concluded, the Princeſſe reſolued not to leaue Segobia. The Maiſter of Saint Iames was aduertized of all that paſſed, by the King himſelfe, who went about on a night to put certaine companies of ſouldiars into the city, who ſhould

Prince Fernand comes to Segobia.

Priuiledge of the Earles of Ribadeo.

ſeize

ſeize vpon certaine Towres, Churches and Houſes, to the end to giue entrance to him A
and other greater troupes, with which forces he would take the Princes, and *Andrew de Cabrera* priſoners. The Maiſter had as bad ſucceſſe in this plot as in the former: for God who had predeſtinated the Princes *Fernand* and *Iſabella* to reigne in Spaine, ſuffered this practize to be diſcouered, by meanes whereof the daunger was preuented, the Princeſſe ſtood vpon her gard, and the Prince retired himſelf in time, and went into Arragon, whether he was called by warres and troubles which there happened.

38 Nauarre. and Arragon.

King *Iohn* of Arragon, his father, was in his old age oppreſſed with croſſes, as well in Nauarre, by the ſeditions of his ſubiects, as on the frontiers of France and County of Roſſillon. In Nauarre, ſoone after that the Princeſſe Donna *Leonora* failed in her en- B
terpriſe of taking Pampelona, her husband the Earle *Gaſton* of Foix, returning out of France into Nauarre, fell ſicke and died at a place called Roncevaux, in the yeere 1472. leauing heire of his Lands and Lordſhips of Bearn and Foix his ſonnes ſonne, *Francis Phœbus* a child of the age of fiue yeeres, who remayning vnder the gouernment of his mother Donna *Magdalen* of France, and of the Princeſſe Donna *Leonora* his grand-mother, was likewiſe, after her death, heire to the Kingdome of Nauarre. Donna *Leonorаes* titles were then, Princeſſe, heire of Nauarre, Infanta of Arragon and Sicill, and Lieutenant Generall for the King her Lord and father in the ſaid Kingdome of Nauarre.

Death of Gaſton de Foix.

Titles of D. Leonor of Nauar.

After the deceaſe of *Gaſton* Earle of Foix, this Princeſſe making her aboade in the C
city of Tafalla, called there a Parliament, to the which the great Lords came, and eſpecially the chiefe of the faction of Grammont and Beaumont, who inflamed with enuy were ſtill deſirous to ruine one an other. It happened (as it is eaſie amongſt thoſe that are of trobleſome and enuious diſpoſitions) that diuerſe bitter ſpeeches paſſed betwixt the Earle of Lerin and the Conſtable of Nauarre *Pedro* de Peralta, which cauſed great contention: into the which quarrell *Nicholas* de Echauarri, Biſhop of Pampelona, did ſo farre enter, as the Conſtable thinking himſelfe greatly iniured by him, threatned him that it ſhould coſt him his life.

Suſpition of loue betwixt the Princeſſe D. Leonora, and the Biſhop of Pampelona.

This Biſhop was ſuſpected to bee more familliar with the Princeſſe Donna *Leonora* D
then honeſty required, which cauſed him to be hated of diuerſe men, who were iealous of their Princeſſe honour, taking it more heinouſly at his hands, who was a prelat and ought to giue good example, then if it had beene any other. The Biſhop, after this threatning, beeing fearefull, would by no meanes come forth of his houſe. The Princeſſe, either deſirous to pacifie this quarrell, or elſe not able to endure him long out of her ſight, ſent diuerſe meſſengers to him, to bring him vnto her to the Monaſtery of Saint Sebaſtian of the Order of Saint Francis at Tafalla, where ſhee accompliſhed a nine daies vowes which ſhee had made, for ſhee vſed great deuotion to thoſe fathers, and beſtowed many benifits vpon them: but the Biſhop ſtill fearing to bee met with by the way, prayed her for to excuſe him. At the laſt ſhee ſent
vnto him one of her familliar friends called *Fernand* de Baquedan with an other E
Knight named Sir *Hughe*, who promiſed to conduct him ſafely thether, whereupon hee mounted on his Mule, and rode in their company towards Tafalla, whereof the Conſtable beeing aduertized, hee was ſo farre tranſported with rage, as leaping on horſe-backe, hee met with the Biſhop on the way, and ſlew him hard by the gates of Tafalla, not reſpecting or regarding the Princeſſes word, nor yet his Epiſcopall dignity, for the which inhumane fact he remained diuerſe monthes together excommunicate.

The Biſhop of Pampelona ſlaine by the Conſtable.

This mans death did greatly offend diuerſe both in Nauarre and in King *Iohn* of Arragons Court, but eſpecially the Princeſſe. Don *Alphonſo Carillo* a Spaniard, was promoted to that dignity in his ſted, being in number the fortith Biſhop of that Sea. F

On the other ſide, King *Iohn* beeing then threeſcore and tenne yeeres of age, was ingaged in a tedious quarrell with the French, vpon this occaſion: The Earledome of Roſſillan was ingaged vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth for the ſumme of three hundred thouſand crownes, who kept therein Gouernors and Officers which did oppreſſe the people, and committed diuerſe inſupportable outrages, where the inhabitants daily com-

A complained,requeſting their King to protect them, wherewith the Frenchmen were diſpleaſed: in regard whereof King *Lewis* ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Iohn*, who ſommoned him to make paiment of the three hundred thouſand crownes, and to receiue his Earledome,or elſe to appropriat it vnto him for the ſame ſumme, or if hee were not pleaſed with theſe two motions: that then hee ſhould giue him ſuerties in France,for the payment of the money at a certaine time. This did greatly trouble King *Iohn*, neuertheleſſe,with great modeſty hee made anſwere, that hee would requeſt King *Lewis* not to vrge him at ſo vnſeaſonable a time, after his long and chargeable warres made againſt his ſubiects,to repay the ſaid ſumme,which as then was impoſſible for him to doe,much-
B leſſe to ſell the Earledome vnto him, and wholy to alienate that which did belong to the crowne of Arragon: And as for the ſuerties which he demaunded; hee did not thinke it a reaſonable requeſt, nor yet beſeeming him,who had(God be thanked) wherewith to pay his debts in time: with this anſwere the Ambaſſadors were not ſatisfied,as alſo by reaſon that thoſe of Perpignan, impatient of the French yoake, beganne manifeſtly to rebell againſt them: wherefore King *Lewis* ſent forces into the county of Roſſillon,to chaſtice thoſe of Perpignan, who had conſtrained the Frenchmen dwelling amongſt them,to retire themſelues into the caſtle,from whence they ſhot into the towne with the Canon,doing great harme therevnto. King *Iohn* came thither in haſt to appeaſe this ſtire,and endeauored by all meanes to perſwade the people to obey the French,promi-
C ſing them ſhortly to deliuer them from that trouble: but they anſwered him boldly,that they had rather ſuffer death then returne to the ſubiection of ſuch Lords.

The Earledome of Roſſillon,original of all the warres betwixt France and Spaine in our dayes.

During theſe diſputations King *Iohn* was on a ſodaine beſeeged in the towne by the French army, which the Spaniſh Authors number to bee forty thouſand, who hauing enuironed it on euery ſide, beganne to batter it without, and within to aſſaile it from the caſtle,ſo as it behooued the beſeeged to be couragious, and valiantly to defend themſelues,the Kings preſence ſeruing them greatly to that purpoſe. The ſeege continued foure monthes: in the end,at the report of Prince *Fernands* comming,who vpon the newes of the French mens arriuall,had leauied ſouldiars both in Caſtile,Arragon and Cattalonia, they raiſed their ſeege and retired themſelues into France. King
D *Iohn* and the towne beeing deliuered from this danger, all men went out to meete the Prince,and the father and the ſonne embraced one an other with great ioy, who came togither into Perpignan. The King did againe entreat the Inhabitants to obey the French for a ſhort time,till he could otherwiſe diſpoſe of his affaires, aſſuring them that he would pay the French King his money,and take them againe to himſelfe. They being obſtinate refuſed it,and requeſted him,to giue King *Lewis* other pledges, or elſe to ſuffer them to depart thence,for they would willingly giue ouer their houſes, goods,yea and their owne liues,rather then to ſubmit themſelues to the vilde vſage of the French. King *Iohn* ſeeing them ſo reſolued,left D. *Lewis* de Requeſens for the Gouernor,and with the Prince his ſonne returned to Barcelona.

E Before the Princes departure out of Caſtile, there aroſe a great quarrel betwixt the Marquis of Santillana,and the Earle of Benauent,becauſe that the Earle(poſſeſſing the towne of Carrion, by the Kings permiſſion, the which hee had held during the former troubles,had vildely and iniuriouſly intreated certaine Gentlemen which dwelt in the ſame towne, who were neere in bloud and parentage to the Marquis, who hauing notice thereof ſent vnto him, and deſired him in regard that thoſe Gentlemen did belong vnto him,that hee would for reuerence due to the boanes of his anceſtors ſpare and reſpect them: the Earle made him a proude anſwere and ſaid,that hee would cauſe his anceſters bones to be taken vp,and ſend them vnto him in baskets,to the end he might beſtow them ſafer with himſelfe at Guadalajara amongſt the reſt of his progenitors. The
F Marquis being iuſtly mooued hereat,conſpired with the Earle of Treuigno, and others his friends and kinſfolkes,to take that place from the Earle, who had builded a new fort there; the Earle of Treuigno hauing intelligence with the wronged Gentlemen(his lands lying neere to Carrion)he entred the towne with ſouldiars, and beſeeged the fort and ſoone after the Marquis arriued with troupes of horſe and foote,as well of his owne tenants as thoſe of the Conſtable *Pedro* de Velaſco,the duke of Albuquerque and others, who

40 Caſtile.

Quarrel betwixt the houſes of Mendoſa,and Pimentel.

The Marquis of Santillana ſurpriſeth the towne of Carrion.

who ſupported him in this quarrell. The Earle of Benauent hauing notice of what the Marquis had done, and ment to doe, came in ſpeedily to Valiodolit, and gathered his friends togither, ſo as with the helpe of the Maiſter of Saint Iames his father in law, who in this tooke his part, hee found himſelfe able to offer battaile to his aduerſary: but the King beeing accompanied with the Cardinall of Spaine brother to the Marquis, and with the Maiſter, father in law to the Earle, did put himſelfe betwixt them, and handled the matter in ſuch ſort by the Cardinalls meanes, as he hindred them from ioyning battaile: and it was agreed, that the towne of Carion ſhould returne to the crowne, and the Earle ſhould haue the towne of Magaua in recompence, which belonged to the Cardinall, who to make them friends was content to diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe thereof, and receiued other recompences for the ſame. Prince *Fernand* when this quarrell beganne, was ready to depart into Arragon, and had leauied certaine companies of ſouldiars, the which wich his owne perſon hee offered to the Marquis who gaue him humble thankes, ſaying that he was ſtrong enough to incounter a greater Lord then the Earle of Benauent: and therefore hee beſought him to preſerue his perſon in ſafety, that hee might in time to come reigne in Spaine, and not to hazard it now when there was no need.

The Marquis afterwards returned to Guadalajara, and went to Saint Chriſtofers to viſit the Princeſſe Donna *Iſabella*, who went forth to meete him: hee offred her his ſeruice, and all aide and aſſiſtance for the obteining of her right, after the King her brothers death. The Earle of Benauent returned into his owne poſſeſſions, the King with the Cardinall to Segobia, and the Maiſter to Cuellar: but ſoone after, the King with the whole Court, and the Maiſter likewiſe, came to Madrid, where by the Maiſter his Councell it was thought fit that the Cardinall ſhould returne to Segobia to treat with the Princeſſe, and the Maiſter brought the King to Trugillo, to cauſe the fort of the ſame city to be deliuered vnto him, which hee had ſo importunately a long time begged: but the Gouernor of that place whoſe name was *Gratian de Seſe* would not conſent therevnto, nor obey the Kings commandment; yet neuertheleſſe hee hauing beene ſollicited by the Maiſter with promiſe of great recompences hee beganne to negociate about the deliuery thereof: but the matter being delaied, the King, who ſince his laſt ſickneſſe decaied in his health, was conſtrained to returne to Madrid, there to take his reſt: In the ſame place remained Donna *Ioane* in the keeping of the Marquis of Villena: as for the Queene, ſhe was elſe-where, and lead a pleaſant life without any ſhame at all. In the meane time the Maiſter of Saint Iames, who remained at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, delt in ſuch ſort as captaine *Gratian* of Seſe deliuered him the fort of Trugillo, being recompenced with the Lordſhip of Saint Helice de los Gallegos, where ſhortly after he was cruelly murthered and ſtoned to death by his owne tenants. About the ſame time the Maiſter of Saint Iames D. *Iohn de Pacheco* fell ſicke of an Impoſtume in his throate, which cauſed him to voide great quantity of putrified bloud at his mouth, which in the end ſtrangled him, he died in the threeſcore and fourth yeere of his age, hauing more credit and authority in Spaine, then any Lord in his time: his death was kept ſecret by his ſeruants, vntill the fort of Trugillo was yeelded vp, which was forthwith done, and then it was openly declared to all men: his body was carried to Parrall neere Segobia, a Monaſtery of Saint Ieroſme, founded by King *Henry* then reigning for his place of buriall, and the Maiſter was buried in the chiefe chappell with great pompe and ſollemnity. Great was the Kings ſorrow for the Maiſters death, to whoſe ſonne and heire Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, he did not only confirme the guifts of the townes, cities and caſtles, granted to his father, but beſtowed likewiſe vpon him the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iames, and ſent a meſſenger to the Pope to obtaine the confirmation thereof, not reſpecting the Knights of the ſame Order, who began to murmur and ſtrongly to oppoſe themſelues againſt it, and they did not onely bandy themſelues againſt the Marquis of Villena, who was not choſen according to the rules of the Order, but they likewiſe fell at variance amongſt themſelues: for D. *Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Paredes Commander of Segura, ſaid, that the election of the new Maiſter ought to be made in the Couent of Vcles, according to the ancient cuſtome: On the other ſide, D. *Alphonſo* de

Death of D. Iohn de Pacheco Maiſter of Saint Iames.

A de Cardegna great Commander of Leon, affirmed, that it stood with great reason that the election should be made in Saint Marks of Leon, in regard the deceased Maister died in the confines of Leon: wherefore each of them standing firme in their allegations, and having their factions and partakers, those two were chosen and saluted for Maisters; in such sort as the Order of Saint Iames, had at that time three heads, like vnto *Cerberus* the three headed dogge of hell. The Marquis of Villena, besides the Kings fauour, did hope that the Earle of Osorno, great Commander of Castile, would take his part; and because he had the keeping of Donna *Ioane* the Kings supposed daughter, it made the King more bound vnto him, and in very deed by reason thereof the King did greatly ad-
B uance him: the which gained diuers seruants to the Princesse Donna *Isabella*, who were iealous to see his sonne who had done them so much mischiefe in so great credit and authority.

The Cardinall of Spaine hauing beene a certaine time at Segobia with the Princesse, came backe to Madrid to the King, with the Constable Don *Pedro* de Velasco, who ioyntly spake to the King with great boldnesse touching the succession of the Kingdome, beseeching him to take in good part, that which they should say vnto him vpon their consciences, which was, that he ought to maintaine the Princesse *Isabels* right, be- *King Henry takes no care for the succession of his Kingdome.*
C cause he knew better then any that this Donna *Ioane* was not his daughter: and they requested him, in the name of God, not to be the cause of so great miseries which would oppresse his Kingdome after his decease, if hee should dissemble in that behalfe, but to speake the truth, for his peoples sake, in declaring his sister the Princesse his true and lawfull heire: wherevnto the King without any trouble made answere, that Order should be taken for them both; neuertheless hee delaied all hee could from medling in that businesse. In the meane space the Marquis of Villena, who promised to him selfe the Maister-ship of Saint Iames, thinking to practize with the Knights of Castile, and chiefly with the Earle of Osorno, the great Commander, came to Villarejo, in which place the enterview of him and the Earle was agreed vpon: but the Earle feigning him- *The Marquis of Villena taken prisoner by his competitor.*
D selfe sicke, sent thither his wife, well accompanied with men at armes, by whom the Marquis, at his lighting from his horse was seized vpon, and carried away prisoner into the castle of Fuente Duegna.

The King being aduertized hereof, did presently take horse, notwithstanding he was very sicke, and came to the Earle of Osorno, who shewed himselfe sterne and obstinate, without respect or reuerence, wherefore the King returned highly displeased to Madrid. By the way he met with the Archbishop of Toledo at Villa Verde, who offered him his seruice, and therevpon, to please him hee beseeged out of hand the castle of Fuente Duegna, whether the King likewise came in person. The seege lasting long, *Lopes Vasques* de Acugna, brother to the Archbishop, making shew of ending this strife as a friend, found meanes to bring the Countesse of Osorno to a parley, who comming abroade with a sonne of hers, was deceiued in the same manner as she had beguiled the
E Marquis, and the mother and the sonne were brought prisoners into the castle of Hueta.

This pollicy did highly please the King and the Archbishop, and was the cause that the Marquis was deliuered: the Cardinall and the Constable made an end of the matter, and the prisoners were set at liberty on either side: the Archbishop of Toledo returned to Alcala, and the King, beeing much afflicted and weake, to Madrid, where Catarres, vomitings, and other mortall accidents brought him to his last houre. The physitions hauing told the Cardinall of Spaine, the Constable, the Marquis of Villena, the Earle of Benauent and other Lords of his Councel there present, that his sicknesse was mortall, they caused Frier *Peter Maçuelo*, prior of Saint Ieroſme of Madrid, his confessor, to
F put him in minde of matters belonging to his soules health, and the peace of his Kingdome. Hee had long discourse with the prior in confession; then hee made his will, appointing the Cardinall, the Duke de Areualo, the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Benauent for his executors; and hee commaunded that his seruants should bee paide and well recompenced with his treasure and iewells, and declared Donna *Ioane* to bee his lawfull daughter, and true heire to his Kingdomes; the *The Countesse of Osorno, and her sonne taken, the Marquis of Villena set at liberty.*

which will was written by *Iohn de Ouiedo*, one of his ſecretaries: neuertheleſſe, diuers A
authors affirme, that he made no will, and ſay, that as he was in the agony of death, thoſe
that were preſent, asked him whom he would declare to be his heire, to whom hee made
none other anſwere, but that *Iohn Gonçall* his Chaplaine knew his minde therein, vnto
whom he referred them, naming the foure aboue mentioned for the executors of his
laſt will and teſtament, and ordained his body to bee buried at Guadalupa. Vpon this
doubt, whether the King made a will or not, were afterward great troubles raiſed, but
that which is moſt likely to be true, is the teſtimony of the Lieutenant *Diego Henriques*
his Cronicler and Counſellor, who ſaith, that he did make a will, and in deed his teſta-
ment was found the yeere 1504. thirty yeeres after his death. B

In this manner King *Henry* the fourth, ended his vnfortunate daies, and his reigne full
An. 1474. of troubles and diſgrace, the yeere 1474. the one and fortith yeere of his age, and twen-
tith of his reigne, being in his latter daies ſo leane, drie and meager, as hee repreſented
rather an Anatomy of bones, then a man, by reaſon whereof, his Phyſitions had no need
to enbalme him: his body was kept for a time in the Monaſtery of Pas in Madrid: and
afterward tranſported to Guadalupa and buried in the chiefe Chappell there, where
three and fifty lampes of ſiluer doe continually burne for him day and night, two and fif-
ty whereof haue rent aſſigned them for the expence of the oyle.

The end of the one and twentith Booke.

THE

THE TVVO AND TVVENtith Booke of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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27 D.Francis Phœbus, *firſt of that name, the foure and thirtith King of Nauarre: ſeditions at his commings to the crowne by the factions of Beaumont and Grammont.*
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35 *Contentions betwixt the Pope, and the Kings of Caſtile, for the election to benifices: agreements betwixt the Pope, King* Fernand *and Queene* Iſabella.
36 *King* Francis Phœbus *enters into Nauarre: prouiſions and orders for the quiet of that Kingdome.*

Order and continuance of the Kings reigning *in Spaine, written in this two and twentith Booke.*

CASTILE. LEON. ARRAGON. PORTVGAL. NAVARRE.

20. *D Fernand* the 5. and *Queene Iſabella* 41. 19. the ſame *Ferdi* 2. 13. *D. Leonora* the 1. 34. *D. Francis Phœbus* 1.

D.Fernand the 5.King 20.of Caſtile and 41.of Leon, and Donna *Iſabella* the 4. a woman which inherited the Kingdome of Caſtile, and the 5.which inherited in Leon.

AT ſuch time as the Princes D. *Fernand*, and Donna *Iſabella* came to the crowne of Caſtile, and Leon, by the deceaſe of King *Henry* the fourth, then did iuſtice and peace beginne to ſmile vpon Spaine. And it ſeemed that for the quiet, honour and exaltation of the Spaniſh nation, God had choſen and defended them, in the middeſt of ſo many ſtraits and difficulties, wherein they were oftentimes plunged, as well during the reigne of the Lord King *Henry*, as afterward: adorning each of them for that purpoſe with royall quallities, and heroike vertues, both of body and minde. For, as well Don *Fernand* as Queene *Iſabella*, were of meane ſtature and proportion, yet well compoſed, faire and pleaſant aſpect, gratious in their ſpeeches and of ſuch Maieſty in the geſture and motion of their bodies, as was requiſit for ſuch grent Princes: they were ſober and moderate in their diet, and all other their actions, deuout and religious, as they had beene inſtructed, but yet for all that a little to much couetous of glory and honour which made them oftentimes ſtumble, and tranſported them out of the right way of equity, eſpecially D. *Fernand*. To loue, and deſire honour and glory, is in deed an affection beſeeming great perſons, and without the which they can hardly giue themſelues to any laudable exercize: but the exceſſe thereof, which men call ambition, is alwaies accompanied with the greateſt vices: They were alſo maintainers of iuſtice in Spaine, the which they executed in ſuch ſort, as their ſeuerity did not depriue them of the praiſe which they deſerued by their mildneſſe and clemency. The plaies and paſtimes which King *Fernand* vſed in his youth, were Cardes and Cheſſe; but afterward he became inclined to hunting and hawking, to the exercize of armes, and he did proone excellent in all kindes of horſemanſhip: he loued learned men: but his euil hap was, not to be inſtructed therein in his youth, which was thorough his fathers negligence, who was alſo himſelf in a maner wholy vnlearned: King *Fernand* did greatly delight to heare learned men talke, and to vnderſtand of the laudable actions of great men, but eſpecially of his anceſtors.

Qualities of the Princes Fernand and Iſabel.

Queene *Iſabella*, for her part, tooke great pleaſure in learning the Latin tongue, and proffited ſo well therein, as in leſſe then a yeere, ſhe was able to vnderſtand what her ſelfe did reade, or what was ſpoken vnto her in the ſame language: her continency and chaſtity was rare, and it did appeere in all her actions, ſpeeches, attire and countenance. Shee kept ordinarily in her houſe young men and women of noble parentage, whom ſhee brought vp, and alſo Ladies of great place, who were honoured for their vertue and honeſty: She would willingly haue had the King her husband like her ſelfe, of whom ſhe was extreamely iealous, and if at any time ſhee perceiued him familliar with any of her Ladies or Gentlewomen, ſhe preſenty ſought meanes to quench thoſe vnlawfull fires yet without ſcandall, either by marrying them, ſending them away, or admoniſhing them, or by ſome other honeſt and diſcreet meanes, deſyring that the Ladies of her traine ſhould be rather vertuous then faire.

It is noted of her, that in her trauaile of child, what paine ſoeuer ſhe indured, ſhee did neuer fetch one ſigh or groane, and at that time ſhe would cauſe her face to be couered. Charmes and inchantements ſhe abhorred as became a Chriſtian: ſhe did greatly loue learned men, who were of good conuerſation; eſpecially prelats of an holy and religious life, doing more good vnto ſuch, and ſooner preferring them to liuings and dignities, then others of greater houſes, who made more ſhew of the fame and glory of their anceſtors then of their owne vertues.

Theſe Princes being thus qualified, obtained the crowne of Caſtile and afterwards, that of Arragon, not without paine, trauaile and great oppoſitions (as hereafter ſhall appeare) which being by them ſurmounted and paſſed ouer, they eſtabliſhed iuſtice, gaue peace to the Spaniards, quenching all forepaſſed ciuill warres, and did zealouſly labour about the ordering of religion, wherein they wanted good helpe: this at the leaſtwiſe redounded to their honour, that they did roote the Moores out of Spaine, and made conqueſts in Affrica, they did quicken vp the Spaniards ſpirits, and incited them to al excellent artes and ſciences, ordayning great ſtipends to learned men, namely

benefices and Eccleſiaſticall reuenewes: they made diuerſe good and profitable lawes, A and by their authoritie and meanes, the inhabitants of a new world came to the knowledge of thoſe Regions, the which hath for all that in diuerſe ſorts redounded to the hurt of man-kinde: not by theſe Princes occaſion, but by the couetouſneſſe and cruelty of thoſe which came after them.

The Princeſſe *Iſabell* (as hath beene already ſaid) was at Segobia, at the time hir brother King *Henry* died, whither the Princes and Lords, which tooke his part, did come, after the Kings obſequies were finiſhed, which laſted nine dayes, and there they ſaluted her as Queene of Caſtile and Leon, taking the oath of fealty, and dooing her homage after the accuſtomed manner. There were preſent when this was done Don *Alphonſo* B *Carillo d' Acugna* Archbiſhop of Toledo, D. *Pero Gonçall* of Mendoça Archbiſhop of Siuill, called Cardinall of Spaine, and the Biſhop of Siguença, Don *Pedro de Velaſco*, Conſtable of Caſtile, Don *Alphonſo Henriques* Admirall of Caſtile, by the death of his father Don *Frederick*, newly deceaſed, and Vnckle by the mothers ſide to the new King, Don *Garcy Aluares* of Toledo, Duke of Alua, Don *Bertrand de la Cueua* Duke of Albuquerque, Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoça* Marquis of Santillana, Don *Roderigo Alphonſo Pimentel* Earle of Benauent, Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, and others, ſome of whom were already with the Princeſſe before the Kings death.

Lords holding the party of the Princes Ferdinand & Iſabel.

Prince *Ferdinand* was at the ſame time in Cattalonia with his father King *Iohn*, who beeing aduertiſed of that which hapned, came ſpeedily to Segobia, where hee in like C manner was receiued and acknowledged as King, to the great ioy and contentment, not onely of the Citty but of the whole kingdome, who ſent their Deputies vnto him, to doe him homage and ſeruice, as to their lawfull Lord and King, in the right of his wife: it beeing a matter out of all queſtion, that Donna *Ioane* was a baſtard, borne in adultery, and not capable of any right to the Crowne. Other Lords, which were abſent, did in like manner ſend their deputies to make their ſubmiſſions, and to take the oathes due to the new King. But the Marquis of Villena, who had Donna *Ioane* in keeping, and Don *Aluaro d' Eſtuniga* Duke of Areualo, Don *Roderigo Telles Gyron*, Maiſter of Calatraua, and Don *Iohn Gyron* Earle of Vregna, couſins to the Marquis of Villena, with others their confederates and adherents, were of another opinion, and did not D onely fauour Donna *Ioane*, who called her ſelfe Queene of Caſtile, but craued many things for their owne particular profit. The Marquis would haue the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iames, and the places belonging therevnto, which Don *Iohn de Pacheco* his father had enioyed: The Duke of Areualo would haue his Dutchy confirmed to him, and the Maiſterſhip of Alcantara for Don *Iohn d' Eſtuniga* his ſonne; other men demanded other matters. Now the firſt thing that was thought vpon by the King and Queenes Councell, was, about the ordering of their treaſures, and adminiſtration of iuſtice, the managing and execution whereof, was to be committed to fit perſons, and capable of ſuch affaires: wherefore Don *Guttiere de Cardegna*, the Queenes Chamberlaine, and *Gonçalo Chacon*, were created chiefe Treaſurers, and with them *Roderigo de Villao* was E ioyned: then they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lewis* the eleuenth the French King, to aduertiſe him of King *Henries* death, of their promotion, and to requeſt him to continue, and confirme the ancient alliance with the houſe of Spaine. The Ambaſſadors had likewiſe commiſſion and inſtructions, for the reſtitution of the Earldome of Roſſillon to the King of Arragon. King *Lewis* made a ſhew of ſorrow for King *Henries* death, and ſeemed to reioyce that they had ſucceeded him: but touching the reſtoring of the County of Roſſillon, hee would by no meanes hearken therevnto, but ſent a learned Lawyer to King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell* to ſhew his reaſons for the contrary, who came to Valiodolit with the Ambaſſadors, his comming beeing to no purpoſe. F

Lords, contrary to the Princes, taking Donna Ioanes part.

Iuſtice, and treaſures the principall members of a ſtate.

2 Arragon.

The citty of Perpignan beeing ſuccoured (as heretofore hath beene ſaid) by Prince *Ferdinand*, was after his returne into Caſtile againe beſieged by the French. King *Lewis* willing and commanding his Captaines, who had ſhamefully raiſed their ſiege, and were retired into the countrie and territory of Narbona, on paine of being puniſhed as traitors to their king and country, to returne and aſſaile the towne, and not to ſtirre from thence

A thence till they had taken it, although it ſhould coſt all their liues: whervpon, they came backe, and by the helpe of the Caſtle, did for eight moneths ſpace, ſo preſſe the beſeeged, as they brought them to the extreameſt poynt of neceſſitie: for beſides the continuall toyle, watchings, fights, and daily reparations of the breaches, whereunto they were conſtrained, the want of victuals was ſo great in the towne, as they were not onely enforced to eate dogges, cattes, and all other ſorts of vncleane meates, but alſo the very bodies of men, friends or enemies, which were ſlayne in the aſſault, yea mothers did deuoure their owne children: ſuch was the obſtinacie of thoſe people, who would not yeeld to an enemie, whome they had deſpiſed and offended, and from whome they did expect
B no mercie: but in the end, extreame neceſſitie, and inexorable famine brought them to that poynt which they ſought moſt to auoyde, and they found more mercie then they hoped for: for they were taken by compoſition, their offences pardoned, and the Garriſon permitted to depart with their armour and weapons: ſo as King *Lewis*, by the taking thereof, pretended now more intereſt to it then before. This was the laſt quarrell which King *Iohn* of Arragon had with the French, or any other: for the goute, his yeares, and other diſcommodities of old age, perſwaded him to ſpend the remainder of his dayes in reſt and quiet in the citty of Barcelona, leauing the gouernement of the Kingdome of Nauarre to his daughter, who was heire thereunto, and his other dominions to the reſt of his children and Lieutenants.

Famine in Perpignan.

Perpignan yeelded to the French.

C This yeare 1457. there grew a contention betwixt King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* about the gouernement of Caſtile, diſputing which of them two had moſt right to the ſucceſſion thereof: ſhe, as daughter to King *Iohn* of Caſtile the ſecond: and hee, as ſonne to King *Iohn* of Arragon, who deſcended in direct maſculine line from King *Iohn* the firſt, in the third degree. Some, who tooke the Kings part, did ſay, that it was a thing againſt nature and all good order, that the regiment of ſo great a State ſhould be in a womans power, and that ſo many great Lords and braue Knights ſhould be vnder the commaund of that ſexe, weake both in body and mind, without experience, wiſedome or knowledge of what was profitable or hurtfull to a kingdome, vnleſſe it were by heareſay, beeing ofteneſt deceyued by ignorance, and which did follow their owne paſſions,
D and thoſe of them that they fauoured, who for the moſt part were choſen amongſt the worſt ſort of people. 3 Caſtile.

That all kingdomes, Iuriſdictions, and well-gouerned Common-wealths, as well auncient as moderne, had wholy reiected a womans empire, and if at any time they had ſubmitted themſelues thereunto, their ruine and deſolation had ſoone after enſued: alledging for example the Sallicke law of France, which is a good old cuſtome, alwaies profitable when it was obſerued, either in the totall gouernement, or parts thereof. On the contrarie part, others who held with Queene *Izabella*, did ſay, that euery one ought to be maintayned in their right, and that there was nothing more conſonant to nature, then that children ſhould ſucceed their fathers and neereſt kinsfolke: that diuers women had
E beene profitable to Kingdomes and Common-wealths, as well in old times, as of freſh memorie, namely, that there were ſundrie recent examples thereof in the Monarchie of Caſtile. And as for Queene *Izabella*, her conſtancie, iudgement, and wiſedome was ſufficiently knowne, and that all men were aſſured of her good gouernement, and that ſhee was not the firſt woman which had inherited that kingdome.

Contentions betwixt king Fernand and Q. Izabella.

This laſt opinion was followed and allowed of, whereat king *Fernand* ſeemed to be highly diſpleaſed: but the Queene, who did dearely loue him, and would not willingly haue him diſcontented, told him, that her intent was not in matters concerning the affaires of Caſtile and Leon to bee more obeyed than himſelfe, and requeſted him to conſider, that whatſoeuer was decreed in that poynt, was for the good and benefite of their
F onely daughter Donna *Izabella*: if ſo bee that they ſhould happen to haue no iſſue male, who otherwiſe ſhould bee wholly depriued of that honour and royall dignitie, if what hee had purſued and alleadged, ſhould take place, by theſe probable reaſons the king was ſatisfied with that which the great Lords had decreed.

Yet neuertheleſſe it was concluded and determined, that all letters miſſiue, writings, and other expeditions, ſhould bee made in both their names, and vnder the ſeale

of

of the two kingdomes of Caſtile and Arragon, and that all coyne ſhold be likewiſe ſtamped with both their armes quartered therein. A

4 *The Marquis of Villena his demaunds.*

The Marquis of Villena mooued the King and Queene, that by their fauour he might be confirmed in the Maſter-ſhippe of Saint Iames, and that a husband might be prouided for Donna *Ioane*, with a dowrie befitting her eſtate: which beeing performed, hee promiſed to become their faithfull and obedient ſeruant: hee was one of the braueſt Knights, and beſt men at armes in all Spaine: tthe King and Queene ſent him word, that concerning the Maſter-ſhippe, hee ſhould haue all their fauours and aſſiſtance, as well to the Pope, as to the Knights of the ſame Order, notwithſtanding that Don *Alphonſo* of Cardegna, and Don *Roderigo Manrique* had diuided it betwixt themſelues, and were in B poſſeſſion thereof, and that as for Donna *Ioane*, they would intreate her kindly and honourably, and prouide her a husband, but in any caſe it behooued him to deliuer her into their hands.

A ſeditious Prelate.

The Marquis who had bad counſell, and was ſtill accompanied with ſeditious perſons, refuſed to deliuer the Ladie, and that which was worſe, at the perſwaſion of Doctor *Anthonie Nuenes* of Cité Rodrigo, hee beganne to broach new practiſes with Don *Alphonſo* king of Portugall, for to procure him to marrie Donna *Ioane*, promiſing to make him King of Caſtile. On the other ſide the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, a man of a turbulent ſpirit, and a louer of Innouations, complayned, that the King and Queene, did not accompliſh that which he had hoped for and deſerued, nor yet what they had pro- C miſed him before their comming to the Crowne, ſeeking all meanes and occaſions to free himſelfe from their ſeruice. But enuie was it that vexed him, to ſee the Cardinall of Spaine (whome he hated) to be in ſo great credit and authoritie by their meanes: for theſe reſpects hee left the Court, beeing accompanied by *Hernando Alarçon* his familiar Councellour, the great and renowned Alcumiſt of thoſe dayes.

Hernando Alarcon.

The king and Queene beeing come to Vailliodolit, by the way of Medina del Campo, the mote or fort whereof they left in the keeping of the Duke of Alua, they were viſited by diuers Deputies of Townes and Citties, who came to do them homage, and to offer them all dutie and obedience. In the meane time, the Marquis of Villena importuned the king of Portugall to marrie Donna *Ioane*, with the kingdome for her dow- D rie, or elſe to defend her as an Vnkle, aſſuring him that hee ſhould find readie to do him ſeruice, himſelfe, the Maſter of Calatraua, the Earle of Vregna, the Marquis of Cales his brother-in-law, Don *Alphonſo* of Aguilar, the Earle of Benauent, and alſo the Dukes of Arcualo and Albuquerque, and the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, together with fourteene of the chiefe Citties of Caſtile, who wanted but a head, who at his firſt arriuall would furniſh him with fiue thouſand Lances, with other forces and meanes. And among theſe bargaines, hee demaunded of King Don *Alphonſo* diuers great gifts and aduancements both for himſelfe and for others.

Practiſes of the Marquis of Villena in Portugal.

The king of Portugall hauing conſulted with his Councell about this buſineſſe, notwithſtanding that their opinions were diuers and contrarious, yet hee ſent Commiſ- E ſioners to treate of this marriage with Donna *Ioane* his Neece, and by *Ruy de Seça* his Ambaſſadour, hee willed king Don *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*, to giue ouer freely vnto him the kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon, the which they did vniuſtly poſſeſſe and inherit, in regard they did belong and appertaine to D. *Ioane*, whome the Ambaſſadour called Queene, ſaying, that if they had any right or intereſt in thoſe Realmes, they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to the tryall of lawe, and that hee would lay downe his armes, ſo as they would diſpoſſeſſe themſelues, and leaue the kingdomes in the hands of a third perſon: and if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, hee then tooke God for witneſſe and iudge, that he was not the author of thoſe miſeries which ſhould enſue.

Vntill that time, king Don *Alphonſo* had liued and raigned in great credit, magnifi- F cence, and reputation, and with good and happie ſucceſſe in his affaires concerning his State: but the couetous and greedie deſire hee had to raigne in Spayne, by the meanes of Donna *Ioane*, whome hee had oftentimes reiected and refuſed, as beeing aſſured, and confidently reſolued, that ſhee was not lawfull daughter to the late king *Henry*, did caſt him head-long into a gulph of miſeries, by the vnluckie and inteſtine warres, which

which hee tooke in hand by her meanes againſt the Kings *Fernand* and *Izabella*: who by the aduice of their Councell, did wiſely anſwer his demaunds, ſhewing him, that there was no reaſon in that which hee went about, and that he ought to call to mind the cauſe why hee had refuſed Donna *Ioane* in King *Henryes* life-time, whoſe daughter hee very well knew ſhee was not, and that therefore they did greatly meruaile at that which hee now beganne to attempt: and they did likewiſe proteſt not to bee guiltie of any miſeries which follow warre, beeing determined by all meanes to defend and protect their kingdomes.

The King and Queene finding hereby, that warre would follow, they did ſeeke by all Caſtile.
meanes to giue contentment to the Marquis, the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo and others, on whome thoſe affaires depended, but their labour was in vaine. The Arch-biſhoppe ſhewed himſelfe moſt obſtinate, who among other furious ſpeeches, ſayd, that he would teach the King and Queene what it was to offend the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo: and no perſwaſions nor intreatie of Don *Pedro* of Acugna, Earle of Buendia his brother, nor of other graue and religious perſons, could alter his determination, but hee did ſtill with great obſtinacie perſiſt in that which *Hernando Alarcon* had ſuggeſted: Therefore on either ſide great preparitions of warre were made, and the Kingdome was in ſuch ſort diuided, as diuers, who ſeemed to be deſirous of quiet, gaue occaſion to haue their loyaltie called in queſtion: ſouldiers were leauied euery where, and diligent watch was kept in all the Citties, Townes, and Caſtles, ſome taking the Kings and Queenes part, others adhering to the King of Portugall, who aduertiſed his Partiſans, that hee would ſhortly come into the Countrey with a great army. *Audacious ſpeech of the Archb.*

The King Don *Fernand*, and Queene *Izabella* diuided betwixt them the charge of the defence of the Kingdomes, ſo as King *Fernand* ſhould haue a care of that part which was toward the North, that is to ſay, old Caſtile, Leon, and the countries next adjacent, and Queene *Izabella* ſhould looke to thoſe Regions and Prouinces which are beyond the mountaines, namely, Toledo, Andaluſia, and Murcia: ſhee was accompanied by Don *Pedro de Velaſco* the Conſtable, Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, who was created Duke of Infantaſgo, and by Don *Garcy Aluares* of Toledo Duke of Alua: by the way ſhee cauſed the Arch-biſhoppe to be ſounded once againe, who lay at Alcala, ſending the Conſtable vnto him, who was a wiſe and diſcreet Knight, who did ſo well handle the matter, as the Arch-biſhop had condiſcended to the Queenes demaunds, had not *Hernando Alarcon* and his aſſociates perſwaded him to the contrarie. *Dukedome of Infantaſgo.*

King *Ferdinand* beeing deſirous to haue the Citties of Salamanca and Zamora to take a new oath of allegeance, went thither, and would willingly haue exacted the like from them of Toro, but hee would not hazard his perſon in going thither, albeit that *Roderigo de Vllos* his chiefe Treaſurer, had the Caſtle in his power: for not long before, his elder brother *Iohn de Vlloa*, had made himſelfe Maſter of the Cittie, whither he had drawne diuers leude perſons, who fearing puniſhment, for their many heinous crimes, did ſhadow themſelues vnder his protection: who for his owne part did greatly tyrannize in the citty and had newly cauſed the Licenciate *Roderigo* of Valdiuieſſo to bee hanged foorth at the windowes of his owne houſe, and had moreouer receyued money of the king of Portugall, at whoſe ſeruice and deuotion he kept the ſame place.

The Cardinall of Spaine did at the ſame time write to King Don *Alphonſo*, alledging many reaſons to diuert him from a warre ſo dangerous and vncertaine, but the King in his anſwer wanted no contrarie reaſons. Queen *Izabella* in the meane time furniſhed Toledo with Garriſons, and placed Don *Roderigo Manriques*, Earle of Paredes for an aſſiſtant there, who tearmed himſelfe Maſter of Saint Iames, and hauing by her preſence well ordered that Cittie, and by letters and commaundements other places of Andaluſia and Murcia, ſhee returned to Vailliodolit. At the ſame time the Inhabitants of Alcarras rebelled againſt the Marquis of Villena, and craued ayde of Don *Roderigo Manriques* againſt the Marquis, who intended to beſeege them, the which they obtayned, moreouer the King and Queene ſent vnto them the Biſhop of Auila, and the Lord of Coca and Alaexos, who were both of them called *Alphonſo de Fonſeca*.

The Marquis fearing leaſt other places might reuolt, by the example of Alcarras, ſolli-

ſolicited the Kings of Portugall to make haſt, and hauing taken Donna *Ioane* whome he termed Queene, out of Eſcalona, hee brought her by Trugillo vnto Plaiſance, where as King *Alfonſo* of Portugall arriued with an army of fiue thouſand horſe, of all ſorts, and fifteene thouſand foote. Hee was attended on by the Archbiſhoppe of Lisbone, the Biſhoppe of Ebora and Coimbra, and many other Prelats, and Church-men, who are alwaie deſirous to bee where ſtirres and tumults are, albeit the true followers of Chriſt Ieſus, haue peace in greateſt recommendation: more-ouer, there were with him, the Conſtable, and Marſhall of Portugall, the Duke of Bragança, and his brother the Earle of Faro, the Earles of Villa-real, Penela, Marialua, and Pegnamaçor, with a great numbet of other Nobillity, deſirous to ſerue their King to winne honour, and to encreaſe their eſtates by the enlargement of ſo great a conqueſt as they hoped to make vpon the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon, with the teritories annexed there-vnto, the moſt part of whome, hauing vpon this vncertaine ground, ſold or morgaged their lands and liuings.

The army of Portugall entreth into Caſtill.

The King of Portugall and Donna *Ioane* were betrothed each to other in the Citty of Playſance, proteſting to craue a diſpenſation from the Pope: there were preſent, Don *Diego* de Eſtuniga Duke of Areualo, and his brother the Earle of Miranda, and King *Alfonſo*, and Donna *Ioane*, were at that act and ceremony called and intitled, King and Queene of Caſtile and Leon. King *Alfonſo* at his departure out of Portugal, leaft his Sonne the Prince Don *Iohn* Regent and gouernor there, who was newly made father to a Sonne by his wife Donna Leonor, who was named *Alfonſo* being borne at Lisbone in the yeare 1475. King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabell* did like-wiſe intitle themſelues Kings of Portugall and of the Algarues, and either-ſide did beare the armes of both the Kingdomes indifferently. The gouernors of the frontiers were commanded to inuade one another, which they readily executed with great cruelty, and to the great ſpoyle of the realme of Portugall, the people of Caſtile putting all to fire and ſword that were neere to their borders, eſpecially on the coaſt of Badajos, where the Caſtle of Nodar was taken from the Portugalls, and *Martin* de Sepulueda, one of the foure and twenty of Siuill, was made gouernor thereof, who from thence made ſharpe warre vpon the Portugois, and yet in the end hee proued ſcarce faithfull to his Kings. Don *Alfonſo* of Montroy, Treaſorer of the order of Alcantara, who ſeemed him-ſelfe Maiſter thereof, did on the other-ſide winne Algretta.

The king of Portugall and Donna Ioane betrothed each to other.

Geneologie of Portugal.

An. 1475.

In like manner Don *Alfonſo* de Cardegna, great commander of Leon, who called him-ſelfe maiſter of Saint *Iames*, did with ſundry troupes of horſe forrage and ſpoile the fronters of Portugall, and brought great booties from thence. Don *Pero Aluares* de Soto mayor, ſhewed him-ſelfe on the King of Portugalls ſide, and tooke Tuy, calling him-ſelfe Vicount thereof, and tooke alſo *Bayon* of Minio: ſundry other exploits of warre, with burning of houſes and robberies, were committed on the frontiers by this enraged multitude.

Now the king of Portugall did perceaue that the warre was likely to laſt longer and bee more difficult than hee had expected, and almoſt deſpairing of ending it with honour, vnles hee had the aide and ſupply of ſome greater power, hee ſought by all meanes to incite the French King, *Lewis* the leauenth, to breake his alliance with the Kings of Caſtile, and to aſſaille them on that ſide of Guipuſcoa, the which hee obtayned, as hereafter ſhalbe mentioned. In the meane time, hauing receiued the Citty of Toro, by the treaſon of *Iohn Vlloa*, hee aſſayled the Caſtle, and tooke it by force, and by the like treaſon made him-ſelfe Maiſter of Zamora, the which was deliuered vnto him, by *Iohn* de Porras one of the chiefe cittizens thereof, whoſe Sonne in law named *Alfonſo* de Valencia beeing Maſhall, was Captayne of the Caſtle, who had rather truſt to the vncertaine promiſes of the King of Portugall, than reſpecting his owne honour, relie vpon the offers of King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabell*: from Zamora King *Alfonſo* came backe to Toro, where his new betrothed wife and her mother Queene *Ioane* lay, who was ſiſter to this King, who dyed about that time, and was very honorably buried at Madrid in the monaſtery of S. *Francis*.

Toro deliuered to the King of Portugall.

Zamora in the power of the King Portugal.

The

A The Kings, *Fernand* and *Izabella*, greatly apprehending the wrongs and loſſes which they daily ſuſtained, they haſted on their ſubiects and ſouldiers to ſuppreſſe the Portugois, or elſe to fight with them. Great numbers of Lords, Knights, and men at armes came to Vailliodolit, where the whole bodie of the armie, from all places of Spayne, was aſſembled, Andaluſia excepted, in which Prouince the quarrell did ſtill continue betwixt the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales, and betwixt the Earle of Cabrera, and Don *Alphonſo* of Aguilar: and there was ſome likeli-hood, that the Marquis, and Don *Alphonſo* would take the Marquis of Villena's part their brother-in-law. The men of note that were come to Vailliodolit, were theſe, Don *Pedro Gonçal* of Mendoza,
B Cardinall of Spayne, and his breethren Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, Duke of Infantaſgo, Don *Inigo Lopes* of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, Don *Lorenzo Suares*, Earle of Crugna, Don *Pedro de Velaſco*, Conſtable of Caſtile, Don *Alphonſo Henriques* high Admirall, Don *Garcy Aluares* of Toledo, Duke of Alua, Don *Roderigo Alphonſo Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, Don *Henry Henriques*, Earle of Alua de Liſta, Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, Don *Iohn Manrique*, Earle of Caſtagneda, and his brother Don *Gabriel Manrique*, Earle of Oſorno, Don *Pedro Aluares* of Oſorio, Marquis of Aſtorga, D. *Diego Lopes Sarmiento*, Earle of Salinas, Don *Pedro* of Mendoza, Earle of Montagu, D. *Alphonſo d'Areillan*, Earle of Aguilar, Don *Pedro* of Acugna, Earle of Buendia, with other Lords eccleſiaſticall and temporall.

C Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, Duke of Albuquerque remayned neuter, knowing not how to reſolue: he would willingly haue adhered to the King of Portugall, who was to bee husband to her, who was reputed to be his daughter, but he durſt not: yet for all that at the laſt, he tooke the partie of king *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*, by meanes whereof diuers did take their parts, who before that time were doubtfull what to do: *Garcy Lopes* of Padilla Treaſurer of Alcantara, who was the laſt Maſter of that Order, and Don *Diego* of Caſtile, with diuers Knights and Commanders came to the Kings and Queenes ſeruice. The armie beeing muſtred, there were of the Prouinces of Guipuſcoa, Biſcay, Alaua, Gallicia, and the Aſturia's, thirty thouſand foote, foure thouſand men at armes, and eight hundred Genets or light horſe. King *Fernand* with this mighty armie marched
D along the riuer of Duero againſt the cittie of Toro, where the King of Portugall, with his betrothed bride, did remayne: by the way the Biſcans and Guipuſcoans did take by force a place called las Hazegnas de los Hierros, and ſome of the Inhabitants thereof in regard of the rebellion, were hanged.

The King of Portugall who was inferiour in forces, would not come to field, but kept himſelfe within Toro, before which cittie king *Fernand* ſtood with his armie embatteled aboue fiue howers, and at the laſt he ſent Don *Gomez Manrique*, to tell king *Alphonſo*, that he ſhould do well to giue ouer the title of king of Caſtile, and to returne into his owne kingdome, and that if his future wife did lay any claime to the Realme of Caſtile, that the ſame might be referred to the iudgement of the Sea of Rome, or if he had rather
E to trie the matter by armes, that then he ſhould come foorth to fight, or elſe to accept the ſingle combate betwixt them two, to ſaue that effuſion of innocent bloud: King *Alphonſo* made anſwer to euery poynt with great modeſty, but to that of Duell or ſingle fight, hee required, that *Izabella*, and Donna *Ioane*, (who pretended each of them to be Queene of Caſtile) ſhould be kept as hoſtages, to the end that hee which ſhould prooue conqueror, might enioy his prize, to wit, the kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon: thereupon were diuers meſſages and anſwers ſent too and fro, but to no purpoſe: ſo as King Don *Fernand* hauing tarried certaine dayes about Toro, his army beginning to want victuals, and other neceſſaries, hee was aduiſed to retire from thence, notwithſtanding that hee was aſſured, that the Portugals were in the ſelfe ſame eſtate. Howſoeuer, the ar-
F mie was brought backe, to the great diſcontent of the ſouldiers, who were extreamely ſorrowfull, that ſo great a force had beene ſo vnprofitably and idly employed: and they did much murmure againſt the great Lords, whome the king had much ado to qualifie and appeaſe.

Toro beſieged by King Fernand.

Beeing returned to Medina del Campo, Queene *Izabella* came thither from Tordeſillas: then the king had great need of money, by reaſon that his treaſures were drawne dry,

drie, hauing ſpent all that which King *Henry* had left in the Caſtle of Segobia, whereof *Andrew de Cabrera* was keeper, who was newly made Marquis of Moya, in recompence of his good ſeruice: the meanes to get money, and leaſt hurtfull to the people, who were ouer-much ſpoiled and conſumed, was to take the Iewels and plate of the Church, whereunto the Arch-biſhoppes and Biſhoppes did conſent, in regard of the Kings neceſſitie, ſeeing it had beene aduiſed by good councell. Whileſt theſe things were doing, the Earle of Paredes, and other the Kings ſeruants did aſſayle Ciudad Real, which the Maſter of Calatraua, with other places, had vſurped: Moreouer, the Earle beeing come to Vcles, made ſuch ſharpe warre vppon the Marquis of Villena, as hee hindred both of them from going to the ayde of the King of Portugall, taking diuers commodious places belonging to the Marquiſate of Villena, thereby to fruſtrate the Marquis of the reuenues thereof, which he receyued of the tenants with a better will then they payed it to the Marquis, in regard they did extreamely hate the Portugals. Hauing rebelled, they did fauour the Earle in the taking of the Caſtle of Villena, who was likewiſe ayded therein by the Arragonois, and by that meanes the Marquiſate was re-united to the Crowne, with promiſe, neuer more to alienate it. The Captaine of Requegna deliuered vppe the fort to King *Fernand*, which held for the Marquis, beeing aduertized that the people were in armes readie to aſſaile it.

Iewels and plate taken from the churches by the Kings of Caſtil.

Marquiſate of Villena re-united to the Crowne.

In theſe aduerſities the Marquis alwaies ſhewed an incredible conſtancie, and ſayd, that hee did not reſpect the loſſe of a little, ſeeing that hee hoped to haue the command of Toledo, Burgos, Cordoua, and Seuile; and hee did place good Garriſons in thoſe townes and fortreſſes which were left. The Maſter of Calatraua, the Earle of Vregna, and the Duke of Arcualo were almoſt in the like diſtreſſe, for they were earneſtly ſollicited by the King of Portugall, to accompliſh what they had promiſed him, the which they could not performe, and they excuſed themſelues, in regard they were of neceſſitie to defend the townes and forts which had taken his part, acquainting him with the toyle and trauaile which they did endure and vndergo, in going about to make him the king of Caſtile.

The King of Portugall beeing in want and greatly troubled in his mind, was at the ſame time ſounded by letters from the Cardinall of Spayne, vppon what conditions he would end that warre, who made anſwer, that if they would giue ouer to him Toro, Zamora, with the Kingdome of Gallicia, and readie money to pay his armie, hee would then with draw his forces, and pretend no more title: But Queene *Izabella* hauing notice thereof, ſayd, that ſhee would neuer ſuffer the Kingdome which was left by her predeceſſors to bee diſmembred of one poore Towne or Village: yet notwithſtanding if peace might bee bought with money, ſhee would conſent, that the King of Portugal ſhould receiue ſuch a ſumme as ſhould be agreed vppon, and thought fit, by any reaſonable and indifferent Iudges.

Queene Izabellas magnanimity.

The Caſtle of Burgos was at the ſame time in the keeping of Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga, who held it for his Vncle the Duke of Arcualo, one of the King of Portugals faction, who did great hurt to the towneſ-men and inhabitants, aſſayling them on the ſudden, ſpoyling, killing, and taking all thoſe priſoners whome hee could lay hands on: D. *Lewis* of Acugna, Biſhoppe of the ſame Cittie, committed the like diſorders in the Countrey round about: Wherefore the King and Queene ſent thither to the ayde of the oppreſſed, Don *Alphonſo* of Areillan Earle of Aguilar, Don *Pedro Manrique*, Don *Sancho de Rojas*, and Don *Stephano* of Villacreces, who were followed ſoone after by the King, with great troupes of Biſcains, Guipuſcoans, Alauois, Aſturians, and others. There came vnto him alſo his baſtard-brother Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Duke of Villa-hermoſa: by theſe forces the caſtle was much diſtreſſed, and a Church neere to the ſame was taken, which was called Saint Mary the white, within the which the beſeeged kept their munition, wherein the king placed a companie of ſouldiers, whoſe Captain was Don *Iohn* of Gamboa, borne at Motrico in the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, the aſſaults continuing, the beſeeged ſent to demaund ayde of the Duke of Arcualo, who wrote to the King of Portugall by *Iohn de Sarmiento*, who was one of thoſe who had beene driuen out of the Church of Saint Mary the White, aduertizing him, that if that Caſtle, which was the fort of the chiefe

A Cittie of the Kingdome were loſt, he ſhould neuer hope to raigne in Caſtile, therefore it behooued him to come and ſuccour it: when the king of Portugal vnderſtood thus much, he gathered together as great forces as he could conueniently, and marched towards Arcualo, where the Arch-biſhoppe of Tolledo, and the Marquis of Villena did meete him with troupes of choſen ſouldiers, who againe did ſweare vnto him, not to acknowledge any other King in Caſtile but himſelfe. Queene *Izabella* was at the ſame time newly come to Vailliodolit out of Leon, where ſhee had diſplaced the Captaine of the towers of the ſame cittie, whome ſhe knew to haue intelligence with the Portugois, and placed an other in his roome; and hearing of King *Alphonſo's* comming to Arcualo,
B and that the aboue-named Lords were ioyned with him, ſhee ſpeedily ſent Don *Iohn de Silua*, Earle of Ciſuentes to Olmedo, and Don *Guttiere* of Cardegna to Medina del Campo, to the end to hinder the enemies from enterpriſing vpon thoſe places, and to wearie them.

The Earle of Ciſuentes, who was young, hotte, and deſirous to winne honour, would (contrarie to the aduice of the elder, and more experienced Captaines) needes runne to Arcualo, and there to lay an ambuſh for the enemie, but hee was diſcouered, and the enemie came foorth vppon him with greater forces, ſo as hee was conſtrayned with great diſhonour to returne backe to Olmedo, beeing defeated and aſhamed. After this victory *The Earle of Ciſuentes defeated by the Portugois.*
C the King of Portugall, the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, the Marquis of Villena and other Lords marched towards Pegnafiel, a towne belonging to the Earle of Vregna, where they remayned, expecting ſome other companies which were to be ioyned to their army.

Vppon this occaſion Queene *Izabella* came to Palença, with the Cardinall of Spaine, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, and others, from whence ſhee ſent the Earle of Benauent with certaine men at armes, who lodged in Baltanas, a towne neere to Pegnafiel, and from thence made continuall roades, cutting off thoſe which carried victuals to the Portugals campe, who were greatly diſtreſſed thereby, wherefore the King of Portugall ſent to aſſayle the ſame place, where the Portugals fought ſo furiouſly, as notwithſtanding the great reſiſtance which the Earle and his ſouldiers made, they entred and tooke *The Earle of Benauent taken priſoner.*
D it, and brought away the Earle of Benauent priſoner, beeing wounded, to the campe lying at Pegnafiel, with diuers other braue Knights.

Theſe two ouerthrowes of the Earles of Ciſuentes and Benauent, did greatly trouble the Queen, who was aduiſed for the beſt to go to Burgos to the king her husband, where the caſtle ſtill held out, and made wonderfull reſiſtance. The king of Portugall in the meane time made no haſt to ſuccour it: for he was inferiour in forces to the armie of the Kings his aduerſaries, and withall hee greatly feared, that the cittie of Zamora ſtood not firme for his ſeruice, therefore hee choſe the ſafeſt way, which was to returne to Arcualo, with purpoſe to put greater garriſons into Zamora and Toro. Donna *Leonora Pimentell* Dutcheſſe of Arcualo, who was ſiſter to the Earle of Benauent, and a Ladie of great woorth, obtayned her brothers libertie of King *Alphonſo*, agreeing vppon his ranſome,
E and promiſed that he ſhould no more ſerue the King and Queene in thoſe warres: for aſſurance whereof, he gaue the townes of Portillo, Villalua and Majorga in pawne: and albeit the king promiſed great honours and rewards to the Earle of Benauent, to the end to draw him to his ſeruice, yet he would neuer conſent thereto, but in regard of this miſhap, he remayned as neuter.

The yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty ſixe, thoſe of Ocagna beeing kept *An.* 1476.
ſhort by the Garriſons of the Marquis of Villena, and tyred with their oppreſſions, returned to the ſeruice of the King and Queene, beeing ayded and fauoured by the Earle of Ciſuentes, and by Don *Iohn de Ribera*, who came thither with great troupes of ſouldiers: Queene *Izabella* gaue the gouernement of that place to the Earle of Paredes, enemie and competitor to the Marquis, who beeing by little and little diſpoſſeſt of what hee
F held, did greatly complaine thereof to the king of Portugall, ſaying, that he had ſuſtained thoſe loſſes by beeing in his ſeruice, and he did requeſt him to paſſe on with his forces to Madrid, aſſuring him that by the aſſiſtance of the Archb. of Toledo, the Maſter of Calatraua, and with the forces of the ſame kingdome of Toledo, which took his part, not onely

in a ſhort time to recouer what was taken from him, but that his affaires would proſper A
the better.

The King of Portugall hauing had therevpon the aduiſe of the Lords, and Captaines, of his army, was aduiſed not to leaue the hilly country on that ſide of Burgos: for whoſoeuer was poſſeſſed thereof, might boldly terme himſelfe Maiſter of Caſtill and Leon: and withall, if he ſhould ſeeme to march towards Toledo, the enemy would ſay, that he did run away from them: wherefore he entertayned the Marquis, with promiſe to aide him in all he could, and more-ouer to recompence him with great guifts, and honours, prouided that hee would take ſome good order for his affaires, and in ſome ſort prouide for the preſent danger.

The Marquis of Villena beginneth to incline to King Ferdinand & Queene Iſabel's ſide.

From that time, the Marquis, who felt his loſſes, and ſaw no hope of riſing B
againe, began to thinke vpon fit meanes to returne to the King and Queenes ſeruice: At the ſame time, the Citty of Zamora did ſeeke ſome fit occaſion to rebell againſt the King of Portugal, whereof hee ſtood in ſome doubt, and vſed ſuch dilligence, for the diſcouery of their practizes, as hee had notice of a plot, which they had layd, for the which he cauſed foure of the chiefeſt Cittizens to be put to death. Yet notwithſtanding, *Francis* de valdez, Captaine of the bridge of Zamora, beeing ſolicited by Queene *Izabell*, did promiſe to deliuer that forte into her hand, and withall to giue her entry into the Citty, but that it behooued King *Ferdinand* to bee preſent in perſon at ſoe great an enterpriſe. C

The King was not ſlacke at ſuch an occaſion, but leauing his brother Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, and the Conſtable at the ſiege of the Caſtle of Burgos, hee came thither in a diſguiſed habit, beeing accompanied with three horſſe-men, by the way of Valiodolit, cauſing it to be giuen out, that he was ſicke, and kept his chamber. Although this enterpriſe ſeemed to be kept cloſe, yet the King of Portugall had notice thereof, and did meane to put a new ſupply, of ſuch as he durſt truſt, into the bridge, vnder collour of ſending certaine ſoldiers forth in the night a boot haling: but the Captaine would not ſuffer them to paſſe, bidding them come in the day time, ſaying that the night is euer dangerous to ſtrong places, and paſſages of importance, as this was. The day following the King attempted the like, and finding the like reſiſtance, would by force haue taken D
the paſſage, but thoſe of the guarde of the bridge did valiantly defend it, and did kill and hurt diuers Portugois: wherefore, King *Alphonſo*, by the Arch Biſhoppe of Toledoes councell, withdrew his forces from the fight, and hee with Donna *Ioane*, his bethrothed wife, left the Citty about midnight, ſuſpecting ſome treaſon, in regard that the bridge alone made ſuch reſiſtance, he being there in perſon.

The King of Portugall forſaketh the citty of Zamora.

The inhabitants at the ſame inſtant brought in Don *Aluaro* de Mendoza by an other gate, who tooke and ſpoyled the Portugois, which were left, excepting a few, who ſaued themſelues in the Cathedrall Church, who on the morrow after by breake of day yeelded themſelues, King *Fernand*, the Admirall, the Duke of Alua, and other Lords beeing there arriued. Theſe ſoldiers were ſent away without paying any ranſome, E
and carried their baggage away with them to Toro, where their King remayned, who to encourage his people, ſayd, that the victory of a warre did not conſiſt in the gayne, or loſſe of a few townes, or Citties, but in the iſſue of a battaill, the which alone would decide the quarrell, about the ſucceſſion of Caſtile and Leon: for the which purpoſe hee did write to Prince *Iohn* his Sonne, to make as great a leuy of ſoldiers in his Kingdome as poſſibly he could, and with all ſpeed to bring them to his aide. King *Fredinand* beeing maiſter of Zamora, beganne to better the Caſtle, and cauſed the traytors to bee arraigned, and condemned, confiſcating the goods of *Iohn* de Porras, and others.

Whileſt theſe matters were handled at Zamora, Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Duke F
of Villahermoſa, and the other Captaynes who beſeeged the Caſtle of Burgos, did continually batter it, and gaue it many daungerous and rude aſſaults, but they that were within it wanted no courage to defend themſelues. And as the ſentinells and thoſe of the garde, were reuiling one another, an Alcayde, or Sheriffe of Burgos, did

A called *Alphonſo de las Cuenas*, beganne to talke to thoſe of the Caſtle, and vſed ſuch perſwaſiue reaſons and arguments, as they were reſolued to hearken to ſome compoſition, eſpecially when they did ſee a great quarter of their wall beaten downe, by meanes whereof they lay open to their enemies aſſaults: therefore beeing ſollicited, they did capitulate about the yeelding of the caſtle, vppon condition, that all faults paſt ſhould be forgiuen, the which was granted by the Queene, who for that regard came from Vailliodolit to Burgos, and did receiue the Caſtle her owne ſelfe, whereof ſhee made *Diego de Ribera* Gouernour, who had beene tutor and bringer vppe of her brother the Prince Don *Alphonſo*: and hauing appoynted that which was requiſite for the peace and quiet B of the Cittie, ſhee returned to Vailliodolit, and from thence went to Tordeſillas, to the end to be neerer to the enemie, the better to haue an eye to his enterpriſes and proceedings. *The Caſtle of Burgos yeelded.*

Thither Don *Pedro* of Eſtuniga, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Areualo, did come to the Queene, whoſe part hee had ſtill taken, and had ſhewed himſelfe faithfull vnto her, in regard whereof he was vnkindly vſed by his father, and by Donna *Leonora Pimentel* his mother-in-law. He beſought the Queene to receiue the Duke his father into grace and fauour, promiſing to put all that hee did poſſeſſe into her hands, making an apologie, and excuſing the faults which hee had committed by reaſon of his decrepit age, beeing wholly poſſeſſed and ruled by his ſecond wife. It did greatly diſpleaſe the Queene to par-C don him, who had ſhewed himſelfe ſo mortall and hatefull an enemie to the King her husband, neuertheleſſe, for the ſonnes ſake ſhee did pardon the father, and the whole family. The title of the Dutchie was tranſpoſed from Areualo to the Cittie of Plaiſance, and euer afterward the Lords of the houſe of Eſtuniga became affectionate ſeruants to the King and Queene.

The warres continuing after this ſort in Caſtile, the French King inclining to the demaunds and perſwations of the King of Portugall, and bearing no great good will to the houſe of Arragon euer ſince the warre of Perpignan, ſent a great armie into the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, vnder the conduct and commaund of *Aman* Lord of Abrit or Albret, whoſe poſteritie hath raigned in Nauarre, as ſhall hereafter be declared. Diuers D Gentlemen and braue ſouldiers of the countrie of Guipuſcoa, vppon the report of the comming of this armie, did ſhutte themſelues vp in Fontaraby, others went to Irun, by which place the French-men were of neceſſitie to paſſe, who did burne Irun, and ſlue certaine men: there they went vp and downe for the ſpace of ſixe weekes ſpoyling the countrie, not once attempting or offering to beſeege Fontarabie, which was their chiefe deſſeigne. 6 *Alliance betwixt France and Caſtile.*

In the meane time *Iohn Lopes de Laſcano*, and *Sancho del campo*, entred the towne, being ſent from the Court with about fiftie horſe, at whoſe comming, the ſouldiers which were within the towne, made a ſalley, and came foorth vnto the very limittes of Irun, where they found about a thouſand French-foote of the fore-ward of their armie with E their Captaine *Purguet* of Bayonne, who beeing aſſayled and ſet vppon on the ſodaine, through want of good and prouident watch, and hauing no faithfull diſcouerers, were eaſily ouerthrowne, and put to a diſordered flight: ſome of them, in this confuſion, thinking to ſaue themſelues in a Tower of a mannor-houſe belonging to thoſe of Vrdaniuia, they were there beſeeged, and burnt with *Purguet* their Captaine, the Maſter of the ſame houſe being the firſt man that ſet fire thereunto. The poore diſtreſſed ſouldiers, to auoyde and eſcape the implacable torments of the mercileſſe fire, leaped out of the tower windowes in moſt deſperate manner, and were with ſcoffes and mockes receiued vppon the enemies pikes. The Spaniſh Authours ſay, that three hundred were there ſlayne and pittifully maſſacred, beſides diuers others that were captiuated and taken pri-F ſoners. *Purguet a French Captaine defeated.*

Soone after Don *Diego Lopes de Sarmiento*, Earle of Salinas, Captaine generall for the King and Queene, came into the Prouince with certaine troupes of horſe, bringing letters to the worthie perſons and chiefe Magiſtrates of Queene *Izabella's* country, who, with perſwaſiue admonitions exhorted the Guipuſcoans, to ſtand and continue

faithfull to their Princes, for which they were renowned aboue all other Prouinces of Spaine. A

An. 1476. Now vppon the eighth day of Aprill this yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty ſixe, beeing Saint *Denis* day, the towne of Fontarabie was beſeeged by the French, where no matter of woorth was performed, ſauing ſome few light skirmiſhes with loſſe of men on either ſide, for the ſpace of fiue dayes onely, whileſt the ſeege continued: for they eaſily found, that in regard of the ſtrength of the place, it was to no purpoſe for them to tarrie there: yet the Lord of Albret did not intend to depart out of the countrie, without leauing ſome worthie markes behind him, and perceyuing his owne armie to be mighty, and that the King and Queene of Caſtile, by reaſon of their warres with the King of Portugall, and their owne ſubiects, could not readily ſend an armie againſt him, hee there- B

The French do waſt Guipuſcoa. fore determined to forrage and ſpoyle the countrey with fire and ſword: then hee entred into the valley of Ojarçun, two leagues from Fontarabie, where hee burned the pariſh Church, with fiftie men, who had with-drawne themſelues into the ſteeple: they likewiſe burned and deſtroyed diuers houſes in the ſame valley, and notwithſtanding that the Earle of Salinas endeauoured to defend the towne of Renterie, yet the French-men tooke and burned it, and ſlue fifteene men there, taking the Lord of Leſcan his ſon, and *Martin Peres* of Alcega priſoners.

The Earle of Salinas beeing not ſtrong enough to hinder thoſe ruines and ſpoyles, and hauing regard to his owne ſafetie, and beeing to looke to many other places, reti- C

Fontaraby beſeeged. red himſelfe in ſafetie to Saint Sebaſtians. The French-men returned the ſecond time to the ſeege of Fontarabie, where they beganne a ſharpe batterie. In the ſame cittie remayned at that time Don *Iohn* of Gamboa with a thouſand ſouldiers, who was a valiant man, and borne in the Cittie of Motrico in the ſame Prouince, vppon whome King *Iohn* of Arragon had beſtowed many fauours in recompence of his many yeares faithfull ſeruice, and had alſo ennobled him in Arragon, and made him of his priuie Councell, permitting him to beare in a quarter of his owne ſhield of Armes, thoſe of the kingdomes of Arragon and Sicill, for a noate or marke of his valour and proweſſe, and beſides that, had married him to Donna *Leonora* of Caſtro, giuing him meanes to maintaine his eſtate honorably, whereunto, his ſonne King *Fernand*, and Queene *Izabella* D haue added more honours, making him of their priuie Councell, and great Maſter of their horſe.

The beſeegers as well as they that were beſeeged, did not ſpare the Cannon, which wrought no other effect, but the death of ſome ſixtie perſons in the towne, and a Cap-

The ſeege of Fontaraby rayſed. taine named *Fortunato Sarauz*, and the number of the aſſaylants which were ſlayne with the Artillerie, was vncertaine: and this ſecond ſeege laſted little longer then the former, for the ſuccours by ſea which came to the towne from Saint Sebaſtians, beeing diſcouered, the French-men rayſed their ſeege, and hauing no hope at all to take it, they had begunne to make a great trench round about the Cittie, which came to none effect. E

In Caſtile King *Fernand* beſeeged the Caſtle of Zamora (as hath beene before-mentioned) and not beeing able, either by prayers, promiſes, or threatnings to bring the beſeeged to yeeld, he commannded certaine peeces of batterie to bee brought to enforce them thereunto: Whereof the King of Portugall hauing notice, and knowing that King *Fernand* had not forces ſufficient to maintaine the ſeege of Zamora, and to defend and guard his Artillerie, if it were aſſayled, hee foorth-with made an enterpriſe vppon it, hoping by that meanes, either to take his peeces of batterie by force of armes, or elſe, if the king his aduerſarie ſhould come to defend them, that then the beſeeged ſhould haue ſome time to eaſe and refreſh themſelues. Beeing come foorth to Toro with all his forces for the ſame intent, hee had intelligence that the Artillerie was F ſafely arriued at the Campe: Beeing diſappoynted of his purpoſe, he ſhewed himſelfe in order of battaile readie to fight, and hee ſent to defie king *Fernand*; who, if hee ſhould refuſe the fight, was aduiſed by him to returne into Arragon with his wife.

The

A The Caſtillian knights, and men at Armes, which were in the king Don *Fernands* armie, were exceeding glad of this challenge, deſiring nothing more than to come to blowes: the King likewiſe was of the ſame opinion, but the Earle of Alua de Liſta was of another mind, and perſwaded the contrarie, with diuers forcible reaſons: Whereuppon anſwer was made to the King of Portugall, that if hee had a deſire to fight, hee might come and rayſe the ſeege before the caſtle of Zamora, which the King meant not to giue ouer, till hee had taken it, and chaſtiſed the Rebelles. With this anſwer the King of Portugall returned to Toro, where hee expected the ſuccour which his ſonne Prince *Iohn* was bringing to him.

B In the meane time, Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza hauing met with the Earle of Pennamaçor, both of them leading certaine bands of ſouldiers, did charge one another, in ſuch ſort, as the Portugals were defeated and put to flight, with great effuſion of their bloud, the Earle beeing taken priſoner. Not long after, the Cardinall of Spaine came to king *Fernands* campe, bringing with him great ſupplies from the Queene his wife, to the end he might be able to giue the King of Portugall battaile, without diſcontinuing his ſeege at the Caſtle of Zamora, as alſo to animate and encourage the Kings ſouldiers who had heard the challenge. There came likewiſe from Gallicia, the troupes of horſe and foote, which the Earle of Lemos, and Don *Pero Aluares Oſorio*, Lord of Cabrera did ſend to the King and Queene, with thoſe of the Earle of Montroy, all of them beeing brauely C armed, and choice ſouldiers. *The Portugals defeated.*

King *Fernands* armie beeing ſtrengthened by this ſupply, hee left ſufficient forces before the Caſtle of Zamora, and marched towards Toro, where ſtaying within halfe a mile of the Cittie, in order readie to fight, hee ſent to the King of Portugall, who lay in the Towne, to preſent him battaile, offering him the like brauado, which not long before he had receyued from him at Zamora: but his expected forces out of Portugall being not yet arriued, hee refuſed it, and there was nothing performed, but a few light skirmiſhes, ſo as King *Fernand* brought backe his armie to Zamora. Not long after, the Prince Don *Iohn* arriued at Toro, bringing with him twenty thouſand fighting men, to the exceeding great ioy of the king his father, who did hide from him the Duke of Are- D ualo's reuolt, and did write to the Duke, and aduertiſed him of the mighty ayde, which the Prince his ſonne had brought him, exhorting him to come in perſon to the campe, and to bring his forces with him, or elſe to ſend them thither with all ſpeede. The Duke made him a free and plaine anſwer what hee meant to doe, and complayned of ſundrie of the kings negligences, by meanes whereof hee had loſt the caſtle of Burgos, and let ſlippe diuers fitt occaſions. King *Alphonſo* did in like manner ſollicite the Marquis of Villena and others, who excuſed themſelues, in regard they were to reſiſt their owne and his enemies: ſo as there remayned no more Lords of Spayne in his army, but the Archbiſhop of Toledo onely. *The King of Portugal forſaken.*

Theſe Portugall forces beeing ioyned together, made vp the maſſe of a great armie: E the king left the duke of Guimaranes within Toro, and marched towards Zamora, on the other ſide oppoſite to the Caſtle, the riuer beeing betwixt them, and hauing planted his campe round about the bridge, hee did thereby hinder all men from comming foorth of the cittie on that ſide. The placing of the campe ſeemed ſtrange to king *Fernand*, for the Portugals could no way from thence helpe thoſe of the Caſtle, nor yet hinder his armie, much leſſe could they come to battaile: and it ſeemed, that he did rather ſeeke vainly to be accounted bold and valiant by lodging ſo neere his enemie, than to perform any worthie act, as it appeared by that which hee did write to the French king, the Pope, and to diuers other Princes, as alſo by that which hee publiſhed throughout all Spaine. Queene *Izabella* ſent the Duke of Villa-hermoſa her brother-in-law, and the Conſtable F with two thouſand horſe to Fuente del Sabuco, and to Alaheyos, to keepe and cutte off the enemies campe from victualles, and to diſtreſſe it. In the meane time there wanted no mediatours for peace betwixt both the kings, but it was in vaine, and to no purpoſe. *The King of Portugals vanity.*

The Portugall armie hauing for the ſpace of fifteene dayes beene abroade in the fields in the dead time of cold winter, the king *Alphonſo* determined to returne to Toro. And to

to the end he might do it ſafely, he ſent Don *Aluaro* of Portugall, ſonne to the Duke of Bragança, and the Licentiate *Anthonie Nugnes* of Cité Roderigo to the King of Caſtile, to treate of a peace vppon certaine conditions, which beeing refuſed them, they had in charge to demaund a truce for a few dayes, thereby to bring matters to a finall agreement. A

This was but a pollicie to auoyd battaile, and to be able to bring his armie in ſafetie backe to Toro: There were ſundrie opinions thereuppon, and at the laſt, they were anſwered, that the truce which ſhould be graunted, ſhould bee but ſhort, and if there were nothing concluded betwixt the two Kings, hee of Portugall might bee well aſſured not to bee ſuffered to depart thence with ſo great eaſe, as hee imagined. King *Alphonſo* hauing vnderſtood this anſwer, beganne to diſlodge ſecretly the ſame night: the next day, the ſcoutes ſeeing the place emptie, aduertized the King, that the enemie was diſlodged, who foorth-with commaunded the Captaines to leade the armie foorth into the field, and to follow them: the preſſe was ſo great at the paſſage of the bridge, and at the going ouer the riuer of Duero, by boate and other-waies, as the ſoldiers could conuenientlie, as a good part of the day was ſpent before the armie could paſſe the riuer, and much time was afterward loſt in ranging the battaile into wings and ſquadrons, which was ordered after this manner: B

King Alphonſo of Portugal diſlodgeth frō before Zamora

They made a ſquadron of the kings Guard, and of the troupes of horſe of Lemos and Salamanca, of the Townes of Olmedo, Valiodolit, Medina del Campo, with others, which was commaunded by the great Maſter Don *Henry Henriques*. On the right hand of this ſquadron were ſixe battaillions, the firſt was conducted by Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, who a little before that time was created Earle of Caſtro Xeris, and Don *Guttiere* of Cardegnas, and *Rodrigo* of Vlloa: the ſecond, by the two *Alphonſo's* of Fonſeca, the one Biſhoppe of Auila, and the other Lord of Coca and Alaexos: the third, by *Pedro de Guzman*, the fourth, by *Bernard Franc*, the fifth, by Don *Pedro de Velaſco*, and the ſixt by *Vaſco de Biuar*, brother to the Biſhoppe of Salamanca. On the left hand, the Cardinal of Spaine ledde the firſt battalion, the ſecond, the Duke of Alua, the third, the Earle of Alua de Liſta, the fourth, Don *Garcia Oſorio*, who brought thither the troupes of the Marquis of Aſtorga his Nephew: betwixt theſe two, the foote-men were placed, and in this manner the army marched on vnto the hilles which are betwixt Zamora and Toro, and there it ſtayed. It was thought that the Portugals making ſuch haſt, would bee at Toro before the Spaniſh armie ſhould paſſe theſe hilles: and a Councell beeing called to determine what was beſt to be done, the moſt part were of opinion to turne backe againe, and to content themſelues to haue gained the honour, that the enemies had fled from them: but the Cardinall of Spayne beeing a wiſe man, and of an exceeding great ſpirit, thinking that they did iudge amiſſe of the King of Portugals deſſeignes, intreated the king to ſuffer him to goe to the toppe of thoſe hilles with certaine troupes of horſe, for diſcouerie, who hauing obtayned leaue, and beeing gotten vp to a very high place, hee eſpyed the armie of Portugall in order of battaile, without any trouble or confuſion at all. Returning then to the king, he told him, that the enemies meant nothing leſſe then to flie, and that hee had ſeene them ſtanding in good and martiall order, wayting if any would follow to fight with them: Whereuppon, euery man beeing placed and ranked in his order and ſquadron, the armie, with great courage and reſolution, marched on. C D E

Battel betwixt the Spaniards and Portugois.

The king of Portugall deſcrying the Spaniards marching towards them, cauſed his people foorth-with to make a ſtand, and with great magnanimitie to turne their faces towards them, reſoluing rather to dye fighting, then to retirie with ſhame. Hee was at the ſame time ſtronger in horſe-men than king *Ferdinand:* wherefore after hee had diuided his ſquadrons, betwixt himſelfe, his ſonne the Prince, the Biſhoppe of Ebora, the Earles of Pharo, Villa-reall, and other Captaines, and encouraged the Knights, and ſouldiers with a large and well-compoſed ſpeech, putting them in mind of the victorie which King *Iohn* the firſt wonne from the Spaniards at Aljubarotta, he cauſed them to march forward to the fight. F

The chiefe ſtrength and flower of the Portugall Cauallerie lay in the ſquadron of Prince

A Prince *Iohn*, againſt whom King *Fernand* cauſed the ſixth battaillion on his right hand to aduance themſelues altogether, albeit that D. *Alphonſo de Fonſeca* firſt of all, and Don *Aluaro* de Mendoça Earle of Caſtro after him, had requeſted the honour to bee the firſt that might charge them.

The Portugals which were in that ſquadron ioyned with thoſe whom the Biſhop of Ebora conducted, made ſo braue a reſiſtance, as the Spaniards turned their backes: ſo as at this firſt incounter, the victory ſeemed to be on the King of Portugals ſide, the Spaniards being ſore hurt by the Artillery, and by the Croſſe-bowes of the Portugall footemen. Theſe being retired, the other ſquadrons gaue in vpon the reſidew of the Portugall
B army with better ſucceſſe. Notwithſtanding that the valor of either ſide made the fight doubtfull for three houres ſpace. In the end, the Portugalls not being able to hold out, beganne to giue backe, and were diſordred and put to flight, taking the high-way towards Toro as faſt as they could gallop, but being purſued, there was a great ſlaughter of them, and there died more of them drowned in the riuer, who thought to haue eſcaped by ſwimming, then were ſlaine by the enemies hands. King *Alphonſo* being not ſuccoured by his ſonne, and perceiuing that reſiſtance, without order, was to no purpoſe, did retire himſelfe to Caſtro Nugno, where hee was receiued by the Gouernor of the ſame place whoſe name was *Abendagno* de Villa-reall in Alaua, hauing once loſt his royall ſtandard (which neuertheleſſe was recouered againe) thorough the careleſneſſe of Don *Pedro* de
C Velaſco, and *Pedro* Vaca, who for want of a good guard ſuffred the Portugals to take it from them: he which did beare it was taken, and beeing ſtripped out of his armor, the King and Queene cauſed it to be hanged vp in the Cathedrall Church of Toledo, in the Chappell of the laſt Kings. On King *Fernands* ſide likewiſe died a great number of ſouldiars, though vncertaine; and the Earle of Alua de Liſta purſuing his enemies ouer eagerly, and beeing not well followed and ſeconded by his people, was taken at the bridge of Toro.

The Prince of Portugall made his retreate towards night vpon a little hill, and as well as hee could did gather together his disbanded troupes, and then retired towardes Toro: and if the Spaniſh captaines had gathered and kept all their forces togither
D they might as eaſily haue defeated all as ſome: but diuerſe of them were buſied in ſtripping the dead bodies, and others in purſuing the runne-awaies, who beeing come to the gates of Toro, the Earle of Guimaranes, who was left there for the guard of the City, fearing that the Spaniards who purſued them, would haue entred pel mel with them, would not open the gates for no intreaty of the Archbiſhop of Toledo, who was the only Spaniſh Lord that was in that battaile, nor yet for the cries & lamentations which the poore hurt ſouldiars did make, vntill ſuch time as the Prince Don *Iohn* arriued with his troupes, and then they were all let into the City: but they were meruelouſly troubled, when they perceiued that the King was miſſing, but the Earle of Guimaranes beganne to make a moſt pittifull lamention, ſhedding aboundance of teares,
E and tare the haire from his head and beard; and beleeuing for a certaine that hee was either ſlaine or taken, hee did greatly reproach and raile vpon the Portugalls, ſaying, that they were traitors to their King, and that they had baſely and treacherouſly forſaken him.

But the Kings comming ſoone after, and newes from him by letters to the Prince his ſonne in the meane time, did greatly comfort this Earle and all the reſt of the army. It is reported that after the loſſe of the battaile, the King beeing at Caſtro Nugno, fell a ſleepe as hee ſate at meate, where at the Gouernor did greatly wonder, *The King of Portugall doth little apprehend the loſſe of the battaile.* who in regarde thereof reputed him a careleſſe man, and ſaid, that honourable Knights and ſouldiars did greatly wronge themſelues in aduenturing their liues for ſuch a
F King, and yet this gouernour did ſtill ſhew himſelfe faithfull and conſtant in his ſeruice.

Queene *Iſabell* in the meane time did remayne at Tordſillas, who beeing aduertiſed by the King her husband of his victory, ſhee cauſed generall proceſſions to bee made, giuing thankes to God, after the accuſtomed manner, and ſhee he ſelfe went bare foote to the Abby of Saint Paule, without the towne, and as well there as in other Cities belonging

longing to the Queene, great ſignes of ioy were made, The ſeege of the Caſtle of Zamora did ſtill continew after that without any empediment, till *Alphonſo* de Valence the Captaine thereof, who was ſonne in law to *Iohn* de Porras, obtained his pardon by the interceſſion of the Cardinall of Spaine his kinſman, and did yeeld it vp. There was found in the Caſtle great ſtore of ſiluer, treaſure, iewells, and other pretious mouables, belonging to the King of Portugall, which by King *Ferdinands* commandement were al reſtored vnto him, who made *Sancho* d' Caſtile Captaine of the Caſtle, & after that he had ordayned, and prouided all things requiſite for the ſafety of Zamora, hee came to Medina del Campo, where the Queene met him; This happy ſucceſſe did daunt the courrages of all the Kings, and Queenes enemies, in ſo much as the greateſt part of them, employed all their meanes, credit, and friends, to obtayne their grace and fauour.

The Caſtle of Zamora yeelded. King Ferdinands liberality.

The Conſtable obtayned pardon for the Maiſter of Calatraua, and for the Earle of Vregna his brother, vnto whom the Conſtable gaue one of his daughters in marriage. The Arch-Biſhoppe of Toledo, beeing daily diſpoſſeſſed of the townes, and places belonging to his Arch-Biſhopricke, tooke leaue of the King of Portugall, and withdrew him-ſelfe to Alcala de Henares, beeing accompanied with a gard and conuoy of horſemen, which did greatly hinder the Earle of Treuignoes enterpriſe, who was ſent by the King for to take him.

There remayned in Atiença a Captaine of the King of Portugalls ſide, which did great hurt to the country round about, who with his wife, family, and all his goods, was taken in a night by a Knight named *Garcy Brauo*, who had entry giuen him by one of the Captaines ſeruants. This prey, amounting to better then tenne thouſand ducats, was giuen by the King, and Queene, to this Knight, who did in like manner take Camarena, for their ſeruice, from which place *Iohn* de Touar, did commit infinite ſpoyles. The King of Portugall finding that all matters fell out contrary to his deſire, reſolued to returne into Portugall, with an intent to craue aide of the French King: Hee carried Donna *Ioane* his betroathed wife with him, and left good Garriſons in thoſe townes of Spaine which hee did poſſeſſe, eſpecially in Toro, where Don *Franciſco Cotino* Earle of Marialua was left for Gouernour, in *Iohn* de Vlloa his ſteed, who dyed not long before by a ſuddayne accident. *Rodrigo* of Caſtagneda, brother to the Earle of Ciſuentes, did hold Madrid for the Marquis of Villena, beeing aſſiſted by *Iohn Sapata* a Cittizen of the towne, and a violent and bitter enemy to all thoſe which tooke the King, and Queenes part, whome by all meanes he chaſed from thence. He was cheefe of that faction. In the number of thoſe that were baniſhed, was *Pero Nugnes* of Toledo cheefe, like-wiſe of thoſe on the King, and Queenes ſide, who had retyred himſelfe to the Duke of Infantago: this man with others, who were baniſhed from Madrid, hauing conferred with the Queenes people, did thinke to ſurpriſe the towne by intelligence, with ſome within the ſame. *Iohn Sapata*, at the firſt newes thereof, left the Citty, his owne conſcience accuſing him, and threatning him with death, for his many miſdemeanors: neuertheleſſe the commander *Pedro* of Ayala, a knight of the order of Saint Iames, being in the Citty, did defend it for a tyme, and then did deliuer it to the Duke. The Caſtle held two months for the Marquis, in which ſpace it was beſeeged by the Duke, ſent thither with certaine companies by the Queene. This ſame yeare, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell*, (their affaires proſpering) did celebrate and keepe the aſſembly of the eſtates at Madrigall, where Donna *Iſabell*, there onely daughter, at that time, was ſworne vnto, and acknowledged, after the antient accuſtomed manner of Spaine, Princeſſe of the Aſtiuria's, and eldeſt lawfull heire to the Kingdomes of Caſtile, and Leon, and the dependances thereof, in caſe no male child were borne vnto them. And in regard of the great zeale and affection they did beare to iuſtice, which had greate neede of their aide and aſſiſtance, the whole ſtate of Spaine being ſo diſordered, and full of confuſion, as they which were ſtrongeſt, would without any feare of puniſhment exerciſe infinite kinds of cruelties vpon the weaker ſort, it was decreed, for the preuenting thereof, to renew and authoriſe the brother-hoods, and companies of the communalties. To the prouoſts and iudiciall ſeates whereof, authority ſhould be giuen to giue iudgement in fiue caſes, that is to ſay, for murther, inforced theft, or thoſe which ſhould be hurt in the country or places farre

Donna Iſabell, ſworne heire to the kingdomes of Caſtile.

In what caſes the prouoſts of Caſtle may giue iudgement.

A farre from any dwelling: Secondly, they might iudge the ſelfe ſame crimes committed in the townes, and villages, in caſe the offender ſhould flie away: Thirdly, the breaking open of doores and walles, ſcaling and burning of houſes: Fourthly, the rape and violence offered to women or maides; of what age or condition ſoeuer: And fiftly for rebelling againſt the Miniſters of iuſtice executing their charge: which brother-hoods ſhould haue their prouoſts and iudges in the townes, and their Miniſters in all places of their iuriſdiction, and whereas any controuerſie ſhould ariſe betwixt the ordinary Iudges and thoſe prouoſts vpon the enquiry and knowledge of offences, ſuch differences ſhould be iudged by the Kings Councell.

B Don *Lope de Rbas* Biſhop of Carthagena was choſen chiefe preſident of all thoſe brotherhoods, and it was decreed that an impoſition ſhould bee laide vpon the people, for the entertainement of the ſouldiars and officers of theſe Iudges, euery twentith houſe to finde one horſeman: ſo as by that meanes a power of two thouſand horſe was leauied, to aſſiſt the Iudges, and to purge and cleanſe the country from theeues and robbers. Of whom, Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermoſa, the Kings brother, was captaine generall. Theſe things beeing thus ordered, did neuertheleſſe diſpleaſe ſundry of the great Lords of Spaine; but the Conſtable was well pleaſed therewith, who was the firſt that commanded his owne tennants, to contribute towards the payment of theſe companies, whoſe example diuers other great Lords did follow afterward.

C Now the King of Portugall had furniſhed Toro, Cantalapiedra, and Caſtro Nugno with good and ſtrong garriſons, which did greatly moleſt all the country there abouts, eſpecially that of Cantalapiedra where *Alphonſo Peres de Biuero* was gouernour, who made continuall courſes, vpon the territory of Medina, Salamanca, and other places: which to remedy, King *Fernand* reſolued to beſeege it, and ſent thither the Duke of Villahermoſa his brother, and Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, with Artillery to batter it.

The ſeege being planted, and the Canon playing on either ſide, the beſeeged, who found themſelues ſhut in, demaunded aide of King *Alphonſo*, who did forrage and ouerrunne the territory of Salamanca, thinking by that meanes both to diuert the army
D from before Cantalapiedra, and to ſuccour the beſeeged, but it fell not out according to his deſſeigne; for the Earle of Treuigno marched againſt the forragers, and did beate them backe, and yet the beſeeged in Cantalapiedra were ſtill as much diſtreſſed as before. It was treated concerning the exchange of priſoners: wherefore the Earle of Benauent was freed from his oth, which hee made, not to beare armes for King *Fernand* in that warre, and ſo the Earle of Pegnamaçor was deliuered forth of priſon, the ſeege raiſed from before Cantalapiedra and the Licentiate *Antonio Nugnes* of Ciudad *Rodrigo* was reſtored to his goods, and the garriſons of that place were not to beare armes for a yeere afterward. The King and Queene gaue to the Earle of Benauent, foure millions of Marauedis, towards the charges hee had beene at, and confirmed his former
E guift of the city of Corunna, or the Groine, but the Inhabitants taking armes, did reſiſt him, intending to maintaine themſelues vnder the demaines of the crowne, without acknowledging any ſubalterne Lord, and draue thoſe forth of the caſtle which held it for the Earl. The ſame time, king *Fernand* was ſent for into Arragon by King *Iohn* his father, whither he did make a ſhort iourney, & becauſe his wars in Caſtile, but eſpecially in Guipuſcoa, concerned him very nerely, he made a quick returne to victoria: for the Frenchmen remained ſtil in that Prouince burning the country, to driue whom away, the King and Queene raiſed an army of fifty thouſand men, the moſt part of them being footmen, out of the Prouinces of Guipuſcoa, Alaua, Biſcay, Aſturia, and from other places on the confines of Burgos. Vpon the report of this great preparation the French men retired to
F Bayonne, with intent and threatning to returne againe the ſpring following.

At the ſame time, the faction of Beaumont and Grammont in the Kingdome of Nauarre, were at as deadly warre as euer, and the quarrell betwixt Don *Lewis* of Beaumont Earle of Lerin, and *Pedro* of Peralta the Conſtable, was purſued with all rigour and extremity: the Earle of Lerin beganne to treat with King *Fernand* to make him King of Nauarre, and to deliuer into his hands the city of Pampelona with

Nauarre. *Lewis of Beaumont couets the Realme of Nauarre.*

with other fortreſſes of the ſame country: ſending certaine Knights of Nauarre vnto him to victoria, to offer him his ſeruice with all that hee did poſſeſſe: the King did curteouſly entertaine thoſe Knightes, & thanked both the Earle and them for their offers, and good will: but concerning the reſt, hee ſaid that hee would not lay claime to anothers right, for the Realme of Nauare did in right belong to his ſiſter the Princeſſe *Leonora*, and after her deceaſe, to her Sonnes Sonne, *Francis Phœbus* Earle of Foix and Lord of Bearne, and withall becauſe King *Iohn* his father did enioy the royall authority thereof, during his life: therefore, to enterpriſe any thing againſt the right of thoſe perſons, vnto whome hee did owe ſo much honour and reſpect, it would not onely be a ſinne, but impiety and ſacriledge, ſo as by no meanes hee would harken therevnto: ſaying moreouer that hee was much greeued, to ſee the inueterate hatred betwixt the Earle and the Conſtable, and that hee would willingly take the paines to make them friends, thinking it an office worthy of him, to procure the peace and quiet of that Kingdome, which was ruined by the confuſions of the ciuill warres, wherefore hee did inuite both of them to come to victoria, and to refere their controuerſies to his arbitrement: with theſe holy ſpeeches hee gaue content, and admiration to the Knights of Nauarre, at whoſe returne the Earle of Lerin, and the Conſtable came to Victoria, where if King *Fernand* could not wholy reconcile them, yet he procured a truce betwixt them, puting each of them in mind with great meekeneſſe mixed with grauity of their errors with the amendement thereof, to the good of the Kingdome, their own particular proffit and for the ſeruice of King *Iohn* their maiſter.

King Ferdinand mediates a peace betwixt the factions of Beaumont and Gramont.

The King of Arragon afterwards, perceiuing him-ſelfe at the graues brinke, and deſiring to leaue quietneſſe in that miſerable kingdome, where the factions had bred ſuch confuſions, as neither the feare of God, nor the reſpect of iuſtice, nor the loue of honeſty was able to containe men from executing all kinds of miſcheefes, murthers, ſacrileges, robberies, burnings, and horrible deſolations ouer the whole country, which were followed with the terrible, and fearefull iudgements of God, as plagues, famines, and other ſcourges of his wrath, all which were not onely encreaſed, but procured by the Kings ſecond marriage: King *Iohn* I ſay beeing mooued with theſe things, ſent the Earle of Lerin ſuch aſſurances, as hee cauſed him to to come to Saragoſſa, being well accompanied, where the King did gently receaue him, graunted him peace, and gaue a generall pardon to all offences paſt, proceeding from both factions, and for a greater confirmation of the whole, he gaue the Earle a baſtard daughter of his in marriage, called Donna *Leonora* of Arragon; by theſe meanes the Princeſſe *Leonora*, widdow to the Earle of Foix, and future Queene of Nauarre, recouered without force her townes and fortreſſes, and was euery where obeyed, except in the Citty of Caſeda, which was battered, at the taking whereof dyed that Valiant Captaine *Sancho* of Eruiti, ſurnamed the obſtinate in the ſeruice of the Princeſſe *Leonora*; about which time *Alphonſo Carillo* Biſhop of Pampelona called a Sinode at Eſtella, wherein they treated of ceremonies and other matters. After all theſe things, King *Iohn* beeing at reſt and quiet, in the Citty of Barcelona, notwithſtanding hee was very aged, and full of ſickneſſe, fell in loue with a yong Gentlewoman called *Francina* Roſa, with whoſe beauty and comlineſſe hee did comfort by imbraces, and fruteleſſe kiſſes, the waywardneſſe of his old age, leauing her concerning other matters free, and vntouched to him who after-ward married her.

King Iohns ſecond marriage ominous to the realme of Nauarre.

The Earle of Lerin marrieth a baſtard daughter of Arragon and becomes obedient to King Iohn.

King *Fernand* hauing (as hath beene already ſaide) made the pacification of Nauarre at Victoria, and by the renowne of his power, deliuered the country of Guipuſcoa from the French army, would in like manner order the affaires, of Alua, Biſcaie, and other places neere adioyning, where were many factions, and other diſorders: hee therefore entred Bicay, beeing attended on by Don *Alphonſo Carillo* Biſhoppe of Pampelona, *Pedro* Lopes de Padilla, great gouernor of the Frontiers of Caſtile, Don *Henry Henriques*, the Kings Vncle, brother to the Admirall, Don *Pedro* de Eſtuniga eldeſt Sonne to the Earle of Miranda, Doctor *Iohn Dias* de Alcocer one of the Kings Councell, *Roderigo Vlloa* his great Treſorer and Councellour, Don *Diego* de Acugna

John King of Arragon falls in loue in his extreme old age.

A Acugna ſonne to the Biſhop of Burgos, Don *Fernand* de Ayala ſonne to the Marſhall Don *Garcia* de Ayala, and by other Knights and Eccleſiaſticall perſons.

The Biſcains had an ancient cuſtome, which was, not to ſuffer any Biſhop to come within their country, by reaſon perhaps of the attempts and wrongs which they had in time before ſuſteined by the prelats and Churchmen, the which was vnknowne to King *Fernand*, who riding on with the Biſhop, hee was aduertized of their cuſtome, and was conſtrained to ſend him backe; the peaſants and poore country people thinking the ground to bee infected wherevpon this Prelat and his Mule did tread were buſied many daies after in ſcraping together the duſt of the high-waies, which they laide vp B in heapes, and threw it afterwards with curſes and imprecations into the ſea, the which certainely was not done without ſome miſtery, thoſe people not beeing voide of religion, but ſuperſtitiouſly deuout, as the reſt of the Spaniards are. The King viſited Bilboa, and afterward hee came to Guernica, where hee was receiued and reuerenced with all ceremonious duty. Hee called the Nobility of the country thither, and confirmed all their priuiledges by his letters patents, written by *Gaſpar Arin* his ſecretary, dated the thirtith day of Iuly, the yeere 1476. in the preſence of diuers Nobſe perſonages of name. 10

Biſhops excluded out of the Country of Biſcay.

Strange opinions of the Biſcaines concerning Biſhops.

The King beeing buſied about theſe matters, a famous French Pirate named Colora, came with foure veſſels to a place called the figge-tree of Fontarabie, to whom af- C ter that, fiue more ioyned: theſe nine ſhippes did ride there at an ankor for the ſpace of eleuen daies, in the view of the towne of Fontarabie, and ſundry times they landed their ſouldiars, who ranne vp and downe the country burning and ſpoyling all they met with; againſt whom the Garriſon went forth, and ſlew more then a hundred of them; wherevpon they ſet ſaile towards Galicia, where they burned the ſuburbes of the City of Ribadeo, then ſayling along the coaſt of Portugall, they met with certaine Carrakes of Genoa, with whom they grapled, and the fight betwixt them was ſo furious, as ſeuen veſſells were there burned, to weet two Genoueſes and fiue of the Pirates, who with the other foure, which remained were repared at Lisbone. The report of this Pirate, cauſed thirty ſhips of warre to bee ſet forth, as well from Saint Se- D baſtians as from other places on the coaſt of Biſcay, who met altogether at Laredo, and this ſea-army parted from Conſerua, and ſailed towards Galicia, where they tooke, partly by force, and partly by compoſition, certaine places vpon the ſea coaſt next to Portugall, which were reuolted from the Kings of Caſtile. Herevpon truce was granted and agreed vpon betwixt the French men and Guipuſcoans, by land onely, for the ſpace of three monthes, leauing the ſea free for euery man to doe the beſt hee could: the army aboue mentioned hauing done that exploite on the marches of Galicia, returned laden with ſpoiles. 11

Combate at ſeaie betwixt the Frenchmen & Genoueſes.

Amongſt other things, thoſe of Saint Sebaſtian brought away two yron peeces of ordonance, whereof one did carry a ſtone-bullet of a hundred and threeſcore pound E waight, taken from Bayon de Minio. The charges of this warre of Guipuſcoa, was heauy to the whole Prouince with great diſcommodity and loſſe of their bloud: which warre, after the retreat of the French, did continue ſtill at ſea, where the French loſt more then they did winne. King *Fernand* hauing diſcharged, honored, and praiſed the ſouldiars, and puniſhed certaine euill liuers in that country, and ouerthrowne certaine ſtrong houſes, he returned to Victoria.

The Cardinall of Spaine, in the meane time, who was a very wiſe and pollitike man, did trie by all meanes to draw away the French King from the alliance with Portugall, and to make him friend to his King: hee had in former time written ſundry letters vnto him to that purpoſe, and now hee continued it, ſending *Alphonſo Ianes*, treaſurer of F the Church of Siguença vnto him, to put him in minde of the inuiolable Friendſhip which had beene in times paſt betwixt the houſes of France and Caſtile, whoſe forces had beene ſo well vnited togither to the preiudice of the Engliſh, ancient enemies and competitors of the crowne of France: whereas the Portugalls on the contrary had alwaies fauoured, and followed them to the great hinderance and contempt of the French Nation, and then hee beſought him to conſider what occaſion hee had to bandy

The Cardinall of Spaine, ſeeks to renew the peace betwixt France and Spaine.

bandy againſt the King of Caſtile for Portugall, requeſting him henceforward to giue A
place to that which reaſon, humanity and profit, did require, which was to cauſe the warre to ceaſe, and re-eſtabliſh the holy friendſhip and league betwixt France and Caſtile. This Treaſorer made diuerſe voyages into France for this purpoſe, and handled the matter ſo well, as hee obtained truce for a yeere, and there was a place appointed betwixt Bayon and Fontaraby for the two Kings Commiſſioners for to meet at.

About this time the Earle of Paredes, who called himſelfe Maiſter of Saint Iames, did beſeege Vcles, where hee found ſharpe reſiſtance, and doing his vttermoſt to take it, the captaine, who held it for the Marquis of Villena, certified his Maiſter what need B
hee had of helpe: the Marquis beeing then at Alcara de Henares with the Archbiſhop of Toledo, brought him and as much power as they could raiſe betwixt them to Vcles, which were about three thouſand horſe. Yet notwithſtanding the Earle made no ſhew that hee ment to diſlodge, but againſt the opinion of all men hee maintained the ſeege, and hee had moreouer the courage to goe and affront the troupes of the Marquis and Archbiſhop, keeping them a whole day in alarumm, aking ſundrie charges with aduantage: at the laſt, with the loſſe of ſome of his owne people he inforced them to returne, not being able to driue him from the Caſtle, where ſoone after arriued men at armes to his ſuccor, who were ſent by the Duke of Infantaſgo, and conducted by Don *Hurtado* de Mendoza his brother, with the which forces, ioyned to ſome of his owne, hee C
followed the Marquis and the Archbiſhop with great hope to haue defeated them if they would haue accepted the fight, but they wanted courage, albeit they were within a bow ſhot of them; but the Archbiſhop and the Marquis retired themſelues about mid-night to a caſtle called Arauia, deſpairing euer to ſuccor Vcles: which the beſeeged perceiuing, yeelded themſelues with ſafety of liues and goods.

Warre of Vcles againſt the Marquis of Villena.

12 Portugal.

As theſe men did thus trouble themſelues in Spaine, the King of Portugall beeing vexed, that his affaires ſucceeded ſo vnluckily, where as he was wont to triumph and bee victorious in Affrica, would once againe ſollicite King *Lewis*, and determined to goe in perſon into France: Hee therefore imbarked himſelfe, and hauing paſſed the Streights, hee came to Marſeilles, from whence hee went to the King who lay at Tours D
of whom hee was kindly entertained: but concerning the affaires for which hee came, hee gaue him no hope at all, but delaied him from day to day, excuſing himſelfe by the great warres which hee had againſt the Engliſh and the Duke of Bourgondy, enterteyning him without any concluſiue anſwere: at the laſt hee told him, that it behooued him to haue a diſpenſation from Pope *Sixtus* the fourth then raigning, for to marry with his Neece Donna *Ioane* his ſiſters daughter, before hee could pretend any lawfull right to the Kingdome of Caſtile and Leon; wherevpon either King did write to Rome to that effect, where the Ambaſſador of King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*, did mainely oppoſe himſelfe againſt it, alleadging the great troubles and miſeries which ſuch a diſpenſation might cauſe in Spaine: Yet notwithſtanding at the en- E
treaty of King *Lewis*, the diſpenſation was graunted, the which did conteine that it was lawfull for Donna *Ioane* to marry any one within the fourth degree. It is reported that King Don *Alphonſo* beeing in talke with King *Lewis*, and labouring to induce him to purſue this warre, vſed many baſe entreaties, and kneeled to him with other like ieſtures ill beſeeming a King, who ought ſtill to ſhew himſelfe couragious, and conſtantly to reſiſt all aduerſities. And perceiuing that the controuerſies betwixt the King and the Duke of Burgondy were a great hinderance to his buſineſſe, hee tooke vpon him to reconcile and make them friends, to the end hee might the better procure helpe from both of them: for Duke *Charles* of Burgondy was his couſin germaine, F
borne of a ſiſter to King *Edward* his father: but hauing made a iourney to him, and beeing returned to Paris, the Dukes ouerthrow and death did ſodainely follow, which happened before Nancy, in the yeere 1477. which did the more alienate the French King from giuing eare to the affaires of Spaine, beeing more attentiue to recouer both the Burgondies, with the lands and townes of Picardy, Flanders and Artois, which

King Alphonſo of Portugall doth in vaine ſolicite the French King to vndertake with him warre againſt Spaine.

The King of Portugalls abiect courage.

An. 1477.

A which were dependances of his crowne, Duke *Charles* hauing left no other heire of his great Dominions but his onely daughter *Mary* who was afterward married to *Maximilian* of Auſtria, ſhe was grand-mother to the Emperour *Charles*, heire to all Spaine after the death of King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*, in the right of his mother Donna *Ioane* their daughter, as ſhalbe declared in his place. Vpon theſe pretences concerning Bourgondy, King *Lewis* found ſufficient occaſion to delay him: promiſing that thoſe buſineſſes being ended hee would doe whatſoeuer the King of Portugall would requeſt him, who being ſorrowfull and diſcontented, departed out of France, and was brought into ſuch deſpaire, as hee determined to goe to Ieruſalem, and there to become a
B Monke, without euer ſeeing Portugall any more: from which determination his friends and ſeruants diſſwaded him, putting him in minde of the great wrong hee ſhould doe to his honour and reputation thereby. In his abſence, Prince *Iohn*, by his fathers conſent, tooke vpon him the title of King, but vnderſtanding that King *Alphonſo* was arriued at Caſcaes, hee like an obedient ſonne gaue ouer the title and authority vnto him.

King Alphonſo of Portugall in deſpaire.

Queene *Iſabella* in this meane ſpace thought to haue ſurpriſed Toro by the meanes of the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent, who after a long and dangerous fight, were repulſed by the Earle of Marialua who was Gouernor. It happened in like manner, that the great Maiſter *Andrew* de Cabrera hauing taken the Lieutenancy, or Cap-
C taineſhip of the caſtle of Segobia from *Alphonſo Maldonado* to beſtow it vpon Don *Pedro* de Bouadilla his father in law, *Maldonado* beeing enraged thereat, went about to ſurprize the ſame place, there to recouer his former authority, and had intelligence with certaine dead paies of the caſtle, and feyning on a day to haue need of ſome certaine ſtones that were within the ſame, vnder collour of fetching them out, hee put foure ſouldiars into the fortreſſe beeing inſtructed what to doe, who at the firſt, ſlue the porter, and being followed by their Captaine, they tooke Don *Pedro* de Bouadilla, and conſtrained the reſt which were within it to ſaue themſelues in a tower. In the ſame caſtle the Princeſſe *Iſabella*, the King and Queenes onely daughter, was kept: wherevpon there aroſe a great tumult in the City of Segobia, which beeing vnder-
D ſtood by Don *Iohn* de Arias, the Biſhop thereof, who as then lay forth of the City, by reaſon of the diſſention betwixt him and *Andrew* de Cabrera, hee came thither and eaſily made himſelfe Maiſter of the gates which were held by thoſe of Cabrera's faction, beeing fauoured by diuers principall citizens. Queene *Iſabella* beeing aduertized of this inconueniencie came thither with the Cardinall of Spaine, and hauing made *Gonçalo Chacon* Captaine, ſhee enquired by way of Iuſtice of the Captaines behauiour, who hauing yeelded good account of himſelfe, his iuſtifications were allowed, and he reſtored to his gouernment.

Caſtile.

Tumult in Segobia.

The Archbiſhop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, beeing not able any longer to reſiſt the King and Queene, made all the meanes they could for to obtaine
E their grace and fauour, and they practized with the old King *Iohn* of Arragon, that hee would bee a meanes to his children the King and Queene of Caſtile to receiue them as their faithfull ſeruants. The meſſengers that went about this buſineſſe were certaine religious perſons, who preuailed ſo much with King *Iohn*, as by great importunity they obteined their pardon, and cauſed whatſoeuer they had poſſeſſed in time before, to bee reſtored to them (the caſtles of Madrid and Trugillo excepted) which remained at the Kings diſpoſe and pleaſure. The citty of Hueta, which King *Henry* had giuen to Don *Lope Vaſques* of Acugna, with title of Duke, was at the ſame time yeelded vp and willingly ſurrendred to the King and Queene. The Archbiſhop was more in fault, and more worthy reprehenſion, then any one that had
F reſiſted the Kings.

The Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena obtaine their pardon.

During theſe warres, the Caſtillan marriners made their firſt voyage into Guyeney where were mines of gold, wherevpon, as hath beene before mentioned, there grew a controuerſie betwixt the Caſtillans and Portugalls, who had moſt right and title vnto that nauigation.

13

The Spaniards firſt voyage to Guyeney.

14 Whileſt Queene *Iſabella* remained at Segobia, the Spaniards tooke Toro by meanes A
of a ſhep-heard, who certified Don *Alphonſo* de Fonſeca Biſhop of Auila, that there
was a certaine part of the City which the Portugals did alwaies leaue without any
guard, becauſe by nature the ſcite thereof was ſtrong. The Biſhop ſent to diſcouer
it, and finding the ſhep-heards report to bee true, ſent thither ſixe hundred men, and
him for their guide, they giuing no great credit to the poore man, went on very lazily
to that enterpriſe, but beeing incouraged by *Pedro* de Velaſco, and by an other young
Toro ſurpriſed. man called *Alphonſo* de Fonſeca, who was the firſt that entred it, they all followed, not
being diſcouered by any one, and hauing broken open a gate, they gaue entry to the
reſt of their fellowes, the Biſhop hauing ſent a good troupe after them, and ſo they be-
came Maiſters of the City, the Earle of Marialua and his people hauing ſcarce leiſure B
to recouer the caſtle, from whence afterward hee went to Caſtro Nugno, abandoning
the ſaid caſtle, within the which Donna *Maria Sarmiento*, widow to *Iohn Vlloa*, did for-
tifie her ſelfe with thoſe of her faction, who deſired by all meanes to returne to the
Queenes ſeruice. The Queene hauing vnderſtood thoſe good newes, came ſpeedily
to Toro, reſtored the banniſhed to their goods, did honorably recompence the poore
ſhep-heard whom they called *Bartlemew*, enfranchiſing him and all his poſterity from
tributes beſide the ready money and pentions which ſhe gaue him: and receiued Donna
Maria Sarmiento into her fauour, who was ſiſter to Don *Diego Sarmiento* Earle of Sali-
nas, for whoſe ſake and deſertes ſhe reſtored her vnto all her goods and poſſeſſions: and C
by this meanes the caſtle of Toro came into the Kings power.

15 About this time Don *Roderigo Manriques* Earle of Paredes, the pretended Maiſter of
Election of the Maiſters of Saint Iames, in the kings power. Saint Iames died in the City of Ocagna, whoſe competitor Don *Alphonſo* de Cardegna,
great Commander of Leon did in all haſt with great troupes of horſe march towards V-
cles, to the end he might be choſen there by the thirteene Electors: but the Queene pre-
uented him, and delt in ſuch ſort as the thirteene, and the Commaunder himſelfe were
contented to intreate the Pope to put the Maiſterſhip to the Kings diſpoſing, the which
was graunted, and the ſame dignity was afterward beſtowed vpon the ſame Com-
maunder.

16 After that, King *Fernand* returning from Guipuſcoa by Toro and Ocagna, met the D
Queene at Toledo, in which city they builded that famous Monaſtery of Saint Iohn of
the Kings, which is a Couent of Franciſcan friers, and from thence they went to Ma-
drid, where they were aduertiſed that the Portugals had entred Caſtile by the way of Ba-
dajos, and Cite Rodrigo, with two armies, againſt whom were ſent as Generals, Don
Lorenzo Suares de Figueroa Earle of Feria, and the great Commander of Leon: Theſe
did not onely beat backe the enemies, but they entred into the country of Portugal put-
ting the poore miſerable ſubiects to fire and ſword, who could not remedy their Kings
ambition; to which place Queene *Iſabella*, who was a woman of a manly courage, did
march, the better by her preſence to incourage, and fauour the enterpriſes of her army.
From Madrid the King went to Medina del Campo, where he tooke order with his bro- E
ther the Duke of Villahermoſa, and the Conſtable, about forces ſufficient to aſſaile
foure fortreſſes at one time: by meanes whereof, in a ſhort time hee brought vnder his
obedience, Cantalapiedra Sept, Egliſes, and Cubillas: but at Caſtro Nugno, which was
the fourth, hee found greater reſiſtance, his ſeege laſting long, ſo as all the forces which
were diſperſed abroade in ſundry places, were faine to be drawne togither to that place,
and the King himſelfe came thither in perſon, by meanes whereof the towne was
taken, but the caſtle made obſtinate reſiſtance, before which hauing left his army, hee
returned to Medina del Campo.

There he receiued letters from *Garcia Oſorio*, Corrigidor of Salamanca, who aduer-
tized him of diuers outrages committed by a Knight named *Roderigo Maldonado*, who F
was of the ſame citie, who held the caſtle of Monleon, and from thence did many
robberies and inſolent attempts, as namely coyning of falſe and counterfeit mo-
ney, with diuers others miſchiefes: in regard whereof the King would needs go thither,
and found meanes to catch this wicked man, who thought to haue ſaued himſelfe

in

A in the Sanctuary of the Couent of Saint *Francis*, the which neuertheleſſe did ſaue his life, at the earneſt entreaty of the Friers; who deliuered him vpon that condition, as alſo that he ſhould deliuer vp the Caſtle of Monleon, otherwiſe the King would breake open their gates. Maldonado beeing taken, gaue his wife and ſubiects notice of his eſtate, and willed them to deliuer vp the Caſtle to the King, the which they refuſed to doe, ſaying, that they would haue ſome recompence of the King, otherwiſe they would deliuer it to the King of Portugall; and if hee were taken priſoner, he might thanke himſelfe. Then the King cauſed him to be carried to a place, in the ſight of thoſe which were in Monleon, and commanded that in their view his head ſhould be ſtrucken off: but being
B come to the place, hee made ſuch pittifull lamentation, as they compaſſionating him, yeelded the Caſtle and ſaued his life. From Salamanca, the King returned to the Campe before Caſtro Nugnes.

17 *Reformation of the townes and ſtate of Andaluzia.*

As Queene *Iſabell* went towards Badajos, ſhee ſent from Guadalupa, to *Pedro de Baeça* Captaine of the Caſtle of Trugillo, who held it for the Marquis of Villena, commanding him, following the agreement betwixt her and the Marquis, to deliuer vp the fortreſſe to *Gonçall d' Auila*, the which hee refuſed to doe, ſaying, that hee would neuer yeeld it whileſt hee had life in him: the Queene tryed by faire meanes and promiſes to drawe him to deliuer it, but all was in vaine: wherefore ſhee raiſed a power, and marched to Trugillo, whether the Maiſter of Calatraua came, and Don *Alphonſo de Montroy*, who called himſelfe Maiſter of Alcantara, with diuerſe other Lords and
C Knights: whileſt ſhee remained there, ſhee recouered diuerſe Caſtles of the ſame countrey, ſome of which ſhee razed. And knowing her ſelfe to bee ſtrong and well accompanied, ſhee gaue ouer all milde and gentle meanes, and began to vſe greeuous threatnings, ſo as Don *Pedro de Baeça*, became more tractable, and was willing to deliuer it, ſo as the Marquis would come thither in perſon, and bid him doe it. The Marquis was ſent for, who to auoyde farther quarrels with the Queene, cauſed it to be deliuered, and *Gonçal d' Auila* was made Captaine thereof.

After that, ſhee did chooſe certaine Arbitrators at Caceres to compoſe the controuerſies betwixt her and the Marquis, ſhee reformed the ſtate of the towne, and
D made the officers thereof perpetuall: and from thence ſhee went to Siuill, the which Citty ſhee found in a miſerable eſtate, and diuided into factions; which cauſed infinite diſorders and villanies: for the inhabitants were of a long time bandied one againſt an other about the quarrells betwixt the houſes of *Guzman* and *Ponce*: and they were ſo grounded therein, as they fought for the ſame with incredible cruelties and impieties, the father againſt the ſonne, the brother againſt brother, the wife againſt the husband, with more furie and obſtinacie then the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* in Italy, and the *Gamboins* and *Ognazins* in Biſcay, the Citty of Cordoua beeing likewiſe infected with the ſame peſtilence: Don *Alphonſo d' Aguilar* Lord of Montilla, beeing chiefe of the faction for the Marquis of Cales, his brother in lawe, and Don
E *Diego de Cordoua* for the family of the *Guzmans*.

The Citty of Siuill euill entreated by the factions of Guzman, and Ponce.

The Queene was receiued into Siuill with great honour, where ſhee made ſome ſtay, and tooke the paines to heare all theſe controuerſies, with others, ſitting her ſelfe in councell, and giuing audience euery Friday, beeing accompanied with Prelats, Doctors, and other noble perſonages: whoſe example is to bee followed of all Chriſtian Kings and Princes, who in regarde they will not take the paines themſelues to harken vnto their affaires, doe ſee and heare by other mens eyes and eares, which cauſeth them to fall into greeuous errors, by not knowing truly what is done in their Realmes and dominions, through the pernicious diſſimulation, and damnable flattery of their Miniſters and officers.

A Queene careſull of doing iuſtice to her ſubiects.

F The Queene determining to puniſh all thoſe that were guilty of the maine miſeries which this ſtately Cittie had endured, the Biſhoppe of Cales, Suffragan to the Cardinall of Spaine, Archbiſhoppe of the ſame Church, did admoniſh her in a wiſe and learned Oration, of the difficultie and danger of that ſhee pretended to doe, ſaying, that it was the end of all good Princes, and of Iuſtice, to amend,

The end of all good gouernment is to amend and not deſtroy offenders.

and not to deſtroy; otherwiſe in ſteed of Kings, they would bee accounted barbarous A tyrants, greedy of humaine bloud, true Miniſters, not of the diuine clemencie, but of the deſtroying ſpirit, who had beene a murtherer from the beginning of the world, applying to his ſpeech many examples of old times, drawne out of the Holy ſcriptures: adding, that the number of the offendors was ſo great, that if all of them ſhould bee puniſhed according to their deſerts, the City would want people to dwell in it: the

Gentle puniſhments whereby the ſeditions in Siuill are appeaſed.

Queene therefore beeing mooued with theſe reaſons, gaue a generall pardon for all matters paſt (apoſtacy onely and mens priuate intereſts excepted.) The Duke of Medina and the Marquis of Cales, who were the cauſes of all theſe euills, comming into the Queenes preſence with great ſubmiſſion, would haue laied the fault one vpon B other: in the end hauing deliuered vp into her hands the places and fortreſſes which they had vſurped, as well the one from the other, as thoſe which did belong to the City of Siuill, ſhee made peace betwixt them, and gaue to euery one his owne. The caſtle of Vtrera onely made reſiſtance, the captaine thereof ſaying, that hee would not deliuer it, becauſe it belonged to the Marſhall of Sahauedra vnto whoſe father *Gonçalo Arias* of Sahauedra the late King *Henry* had giuen it, for which contempt, the Queene cauſed it to bee beſeeged and furiouſly battered, in regard hee did defend it with ſuch obſtinacy: in the end, the place beeing taken by aſſault, himſelfe, with all thoſe that were within it, loſt their liues, the moſt part of them in the heate of the fight: the reſidew of them beeing brought to Siuill ſeruied for an example to others not to reſiſt a C greater power, and were publikely hanged.

King Don *Fernand* ſtaied not very long ere hee came vnto Siuill to the Queene, who about that ſame time was brought in bedde and deliuered of a ſonne, who was named Don *Iohn*; for the which, great ioy feaſtings and gladneſſe was made ouer all Spaine.

There came vnto the Kings, being at Seuill, an Ambaſſage from *Muley Albohacen* King of Granada, with whom they were at peace, notwithſtanding hee had not paied the tribute which his Predeceſſors did vſually doe vnto Caſtile, the which the warres of Portugall had conſtrained the Kings to diſſemble till a fitter time. Theſe Ambaſſadours craued confirmation of the truce betwixt the Realmes and Kings of Ca- D ſtile and Granado; the which was refuſed them, vnleſſe that *Albohacen* would ſend the arrerages due for the tribute: but the Moores anſwered (hauing expreſſe commiſſion ſo to doe) that the Kings of Granado, who had beene tributaries to Caſtile were

Braue anſwere of the Mooriſh Ambaſſadors.

dead, and their bondes buried with them, and that the money of Granado was no more coined of gold or ſiluer, but the iron of launces, dartes and many other ſuch like weapons, which they would turne vpon their enemies, and deliuer themſelues from all ſlauery and bondage.

This braue anſwere cauſed the Kings to thinke (who were not yet freed from the Portugall warres) that it was not good to draw ſo many enemies vpon them at once, therefore they graunted them a truce, beeing ſufficiently aduertized that King *Mu-* E *ley Albohacen* was the beſt prouided of ſouldiers, armour, horſes, artillery and all other munition, and more abounding in treaſure, by reaſon of the long peace hee had enioyed, then any of the Kings of Granado his Predeceſſors. King Don *Fernand* beeing highly offended at the rebellion of the Marſhall Don *Fernand Arrias* de Sahauedra, would haue had his proces made, and haue puniſhed him as a contemner of the royall Maieſty: but diuerſe of his frends and kinſfolke who were in the Kings fauour, and their faithfull ſeruants did ſaue him from this daunger, and obtained his pardon, with reſtitution of all his offices and poſſeſſions.

The Admirall recouered the gouernment and captaineſhip of Tariffa with the ca- F ſtle thereof, the which was giuen to his brother Don *Pedro Henriques* Gouernor of the frontiers of Andaluzia, who placed therein *Pedro* de Godoy, from whom the three caſtles of Carmona had beene taken, and were giuen to Don *Gutiere* de Cardegna, who therewith was promoted to the great Commanderie of Leon, becauſe Don *Alphonſo* de Cardegna who had beene great Commaunder was elected and confirmed

A med Maiſter of Saint Iames alone, and the laſt that hath beene Maiſter of the ſame Order, the which dignity, with the reſt of the Maiſterſhips hath euer ſince continued in the hands of the Kings of Caſtile; the Princes and their prudent Councell hauing conſidered and well weighed with themſelues, that theſe Maiſters were ordinarily followed by great numbers of Knights of their Order, men of warre; who had for the moſt part made ſuch tumults and factions in the Realme of Spaine, as they haue not let for to make heads againſt their owne Kings. Queene *Iſabella* would willingly haue had the Maiſterſhip of Saint Iaimes to haue beene for euer after extinct, but ſhee could not obteine it. The King her husband leauing her at Siuill, returned to Trugillo, where he made
B *Sancho de Auila* captaine of the caſtle.

Theſe matters happened in the yeere 1478. in the beginning whereof *Philip* Archduke of Auſtria was borne, who was ſonne to *Maximillian* as then King of the Romaines, and to Donna *Maria*, the heire of Bourgondy, Flanders and other great Dominions, this *Philippe* was husband vnto Donna *Ioane* of Caſtile who, ſucceeded King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella* her father and mother in all their Kingdomes of Spaine. *An.* 1478. *Birth of Philip of Auſtria.*

At the ſame time, King *Iohn* of Arragon beeing laden with many yeeres and neere to his end, was deſirous to ſee and conferre with his ſonne King *Fernand*, con-
C cerning the affaires of Nauarre, Arragon, Sicill, and his other Dominions, hee therefore ſent to requeſt him, if the Portugall warres would permit it, to meete him at Victoria. King *Fernand* beeing wonderfull ioyfull to ſee his father, came thither before him, where the King of Arragon ſoone after arriued, accompanied with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, choſen amongeſt the ancienteſt of Nauarre, Arragon, and his other countries, ſo as the beholding of ſuch a company of reuerend old men was very notable and to bee admired, for the youngeſt amongeſt them was aboue three ſcore yeeres of age, all of them in decent habits befitting their yeeres, and yet differing one from an other. The ſonne beeing gone forth to meet the father they did a great while ſtriue about complement and ceremonies, and the King of Arragon, would neuer ſuffer his ſonne of Caſtile to kiſſe his hand, neither would hee take
D the place of him, but they entred into Victoria, the father riding on the lower hand of the ſonne: and when they were come before the lodging which was prepared for the King of Arragon, and both of them on foote, as ſoone as the father perceiued that it was his owne lodging, hee ſeemed to bee very ſorry, as though hee had committed a great fault, and ſaid „ You my ſonne, who are Lord and head of the Royall houſe of Spaine, from whence wee are deſcended, ought to receiue from vs all honour, reuerence, and ſeruice due vnto you, in regard the obligation which in this reſpect wee owe vnto you, as to our King and ſuperior, is ſtronger then that of the ſonne towards the father, therefore take horſe againe, and I will accompany you to your lodging, for reaſon commaunds it to bee ſo „ And King *Fernand* was
E conſtrained ſo to doe thorough the great importunity of his father, who went with him to his lodging, where hee left him, and the olde King rode backe againe vnto his owne.

18 Arragon. and Nauarre. *The laſt enterview of Don Io. of Arragon, and Don Fernand of Caſtile father and ſonne.*

The King of Arragon the father giueth precedence to the King of Caſtile his ſon.

For the ſpace of twentie daies that theſe two Kings remained in Victoria, the father did ſtill giue the honour, vpper hand, and preheminence in all matters to the ſonne, were it in ſitting, or riſing vp, and in ſpeaking, walking and keeping of company in writing, and in euery other thing belonging to honour and dignitie, wherein great Lords vſe ceremony and complement to honour one an other with. Whereupon their aroſe a diſputation and controuerſie betwixt the Lords and Knights of the Court, to weet, whether it a were a ſeemely, and a decent matter for a father, to ſhew ſuch great
F ſubmiſſion to his ſonne, who beſide beeing his father, was alſo his gueſt, being an vſuall thing alwaies to honour and giue the places to thoſe whom wee receiue into our houſes, albeit hee were of meaner quality then our ſelues, and whether the ſonne did well to receiue and accept of theſe honours. The Spaniards thought that either of them had done that which was fit. Now the chiefeſt communication betwixt theſe

two Princes at this enterview was concerning the affaires of Nauarre, touching Donna *Leonoras* future ſucceſſion to the ſame, with her grand-child *Francis Phœbus* Earl of Foix: and ſome are of opinion, that the townes and fortes of Saint Vincent, Garda, Bernedo, Arcos, Larraga, and Miranda de Arga were at the ſame time wholy cut off from the crowne of Nauarre, in recompence of the charges which Don *Fernand* had beene at for the warre of Perpignan, with an agreement, that the cuſtomes rights and priuiledges which they had, ſhould for euer bee maintained: but ſeeing it is certaine, that a long time before this aſſembly, Saint Vincent, La Garde, and Arcos, were poſſeſſed by the King of Caſtile, it is moſt likely, that they were at that time onely confirmed vnto King Don *Fernand*. They did likewiſe intreate of many matters belonging to the Kingdoms of Arragon and Sicil, and then they returned each of them into his owne Dominions, and the King of Caſtile did neuer more after that ſee his father, who ſpent the ſmal remainder of his daies at Barcelona, afflicted with the goute and other diſeaſes which doe ordinarily accompany old men.

The father & the ſonne cut off diuers places from the kingdome of Nauarre.

Caſtro Nugno yeelded to king Fernand.

King Don *Fernand* returned vnto the campe before Caſtro Nugno, which was very faithfully and valiantly defended by the captaine *Nicholas* de Abendagno of Villareal, in the Prouince of Alaua, but the great want of victualls and of men (thoſe which were with him, beeing in part dead, and the others were ſo tired and weakened with watchings, wardings and hurts receiued at the aſſault as they could hold out no longer) did conſtraine him to yeeld vp the ſame place, and yet vpon very honorable conditions, for he carried away into Portugall all thoſe that were with him, without ranſome, with their armor, weapons and baggage, and their enſignes diſplaied, and drummes beating; and was greatly praiſed by the King, the fort was preſently razed downe to the ground: after the rendring whereof, the King returned to Siuill to the Queene, where order was taken for the well gouerning of the City, and expreſſe commaundement giuen to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales, not to remaine there. Don *Iohn* de Gamboa Gouernor of Fontaraby, and the Licenciat *Iohn* de Medina, both of them of the Kings Counſell were likewiſe diſpatched into Guipuſcoa, with inſtructions and authority, to treat and conclude the peace with the French Kings Ambaſſadors who were at Bayon. Theſe, came to Fontarabie, and after that, both ſides did meet, at Saint Iohn de Luz, where they conferred togither, and concluded the peace, renuing the alliances, leagues, and ancient friendſhip betwixt the two Kingdomes. The French Commiſſioners were the Lord of Leſcut, and the Abbot of Saint Denis: and ſo the warre ended betwixt France and Caſtile.

Peace betwixt France and Caſtile.

19 *Nauigations and conqueſts of the Spaniards in the Ocean ſea.*

The King and Queene before their departure from Siuil ſent an army to conquer the Canaries vnder the conduct of *Pedro* de Vera, where, for the ſpace of three yeeres, diuerſe notable exploits of warre were performed by the Caſtillans: Thirty fiue ſhips were likewiſe ſent to Guiney, *Pedro* de Cobides being their generall, from which place great quantity of gold was brought, with great proffit for the Kings, who had the fifth penny. In the firſt, the thing which was moſt eſteemed of that blacke Nation was cockelſhels, who were of opinion that they had great vertue againſt thunder and lightning, by meanes whereof they were ſold in Spaine at a great rate, ſo as men could hardly get any for money.

20 *Inquiſition in Spaine againſt Iewes and Moores, did beget the negligences of the Biſhops and Paſtors.*

This yeere 1478. the inquiſition beganne at Siuill, inſtituted at the firſt by the Councell of Don *Pero Gonçales* de Mendoza Archbiſhop of the ſame City, againſt the Iewes and conuerted Moores, which did returne to their ſuperſtitious ceremonies: this Prelate, and other, deputed for that ſearch, thinking that for to conteyne them in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, rigour and ciuill puniſhment was more expedient then other milder meanes, or greater care: Beeing content for to take away the occaſion of ſeditions and troubles which grew in the Townes and Prouinces of the Realme, againſt theſe miſerable creatures, moſt commonly at the inſtigation of Preachers, and other Clergy men, inciting the people to mutine againſt them.

Whereas in deed, they ought to haue beene inſtructed by good and wholeſome examples: but the Biſhops and Paſtors had no great care of their ſoules health:

for

A for the affaires of State, and worldly greatneſſe hath ſo buſied them for many ages, as they haue not had leyſure to eleuate their eyes and minds higher then the earth. Since that time, the power of the Inquiſitions tribunall, which is diuided into diuers iuriſdictions thorough euery Prouince of Spayne, hath beene chiefly banded againſt thoſe who haue dared to ſpeake againſt the pompe and pride of the Sea of Rome, and the abuſes brought into the Church, for to entertaine the eaſe and wealth of the Clergie, a gulph which hath ſwallowed vp many good and honeſt families. Concerning this Inquiſition, which within awhile made it ſelfe knowne for a fruitleſſe inuention, more ample mention ſhall be made hereafter.

B The King and Queene hauing pacified and ordered the cittie of Seuile, left *Diego de Merlo* there, who was a good Knight, in qualitie of an aſſiſtant, and went themſelues to Cordoua, which was in like manner afflicted by the factions of Don *Pero Fernandes* of Cordoua, Earle of Cabra, and that of Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilar*, who in the laſt tumults had driuen the Earles forces out of the cittie, and had taken the forts and places thereof, which were in the keeping of the Earle, detaining them, with other places alſo belonging to the gouernement and iuriſdiction of the cittie: they and their followers beeing moreouer charged with ſo many robberies, thefts, and murthers, as the King and Queene had much ado to chaſtiſe the offendours, and to reſtore euery man to his owne. *Alphonſo* of Aguilar was driuen foorth of the cittie, and the fortreſſes taken from him. Vpon com-

The cittie of Cordoua pacified.

C plaint made againſt the Iudges and Officers of the legall Courts, who did greatly exact, the King and Queene cauſed their fees and ſtipends to bee rated, more then which, they were not permitted to take vpon payne of forfeiting ſeuen-fold as much, which was executed vppon ſome, who neither feared God, nor reuerenced the lawes.

The Archb. alway diſloyall and ſeditious.

As theſe buſineſſes were mannaged in Andaluſia, the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, who was euer turbulent and deſirous of innouation, had ſecret intelligence with the King of Portugall, vnto whome hee vndertooke to deliuer the Cittie of Toledo, and to kill Don *Gomes Manriques* aſſiſtant there: and to the ſame purpoſe he had practiſed with the common people of Toledo, and had executed it, if the aſſiſtant had not been a prouident and polliticke man, who hauing diſcouered the plot tooke order for it; ſtanding on his guard

D and by puniſhing ſome of the Conſpirators, hee cauſed the reſt to containe themſelues within their bounds for feare of the like puniſhment. The Arch-biſhop who remayned at Alcala de Henares had inuited the King of Portugall to come vnto his houſe of Talauera, aſſuring him, that hee would put him into Toledo: who was in a readineſſe to haue come thither, had not the Prince his ſonne, with his friends and ſeruants, told him what ſmall profite hee ſhould receiue, and how great danger hee ſhould incurre by ſuch an enterpriſe.

The Kings, Don *Fernand* and Donna *Izabella* beeing aduertiſed of the Arch-biſhops dealings, were iuſtly incenſed againſt him, they cauſed all his temporalities to bee ſeized on, ſending the Duke of Villa-hermoſa to Madrid, to bridle that cittie, commanding all

E his tenants and ſeruants to forſake him, and no more to obey him, vpon payne of depriuation of their goods: and for a terrour to the reſt, they did cauſe the houſes of diuers of the Rebels, who had contemned their commaundement, to bee razed downe to the ground.

Wherefore the Arch-biſhoppe within a few dayes was left alone, and his great friend *Hernand Alarcon* did forſake him and fled preſently into France, not daring any longer to tarrie in Spaine. Don *Tello de Buendia*, Arch-deacon of Toledo, and a learned man, did vndertake to bring the Arch-biſhoppe to his dutie, he vanquiſhed him by reaſon, and perſwaded him to humble himſelfe to the King and Queene, of whome by his meanes he obtayned pardon: but hee gaue all the ſtrong caſtles of his Arch-biſhoppricke in ho-

The Archb. enforced to his dutie.

F ſtage for his future fidelitie. The Marquis of Villena on the other ſide hauing entred into the Marquiſate, began to picke quarrels with the Gouernor placed there by the Queen, concerning the limits of his power and iuriſdiction, ſaying, that he did vſurpe more then the couenants would permit him, and would haue letted him from puniſhing thoſe of Cinchilla, with other rebellious and diſobedient people, ſo that a power was ſent thither vnder the conduct of Don *George Manrique*, and *Pedro Ruis Alarcon*.

Great

Great was the King and Queenes toyle, in ordering the peace and quiet of the coun- A
trey of Andaluſia, for the people thereof were ſo giuen ouer to all manner of villanies,
as if they had not vſed their meekeneſſe and clemencie, the citties and towns would haue
beene voyd and empty of people: for it is moſt certaine, that this yeare and the former,
there went out of Seuile and Cordoua aboue eight thouſand men, tainted of notorious
crimes, who left the country for feare of puniſhment.

Offenders forſake the country to auoyde puniſhment.

22 It happened about the ſame time, that Don *Rodrigo de Vergara* Biſhoppe of Leon,
borne at Logrogno (it is not knowne vppon what occaſions) cauſed *Pedro Vaca* Trea-
ſurer of his Church, to be ſlayne in the ſame Cittie, beeing a Knight of a great paren-
tage, whoſe death his friends and kinsfolkes reuenged by the death of the Biſhoppe, who B
aſſayled him in his owne houſe, and purſued him, as he thought to haue fled for ſafetie
to the houſe of *Diego Fernandes Quignones*, Earle of Luna, where they murthered him
in the boſome of the Counteſſe, who intreated them to ſpare the ſpilling of his bloud
for her ſake.

A murtherous Biſhop, murthered.

In the town of Fonteouejuna, the Inhabitants did kill with ſtones D. *Hernand Gomes de*
Guzman, great Commaunder of Calatraua, for outrages and tyrannies which hee had
done to them, for the which fact the Iudges which were ſent by the King to informe of
the matter, could neuer find any one witneſſe, which would charge any one particular
man with that murther, and they could haue no other anſwer, than this, that Fonteoue-
juna had ſlaine him, which paſſed for a Prouerbe thorough Spaine. This ſame yeare the C
inhabitants of Saint Helizes de los Galegos, a place neere to Trugillo did in like maner
ſtone their Lord *Gratian de Seſe* to death, who as it hath beene heretofore ſayd, had bene
Captaine of Trugillo.

Petty tyrants ſtoned to death by the common people.

An. 1479. In the beginning of the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty nine, the King
and Queene left Cordoua, and came with great deuotion to the Monaſterie of Guada-
lupa, and alſo to take order for the Portugall warre, which they daily feared. From Gua-
dalupa they ſent the duke of Villa-hermoſa their brother to Almorox nere to Eſcalona,
in which place were Don *Iohn de Luxan*, and Don *Iohn de Pacheco* the Marquis of Vil-
lena's brother, who ranne vppe and downe burning and ſpoiling the countrey round
about. D

The Marquis on the other ſide remayning in Garcy Nugnos, did violently reſiſt the
the Kings ſouldiers, and defeated the troups of Don *George Manrique*, who within a few
dayes after, dyed of the hurts which he had receyued in that encounter: By meanes wher-
of, others of the Kings Captaines, beeing iuſtly mooued againſt him, did hang vp ſixe
of his ſeruants whome they had taken, to ſerue for a terrour to the reſt: the Marquis in
like manner would not be indebted to them for reuenge: but cauſed as many heads to
bee ſtricken off, caſting lots among the priſoners, which fell vpon a ſouldier who dwelt
at Villa-noua de Laxara, neere to Alarcon, who amongſt others was to bee beheaded,
but a younger brother of his did beſeech the Marquis, that he might dye in his brothers
ſtead, who had wife and children, and did ſo much importune the matter, as hee redee- E
med him from death, giuing his owne life for him: a notable example of brotherly loue,
and well worthie to haue beene conſidered by thoſe who did cauſe the execution, if they
had beene poſſeſſed with a noble and generous diſpoſition. The names of theſe two
breethren are vniuſtly ſuppreſt by the negligence of the authors. The Marquis yet not-
withſtanding ſent *Rodrigo* of Caſtagneda to Court to excuſe him to the King and Queen,
and to lay the fault vppon their Lieutenants and Officers, whoſe pride and inſolencie had
prouoked him to thoſe courſes, the King anſwered that the Marquis ſhould be heard ac-
cording to lawe: but beeing aduertiſed, that Don *Roderigo* had intelligence with the
king of Portugall, they ſent him away priſoner to Talauera, where hee quickely ended
his dayes. F

Notable loue of one brother towards another

Whileſt the King and Queene remayned at Guadalupa, Donna *Maria de Pacheco*
Counteſſe of Medelin, the Marquis of Villena's baſtard-ſiſter, beeing a proud and
haughtie woman, who held the towne of Merida, and had driuen her owne ſon out of
all his poſſeſſions, preſented a petition to the King and Queene, the effect whereof was,

that

A that ſhee might enioy the Earledome of Medellin, during her life, with the commandery of the ſame citty. An other petition came from Don *Alphonſo* de Montroy, treaſorer of Alcantara, who called himſelfe Maiſter of the ſame order, and held moſt part of the fortreſſes belonging to the ſame, who requeſted that he might be confirmed in that dignity, notwithſtanding any pretence that Don *Iohn* de Eſtuniga Sonne to Don *Aluaro* Duke of Areualo could make, vpon whom the Pope had beſtowed it. Both of them were anſwered, that vpon hearing of the parties, they ſhould haue ſpeedy iuſtice. The Counteſſe and the Treaſurer not contented therewith, became enemies to the King and Queene, and did cleaue to the King of Portugall: Don *Alphonſo* hauing forgotten,
B how that when he was taken priſoner by the Captaine of Magançala in Extremadura, the King had deliuered him and paide his ranſome, beſtowing diuers other benefits vpon him.

Vſurpers, in regard they might not be authoriſed in their outrages do abandon themſelues againſt the king

Ambaſſadors from the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, arriued at Guadalupa to ſee the peace agreed vpon by the Commiſſioners at Saint Iohn de Luz to bee ſworne and ratified. There the Popes Bull was ſeene, which diſpenſed with the King of Portugall about the marriage of Donna *Ioane* his Neece, not without excuſes on the Popes part, who ſaid, that he had bin circumuented, and ſiniſterly informed, concerning that matter. And to the end the French King ſhould on his part ſweare, and ratifie the articles of the peace, the ſame comiſſioners, who had firſt treated thereof were ſent into
C France, to weet, Don *Iohn* de Gamboa, and the licenciat Don *Iohn* de Medina both of them of the Kings Councell. It was likewiſe agreede vppon with the French Ambaſſadors, that the towne of Perpignan, with other fortreſſes of the Earledome of Roſſillion, ſhould bee deliuered as hoſtages, into the Cardinall of Spaines hands, and that with in fiue yeares following, arbitrators ſhould decide, whatſoeuer king *Lewis* could pretend to be due vnto him.

Whileſt the Spaniſh Court remayned at Guadalupa, God (being willing to make peace, betwixt Chriſtian Princes in Spaine, to the end they might haue leaſure to vndertake more worthy enterpriſes,) did inſpire Donna *Beatrice* Dutcheſſe of Viſeo, widdow to the Infant Don *Ferdinand* of Portugall, Duke of Viſeo, and Mother to
D Donna *Leonora*, marryed to Prince *Iohn* the eldeſt Sonne and heire of the Crowne of Portugall, with a deſire to imploy her vttermoſt credit, and meanes for the effecting thereof, This Princeſſe hauing ſounded King *Alphonſos* mynde, and finding him to be inclined to an agreement, ſent word to her neece Queene *Iſabell* (for ſhee was ſiſter to her Mother Queene *Iſabell*, widdow to King *Iohn* yet liuing,) that if it would pleaſe her to come to the frontiers of Portugall, ſhee did hope that ſome good agreement would be made betwixt them; wher-vnto the Queene diſpoſed her ſelfe with the conſent of King *Fernand* her husband.

King *Iohn* of Aragon dyed about this time at Barcelona beeing foure ſcore and one yeares of age, hauing reigned in Nauarre fifty three yeeres and foure moneths, and
E one and twenty yeares and ſixe moneths in Arragon: hee was buried in the monaſtery of Pobleta. By his laſt will and teſtament hee left his Sonne Don *Fernand*, heire to his Kingdomes of Arragon, and Sicill, and his daughter Princeſſe *Leonora*, widdow to Earle of Foix, heire to the realme of Nauarre: and ſoone after deputies were ſent from the ſtates of Arragon, Cattalogne, and Valencia to the Court of Spaine, to requeſt King *Fernand*, to come and take poſſeſſion of his dominions; they came vnto him in an vnſeaſonable time, by reaſon the Portugall warre was hotly beganne, by the practiſes of the counteſſe of Medelin, and Don *Alphonſo* de Montroy, the pretended maiſter of Alcantara.

Arragon.
The death of Iohn King of Arragon.

The King and Queene were aduertiſed that the army of Portugall was in a redineſſe
F to inuade the country of Extremadura: by reaſon whereof they called the Conſtable, and other Spaniſh Knights to Court, and ſent forces to the frontiers, with great garriſons to Badajos, and other fortes of the ſame marches, where Don *Alphonſo* de Cardegna Maiſter of Saint *Iames* was generall, who lodged his army at Lobon betwixt Badajos, and Merida, wherein the Treſorer of Alcantara remayned, attending for the Portugalls, and the Biſhoppe of Ebora, their Generall, who came with an

Caſtille.

intent

The Portugall army defeated at Albuhera.

intent to ioyne with him: to preuent which, the Maiſter of Saint *Iames* did march a- A
gainſt the Biſhoppe, and gaue him battaile, in the fieldes of Albuhera, the which was fierce, and bloudy, on either ſide: but the Portugalls were ouerthrowne, and the Biſhop taken, (although afterward he eſcaped away) hauing loſt their enſignes, bagage, and all the equigage and munition: the maiſter of Saint *Iames*, and all the King of Caſtiles Captaines were hurt: but aboue the reſt the valour and proweſſe of Don *Martin* de Cordoua Sonne to the Earle of Cabra, of Sancho del Aquila, of *Alphonſo Henriques* and of *Rodrigo* de Cardegna, Coſin to the Maiſter of Saint Iames, was admirable: the

Battell of Albuhera.

which Maiſter by his Iudgement and valour, hauing gotten the King, and Queene this victory, was ſo charitable, as with his owne mony, hee releeued the dearth and famine B
which at that time, did oppreſſe the country of Extremadura, in regard whereof the King and Queene, did acquit him of three Millions of Marauedis, which he was to pay, as a penſion vnto them out of the reuenew of his place. After this battaile the Treaſorer of Alcantara, went to Deleitoſa, which had beene taken by *Roderigo* de Monroy

Deſcate of the Spaniſh army by ſea.

his brother, and the Biſhoppe of Ebora went to Medellin to encourage the Counteſſe, who perhaps, was valianter than him-ſelfe. Gods will was, that the King of Portugall, in recompence of this loſſe, ſhould by his army at ſea, take the fiue and thirty Spaniſh ſhippes which came from Guiney wherein was great ſtore of gold, which ſerued well to pay his ſoldiors, and the priſoners, to exchang for thoſe which were taken at the land Battaile of Albuhera. After this manner are the euents of ioy, and ſorrow, C
mixed in this miſerable world.

King *Fernand* beeing importuned to goe into Arragon, and conſidering the notable vnion of thoſe two Kingdomes, being at that time at Trugillo, where after hee had celebrated the obſequies of King *Iohn* his father, hee treated with the Queene his wife, and thoſe of her councell about the forme of precedency, and the order which ſhould bee kept in the letters, and writings concerning the titles of the realmes, and dominions, which he commanded: diuers of them were of opinion, that they ſhould intitle themſelues Kings of Spaine, in regard the greateſt part thereof did obey them: but they not beeing willing to exceed the bounds of modeſty, nor yet to preiudice in that behalfe, the Kings of Nauarre and Portugall, with whome they were conioyned in bloud, did D

Titles of King Fernand and Queene Iſabell

place their titles after this manner. *Frenand* and *Izabell*, by the grace of God, King and Queene of Caſtile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicill, of Toldedo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorque, of Siuill, of Sardinia, of Cordoua, of Corſica, of Murcia, of Iaen, of Algarbes, of Algezire, of Gibraltar, Earles of Barcelona, Lords of Biſcay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and of Neopatria, Earles of Roſſillon, and of Cerdaigne, Marquis of Oriſtagni, and of Gocian. After this manner, were the titles of theſe Kingdomes and dominions, ordered according to their ranke and dignity: and in the ſhieldes of their armes, and deuices, it was appointed that the armes of Caſtile and Leon, ſhould bee firſt drawne, and after them thoſe of Arragon and Sicill.

The Court beeing come from Trugillo to Caceres, Queene *Izabell* was great- E
24 ly ſolicited by Donna *Beatrice* Ducheſſe of Viſeo, to come to Alcantara, where ſhee promiſed to meet her, and to conferre about the meanes of a peace betwixt Caſtile and Portugall: the King and Queene departed the one from the other, ſhee towards Alcantara, which for the ſame purpoſe was committed to the keeping of Don *Guttiere* de

Enterview of of Queene Iſabell, and the Dutcheſſe of Viſco, for to treat of peace.

Cardegna the great commander by Don *Aluaro* de Eſtuniga Duke of Playſance or Arcualo, who held it as lawfull adminiſtrator of Don *Iohn* de Eſtuniga his Sonne, who pretended him-ſelfe Maiſter of that order: and King *Fernand* went into Arragon to take poſſeſſion of his new Kingdomes. Theſe Princeſſes beeing arriued at Alcantara, were lodged in one houſe, namely in the Caſtle, where they ſpent thirty daies in conference, and agreeing at the laſt vpon certaine Articles, the Dutcheſſe beeing highly honored, F
by the Queene *Iſabella* of Caſtile, and rewarded with many rich preſents, and Iewells, returned into Portugall, carrying *Roderigo Maldonado*, one of *Fernand* the King of Caſtiles councell with her, to communicate more at large with the King of Portugall, concerning them.

In

A In the meane ſpace whileſt theſe matters were conferred on, the Treaſurer of Alcantara ſurprized the fortreſſe of Montanches on the one ſide, and thoſe of the Counteſſe of Medellins part made ſharpe warre in Extremadura on the other: the which countrey beſides the miſeries which it endured by the warre, it was oppreſſed with extreame famine: ſo as euery one perſwaded the Queene to go backe to Toledo: but her haughtie courage, would not ſuffer her to leaue ſuch places where ſhee knew trouble and danger to bee, beeing able by her wiſedome, ſpeedily to redreſſe it. Shee then gaue order to beſeege diuers places at one time, from whence the enemies made ſundrie roades with incredible ſpoyles, euen to the gates of Trugillo.

Queene Izabella purſueth the Rebels in Extremadura.

B The Maſter of Saint Iames was ſent againſt Merida, Don *Lewis Fernandes de Porto Carrero*, Lord of la Palma beſeeged Medellin, *Rodrigo de Monroy* d'Eleitoſa, and Don *Lorenzo Suares* of Figueroa, oppoſed himſelfe againſt thoſe which moleſted the countrey of Badajos. The Treaſurer of Alcantara ranne vppe and downe, and tooke booties now from one place, then from another, hauing his retreat at Piedra nueua, Caſtro nueuo, Majorga, *Azagala*, and other forts, and not contented therewith, hee went into Portugall, animating King *Alphonſo*, not to giue ouer that warre, but couragiouſly to purſue it with great hope, and not bee carried away by the perſwaſions of the Dutcheſſe of Viſeo: and hee did chiefly vrge him to come with a mighty armie, to raiſe the ſeege before Montanches, that place beeing the ſtrength and importance of the warre: which D.

C *Pero Fernandes de Velaſco* the Conſtable fearing, fortified his campe with trenches and walles of ſtones, ſo as he could not eaſily bee aſſayled on the ſodaine. Don *Lewis Fernando Porto Carrero*, beſeeging Medellin, where the Counteſſe, and the Biſhop of Ebora remayned, ſuſtained infinite difficulties: for beſides the continuall ſallies and skirmiſhes of the beſeeged, who were very ſtrong, his campe was troubled with a horrible number of Flies, which conſtrained him to change his ſeat, and to retire halfe a mile from thence.

At the end of the ſeege, which laſted three moneths, thoſe of Deleitoſa yeelded, ſauing their liues and goods, and with-drew themſelues to Montanches. Great was the paine and toyle which the beſeegers and beſeeged of this place did indure, with thoſe likewiſe of Merida and Medellin, where the Biſhoppe of Ebora ſpared no care nor diligence, to

D recouer his honour, and to couer the loſſes which he had ſuſtayned at Albuhera, and alſo at the battell of Toro.

Hunger, ſickneſſe, and other inconueniences were the chiefe enemies, that either partie had to warre againſt: although Queene *Izabella* to her power had prouided for the neceſſitie of her people, who from time to time receiued letters from *Maldonado* her Ambaſſador in Portugall, putting her out of hope of peace, by reaſon of King *Alphonſo's* obſtinacie, who could not bee brought to any reaſonable conditions: ſhe therefore willed him to returne into Caſtile. The Ambaſſadour beeing readie to depart, came to take his leaue of King *Alphonſo*, who was at the ſame time accompanied with the Prince his ſonne, and the Lords of his Councell, who did perſwade him by diuers reaſons and ex-

E amples of things fallen out lately in Spayne to condiſcend to a peace: which perſwaſion of his, beeing better taken and apprehended by the Prince and the other Lords, then by the King himſelfe, were of ſuch force, as he was drawne by them to receiue the peace which the Dutcheſſe of Viſeo had concluded at Alcantara: Whereuppon the Ambaſſadours departure was prolonged, and the morrow after he aſſembled his Councel, where the Articles were againe peruſed and conſidered of, which the King allowed, confirmed, and ſwore to obſerue, after this manner.

Peace betwixt Portugall and Caſtile.

Articles.

Firſt, that the King of Portugall ſhould lay aſide the title of King of Caſtile and Leon, and ſhould wipe out of his ſhield the armes and deuiſes of the ſayd kingdomes.

Secondly, that he ſhould ſweare not to marrie Donna *Ioane* his Neece, who called her

F ſelfe Queene of Caſtile and Leon.

Thirdly, that ſhee beeing at that time eighteene yeares of age, ſhould chooſe one of theſe things within ſixe moneths, that is to ſay, to forſake the Realme of Portugall without hauing ayde, meanes, or any aſſiſtance from king Don *Alphonſo*, or if ſhee would tarrie there ſtill, then to marrie with Prince *Iohn* of Caſtile, who was newly borne, when he ſhould come to age, or elſe to enter into one of the fiue Orders of Religion of Saint

Clare

Clare in Portugal, and if ſhe would conſent to marrie Prince *Iohn*, ſhee ſhould liue and remaine in the meane time, in the company of Donna *Beatrix* Dutcheſſe of Viſeo. A

Fourthly, that the Infanta Donna I*zabella*, eldeſt daughter to the King and Queene of Caſtile, ſhould marrie the Infant Don *Alphonſo*, eldeſt ſonne to Prince *Iohn*, heire to the Kingdome; the which Infant and Infanta ſhould likewiſe be committed to the keeping of the Dutcheſſe of Viſeo in the fort of Mora in Portugall.

Fiftly, that the Kings of Caſtile ſhould in no ſort let or hinder the king of Portugalls, nor the Prince his ſonnes voyage into Guiney, and that the States and people of Caſtile ſhould bee bound to performe and maintaine that poynt inviolably.

Sixtly, that all crimes and offences, layde to their charge, who had fauoured and taken the King of Portugals part in thoſe warres, ſhould be aboliſhed, and a generall pardon graunted to them all, eſpecially to the Counteſſe of Medellin, and to Don *Alphonſo* of Monroy, Treaſurer of Alcantara, and euery of them to be reſtored to their goods, liuings, and dignities. B

Seuenthly, that this peace ſhould be kept betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and Portugall for an hundred and one yeares.

This peace thus concluded, was proclaymed in the Court of Portugal, to the great contentment of all men, and preſently the Licenciate Figueroa, one of the kings Councell, and his Confeſſor, named Friar *Martin*, were ſent Ambaſſadours to Queene *Izabella*, who lay at Trugillo: who on her her part, did likewiſe ſweare to ratifie it, the Caſtillans beeing no whit diſpleaſed thereat; for they were all tyred with that pernitious warre. The which warre did wholly ceaſe, and the ſeeges, from the aboue-mentioned places, were rayſed. Merida which belonged to the Order of Saint *Iames*, was yeelded to the Maſter thereof: Medellin was committed to the keeping of Don *Lewis Fernand Porto Carrero*, vntil the controuerſie betwixt the Counteſſe and Don *Pedro Porto Carrero* her ſon, were decided by order of lawe. Newes hereof was carried to Barcelona to King *Fernand*, the which was moſt welcome vnto him, who gaue thankes vnto God therefore, cauſing great ſignes of ioy to bee made euery where, and did worthily recompence the meſſenger which brought tidings of ſo deſired a peace: by meanes whereof thoſe two kingdomes haue beene encreaſed and maintayned in the greatneſſe whereunto they are riſen in the dayes of our fathers, and in our time alſo. C D

25 *Vnion of Caſtil and Arragon.*

In king *Fernand*, the two kingdomes of Caſtile and Arragon with their dependancies, were ioyned together, which had beene ſeparated foure hundred, fortie, and fiue yeares, euer ſince that the two States of Earledomes, became Kingdomes, after the death of Don *Sancho* the Great, King of Nauarre, who was the laſt Earle of Arragon and Caſtile.

Now King *Fernand* hauing taken order for all things belonging to ſo great a ſucceſſion, wherein hee found no difficultie nor reſiſtance, hee came to the Queene his wife, who lay in the citty of Toledo, where with great ſollemnitie he ſwore the peace in the preſence of the Portugall Ambaſſadours: and for a greater confirmation thereof, there were ſent Ambaſſadours to the king of Portugal, Friar *Hernand* of Talauera, the king of Caſtiles Confeſſor, of the Order of Saint Hierome, great Prior of Saint Marie du Pré of Vailliodolit, who was afterward Biſhoppe of Auila, and ſucceſſiuely firſt Arch-biſhoppe of Granado after the conqueſt, and with him Doctor *Alphonſo Manuel* of Madrigall, one of the kings Councell, to reiterate and ſweare the peace the ſeeond time. Donna *Ioane*, who till then was called Queene of Caſtile and Leon, and by a particular ſurname the Excellent, beeing queſtioned vppon the Article of peace, which concerned her marriage with Prince *Iohn*, did rather chooſe a Monaſticke life, who therefore was ſhorne and vailed in the Monaſterie of Saint Clare the royall, at Coimbra, and caſting off hir royall habits, ſhee tooke the Order of Saint *Francis*, not without great griefe to king Don *Alphonſo*, to ſee ſo great a Ladie in ſuch manner to abaſe her ſelfe, where if ſhe had ſo pleaſed, might haue raigned in Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, and Sicill. E F

D. Ioane, called, the Excellent, contemneth the marriage with the heire of Caſtil, Arragon, &c. and becomes a Nunne.

The Ambaſſadours of Caſtile hauing executed their commiſſion with the king of Portugall, went to the cittie of Coimbra, where they did ſee this Princeſſe to profeſſe her ſelfe a Nunne, with proteſtation to ſpend her dayes in ſuch humilitie, notwithſtanding

that

A that they brought her King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella's* honourable word and promiſe, to accompliſh in her behalfe, all that which had beene agreed vppon in the treaty of peace, and to marrie her to their ſonne when time ſhould ſerue: but ſhe with an incredible conſtancie refuſed all theſe dignities, and ſpent the whole time of her life (which was very long) in religion, and was euer after called, (in ſtead of royall titles which had had beene offered vnto her by the King and Queene) Donna *Ioane* the Nunne.

The troubles beeing thus appeaſed in Caſtile, Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena, who in his Marquiſate had made warre vppon the Kings Lieutenants and Captaines, came to the Court at Toledo to iuſtifie himſelf concerning the ſame: and to ſpeak
B truth, the matter beeing well weighed, hee was not found to bee the principall cauſe of thoſe miſchiefes, nor yet to haue any intelligence with the King of Portugall, ſince his laſt agreement made with the Queene, in regard whereof, the King and Queene receyued him to grace and fauour, vnto whome afterwards in the warres of Granado, hee did many notable ſeruices.

Marquis of Villena reconciled to the King and Queene.

This yeare, 1479. in the moneth of Nouember, Queene *Izabella* was brought to bed in the Cittie of Toledo, in a houſe belonging to the Earle of Cifuentes, of a daughter named *Ioane*, who in proceſſe of time came to ſucceed in all the kingdomes, as by the progreſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare. This Infanta did in all poynts ſo reſemble queen *Ioane* of Arragon her grandmother, as when the King her father did play with her, hee
C called her his mother. In like manner the Infanta *Izabella*, becauſe ſhe was in lineaments like to Queene *Izabella* her Grandmother, mother to the queene then raigning, was by her called her mother: the reſt of queene *Izabella's* children were commonly called her Angels. At the ſame time that theſe things happened in Spayne, the armie of *Mahomet* the ſecond of that name, Emperour of the Turkes, did houer about the Iſle of Rhodes, the ſeate of the Knights of Saint *Iohn* of Hieruſalem, *Peter d'Aubuſſon* a French-man, beeing great Maſter of that Order: the Sicillians fearing leſt the Turkes would haue landed in their Iſle, ſent meſſengers to king *Fernand*, to obtaine of him ayde and ſuccour, vnto whome certaine ſhippes laden with munition, armour, and other prouiſion, were ſent.

D

Donna Leonora Queene of Nauarre, and 33. in order.

AS King *Fernand* ſucceeded in the kingdomes of Arragon, Valencia, Sicill, Majorca, and principalitie of Cattalonia, with other dominions and dependancies therof by the deceaſe of the late king Don *Iohn* his father: the Princeſſe *Leonora* in like manner,
E daughter to him and to his firſt wife Donna *Blanche*, queene of Nauarre, did inherite the ſame kingdome, nine yeares after the death of the Earle of Foix her husband, remaining all that time a widow. She was crowned queene in the cittie of Tudela, where ſhe did ſweare and promiſe to maintaine the rights, lawes, priuiledges, franchiſes, and liberties of the country, in the ſame manner as her predeceſſors had done before her. Her raigne was ſo ſhort, as we haue no matter affoorded to ſpeake of, but onely her death, which happened by a ſudden ſickneſſe fifteene dayes after ſhe was crowned, in the ſame citie of Tudela: ſhe was buried in the couent of S. Sebaſtian of the Order of S. Francis, neere to the citty of Tafalla, which was ſince ruined by the commandement of Cardinall *Franciſco Ximeenes*, Archbiſhoppe of Toledo, and Gouernour of Caſtile, who thought that
F the ſtrong building of that Monaſterie, was no good neighbour to ſuch a towne. Albeit we haue alreadie in the precedent booke ſpoken of this Princeſſes children, yet wee will ſomewhat more amply enlarge the diſcourſe thereof in this place. Their eldeſt ſonne was *Gaſton*, who bearing the title of Prince of Viana, was married to Donna *Magdalene* of France, and dyed at Libourne, beeing misfortunately hurt with the ſplinter of a Launce, as hee there ranue at Tilt: hee was father of two children, that is to

26 Nauarre.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

ſay, *Francis Phœbus* and *Katherine*, who were King and Queene of Nauarre, and Earles of Foix, ſucceſſiuely the one after the other. Their ſecond ſonne was *Iohn*, who had the Vicounty of Narbonne for his portion, purchaſed by his father for readie money, and married *Marie*, who was daughter to *Lewis*, Duke of Orleance, who was French king, and the twelfth of that name. *Paradin* ſayes more truly, that ſhe was daughter to *Charles*, Duke of Orleance, of whome were borne, *Gaſton* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, who dyed in the battaile of Rauenna, and *Germaine*, who was ſecond wife to *Fernand*, the Catholicke King, and after that ſhee was ſecondly married to *Fernand* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria, lawfull ſon to *Fredericke* king of Naples, who dyed being Viceroy of Valencia. A

This *Iohn* Vicount of Narbone, was Gouernour of Daulphiné, and afterwards of Guyenne, a hardie and valiant Knight, renowned in the warres againſt the Engliſh, and in thoſe of Italy, whither hee went with King *Charles* the eighth, in great credite and authoritie, and afterwards dyed in the raigne of King *Lewis* the twelfth at Eſtampes where he lies buried. B

The third ſonne of Earle *Gaſton*, and Donna *Leonora*, was *Peter* borne at Pau in the countrey of Bearne, the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, forty nine, who gaue himſelfe to ſtudie, and did chooſe an eccleſiaſticall life, vnder the gouernement of his great Vncle, the Cardinall of Foix, Biſhoppe of Leſcar, and the Popes Legate in Daulphiné and Prouence: after whoſe death hauing profited at the Vniuerſities of Tholouſa, Pauia, and Ferrara, in the ciuill and canon Lawes, hee was alſo by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, made Cardinall of the title of Saint Coſmo and Damian, beeing before Biſhop of Vannes, and prouided of many rich Benefices, by the fauour of *Francis* Duke of Brittaine his brother-in law, who had married his ſiſter Ladie *Margaret* of Foix, mother to Queene *Anne*. C

The fourth ſonne of the Earle of Foix, and of Donna *Leonora*, was called *Iames*, hee onely of all their children was borne in Nauarre, and was a Knight highly eſteemed, and honoured by King *Lewis* the twelfth, with the Order of Saint Michaell, and with the leading of an hundred men at armes: in the warres of Lombardie and elſewhere; he purchaſed the commendation of a valiant and wiſe Captaine, but hee dyed young, hauing not attayned to the age of thirtie yeares, and was neuer married. Hee left certaine baſe children, who profeſſed an eccleſiaſticall life, and did poſſeſſe rich benefices, euen till the later dayes of King *Francis* the firſt. D

Beſides theſe foure ſonnes, Earle *Gaſton* and Donna *Leonora* had fiue daughters, the firſt whoſe name was *Mary*, was married to *William* Marquis of Montferrat, who, by the Popes authoritie, erected the church of Caſall into a Biſhops Sea: this Ladie was brought to her husband, the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ſixtie ſixe, by her brother *Peter* of Foix, by *Bernard* the Baſtard of Foix, *Godfrey Baſileac*, Biſhoppe of Riues, by the Biſhop of Conſerans, and *Peter* of Sobreuille, and by diuers other Lords and Knights: Of this marriage no male children were borne, but daughters onely, the eldeſt of whom was married to *Lewis*, ſonne to *Thomas* Marquis of Saluſſes, and theſe daughters did not ſucceed their father in the Marquiſat, but a brother of his. *Ioane* ſecond daughter of Earle *Gaſton*, and Donna *Leonora*, was married to the Earle of Armagnac, ſonne to him who was ſlaine by the commaundement of King *Lewis* the eleuenth: with which marriage, the King beeing diſpleaſed, the Earle was ſo perſecuted, as hee was conſtrained to flie for ſafetie into Caſtile, where truſting to the faire ſpeeches, oathes, and promiſes of the Cardinall of Albi, the French Kings Ambaſſadour, in the ſayd kingdome, beeing returned into France, hee was there cruelly ſtabbed to death with daggers. Whereuppon his wife Donna *Ioane* of Foix, returned into Bearne, hauing had no children by him: The third daughter was *Marguerite*, wife to *Francis* the laſt Duke of Brittaine, by whome hee had two daughters, *Anne* and *Izabella*; *Izabella* dyed young, but *Anne* was married to two French Kings ſucceſſiuely, *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth: by *Lewis* ſhe had two daughters *Claude* and *Rene*; *Claude* who was firſt promiſed to *Charles*, who was ſince king of Spain, and afterwards Emperor, the fifth of that name, did marrie *Francis* of Valois then duke of Angouleſme, and afterwards French king, firſt of that name. *Rene* was married to *Hercules* of Eſté duke of Ferrara: the Earle *Gaſton* and his wife D. *Leonora*, had beſides theſe, *Catherine*, married to the Earle of Candale, and mother of 3. children, E F

the

A the eldeſt of whome was Lord of Candale, the ſecond Arch-biſhoppe of Bourdeaux, and the third who was a daughter named *Anne*, Queene of Hungarie and Bohemia, wife to *Vladiſlaus*, ſon to *Caſimir* King of Polonia. This *Vladiſlaus* firſt king of Bohemia, had before married Donna *Beatrix* of Arragon, widdow to King *Mathias* of Hungarie, for whoſe ſake the Hungarians choſe him for their King: but he was diuorced from her in regard of her looſe life, and afterwards maried this Ladie *Anne* of Foix, who was brought to her husband thorough the Dutchie of Milan, at that time poſſeſſed by the French, and by the cittie of Venice, the great friend and ally of this King, *Leonardo Lauredan* being at that time Duke thereof. Of this marriage was borne *Lewis*, who ſucceeded his fa-
B ther in the kingdomes of Bohemia and Hongarie, husband to Queene *Marie* of Caſtile, who was ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles*, and a daughter named *Anne* married to *Ferdinand* of Auſtria, afterwards Emperour and Brother to *Charles*, and by her, king of Bohemia and Hungarie, after the death of his father-in-law King *Lewis*, of the which *Fernand* and *Anne*, the Emperour *Maximilian* was borne, and many other children: the fifth daughter of Earle *Gaſton*, and Donna *Leonora* of Nauarre, dyed vnmarried, beeing onely promiſed to the Duke of Medina Celi, iſſued from the ſame houſe of Foix, and was called after her mothers name *Leonora*. This houſe of Foix and Nauar hath brought foorth this of-ſpring of great and illuſtrious Princes, giuing to Chriſtendome at one time foure Queenes, who were couſin-germaines, namely, *Catherine* Queene of Nauar,
C *Germaine* Queene of Caſtile and Arragon, *Anne* Queene of France, and *Anne* Queene of Bohemia and Hungary.

Francis Phœbus, the foure and thirtith King of Nauarre.

LEt vs now go forward with our Hiſtorie: after Queene *Leonora's* deceaſe, her ſonnes ſonne *Francis Phœbus* of the age of twelue yeares, ſucceeded by right to the Crowne
D of Nauarre, the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuenty nine, beeing brought vp in his Earledome of Foix, and Lordſhip of Bearne, vnder the gouernement of Donna *Magdaleine* of France his mother, and the Cardinall his Vncle: but three yeares were expired before hee durſt paſſe into his Kingdome, by reaſon of the ſeditions which ſuddenly after the Queene *Leonora's* deceaſe, were renewed betwixt the Beaumontois, the Earle of Lerin beeing their head, who held the Cittie of Pampelona, and thoſe of Grammont, who followed *Pedro* of Peralta the Conſtable, and *Philip* of Nauarre the Marſhall, who had for their forts the places of Eſtella, Sangueſſa, Olita, and a great part of the cittie of Tudela.

Seditions attacked by thoſe of Beaumont and Grammont in Nauarre.

The young Kings mother made a iourney thither, as appeareth by letters graunted
E by her this ſame yeare, dated at Pampelona; where ſhee laboured (though in vaine) to ſettle peace and quietneſſe in the Countrey: diuers Prelates and great Lords of Caſtile and Arragon did in like manner, but to none effect, go about to appeaſe theſe obſtinate ſeditious perſons, who were hardened in their wickedneſſe. The Faction of Grammont was much diſcontented, to ſee the Earle of Lerin married to a Ladie of the bloud royal, ſiſter to King *Fernand* of Caſtile, and for that hee was poſſeſſed of the cittie of Pampelona, the chiefe of the Kingdome, they ſayd, that hee thought to make himſelfe king of Nauarre. Theſe quarrels beeing ſharpely purſued by either ſide, it happened that *Philip* of Nauarre, ſucceſſour to his father in the office of Marſhall, and in hatred to the Earle of Lerin, did ſurprize the cittie of Viana, but he could not get the caſtle, wherein a knight
F of the houſe of Gongora was captaine for the Earle: and beeing out of hope of beeing able to keepe the towne, ſo great was his hatred towards the Earle, as hauing complotted with Don *Iohn* of Riuera, Gouernor of Logrogno for the king of Caſtile, Captaine *Mudarre*, and other Spaniſh knights, he deliuered the towne into their hands: the which deed of his, the Earle of Lerin greatly reſenting, endeauored to recouer that loſſe, which did not ſo much touch him nor his faction, as the whole Realme in generall, and hee, did

Viana ſurpriſed by the Marſhall Philip.

Exploites of the Earle of Lerin.

ſo well beſtirre himſelfe, as he did not onely recouer Viana, but Larraga likewiſe, which had beene before that time poſſeſſed by the king of Caſtile, and if he had beene as ſtrong as hee was couragious and skilfull in martiall affaires, he would, without all doubt, haue recouered the places of Saint Vincent, la Garde, and Arcos, the which hee attempted: but hee was too weake: with this good happe, yet neuertheleſſe hee tooke the towne of Miranda vppon Arga, and cauſed thoſe which held it, to leape into the riuer. In theſe troubles was the Realme of Nauarre, when this young King, *Francis Phœbus*, came to the Crowne, in danger vppon ſuch like occaſions, to haue the kings of Caſtile attempt ſome thing to his preiudice, as well thorough the euill offices of the chiefe of the Factions, as by the ſuperfluous duties of the Captaines of the frontiers, who to bee accounted good and profitable ſeruants, do oftentimes draw their maſters into vniuſt quarrels, contrarie to their owne minds and diſpoſitions.

28 Caſtile.

Parliament at Toledo.

The Court of Caſtile remayned yet at Toledo, in the which cittie in the beginning of the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, eightie, the kings had called a Parlament: there the Deputies of the citties, who were accuſtomed to haue voyces, hauing well weighed and conſidered the diſpoſition of the royall reuenue, which was alienated to particular perſons, in recompences, perpetuall rents, ſuperfluous gifts, and other ſuch like waſtes, which were not well digeſted, did craue reformation thereof, and demaunded to haue thoſe things which had beene giuen from the Crowne, to be reſtored to the ſame: and they were the more inſtant therein, becauſe they did fore-ſee, that if the kings did not looke to it, neceſſitie would conſtraine them, to ſeeke money in another nature, and to charge the people with new tributes and taxes.

Conſultation touching the reunion of the royall reuenue.

The matter beeing conſulted on by the kings, the Cardinall of Spaine, and by other Prelates, Lords, and Knights, it was determined, that regard ſhould bee had to the peoples admoniſhment: but concerning the manner how, the opinions were diuerſe: ſome thought it fit, that whatſoeuer had beene alienated ſhould be vnited againe: others were of opinion, to call that onely in queſtion which had beene euill employed: others ſayd, that no diſtinction ought to be made in that point, but either to take all, or leaue all. Vpon this diuerſitie of opinions, the Kings knew not what to reſolue; but wrote their letters to the great Lords of Spaine to come to Toledo to giue their opinions concerning that buſineſſe, and if ſome of them could not come thither in perſon, that they ſhould ſet downe in writing, what they thought was fit to be done, and to ſend it. The moſt part of them thought it requiſite, that the whole reuenew of the Crowne ſhould be reunited.

Whereupon the Cardinall did ſecretly aduiſe the Kings, to make this difference in the matter: namely, to take away from thoſe vppon whom the late King *Henry* had beſtowed any thing, that is to ſay, from the Lords and Knights which had beene the cauſe of the troubles, and had followed the Prince Don *Alphonſo*: and not to mention thoſe gifts which they themſelues had giuen vnto ſuch as had ſerued them. In theſe difficulties the Kings made this concluſion: That all thoſe who had gifts, reuenues, and other ſuch like penſions out of the ordinarie reuenue of the Crowne, ſhould by a certaine prefixed time come and ſhew cauſe, how and wherefore they had obtayned ſuch graunts: and Friar *Fernand* of Talauera was appoynted to ſearch out the truth, and ſet downe an order, vppon whoſe good conſcience and integritie, all men repoſed great truſt, and to ſatisfie euery man according vnto right and reaſon; who with other aſſiſtants did ſo order the matter, as hee brought backe three millions of reuenues into the kings coffers, and diuers men had their graunts confirmed, others were cut off in part, others had all taken from them, and others enioyed their penſions during their liues. The Eſtates were likewiſe very much buſied about other matters, and euery day was a Councell held, in fiue ſeuerall chambers: one was for the State, another for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, another for the affaires of Arragon and Sicill, another for the buſineſſes of the commons, and for the iuriſdictions of the Hermandades or brotherhoods, and the fift and laſt, for the treaſure and royall reuenue.

At the ſame time iuſtice, which had a long time beene baniſhed out of Spayne, was called home againe and reuerenced, and diuers wicked perſons puniſhed, among whome

Hernand

A *Hernand Alarcon*, the familiar friend and inſtigator of the Arch-biſhoppe of Toledo, a ſeditious and turbulent perſon, was beheaded, by meanes of which example, euery man ſubmitted himſelfe to law, and framed himſelfe to a ciuill and honeſt life: then did the tyrannies of great men ceaſe, the thefts and robberies of their followers were ſuppreſſed, in ſuch ſort, as the fields were as ſafe as good townes, thoſe things which were vſurped were reſtored to the right owners: the ſeates of iuſtice were well ordered, and diuers good lawes and Edicts were made. *Hernand Alarcon conſpicuous.*

It was there enacted, that the Iewes and Moores in townes and citties, ſhould dwell in ſtreetes and places by themſelues. All Noblemen were forbidden to carrie Guards a-
B bout with them, to place Crownes vppon their ſhields and armes, or to haue vſhers to carrie maces or roddes before them, vnleſſe they were Magiſtrates, nor to vſe titles in their letters, belonging to Princes and Soueraigne Lords. And for that the Kings felt their conſciences burthened with the death of many poore people, who had followed them in their laſt warres, whoſe widowes and children were in great neceſſitie, they appoynted a ſumme of twentie millions of Marauidis to bee diſtributed vnto ſuch people by Friar *Hernand* of Talauera, as he ſhould thinke it meete and conuenient, thinking by laying this charge vppon him, to diſcharge themſelues. *Charity of K. Fernand and Queene Iſabel.*

In this aſſembly of the Eſtates in the moneth of May, the Infant Don *Iohn* was, accor-
C ding to the cuſtome of Spayne, ſworne vnto, as Prince of the Aſturia's, and heire to the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon, in the preſence of the Prelats and Lords, whoſe names follow: The Cardinall Don *Pedro Gonçales* of Mendoza, Arch-biſhoppe of Siuill, and withall, Biſhoppe of Siguença: Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, Biſhoppe of Palence, Friar *Alphonſo* of Burgos, Biſhop of Cordoua, with others of the Clergie. For the Nobilitie and State militarie, Don *Alphonſo* of Cardegna, Maſter of Saint Iames, Don *Pero Fernandes* of Velaſco, Conſtable of Caſtile, and Earle of Haro: Don *Alphonſo Henriques* great Admirall of Caſtile, and the Kings Vnkle: Don *Pero Aluares Oſorio*, Marquis of Aſtorga, and Earle of Tranſtamara: Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, Earle of Caſtro: Don *Lorenzo Suares* of Mendoza, Earle of Crugna: Don *Iniego Lopes* of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, Don *Diego Lopes* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Miranda: Don *Fernand Aluares* of Toledo,
D Earle of Oropeſa, Don *Guttiere* de Sottomajor Earle of Benalcaçar: Don *Bertrand* de la Cueua, Earle of Ledeſma, Don *Diego Fernandes* of Quignones, Earle of Luna, Don *Iohn de Ribera*, Lord of Montemajor, Don *Aluar Peres* of Guzman, Lord of Saint Eulalia: Don *Guttiere* of Cardegna, great Commaunder of Leon, with diuers others of name and place: For the third eſtate, the Deputies of the Citties on this ſide, and beyond the mounts, did take the accuſtomed oath, to wit, for old Caſtile, Burgos, Leon, Segobia, Auila, Soria, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca: and for the other part, Toledo, Guadalajara, and Cuenca: and for Andaluſia, Siuill, Cordoua, and Iaen, and the Cittie of Murcia for that Countrey: Diuers Lords likewiſe of the Realme Arragon were preſent at this ſolemnitie, as Don *Raymond* Biſhoppe of Vrgell, and Don *Philip* of Arragon
E baſtard-ſonne to the late Prince *Charles*, Nephew to the King, and couſin germaine to Prince *Iohn*. *Prince Ioane ſworne vnto with great ſolemnitie.*

At this aſſembly, Don *Andrea de Cabrera*, and Donna *Beatrix* of Bouadilla his wife were created Marquiſes of Moya, with graunt of twelue hundred vaſſals neere to Segobia for the good ſeruices which they had done to the kings Don *Ferdinand*, and Donna *Iſabella*, at whoſe table, the more to honour them, they did eate, the ſame day. The Parlament or aſſembly of States being ended, the Court came to Medina del campo, where they began to take great paines to haue the ordonances of the Eſtates executed, and put in practiſe, vppon the vſurpations, tyrannies, quarrels, and enmities which were paſt. In the ſame towne a knight, whoſe name was *Aluar Ianes* of Lugo, was put to death, who
F being couetous to adde to his owne great wealth the goods of a certaine Cittizen, hired a certaine Notarie or Scriuener to make ſome falſe and counterfeite contracts, and to the end the deceit might not be knowne, hee foorth-with payed him his hire, cutting his throate, and burying him ſecretly in the back-ſide of his owne houſe: the which murther was diſcouered by the diligent inquirie of the poore widdow, whoſe husband was neuer ſeene abroade, ſince hee was ſeene to go into the Knights houſe.

A murtherous gentleman executed.

This Gentleman was taken, conuicted, and beheaded notwithſtanding his great friends and kindred, who offered fortie thouſand Duckets for to ſaue his life, which was a great ſumme in thoſe dayes, which ſundrie of the Councel wiſhed the Kings to take: but theſe Princes beeing great Iuſticers, would not hearken to it: but the Knight was executed according to his deſerts. A

King Fernand and Queene Iſabell zealous of Iuſtice.

The yeare 1481. the Kings departed from Medina, and did take leaue the one of the other for a certaine time, the Queene went to Vailliodolit, and the King made a voyage into Arragon with intent to haue the like oath made, there to his ſon Prince *Iohn*, as the States of Caſtile had done at Toledo, and to order the State of his owne patrimoniall Kingdome, as alſo to demaund a certaine ſubſidie of money of his ſubiects there.

29 Nauarre.

The King beeing at Sarragoſſa, the Cardinall of Foix, and his brother Don *Iames*, Vnkles to the young King *Francis Phœbus* of Nauarre, came thither to him, to beſeech him to ayde him with forces and meanes to ſuppreſſe his audacious ſubiects, which did diſturbe the peace of his Kingdome, who contemning his youth, did commit infinite tyrannies there, whom king *Fernand* did moſt louingly receiue as his Nephewes, ſonnes to Queene *Leonora* his ſiſter, and did promiſe concerning their demaunds, to performe the office of a Chriſtian Prince, friend, and neere kinſman to the young king. During his aboade at Sarragoſſa, the Marſhall of Nauarre, who was at Tudela, had ordinarie intelligence with diuers Caſtillan Lords, ſome of whome knowing their maſters will, did beginne to treate of meanes for the pacification of the factions of Beaumont and Grammont, by whome the kingdome was ſpoiled. Amongſt thoſe which did moſt earneſtly employ themſelues therein, was a Friar, Preacher to king *Fernand*, whoſe name was *Abarca*, who dealt in ſuch ſort, as hee agreed vpon a marriage betwixt *Philip* of Nauarre the Marſhall, and a daughter of the Earle *Lewis* of Lerin, which he thought would bee a meanes, that theſe two Lords would forget all former hatred, and become heartie and affectionate friends, by whoſe example, the reſt of the factions would do the like, but the poore Friar was deceyued in his hope: for thoſe of the Grammontois faction, rejecting this marriage, as hurtfull to their ſide, and fearing to loſe ſo mighty a Captaine, did ſo preuayle with the Marſhall *Philip*, as notwithſtanding that matters were in ſuch forwardneſſe, as neither of the parties could go backe with honour and credit, the Marſhall neuertheleſſe refuſed that allyance, and went wholly backe from his former promiſes: whereat the Earle of Lerin beeing extreamely enraged, and beeing of a haughtie and proud ſpirit, was ſore reuenged, by killing the Marſhall, as hee rode from Sangueſſa to Villa-franca to ſpeake with Don *Iohn de Ribera*, the Earle hauing attended for him vpon the way, as well for to chaſtiſe his lightneſſe and inconſtancie, as for iealouſie that hee had, concerning the buſineſſe that the Marſhall went about in conferring with that Caſtillan, doubting ſome treaſon as well towards himſelfe as the kingdome, like to that of Viana which he ſtill remembred, and could by no meanes forget. B C D

The Eſtates of Nauarre at Taſulla.

In this manner, the father and the ſonne, both of them Marſhals of the Realme of Nauarre, did periſh by one ſelf ſame hand: in which Office *Peter* of Nauarre ſucceeded, who was younger brother to *Philip*, and the fourth of that family, who had held the ſame dignitie. The Conſtable *Pedro de Peralta* was at the ſame time out of the Realme, who hauing with great labour obtayned abſolution from the Pope, for the murther committed on the perſon of Don *Nicholas* of Echauarri, Biſhop of Pampelona, did publikely acknowledge his fault in the cathedrall Church of Valencia, and liued not long after, leauing one onely daughter who was called *Ioane* of Peralta, heire of his houſe, who was wife to Don *Troilo Carillo* of Acugna, ſonne to the Arch-biſhop of Toledo, of whome we haue often ſpoken in this Hiſtorie. E

Biſhop of Pampelona ſlaine by D. Pedro de Peralta.

This houſe of Peralta, deſcended from the royall ſtocke of Nauarre, and by the death of *Pedro* of Peralta, the office and dignitie of Conſtable ended in that family, the ſucceſſors whereof were called Earles of Saint *Steephen*, and great Chamberlaines to the Kings of Nauarre. *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, entring into that Office was afterward diſpoſſeſſed thereof, and the Conſtableſhip fell ſince to Don *Alphonſo*, grandchild to *Pedro* of Peralta, the heires of whoſe houſe, in proceſſe of time, were called Marquis of Falſes, a towne in Nauarre. F

Marquis of Falſes.

Ciuill

A Ciuill warres ſpoyling after this manner the poore Kingdome of Nauarre, the young Kings vncles returned into the Realme, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights of the King of Caſtiles Court, who promiſed them that if by faire meanes, they could not bring the Kings rebellious ſubiects to his obedience, the which hee wiſhed them in any caſe to trie, that he would then furniſh him with men, munition and money for the warres: theſe Lords being come to the towne of Tafalla, they did forthwith aſſemble the generall Eſtates, by vertue of a commiſſion which they had from the King, the Cardinall and Lord *Iames* of Foix promiſing free and ſure acceſſe and ſafe conduct to all men. *The Eſtates of Nauarre at Tafalla.*

B The Deputies of the three Eſtates of the Kingdome being aſſembled, and hauing vnderſtood by the Cardinall the cauſe why they were come into Nauarre, wherevnto were ioyned the French King *Lewis* the eleuenths letters, which did exhort the Nauarrois to continue obedient to their King, and to acknowledge and ſerue him as faithfull ſubiects ought to doe, prouiding thereby, for the welfare, reſt and quiet, of their country: they did all with one generall conſent make anſwere, that the Lords and people of Nauarre, did neuer meane to forſake their obedience towards *Francis Phœbus* the young King, whom they did acknowledge for their naturall and lawfull Prince, but that on the contrary they had euer till now beene iealous and fearefull, in regard of his youth and abſence from the Realme, leaſt ſome ſtranger ſhould haue made himſelfe
C Maiſter thereof, and therefore they did no leſſe deſire his comming then himſelfe, and they humbly beſought him to make haſt as a thing moſt neceſſary: and if his comming had beene hindred by meanes of the ambition and tiranny of a few priuate perſons, they gaue him to vnderſtand, that it was to the great griefe of others, and in no ſort occaſioned by common conſent; therefore they intreated him to come in a lucky hower, ſeeing they were ready to receiue and honour him, accordingly as it did become them. The Cardinall and his brother vnderſtanding ſo pleaſing and deſired an anſwer, did forthwith write thereof to the young King *Francis Phœbus*, and to King *Fernand* his great vncle. And becauſe whatſoeuer was done, was to no purpoſe vnleſſe thoſe two great houſes of the Earle of Lerin and the Marſhall Don *Pedro* were reconciled,
D the Cardinall did vſe the beſt meanes hee could to make them friends: but by reaſon of their inueterate quarrels hee found matter enough whereon to ſet his iudgement and induſtry a worke, and alſo incredible reſiſtance againſt his brothers authority and his owne, ſo as diuers times they were in deſpaire of the matter: neuertheleſſe, knowing that by perſeuerance, all difficulties are ſurmounted, and that in ſuch holy and laudable actions we ought to vſe our beſt endeauors, they laboured ſo earneſtly therein, as in the end they thought that they had wholy reconciled them. And for a greater and more ſtrict band of this alliance, this aſſembly of the Eſtates beeing in the time of Lent, the Cardinalls would needs haue the Conſtable and the Marſhall to receiue the Sacrament togeather, in an hoſtie parted betwixt them in the Monaſtery of Sr. Sebaſtian in Tafalla. *Perſeuerance ouer-commeth all difficulties.* *Feigned reconciliation betwixt the Earl of Lerin and the Marſhall of Nauarre*

E But as the heart of man is oftentimes different from the outward ſhew, ſo this reconciliation prooued but feigned and counterfeit; for notwithſtanding promiſes, oths, and all reſpect to Religion which are oftentimes but maskes to euill intents, the Earle of Lerin thinking with theſe ceremonies to haue ſuffitiently ſecured his aduerſary, did determine to kill him vpon the firſt proffered occaſion, perſwading himſelfe that if he could diſpatch this man, as hee had done his father and brother in time before, that then in Nauarre, hee ſhould haue no more great enemies left to make head againſt him. Therefore vpon the very next day after their reconcilement which was good Friday, he hauing intelligence that the Marſhall rode from Tafalla towards Tudela, or elſe to the Monaſtery of Oliua, hee came with a great troupe vnder the hill of Agnorba and there lay in
F ambuſh intending to aſſaile him on the ſodaine as hee ſhould paſſe that way. The Marſhall who feared no ſuch matter, came riding in the company of the Earle of Saint Steuens the Conſtable of Peraltas ſucceſſor with their traine, and beeing come neere to the place where his death was prepared, Gods will was that hee had ſome inckling of the Earles treachery, wherevpon on a ſodaine hee galloped backe againe as faſt as hee could, beeing ſo hardly purſued by his enemy, as without the aſſiſtance of *Arnaud* *Treachery of the Earle of Lerin againſt the Marſhall.*

Gouernor

gouernour of Vnçul, who ſpeedily thruſt him into a Church, he had beene there ſlaine. A
The Earle beeing madde that the Marſhall had eſcaped, did the very ſame day execute his furie vpon other Gramontois, for with his owne hand hee ſlew *Leon de Garro* the baſtard, the Arch-prieſt *Mendigorria* left *Iohn de Velez* of Medran for dead, with diuerſe others ſlaine and hurt, and then returned home to his houſe: not long after that, certaine of the family of *Artieda*, hauing murthered ſome of the houſe of *Ayanz*, the murtherers were vpheld and receiued by the Conſtable the Earle of Beaumont, by reaſon whereof, thoſe of the family of *Arane*, who had euer followed the *Beaumontois* faction, reuolted from their ſide to thoſe of Grammont. Theſe things are ſet downe by ſome, to bee more likely to haue beene done after the aſſembly of the eſtates, and they ſay, B
that it is not to bee beleeued that the Conſtable would ſo much forget himſelfe, as to commit ſuch an act the next day after his reconcilement, which was made in ſo religious a manner, eſpecially ſeeing the Cardinall and his brother were in the realme, and the eſtates of the kingdome there aſſembled, and they rather beleeue, that this quarrell was renewed a long time afterward in the reigne of Queene *Catherine*, vppon ſome new wrongs offered betwixt theſe Lords.

Murther committed by the Earle of Lerin.

30 Caſtile. *The decrees of the Eſtates executed.*

The peace of Caſtile, according to the determination of the States at Toledo, was vertuouſly procured by Queene *Iſabell*, who in her husbands abſence remained at Valiodolit, beeing accompanied and councelled by the Cardinall of Spaine, the Earle of Benauent and others; by whoſe aduiſe were ſent into Galicia, to order the affaires of C
that Prouince, which had been greeuouſly ſhaken by the fore-paſſed tempeſts, Don *Ferdinand d' Acugna* a good and a vertuous Knight, ſonne to the Earle of Buendia, with title of Gouernor, vnto whom the Licenciat *Garci Lopes de Chinchilla* of the Kings councell, and a man of great integrity, was ioyned in qualitity of Corrigidor, or Iudge, who found much to be reformed there; for diuerſe tyrants oppreſſed their neighbours, vſurped the temporall and ſpirituall patrimony and reuenews of the Church, not caring for God, the King, nor Iuſtice, nor acknowledging any ſuperiority, and did keepe backe the Kings tribute. The citties of Lugo, Orenſe, Mondognedo, nor the townes of Biuero and Corunna were exempted from ſuch calamities, in regard whereof the Gouernour and the Corrigidor, accompanied with two hundred horſe, went to the citty of S. *Iames*, D
there to make their reſidence, and to begin to order the affaires according to the forme of law: The inhabitants of Saint *Iames* ſeeing their company ſo ſmall, were afraide that they were too weake to take in hand to bridle ſo many tyrants as were in that countrey, did make ſome difficultie to let them into the citty: but at the laſt being ſatiſfied by the reaſons of the Licenciat, they opened their gates, and promiſed to their power to aide and aſſiſt them to execute iuſtice: wherefore they began to fall to worke, and they made ſuch executions, without partialitie or reſpect of perſons, as they were not afraide to ſtrike off the head of the Marſhall *Pero Parâo*, who had committed infinite miſchiefes, ſo as in leſſe then three moneths, more then one thouſand fiue hundred perſons, attainted with notorious crimes worthy of death, went out of the countrey of Galicia: and theſe E
Commiſſioners did raze downe to the ground diuerſe ſtrong houſes, which ſerued for places of retreate to theeues and robbers: by meanes of which executions, euery one did acknowledge his dutie, and there were many, who without any conſtraint by iuſtice, did reſtore that which they held of other mens, by meanes whereof Don *Ferdinand de Acugna*, and *Garci Lopes de Chinchilla* got much honor and credit.

Iuſtice eſtabliſhed in Galicia.

31 *Spaniſh Army in Sicilie.*

This yeare, fiftie ſhips of warre, with men and munition, were ſet forth out of Biſcay, Guipuſcoa and Caſtile, vnder the title of warre againſt the Turkes, wherevnto the people of Biſcay did contribute, not preiudicing their priuiledges and exemptions, onely for the preſent occaſion of ſo holy a warre, the Armie met together at Laredo, and was ſent into Sicill, vnder the conduct of Don *Franciſco Henriques*, ſonne to the Admirall F
of Caſtile, and ſerued at the taking of Ottranto, which the Turkes had taken from Don *Ferdinand* the baſtard of Arragon, who at the ſame time reigned at Naples: Before the Armie departed from Laredo, the ſtandards and banners of the ſhips were bleſſed, Don *Iohn de Ortega* Pouruoier of Villafranca, ſinging a ſollemn maſſe: then they ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Spaine, and ioyned with other twenty veſſels that came from Galicia, ſo as the

A the whole army of Caſtile conſiſted of three ſcore and tenne ſhips gallantly rigged and furniſhed, who ſayling towards Ottranto perceiued the army of Portugall to be there before them. By this ſuccor the towne was recouered from the Turkes, who yeelded it vp vpon the newes of the death of their Emperour *Mahumet*, which happened at the ſame time. The Turkes being gonne forth of Italy, and the ſuſpition of other enterpriſes ceaſing, the Spaniſh and Portugall ſhips returned home into their owne country.

Rigor of the Spaniſh Inquiſition moderated.

The firſt acts of the new Inquiſition in Spaine were at that time ſo ſharpe and violent, as this yeere 1481. Don *Pero Gonçales* de Mendoza Cardinall of Spaine vpon the
B extreame complaints which the Conuerts did make, by reaſon of their vniuſt perſecutions were enforced to take ſome milder and gentler courſe: for there were already more then three thouſand houſe-holds deſtroied and rooted out, onely in Siuill, and the Dioceſſe thereof. For theſe cauſes the Cardinall and other Prelats met together to moderat the cruelty and violence of the pittileſſe Inquiſitors. Then friar *Thomas* of Torquemada, a Iacobin, was choſen chiefe inquiſitor: who by the Kings leaue did appoint diuers Iudges in the Prouinces of Spaine, which by the Popes authority did enquire of euery ones faith and manners. This iuriſdiction hath beene oftentimes ſince then amplified and reformed vntill that the tribunalls and ſeates were eſtabliſhed in manner following. Valiodolit, and Calaorra on that ſide of the
C mounts towards Burgos, and Toledo and Cuença on the other ſide, *Murcia* in her owne iuriſdiction: Siuil and Cordoua in Andaluzia: and *Erena* in Extremadura: then after the conqueſt of Granado in the ſame city.

Frier Thomas of Torquemada.

Power of the Inquiſitors.

The Inquiſition was ſucceſſiuely receiued into Arragon, at Saragoſſa, and Valencia, and at Barcelona for Cattalognia: All which Prouinces are twelue in number. Nauarre anſwereth to Calaorra, the ſeate whereof was tranſported to Logrogno for better eaſe and commodity. The knowledge of theſe Iudges Inquiſitors did at the ſame time chiefely extend to the Iewes, and Moores, which were conuerted, and yet neuertheleſſe did ſecretly adhere to their old ſects: then to heretikes, and ſuch as were reuolted from the Catholike faith, to Magitians, Blaſphemers, and thoſe that were attainted
D with the ſinne againſt nature. The generall Inquiſition remayning at Court neere to the Kings perſon did rule and were chiefe ouer all theſe other Tribunalls. At the ſame time Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, did allow and authorize all that the Cardinall and his Councell had decreed concerning that matter, and he did confirme the election of frier *Thomas* of Torquemada of the order of the Preachers, and Prior of the Monaſtery of Santa Cruz in Segobia, vnto whom *Diego de Merla* the Aſſiſtant of Siuill, and *Pero Martines Camagno* the Kings Secretary were ioyned as coadiutors. The firſt effect of the Inquiſition after that it was ordained, was to ſet downe an edict that all Heretikes and Apoſtotaes ſhould appeare, and re-unite themſelues to the Church of Rome, acknowledging their offences: More then ſeuenteene thouſand perſons, did appeare
E at this commaundement, who were enioyned what to ſay and doe; then they proceeded againſt the obſtinate and rebellious, more then two thouſand of them were burned and their goods confiſcated, and taken from their children and heires: the ſame ſentence was executed vpon thoſe that were abſent and dead, digging vp their bones and burning them: in ſuch ſort as the Inquiſition continuing thus rigorous, great numbers did leaue Caſtile, and with-drew themſelues into the Kingdomes of Nauarre and Portugall; others went into France, England and to other farre Countries.

Sharpe and rigorous executions of the Inquiſitors.

Let vs now returne vnto the Court, which was then at Valiodolit where the Queene of Caſtile was accompanied after the accuſtomed manner with a greate
F traine of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the Nobility (who in theſe latter times giue themſelues wholie to the exercize of armes, and doe for the moſt part contemne all other courſe of life which cauſeth them and not without cauſe to be eſteemed of all men as people very vnproffitable in time of peace) did in this Court thinke vpon nothing elſe then for to ſerue and court the Ladies and Gentlewomen, and gaue themſelues to ſuch other like vaine and idle pleaſures, accuſtomed in Princes Courts, and moſt

of

of all in that of Spaine from whence did ſpring ſuch fruites as vice doth produce, A
namely quarrels and diſhonour and loſſe, which euills had almoſt ſpred themſelues
from the particular to the generall, corrupting the publike peace, by troubles, ſeditions
and mutinous wars.

Quarrel betwixt D. Frederike Henriques and Don Ramir Nugnes de Guzman.

Don *Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman, ſonne to Don *Gonçall* de Guzman Lord of Torall,
being in an euening in talke with Donna *Maria Manuel* in the Queenes preſence Cham-
ber, was interrupted in his ſpeech by Don *Frederike Henriques* eldeſt ſonne to the Ad-
mirall, who either thorough the inſolency of his youth, or elſe to content Don *Gut-*
tiere de Sottomajor his brother-in-law, who made loue to that Lady, and was loath to
haue an other man walke in his purlewes, cauſed Don *Ramir* to ariſe as hee ſate by B
her, making as though he would haue gonne by him to haue ſpoken with Don *Marine*
Zapate, and ſodainely ſate downe in his place by her, whereat Don *Ramir* beeing offen-
ded, beganne to murmure againſt Don *Frederike*, ſo as they threatned to baſtinado one
an other, and fell to bitter and reproachfull ſpeeches: in ſuch manner as Don *Ramir*
Nugnes his honour was greatly intereſſed: for Don *Frederike* going forth of the
Queenes lodging called him drunkard, and baſe fellow, with many ſuch like bitter termes.
The Queene hauing notice of this quarrell, commaunded both of them to depart forth
of the pallace, then ſhee confined Don *Frederike* to the Admirall his fathers lodg-
ings and committed Don *Ramir Nugnes* to the keeping of *Garci Laſo de la Vega*, Mai-
ſter of the Hall, vntill it were knowne who was in the fault, as alſo to keepe them from C
hurting one an other in action as they had done a little before in words. Hauing
vnderſtood afterwards that Don *Frederike* had committed the greateſt inſolency, her
will was to haue them ſtill to keepe their Chambers till ſuch time as ſhee had made
them friends.

Notwithſtanding which commaundement of the Queenes Don *Frederike* went a-
broad to a turnament which was held the next day following, by reaſon whereof the
Queene was extreamely mooued againſt him and the Admirall his father, and told
them that if they went about to vſe their power againſt Don *Ramir Nugnes*, hee ſhould
finde thoſe to take his part as would not ſuffer him to ſuſteine any wrong or iniury at
their hands. The Admirall finding the Queene to bee much diſpleaſed, did beginne D
to humble himſelfe, and did aſſure her that Don *Ramir* needed not to feare any wrong
either from himſelfe, his ſonne, or any of their followers; wherewith the Queene being
contented did permit Don *Ramir* freely to goe out and come into the palace, acquain-
ting him with what the Admirall had promiſed her, bidding him to relie vpon her
word, and to walke abroade vnder her royall ſafe-gard and protection. Don *Ramir* was
well aſſured by her Princely and comfortable words, and. Don *Frederike* had ſaluted
him, and talked familiarly with him and met diuerſe times for the ſpace of three daies
togither, yet notwithſtanding this outward ſhew of reconcilement, Don *Ramir* was vp-
on a day baſtonaded as hee walked in the ſtreetes by certaine perſons vnknowne vnto
him, who preſently after hauing their horſes ready, galloped away. E

The Queene beeing aduertized of this diſgrace offered to Don *Ramir*, contrary to
the Admirals promiſe, and her owne royall aſſurance, did rigorouſly purſue the Ad-
mirall, and did not leaue (hauing ſeized vpon two of the chiefeſt places that he had name-
ly the caſtle of Simancas and Iofecco) vntill ſhee had his ſonnes perſon in her power,
ſaying that thoſe blowes lighted vpon her ſelfe, and that ſhe had felt them, and that ſhee
would know whether it were the manner of Spaine, that Kings ſhould bee ſo contemned
and deſpiſed by their ſubiects. The Admirall notwithſtanding that hee was the Kings
vncle, was conſtrained to deliuer his ſonne Don *Frederike* to the Queene; with pro-
miſe that he ſhould receiue no harme in his perſon, who by the Queenes commaunde-
ment (who would not ſee him) was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Areualo. Don *Ramir* F

Effects of immoderate choller.

hauing receiued this diſgrace went to Torall with an intent to bee reuenged in a moſt
rigorous manner, and was very glad to heare of his Aduerſaries impriſonment: but
not contenting himſelfe with the right which the Queene ment to doe him, he inuen-
ted meanes how to bee reuenged on him with his owne hands, wherefore diuers nights
togither he cauſed the caſtle of Areualo to bee watched whether that he might finde
any

A any meanes to enter the ſame, and to kill Don *Frederike*, who was to narrowly garded: ſo as hatred daily encreaſing in Don *Ramir*, who not being able to execute that which his choller had pretended, he did reſolue to kill the Admirall Don *Alphonſo Henriques*, father to his aduerſary, and in the ſame minde he rode ſecretly towards the Court, whether he had firſt of all ſent *Aluaro* de Valderas one of his confederats to obſerue the Admiralls actions, and to eſpy a fit time when hee might execute his deſeigne, that hee might aduertize him of the time and place. *Aluaro* de Valderas cunning enough in other matters, communicated the buſineſſe to *Garci* Franco, repoſing truſt in him, becauſe that his eldeſt ſonne had married not long before Don *Ramir Nugnes* ſiſter, but
B he found himſelfe deceiued, for *Garci* Franco did forthwith aduertize the Admirall thereof, to the end that hee might ſtand vpon his guarde: therefore Don *Ramir* loſt his labour, and had no other recompence for that painefull iourney, but onely daunger to bee drowned, as hee did inconſiderately and haſtily paſſe ouer a riuer neere to Saldaigne. The Admirall did not faile to complaine that the Queene, how that, notwithſtanding they were vpon termes of law, Don *Ramir* had practized againſt his life: this was done in the preſence of the Cardinall of Spaine, who afterward purſued the matter in his behalfe: wherevpon ſhee did write to Don *Ramir Nugnes*, commaunding him by no meanes to attempt any thing againſt the perſons of the Admirall, his kinſfolkes and ſeruants; and *Pedro Mercado*, who brought the Queenes letters, did demaund letters
C of aſſurance from him to performe that which the Queene commaunded him. Don *Ramir* anſwered the meſſenger that hee would ſend his brother to the Court with his anſwere, and hauing conſulted therevpon with his friends and kinsfolkes, within a few daies after, he did write to the Queene that hee did aſſure the Admirall and all his followers vntill her returne from Arragon, whither ſhe was then going, and for fiue and twenty daies after her returne, the which did content the Queene, who gaue the Admirall that letter.

D Frederike Henriques confined into Sicill where he marrieth with the counteſſe of Modica.

In the meane time Don *Frederike* was deliuered out of the caſtle of Areualo, and confined into Sicill, whether he was to haue gonne how-ſoeuer, to marry the Counteſſe and heire of Modica, who was one of the greateſt Ladies in the Iſland, and of
D whom Queene *Iſabella* in time made more account, then of any other whatſoeuer, and it is reported that before King *Fernand* was married to her, his father King *Iohn* had thought to haue married him to this Counteſſe of Modica. When Don *Ramir* vnderſtood what they ment to doe with his Aduerſarie, hee thought that the puniſhment was not ſufficient for the offence which he had committed, therefore he ſent to beſeech the Queene, that it might pleaſe her to permit him to endeauour to repaire his loſt honour, and reputation, by taking vengeance on Don *Frederike*, or elſe to grant them the ſingle combate againſt him now whileſt ſhe held him in her power: The Queene anſwered that theſe combats were no matters belonging to women, and that therefore he ſhould content himſelfe till the King were returned, who would ſee that right ſhould
E be done vnto him, and that his honour and reputation ſhould bee maintained. Don *Frederike* went into Sicill, paſſing by Saragoſſa, and accompliſhed his marriage. Don *Ramir Nugnes* being continually ſollicited by the ſpirit of reuenge, perceiuing that hee could haue none other remedy, did purſue his former enterprize againſt the Admirall Don *Frederikes* father, and was with great difficulty conteined by his friends and kinsfolkes from killing of him, but at the laſt hee determined onely to crie quittance with him, and to entertaine him with baſtonadoes as they had ſerued him; the which hee executed after the Queenes returne from Arragon; ſo ſoone as the fiue and twentie daies were expired within the which terme he had promiſed not to touch him, the Court being at Medina del Campo: hee aſſailed the Admirall as he came out of the Queenes
F houſe in the company of the Marquis of Aſtorga, which being done Don *Ramir* fled away hauing men and horſes ready in the ſtreete and at the gates to further his eſcape, and tooke the ready way towards Tordeſillas, the bridge of the which place vpon Duero he paſſed by night, the gate being opened to him by one that had beene ſometime his ſeruant, and as then did ſerue the porter and kept the keyes. When he was paſſed ouer and the bridge locked againe, they tooke the keyes from the poore fellow and threw them

them into the riuer, fearing to bee purſued by the Queenes people, and by the breake of A
day he arriued at Villalobos, where he changed horſes and kept on for his greater ſuerty
the way of Benauent though it were the longeſt, and paſſing the bridge of Caſtro Gon-
çalo, he turned on his left hand towards Saint Ciprians Church into the which he en-
tred, as triumphing of his victory, with his vncle Don *Pedro* de Guzman, and his
brother Don *Pedro Nugnes* de Guzman, who waited for him there, and from thence, they
came altogither to Torall, the which place they beganne to fortifie fearing that the Ad-
mirall, who was a great Lord, and the Queene likewiſe would ſend thither to beſeege
him. *Ramir Nugnes* leauing his vncle and his brother at Torall, came to Leon, where
diuerſe of his friends met him, reioycing with him for what he had done. It is reported B
that entring into the Church of Saint Dominike in the ſame city, where diuers of his
predeceſſors were buried, after that he had ſaid his praiers he ſaid openly before all men,
that ſince the time he had beene diſgraced, hee durſt not come into that Church, being
aſhamed to be found in a place where the memories and remembrances of ſo many il-
luſtrious and honourable perſons did remaine: but hauing now recouered his owne
honour, his fathers, and that of their whole family, he was boldly come to viſit them. Ha-
uing afterward viſited his mother, and his betrothed Lady Donna *Maria* de Quignones
youngeſt daughter to the Earle of Luna, and tarried a while in the city, he withdrew him-
ſelfe by his vncles counſell to the caſtle of Auiados, where he told him that he ſhould be
in greater ſafety then at Torall. Now after that this outrage was committed at Medina C
del Campo, the Marquis of Aſtorga, beeing preſent thereat, did enforme the Queene
who commaunded *Alphonſo Oſorio* to purſue Don *Ramir Nugnes* and his people with
fifty horſe, who hauing rode all that night and the next day without finding any of thoſe
whom he ſought for, he came and lodged at Villademor, a place not farre diſtant from
Torall, where afterward, other captaines and ſouldiars ſent from the Queene did meet
together, who made a ſhew as if they would beſeege the towne. The Bachelor *La Font*,
came thither likewiſe to commaund *Pedro* de Guzman in the Queenes name to yeeld
the place, hee receiued this anſwere, that if Don *Ramir* Nugnes had done any thing for
the recouery of his honour, it was not a fault that did deſerue to haue him ſpoiled of his
patrimony and goods, left him by his predeceſſors, therefore he beſought the Queene D
to proceed in this buſineſſe by order of law, and if that Don *Ramir* ſhould be found guil-
33 ty, then to puniſh him: with theſe ſpeeches they entertained *La Font*, and gained time
Quarrell betweene D. Ramir Nugnes de Guzman and D. Frederike Henriques. to the end that Don *Ramir* might haue leaſure to fortifie himſelfe. Whileſt *La Font*
went to the Court, the ſouldiars did much hurt in the country neere to Torall, and pro-
uoked the Inhabitants and ſouldiars which were within the towne, to come forth and
skirmiſh with them, albeit that Don *Pedro* de Guzman with-held them from ſo doing,
as much as in him lay: for hee would not giue that aduantage to Don *Ramires* aduerſa-
ries, to ſay that thoſe of Torall had fought againſt the Queenes forces, who commaun-
ded *Alphonſo* de Quintanilla to vſe all fit meanes that hee could to take the towne and
caſtle of Torall, *Alphonſo* hauing demaunded to ſpeake with Don *Pedro* de Guzman and E
Pero Nugnes his Nephew, acquainted them with the Queenes reſolution, exhorting
them not to delay the time till they brought the canon, they anſwered that they would
in no ſort ſhew themſelues rebellious to the Queenes commaundement, but they onely
entreated that Don *Ramir* might be proceeded againſt by the ordinary means of Iuſtice,
which beeing graunted they were ready not onely to yeeld vp Torall, but the caſtle of
Auiados in like manner, and namely if need required to put Don *Ramirs* perſon into the
hands of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in hoſtage, or to Don *Gomes Suares* de Figue-
roa Earle of Feria: the which was agreed vpon betwixt them and ſigned by a Notarie,
and a truce made betwixt the beſeegers and beſeeged whileſt that *Alphonſo* de Quin-
tillana might goe and come from the Court. The Queene was at the ſame time gone F
to Cordoua, wherefore *Alphonſo* being come to Valiodolit, and hauing conferred with
the Admirall, ſent the diſpatch to Cordoua to the Queene, who appointed for depo-
ſitor of D. *Ramirs* lands and perſon the Earle of Feria who had married D. *Conſtance*, D.
Ramirs Aunt; the Earle accepted it vpon condition, that he ſhould be aduertized fiue and
twenty daies before the ſentence ſhould bee pronounced, and that the Kings ſhould

promiſe

A promiſe him by writing, not to demaund Don *Ramirs* perſon during the time of the proceſſe, for he would aſſure him whileſt he was in his power: On the other ſide, Don *Ramir* ſent to the King of Portugall to know, whether that if it ſhould happen, that a ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt him which might touch his life and honour, hee would permit him to come into his Kingdome and Court in ſafety. Theſe things being graunted, Don *Ramir* was brought to the caſtle of the towne of Feria, for greater ſurety, and there kept in priſon, vntill his proceſſe was ready to be iudged, and then the Kings according to their promiſe, did aduertize the Earle of Feria thereof at the appointed time, who ſent Don *Ramir* well accompanied into Portugall, where King *Iohn* the ſecond of that name did then reigne, who entertained him very curteouſly, as ſhalbe
B hereafter declared.

Queene *Iſabella* as hath beene ſaid made a voyage into Arragon, and carried thither with her her husband *Iohn* Prince of the Aſturia's, and was receiued into the city of Calatajub with great and magnificent triumph, whether the King came not long after, who at the ſame time was at Barcelona with the Lords and Deputies of the States of Arragon, by whom Prince *Iohn* was likewiſe ſworne vnto and acknowledged for Prince of Girona, heire vnto Caſtile and Arragon, and true ſucceſſor in theſe Kingdomes, the Kings in like manner did ſweare and promiſe to maintaine the rights, priuiledges and exemptions of the country: That being done they went to Saragoſſa, where they made as triumphant an entry as at Calatajub. Thither was newes brought of the death of
C the great Turke *Mahumet*, of the ſucceſſion of his ſonne *Bajazet* in that Empire, and of the diſcord betwixt him and his brother *Zemin*, and alſo how that King *Fernand* of Naples had recouered the towne of Ottranto which *Acomat Baſcia* had taken from him the yeere before. For all which deſired newes, the Kings yeelded thankes vnto God by generall proceſſions after the accuſtomed manner. The Kings did in like manner aſſemble the Eſtates at Barcelona and Valencia, where the like othes were made vnto Prince *Iohn* as next future heire: but touching the ſubſidies they demaunded, it was impoſſible to obtaine any, and they were faine on the contrary to grant many things to the people, and in diuerſe ſorts to ſupply their wants, being but poore euer ſince the laſt warre that the Cattelans made againſt the King Don *Iohn*.

The States of Arragon ſweare to Prince Iohn.

Eſtates at Barcelona and Valencia.

D

Don Iohn the ſecond of that name, and 13. King of Portugall.

ABout the ſame time died *Alphonſo* King of Portugall at Sintra, who ſince the laſt warres betwixt him and Caſtile, had euer led a melancholy and diſcontented life: he lay ſicke fiue and twenty daies, and deceaſed the three and fortith yeere of his reigne,
E being of the age of nine and forty yeeres and ſeuen monthes: his body was buried with great ſolemnitie and funerall pompe in the royall Monaſtery of the battaile, of the Order of the Friers preachers: the Catholike Kings remayning ſtill at Barcelona did there celebrate his obſequies. After him reigned his ſonne D. *Iohn*, father to D. *Alphonſo* who did not ſucceed him, becauſe he died before his father, as hereafter ſhalbe mentioned.

34 Portugal.

King *Fernand* hauing ordered the affaires of Arragon, Cattalonia and Valencia, returned with the Queene his wife into Caſtile, where, during her abſence, the Conſtable and the Admirall were appointed Viceroys, who committed the Earles of Luna and Valence to priſon, in regard of certaine tumults and ſeditions which they had raiſed in the Kingdome of Leon. The Court remayning at that time at Medina del Campo,
F happened, as hath beene heretofore declared the reuenge of D. *Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman againſt the Admirall.

Caſtile.

There aroſe at the ſame time a new contention betwixt the Kings of Caſtile and the Pope, wherein they ſhewed no want of courage. The Epiſcopall Sea of Cuença was vacant by the deceaſe of the Biſhop, Pope *Sixtus* gaue it to a Nephew of his borne in Genoa, Cardinall of the title of Saint *George*, without the knowledge or

35

conſent of the Kings, who being highly diſpleaſed that the Biſhoprikes and great beni- A
fices of Spaine ſhould be poſſeſſed by ſtrangers, againſt the ancient decrees of the E-
ſtates of the Kingdome, obſerued from time to time, did hinder this Cardinall from
taking poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprike, and gaue the Pope to vnderſtand how preiudiciall
it might be to the Realmes of Spaine, whereof the Pope making no account and con-
tinuing in his former purpoſe, the Kings commanded all their ſubiects that were in the
Court of Rome, to depart from thence, and made proteſtations to the Pope that they
would procure a generall Councell to bee called to redreſſe theſe and other ſuch like
diſorders.

Generall counſels abhorred by the Popes.

The Pope who abhorred that more then any thing in the world, ſent a Gen- B
tleman of Genoa, whoſe name was *Dominico Centurion* for his Ambaſſador into Spaine,
who being come to Medina del Campo, and crauing audience, it was refuſed him, and
he was told from the Kings, that becauſe their Ambaſſadors were euill intreated and
contemned at Rome, they would not entertaine nor harken to the Popes, therefore
he ſhould doe well and wiſely, ſpeedily to depart from thence, and concerning his owne
perſon, they would no farther aſſure it in their dominions, then whileſt he could returne
towards Italy. The Ambaſſador being amazed at this commandement, did forth-
with reiect the name and priuiledge of an Ambaſſador, and beſought them to hold him
as their ſubiect, for he was borne in their Kingdome. The Kings in regard of this hu-
millity, committed him priſoner to the fort of Medina, from whence ſoone after he was C
deliuered, by the meanes of the Cardinall of Spaine. When the Pope vnderſtood
what the Kings had done, hee was content to let them enioy their antient rights, and
they made couenants and agreements together, by the which it was decreed, that the
Kings of Spaines preſentations to the Biſhoprikes, ſhould from thence-forth bee ad-
mitted in the Court of Rome, and they ſhould be beſtowed vpon ſuch as had well de-
ſerued of the Spaniſh common-wealth: and by this meanes it hath beene oftentimes
ſeene that diuers good religious perſons haue beene, againſt their willes, conſtrained
to become Biſhops, as Don *Pedro* de Maluenda, generall of the Order of Saint Ieroſ-
me, who was enforced to take the Biſhoprike of Coria, and Doctor Don *Tello* de Buen-
dia that of Cordoua.

Couenants betwixt the Pope and the King of Spaine.

D

36 Nauarre.

Before we end this booke, it ſhall not be amiſſe to returne to Nauarre where wee
left the Cardinall of Foix, and his brother Iames of Foix, much buſied to ouer-rule
the chiefe of the factions in that Kingdome. They hauing had an anſwere of the
States ſuch as they deſired, and ordered the affaires of the country as well as they could,
came backe into Arragon before King *Fernand* went thence, with whom hauing con-
ſulted, they concluded that it was expedient, that King *Francis Phœbus* ſhould come
into his Kingdome, and enter it in armes and military Order as ſoone as conueniently he
could, before the peoples mindes and affections ſhould be changed by any occaſion that
might happen; wherefore as ſoone as they were returned into France, they decla-
red to the King and to Donna *Magdaleine* his mother, what they had effected, as well E
in Nauarre, as in Arragon, ſignifying vnto them that the chiefeſt hope conſiſted in
in dilligence: wherefore they ſodainely aſſembled their friends and ſeruants from all
partes, and gathered togither a thouſand or fifteene hundred horſe, and like number of
footmen, with which forces, this young Prince, accompanied with his mother, and the
Cardinall his vncle entred into Nauarre, where hee was receiued by the Nobillity
and townes, without any difficulty or reſiſtance at all, namely the Earle of Le-
rin albeit he was not pleaſed with his comming, did deliuer vp the city of Pampelo-
na vnto him, conſidering that if he ſhould doe otherwiſe, the young King had the King
of Caſtile on one ſide, and the French King on the other, mighty Princes and his neere
kinſmen, who would conſtraine him to doe his duty.

King Francis Phœbus entreth into his Realme of Nauarre.

F

King *Francis Phœbus* in the month of Nouember the yeere 1482. made his en-
trie into the City, where the three Eſtates were aſſembled, he was there crowned,
and did giue and receiue the othes of fidelitie, and good gouernment, in the Ca-
thedrall Church after accuſtomed manner, in the preſence of the Cardinall
his vncle, the Lords of his Kingdome, the Princeſſe his mother accompanied
with

A with Ladies and Gentlewomen, and by the Ambaſſadors of Caſtile, France, and from [illegible] other potentates being at that time not aboue fifteene yeeres of age: and the ſame day and many daies after, tilts, turneys, and other royall feaſts were there made in magnificent manner. Theſe matters being ended, he went in perſon to viſit the townes, cities and fortreſſes, as well to ſee the manner of the gouernment of the country, as to receiue the particular othes of the captaines and gouernors, to ſee iuſtice adminiſtred, and to marke how firme and conſtant euery one was in his ſeruice: and the better to prouide for the publike peace and quiet, he commanded proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet both in his owne Court and euer the whole Kingdome, that no man vpon paine B of death ſhould any more vſe the ſeditious names of Beaumont and Grammont. And the more to gratifie the Earle of Lerin and to binde him more ſtrictly to his ſeruice, hee confirmed the office of high Conſtable vnto him which *Peter* de Peralta deceaſed had held in time before and gaue him moreouer Sarraga and other places which he had won from the Spaniards, Viana excepted, becauſe it was the chiefe of the principallity, and the title of the eldeſt ſonne of Nauarre. In the Cathedrall Church, where hee was crowned, he gaue guifts, and graunted priuiledges, namely to be free from lodging, the letters whereof were dated at Tafalla in the month of Ianuary, the ſame yeere: he did gratifie in like manner other Lords, Knights, Churches, Townes, and particular perſons with ſuch moderation and equity, as all men did admire ſo great wiſdome in ſuch young C yeeres, and did praiſe God that had giuen ſo good a King vnto Nauarre: In all which matters, he was ruled by the wiſdome of the Princeſſe his mother, of the Cardinall his vncle, and other perſons of State and experience which were in his Court and neere his perſon. Whileſt in his nonage his mother the Princeſſe did gouerne the Kingdome, ſhee vſed theſe titles in her letters. We *Magdalene* daughter and ſiſter to the French King, Princeſſe of Viana, gouernor and protectreſſe of our deere and beſt beloued ſonne *Francis Phœbus* by the grace of God King of Nauarre &c. This Prince was ſurnamed *Phœbus* becauſe he was faire as the ſunne among the ſtarres, and alſo in regard diuers of his race were of the ſame name. Diuers marriages were procured for him, but none was accompliſhed: for he died fifteene monthes after he was crowned, hauing but ſhewed D himſelfe to the world, and ſodainely vaniſhed in the prime of his youth. King *Fernand* his great vncle, would haue married him to his ſecond daughter Donna *Ioane*, who was ſince heire to all his Kingdomes: but the Princeſſe his mother following the counſell of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, who did not greatly affect the affaires of Caſtile, did hinder that match. The like hinderance was miniſtred by her and King *Lewis* in the marriage of his ſiſter *Catherine* who was Queene of Nauarre and the Prince Don *Iohn* of Caſtile heire to the ſame crowne: for King *Lewis* who had great deſeignes in his head, did goe about to marry this King *Francis* Phœbus to Donna *Ioane* the Nun at Coimbra the pretended Queene of Caſtile: and by that pretended right, and the forces of his owne Kingdome, to caſt King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella* out of the Realmes of Ca- E ſtile and Leon, and for euer to keepe the Earledome of Roſſillion to himſelfe, with other purpoſes which vaniſhed into aire: and the better to effect what hee had determined ſent Ambaſſadors into Portugall to King *Alphonſo*, whoſe death happening this yeere with that of the King of Nauarres ſoone after, did quite fruſtrate theſe practizes: to the which, King *Iohn* of Portugall, who ſucceeded his father *Alphonſo*, would by no meanes harken.

Rules and orders for the tranquillity of the Kingdome of Nauarre.

Titles of Lady Magdaleine of France.

The end of the two and twentith Booke.

THE THREE AND TVVENtith Booke of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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In this three and twintith Booke, for continuance
C *of the Kings reigning in Spaine, mention is made of.*

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35. Iohn D' Albret, and Catherine his wife, King and Queene of Nauarre, himſelfe
D *the ſecond of that name.*

A

THe warre which King *Fernand* began and ended againſt the Moores of Granado, was one of his moſt memorable acts: for the Kingdome of Granado did floriſh more at that time, then it had done in many yeeres before, being full of men, riches and armor, and gouerned by one of the wiſeſt and pollitike Kings that euer reigned ouer that Nation: namely *Muley Albohacen*, if hee had beene a little more faithfull, and leſſe ambitious and proud, which qualities did plunge him into troubles, and miſerable diuiſions as well againſt his ſubiects in the bowels of his owne country as againſt the Caſtillians his neighbours. Hee had enioyed a long peace, and as it were with pride B and brauing he pulled vp the aſſurance thereof by the rootes from the Kings of Caile, hauing freed and diſcharged himſelfe from the tribute which his predeceſſors were accuſtomed to pay them. And albeit the ſame was greeuous to King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*, which were magnanimous and impatient of all loſſe and diminution of their royall Eſtate: who beſides that, were pricked forward as well by their owne zeale to Chriſtian Religion, as by the perſwaſion of the Popes and Prelates to vndertake the ſame warre: yet notwithſtanding, the truce agreed vpon, the charge and diſcommodities of the warres which they had newly ended againſt the King of Portugall, the preſent confuſion wherein the Realme of Caſtile was at the ſame time, did counſell them to waite for a fitter opportunity. Now when it pleaſed God (vnto whom all times C and occaſions are ſubiect) that this Mahometan ſuperſtition ſhould take an end, and that this race of Moores ſhould bee rooted out of Spaine by armes, ſeeing that other more conuenient meanes could not bee vſed by the Church, the warre which was conſtantly purſued againſt them, and wholy ended in the ſpace of tenne yeeres, did beginne in this manner.

Qualities of King Muley Albohacen.

1 Nauarre.

King *Muley Albohacen* hauing beene aduertized that the city of Zahara was negligently kept by the Chriſtians, and preſuming vpon the truce, cauſed it to be taken in the night by ſcaladoe, togither with the fort and caſtle; he carried away the men, cattaile, and all the riches that he could finde therein, and manned it with a good and ſtrong garriſon of Moores. The taking thereof being knowne in Granado, one of their Philoſo- D phers which they call *Alphaquies* cried out publikely: Either mine Oracles deceiue mee, or the end of the ancient reigne of the Moores in Spaine is at hand: the which in deed came to paſſe, the ſurpriſing of this towne giuing King *Fernand* occaſion to lay hand vpon this conqueſt, with all his forces and meanes, and with incredible perſeuerance: The newes that the truce was broken by the Moores being vnderſtood at Medina del Campo where the Court then was, diuerſe companies were diſpatched to the frontiers of Murcia and Andaluzia, vnder the charge of Don *Alphonſo* de Cardenaz Maiſter of Saint Iames, who lay in garriſon at Eccia, Don *Roderigo Telles Giron* Maiſter of Calatraua, remained at Iaen and others in other places, beſides the ordinary garriſons and forces of Don *Pedro Henriques* Gouernor generall of the frontiers of Andaluzia E aſſiſted by Don *Pedro Ponce* de Leon Marquis of Cales, the Duke of Medina Sidonia and others: the King commaunded all of them to make ſharpe warre in the country of Granado with fire and ſword, the which they beganne to execute with all violence; for hauing ouer-runne and ruined a great part of the country, they did winne by the induſtry of *Diego Merlo* aſſiſtant of Siuill, the city of Alhama, as careleſly guarded by the Moores as Zahara had beene by the Chriſtians: by reaſon that it was almoſt in the middeſt of their country: the caſtle was the firſt that was taken; being ſcaled, a valiant ſouldiar of Carmona called *Iohn* de Ortega a great ſcaler of walles beeing the firſt man that entred it, being neerely followed by *Martin Galindo* a Knight borne at Eccia, *Iohn* of Toledo and others to the number of thirty, who cut the next Court of garde F in peeces, whom they found faſt a ſleepe, then they breake open a poſterne gate, and gaue entrance to the reſt of the army.

Alhama taken by the Caſtillians.

The Moores which were reſident in the towne, hearing the noyſe and clamour of this ſurpriſe, ranne confuſedly and in great diſorder (and not yet thorowly awaked) to ſuccour the caſtle: but they ſoone perceiued that it was paſt all remedie:

therefore

A therefore they fortified themſelues in the Meſquites or Churches, and in the towers of the walles, with all ſorts of armes and engines for defence: giuing notice to their next neighbours of what had befallen them, and craued ſpeedie ayde, which they expected alſo from Granado, which was ten miles diſtant from thence. The Chriſtians who in like manner made account, that if they did not driue the enemies foorth of the towne the ſame day, they themſelues ſhould be ouer-runne with the multitudes which wold come thither, did reſolue valiantly to aſſaile them, by the perſwaſion and example of *Sancho d'Auila* Captaine of Carmona, and of *Nicholas de Rojas* Gouernor of Areos: but finding great reſiſtance, the opinion of thoſe was almoſt followed, who would haue the caſtle
B razed downe to the ground, and ſo to returne: yet for all that the Marquis of Cales, nor the Aſſiſtant of Siuil not conſenting thereunto, they began onely to ouerthrow that part of the caſtle which looked vppon the towne, and the ſouldiers beeing againe brought to the fight, did behaue themſelues ſo valiantly, as, notwithſtanding the Moores braue reſiſtance, before the latter end of the day, all the churches and forts were taken, and the towne wholly wonne, which was eſteemed the goodlieſt prize, that they could haue wiſhed, for the importance of the warre. Three thouſand Genets or light-horſe were brought to this expedition, and as many foot-men by *Diego Merlo*, Don *Pedro Henriques*, and the Marquis of Cales, who for the hatred which he did euer beare to the duke of Medina Sidonia, would not haue him made acquainted with this enterpriſe. The
C Moores of Granado beeing greatly aſtoniſhed for the loſſe of Alhama, beganne to make euill preſages of the end of the warre, and to murmure againſt King *Muley Alboacen*, not ſparing to ſay, that his taking of Sahara would ſticke to him and to his poſteritie to the worlds end. He did ſpeedily ſend a thouſand horſe to their ayde, but they could not come time enough.

Euill preſages of the Moores.

In the meane ſpace he gathered together all his men at armes from all parts of his kingdome, and came in perſon to beſeege Alhama, not bringing any artillerie with him, imagining that the Chriſtians not beeing yet fortified therein, would quickely leaue it, but he was deceiued; for hee found them ſowre and ſtubborne aduerſaries, but chiefly there was a bloudie incounter at ſuch time as the Moores went about to turne away the
D riuer which paſſeth by the towne, where diuers of both ſides loſt their liues: and it is to be doubted, that without the ayde of God ſent to the beſeeged, they had beene ouercome by ſo great a power, as then fought againſt them, for they began to be out of hope and beganne to ſpoile all that they could not carry away, and were reſolued to yeeld it, when Don *Henry de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, arriued with a ſufficient armie of his owne tenants, friends, and followers, with others entertained with his owne money, which (they ſay) amounted to three thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, with whom were ioyned the Earle of Cabra, and Don *Alphonſo* of Aguilar, and his brother Don *Gonçal Hernandes* of Cordoua, who was afterward called the great Captaine in the warres of Italy, bringing with him the troupes of Seuile, Eccia, Cordoua, and other places. All
E theſe forces, which were great and wonderfull, for the ſhort time wherein the were gathered together, did march towards Alhama.

The king of Granado before Alhama.

King *Fernand* hauing notice of the taking thereof, made himſelfe foorthwith readie for to come into Andaluſia, hauing in his company Don *Bertrand de la Cuena*, Duke of Albuquerque, and the Earles of Treuigno and Tendilla, with many other knights, the Earle of Cifuentes meeting them at Toledo, and then they altogether paſſed the mount called Sierra Morena, to ioyne with the armie which the king commanded to attend him there: but the Commanders knowing the neceſſitie of thoſe of Alhama, went forward with great diligence to deliuer them, the which they did onely by the noyſe of their comming: the Moore King beeing retired in the night with his whole armie. The king who
F followed, paſſed on to Anteguera, and there receyued newes, that the ſeege before Alhama was rayſed, wherefore he returned to Cordoua to meet the Queene whom he had left to leauie ſouldiers.

Now the Marquis of Cales, who was beſeeged with great danger in Alhama, conſidering the generoſity of his aduerſarie the Duke of Medina, who for the weale-publike and ſeruice of the king, hauing forgotten all enmitie, had come to his ayde, he did highly eſteeme

D. Henry de Guzman comes to the ſuccour of his aduerſarie.

eſteeme of him, and caſting away all euill will and hatred, he ranne to him and embraced him with great loue, giuing him infinite thankes for ſo great a fauour: and theſe two Lords had ſuch louing and pleaſing conference together, as euer after they liued in ſtrict and vnfained friendſhip, this Mooriſh warre hauing brought foorth effects contrarie to the ſeditions in Caſtile. The Chieftains beeing agreed, there aroſe contention betwixt the ſouldiers, thoſe which came to their ayde did ſay, that they ought to haue their part of the ſpoyle of the towne, the others gaine-ſayed it, in ſuch ſort, as if the wiſedome of their Captaines, and their new reconciliation had not preuented it, they had fallen into tumult. The ſpoyle remayned to thoſe who had defended the place, and the new come ſouldiers were appeaſed with reaſon and good words, and they all diſlodged with the Duke and the Marquis, and returned euery man to his home: after the garriſons were refreſhed, and the towne well manned, where *Diego de Merlo*, Don *Martin* of Cordoua, and *Hernand Carillo* remayned Captaines. After that the armie was gone, the King of Granado hauing notice thereof, he did foorth-with returne backe to aſſayle Alhama, and brought at this time no more engines of batterie with him, than at the former, but only a great number of ladders, thinking in regard it was not yet thoroughly fortified nor rampired, to take it by the multitude of his ſouldiers: and at laſt hauing aſſayled it day and night without ceaſſing, he earely in a morning ſcaled it in a place which was not thought vppon: ſo as he put three-ſcore and ten Mooriſh ſouldiers into it, and had cauſed greater numbers to haue entred, had not a ſouldier perceyued them, and giuen the alarme: wherefore the Chriſtians running to that place, did cut in peeces thoſe that were entred, and repulſed the reſt who endeauoured to follow them. The ſucceſſe of thoſe aſſaults was not according to king *Maley Albohacens* expectation, therefore he went thence once againe, with an intent to returne thither with artillerie. In the meane ſpace Queene *Iſabella* hauing left the Admirall Viceroy of Caſtile, marched with thoſe forces which ſhe had leauied, towards Cordoua, to meete the King, being attended on by the Conſtable, who refuſed to be Viceroy of Caſtile, ſaying, that warre and armes were the proper offices belonging to an high Conſtable of Spaine. The Kings Councell did determine and almoſt conclude to raze the Cittie of Alhama, in regard it ſtoode in the middeſt of the Realme of Granado, and therefore very hardly to be kept: but the Queene, who was deſirous to preſerue it, as the firſt conqueſt of her raigne, did perſwade the contrarie, ſo as it was not ruined: and order was giuen to aſſayle, and take in all the forts and caſtles nere adioyning.

Debate betwixt the beſeeged, and thoſe that came to their ayde.

Alhama preſerued at the inſtance of Q. Iſabel.

Death of Don Alphonſo Carilla.

The Kings came after that to Eccia, where they receyued newes of the deceaſe of D. *Alphonſo Carillo* of Acugna, Arch-biſhop of Toledo, who dyed at Alcala de Henares: they procured the election to the ſame dignitie for the Cardinall *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, the ſeuentith Arch-biſhop of that Sea and Primate of Spaine, and the Arch-biſhoppricke of Siuile was giuen to Don *Inigo Manriques* Biſhop of Iaen. There were at the ſame time with the King, Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza Biſhop of Palence, the Maſters of Saint Iames and Calatraua, the Conſtable, the Dukes of Villa-hermoſa, Infantaſgo, Medina Celi, Albuquerque, the Marquis of Villena, and Cales, the Earles of Vregna, Cabra, Treuigno, Tendilla, Cifuentes, and Benalcaçar, Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilar*, Don *Henry Henriques* great Maſter, and the Kings vncle, *Iohn Chacon*, *Roderigo* of Vlloa, Don *Frederick* of Toledo, ſonne to the Duke of Alua, Don *Iohn de Ribera* Lord of Montmajor, Don *Alphonſo* of Cardenaz. Don *Antonio Fonſeca*, *Hernand* of Vega, with other Lords and Knights of great name: Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga, maſter of Alcantara, by reaſon of his young yeares was abſent, with his father the Duke of Plaiſance. With this companie the king departed from Eccia, with eight thouſand horſe, and great numbers of foot, and came to Alhama, the which they fortified with rampars, bulwarkes, and other ſufficient defences, and the king made Don *Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, Lord of Palma, Gouernor thereof, leauing him foure hundred horſe: the Cardinall did purifie and bleſſe the three Meſquites or churches with the accuſtomed ceremonies, and dedicated them to other vſes: then the army began to ouer-run the country on euery ſide, whilſt the queene buſied her ſelfe in prouiding victuals, armes, munition, and other neceſſaries for the wars.

The Chriſtian army being ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, did preſently beſeege Loxa and

A and was lodged amongſt the Oliue trees, vallies, and little hils neere to the riuer of Guadaxenil. The Moore king on his part loſt neither time nor courage, but fortified and deſended the paſſages and ſtreights, by the which the enemies might aſſayle him, and approch towards Granado: ſending to the Kings and Potentates of Affrica, to aduertize them of the dangerous warre wherein he was ingaged, intreating them for the religion common betwixt them, for the honour of their nation, for the equall danger which threatned them, if Granado ſhould be loſt, that they would come or ſend to his ayde: and he did in the meane time oppoſe his owne forces againſt the Chriſtians, and on either part there were valiant incounters and skirmiſhes performed, where neuertheleſſe Don

B *Rodertgo Telles Giron* Maſter of Calatraua's happe was hard, who dyed beeing ſhot thorough the bodie with two poyſoned arrowes, and Don *Garcia Lopes* of Padilla was promoted to his place, and was the laſt Maſter of that Order. King *Fernand* beeing deſirous to change and alter the ſeate and lodging of his armie to a more conuenient place, there were ſharpe skirmiſhes in the remooning of the campe, where the Conſtable receyued two wounds in his face: the beſeeged, who were not aboue three thouſand, made continuall ſallies vppon the Chriſtians with ſuch furie and braning, as it was to be wondred at: and did oftentimes put the great Lords and Captaines which kept thoſe quarters which they aſſayled, in great danger of their liues: committing notable ſpoyles vppon their troupes, and the Duke of Medina Celi, and the Earle of Tendilla, did hardly eſcape with

C their liues, beeing reſcued by the forces of the Earle of Playſance, which his ſonne Don *Franciſco* of Eſtuniga brought to their ayde: the Kings owne perſon was likewiſe ſuccored by Don *Iohn de Ribera*, Lord of Montmajor, aſſiſted greatly by Don *Fredericke* of Toledo, ſonne to the Duke of Alua, Don *Antonio de Fonſeca*, Don *Alphonſo* of Cardenaz, and *Hernand* of Vega. Such was the enraged hardineſſe of the Moores, as notwithſtanding that they were beaten backe and ſtreightly ſhut in by the valour and induſtrie of the Marquis of Cales, yet they conſtrayned King *Fernand* to raiſe his ſeege and returne to Cordoua.

The Moores make furious ſallies vppon the Chriſtians.

The ſeege of Loxa raiſed.

The ſouldiers which lay in Alhama hauing notice of what had happened, and of the Kings retreate from before Loxa, fearing that the Moores would returne to beſeege

D them, cryed out to haue the towne razed and ouerthrowne, and to returne home to their houſes: but Don *Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, and *Pero Ruis* of Alarcon, with others, did oppoſe themſelues againſt it, and hindred it. The king of Granado came thither the third time, and did greatly annoy them: but they valiantly defended themſelues vntill K. *Fernand* came with ſuccour to deliuer them from the ſeege, who changed both the garriſon and the Gouernour, and left other ſouldiers there, vnder the commaund of Don *Lewis Oſorio* Arch-deacon of Aſtorga, and brother to the Marquis of the ſame place. That beeing done, the Chriſtian armie did forrage, burn and ſpoyle the countrie of Granado, from whence they carried away much ſpoile, and many priſoners to Cordoua.

E

Mahomet Boabdellin called the Little, and the twentith king of Granado.

THe Chriſtian ſouldiers found ſmal reſiſtance in this latter roade, in regard the Mores were greatly diuided among themſelues, by meanes whereof King *Muley Alboacen* was diſpoſſeſſed and driuen away; for hee was much feared and hated, becauſe of his tyrannies which extended chiefly to the Nobilitie, and he had namely euill intreated the family of *Abencaraxes*, one of the moſt illuſtrious houſes among the Granadins.

Seditions betwixt the father and ſonne.

F Theſe men with their complices and allyes conſtrayned *Muley Alboacen* to giue place, and they deliuered the cittie with the Alhambra or fort thereof, to his ſonne *Mahomet Boabdellin* ſurnamed the Little, who was fled to Guadix for feare of beeing ſlaine by his father, who was carried away with vnreaſonable amorous paſſions, and falſe ſuggeſtions of a ſecond wife, a renied Chriſtian, whom hee had married for her rare and excellent beautie, in regard whereof ſhe was called *Zoraya*, which ſignifieth *Morning-ſtarre*. This

woman

woman beeing deſirous to aduance her children which ſhee had by the King, did indeauour by all meanes to roote out thoſe which hee had begotten on the Queene *Aixa* his wife, a Ladie of a great and illuſtrious houſe, and his neere kinſwoman, who becauſe ſhe would not ſee her eldeſt ſonne murthered, which was this *Boabdellin*, ſhe cauſed him on a night to be let downe out of the window of the caſtle with the helpe of her woman by a rope made of their vailes, and night tyres, and thereby gaue him meanes to ſaue himſelfe in the cittie of Guadix, where the *Abenceraxes* his kinſmen, who were of great power there, did kindly receeiue him, and dealt in ſuch ſort with their friends of the citty of Granado, as they acknowledged him for their king. The father hauing retired himſelfe ſomewhere elſe, made fierce and ſharpe warre vpon his ſonne, which cauſed the loſſe of their Crowne, and totall ruine to the raigne of the Moores in Spaine.

The Moores take Cagnette.

Albeit that thoſe barbarous people were at ſuch diſſention among themſelues, yet when there was any cauſe they wold agree together to annoy the Chriſtians, ſo as they tooke the towne of Cagnette, ſpoyled it, and carried away all the inhabitants and ſouldiers for ſlaues, and afterwards razed it downe to the ground. Theſe things were done in the yeare 1482. wherein is to be noted, that foure ſeuerall Chriſtian armies entred in a few moneths ſpace into the kingdome of Granado. King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* appointed Captaines for the frontiers, namely, for Iaen Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, who was newly made Duke of Nagera: the Maſter of Saint Iames for Eccia, and Don *Iohn de Silua* Earle of Ciſuentes for Siuill, the aſſiſtant *Diego Merlo* beeing lately dead. Towards the end of the yeare, the Queene in the cittie of Cordoua was deliuered of a daughter, called the Infanta *Maria*, who was afterward Queene of Portugall, and after ſhe was churched, the Court remooued to Madrid.

An. 1482.

Donna Mary borne.

Nauarre.

The beginning of the yeare 1483. was ſorrowfull to the Nauarrois, by reaſon of the death of their king *Francis Phœbus*, whome the Princeſſe his mother had carried backe into France, to auoyde the importunate ſolliciting of marriages which they would haue procured in Spaine both for him and his ſiſter Donna *Catherina*, wherewith King *Lewis* the eleuenth was not contented: hee dyed not without ſuſpition of poyſon: for without any apparance at all of ſickneſſe, he felt himſelfe to be ſtricken with a deadly pricking, as he was playing vppon a flute, which was preſented vnto him, in which, and all other inſtruments of muſicke, he did greatly delight. Beeing neere to his end hee repeated theſe words taken out of the Goſpell: *My kingdome is not of this world, therefore I leaue the world: trouble not your ſelues, for I go to the Father.* He dyed in Bearne, in the caſtle of Pau the fourth yeare of his raigne, if we reckon from his grand-mothers death, Queene *Leonora*, being but fifteene yeares of age fully compleat: hee lyes buried at Leſcar in the Cathedrall Church of S. Mary.

Francis Phœbus poyſoned.

Caſtile.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* receiued newes of his death at Madrid, where they had called a Parlament, and becauſe the Crowne of Nauarre deſcended to the Infanta Donna *Catherine* ſiſter to the deceaſed king, they ſent the Licenciate *Rodrigo Maldonado* of Talauera, one of their Councell Ambaſſador into Bearne, to the Princeſſe *Magdalen* her mother, to demaund the Infanta in marriage, for the Prince Don *Iohn* their ſonne. The mother Princeſſe notwithſtanding that ſhee would willingly haue condeſcended thereunto, made anſwer that ſhee could not beſtow her without the conſent of his brother the French king. Vppon this anſwer, the Catholike kings ſent *Iohn de Ribera* with troupes of men at armes towards the frontiers of Nauarre, to haue intelligence with the Earle of Lerin, who had married King *Fernandes* baſtard ſiſter, to the end to hinder the French-men from enterpriſing any thing, and from entring into that kingdome. The Eſtates aſſembled at Madrid granted a ſubſidie to the King, towards the warre of Granado: and beſides that, the Pope permitted them to leauie one hundred thouſand Crownes vpon the Clergie of Spayne, and ſent them a Croizado, to gather contributions and gifts for the ſame purpoſe: and in this Parlament, the power, authoritie and iuriſdiction of the Hermandades and vnions of the Communalties was ordered and reformed. Afterwards the Kings diuided the affaires betwixt them, that they might the better prouide for all matters: ſhee remayned in Caſtile, and he prepared himſelfe to returne into Andaluſia, but the troubles which were raiſed in Gallicia, by the meanes of D. *Pero Aluares Oſorio*,

A *Oſorio*, Earle of Lemos did call him into thoſe parts. The Earle dyed there before the Kings arriuall, and by that meanes ſaued the King a labour, who otherwiſe would haue had him arraigned by order of lawe. Another contention arole betwixt a baſtard ſonne of the late Earles called *Rodrigo Oſorio*, whome his father had appointed heire in the Earledome of Lemos, to the preiudice of his lawfull daughter, who was married to the Earle of Benauents ſonne: ſhe ſayd, that in regard *Rodrigo* was a baſtard, he was incapable to inherite: he on the contrarie alleaged his legitimation by the Pope: the king impoſed ſilence and peace to both parties, and referred the cauſe to his Councell to bee ordered according to iuſtice: and in the meane time did commit the towne of Ponferrada, and the Lordſhip thereof, beeing a parcell of the litigious inheritance, to the keeping of his B Vncle Don *Henry Henriques* great Maſter, excepting one ſtrong hold of the ſame Lordſhippe, which he gaue in keeping to Don *George d'Abendigno* his countri-man, and a Knight of the Kings houſe. Theſe matters thus ordered, the king returned to Madrid, from whence he diſpatched Ambaſſadours to procure the peace of Italy, which flamed with inteſtine warres, the Pope and the Venetians hauing ioyned, to the preiudice of King *Fernand* of Naples and the Florentines, drawing all the Potentates of Italy to their Factions: who by the diligence and good meanes of Don *Iohn* Biſhoppe of Girone, chiefe of that Ambaſſage, and by the fauour and authoritie of the Kings of Caſtile were reconciled: albeit the Venetians did alwaies nouriſh a ſecret hatred and contempt of King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*, and did not greatly care to obſerue the peace.

Sedition in Gallicia.

Warres of Italy appeaſed.

C In this meane ſpace the Captaines, which lay vppon the frontiers of Granado, made inroades and incredible ſpoyles vppon the Moores, eſpecially thoſe of the Garriſon of Alhama, from whence a craftie and cunning Squire, whoſe name was *Iohn de Corrall*, of *Diego Lopes d'Ayala* his companie, came foorth by meanes of a ſafe-conduct, to conferre with the King of Granado, giuing him to vnderſtand, how that hee of himſelfe could vſe meanes to cauſe Alhama to bee reſtored vnto him, wherewith the Moore king was ſo pleaſed, as he offered readily on his part to yeeld vp Zahara, and to ſet all the Chriſtian priſoners at libertie, giuing a great quantitie of gold, and beſides that, to pay tribute, and for euer to become vaſſall to the kings of Caſtile. *Iohn de Corrall* with theſe promiſes, came to the Kings, and declared to them in part what he had treated with the King of Granado, his chiefe drift beeing onely to get gifts and rewards, whereuppon D the Kings giuing credite vnto him, gaue him limited authoritie to contract with the Moore.

Beeing returned to Granado, the Moore King, who thought that the principall Article of his Commiſſion, was for the reſtitution of Alhama, had not the patience to conſider and looke vppon *Iohn de Corral* his authoritie, but beganne readily on his part to performe what hee had promiſed, cauſing diuers Chriſtian priſoners to be ſet at liberty. Then *Iohn de Corall* contenting himſelfe with that which was done, came to Iaen and told the Duke of Nagera how he had deceiued the king of Granado, who preſently ſent to the Duke to complaine of this deceipt. The Duke ſent *Iohn de Corrall* to the Court, aduertiſing the Kings what he had done, whereat they were highly diſcontented, and they did commaund that the priſoners ranſomes ſhould bee payed, and that *Iohn de Corrall* ſhould pay backe the money, iewels, and other preſents that hee had receiued of the King of Granado, and that hee ſhould bee kept priſoner in Antequera, vntill hee had made full reſtitution, and that the warre ſhould ſtand vppon the ſelfe-ſame tearmes as before.

Integrity of K. Fernand, and Q. Izabel.

Notwithſtanding that the Kings had begunne the warre of Granado, and did greatly ſuſpect the French on the ſide of Nauarre, yet for that they did not giue ouer to vndertake matters of great importance, either of them beeing of an haughtie and magnanimous courage.

Of the ſeauen Ilands called the Canaries, which are girdled with the Atlantick Ocean, foure of them were alreadie conquered by the valor and induſtrie of certaine inhabitants of Seuill, euer ſince the raigne of King *Iohn* the ſecond, and there remayned yet the great Canarie, Thenerif, and the Ile of Palmes to be brought vnder the ſubiection of the kings of Caſtile: therefore this yeare 1483. they ſent thither *Alphonſo* of Muxica, and *Pedro de*

Canaries made ſubiects to the Kings of Caſtile.

Vera.

Vera, valiant Captaines, and no leſſe skilfull in ſea-fights than at land, who landed in the great Canaries, where they found two kings ſtriuing for the principalitie thereof: they fauoured one of them, and dealt in ſuch ſort, as hauing rooted out the other, they obtained the gouernement of the Iſland: the Cittie was erected into a Biſhops Sea, and tranſlated from the Iſle of Lançarot. A

In Andaluſia the Maſter of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Cales, the Earle of Ciſuentes, Gouernour of Siuill, Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilar*, Don *Pedro Henriques*, Captaine of the frontiers, and others, came to Antequera with an intent to ſpoile the countrey of las Lomas de Malaga, called Axarquia, a territorie abounding in cattell: of the which enterpriſe the Moores had notice, who made themſelues readie to charge them on the ſudden, when they ſhould leaſt looke for it, hauing driuen their cattell into ſtreights and ſtrong places. The Chriſtians beeing entred into the countrey beganne to ſpoyle, and they ſoone found ſharpe reſiſtance: wherefore in regard of the ſtreightneſſe of the countrey, and becauſe they found not ſuch booties as they expected, they thought to turne backe: but beeing ignorant of the wayes, and ouertaken by the night, they fell into ſtreight and narrow places betwixt certaine hilles, which were filled with enemies, at the laſt they came into a valley, where with great labour and diſaduantage, they were enforced to fight all that night with the Moores, the which did greatly amaze the whole army. The Maſter of Saint Iames beeing valiant and couragious, in ſtriuing to aſcend an hill, loſt his Enſigne-bearer, and a kinſman of his owne called *Iohn d'Oſorno*, *Iohn Baçan*, and other Commaunders, who ſold their liues at a deare rate: the Marquis of Cales did in like manner follow the Maſter of Saint Iames, but the victorious Moores ouerthrew his troupes likewiſe, and ſlue Don *Diego*, Don *Lope*, and Don *Bertrand* his brethren, and Don *Lorenzo*, and Don *Manuel* his nephewes euen in his ſight: yet notwithſtanding, himſelfe, the Maſter of Saint Iames, and Don *Pedro Henriques* did eſcape with great danger. The Earle of Ciſuentes making meanes to eſcape among the reſt, was taken priſoner, with Don *Bernardin Manrique*, the Captaines of Antequera, and Moron, and diuers others: great was the ſlaughter of the ſouldiers at this deſeate, the which was notable and of great conſequence.

The Chriſtians deſeated.

B

C

The Moores carried away the Earle, and the reſt of the priſoners to Granado: but they did not long reioyce in the good hap of their victorie; for the Chriſtians ſoone after tooke a ſharpe vengeance on them: for King *Mahomet Boabdellin*, ſurnamed the Little, hauing with great troupes of horſe and foote ouer-runne and ſpoyled the territorie of Lucena and Aguilar, at his returne backe beeing peſtred with great heards of cattaile and other booties, Don *Diego* of Cordoua Earle of Cabra, who lay in garriſon at Beana to reſiſt ſuch enterpriſes, and Don *Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua, on the one ſide, did purſue him to cauſe him to leaue his bootie behind him, and Don *Alphonſo* of Aguilar on the other ſide with his troupes placed themſelues in ambuſh in a narrow ſtreight, thorough which they were to paſſe at their returne with intent to charge them on a ſudden. Now the King who had tenne Moores for one Chriſtian of the Earle of Cabra's band which followed him, made no difficultie to ſtay for them, yet they charged one another with great furie, where the Moores notwithſtanding their multitudes prooued the weaker: and thinking to make a ſafe retreate, they fell into Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilars* ambuſh, who ſlue a thouſand of them vpon the ſame place: the reſt, leauing their prey behind them, fled away as faſt as they could, forſaking their king, who was there taken priſoner. There were taken at this encounter nine hundred mules, fiue hundred horſe, and nine Mooriſh Standards, beſides other ſpoiles, which were diſtributed among the ſouldiers, and the Kings perſon fell to the Earle of Cabraes ſhare: in token of which victorie the Earles of Cabra, by the aduice and grant of the Kings of Caſtile, do beare for their armes a Mores head in priſon, tyed with a chaine of gold, with a bend ouerthwart their ſhield, wherein nine ſtandards are painted. By this ouerthrow king *Mahumet* the Little loſt much of his reputation, and many ſtrong Caſtles reuolted from him to his father *Muley Albohacen*: during his impriſonment he was honorably vſed and like a king.

D

E

The Moores deſeated, and their King taken priſoner.

The Earle of Cabraes armes.

F

King *Fernand* beeing ioyfull for this victorie did thinke it fit to follow the occaſion, and with a great armie to aſſayle the Moores, who were aſtoniſhed with their loſſe:

wherefore

A wherefore he tooke order that the Affrican Moores ſhould not come by ſea into Spaine to their ayde: and then hee entred into the Countrey of Granado with an army of tenne thouſand horſe, and thirtie thouſand foote: among whome there were great numbers of Switzers, with a great trayne of Officers, victuallers, Merchants, and other people who ſerued and followed the campe: before which the Earle of Cabra and Don *Alphonſo* of Aguilar did march with troupes of auantcourrers, who burned the country round about Illora and Montefrio: the armie paſſed by Illora which was not eaſie to be taken without great Artillerie: but they tooke the towne and caſtle of Tagara, which lies betwixt Alhama and Loxa; the King would not take thoſe of the Caſtle to his mercie, becauſe they
B did not yeeld at the firſt aſſault, which together with the town was razed to the ground.

Switzers in the wars of Granado.

Diuers valiant men of the Chriſtian campe were hurt at the taking thereof, as namely, Don *Henry Henriques* the Kings Vncle, and Lord great Maſter of his houſe. Being come to Alhama, the King cauſed it to be well fortified, and left Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*, Earle of Tendilla Gouernour there, who was a very vertuous Knight: then he led his armie farther into the countrie of Granado, ouerthrowing and deſtroying all that ſtood before him, but for want of victuals, he returned to Cordoua. The Moores beeing thus perſecuted and afflicted, did beginne to intreate for peace, and offered to pay the King tribute, and ſome Moore children of Noble houſes for hoſtages: Wherewith King *Fernand* acquainted the Queene his wife, who then lay at Victoria to looke to the affaires of
C Nauarre, which ſhee feared would ſhortly ſtirre, who was of opinion to haue the hoſtages to be townes and caſtles, and not children, whereunto the Moores not conſenting, the warre ſtood at that ſame ſtay as it was before. Thereuppon the Moore Queene, mother to the King, made meanes for her ſonnes deliuerie, and ſent to offer King *Fernand* perpetuall homage, twelue thouſand Duckets for yearely tribute, and a great ſumme of readie money for his ranſome, and beſides, to ſet three hundred Chriſtian priſoners at libertie, ſuch as he would pleaſe to name, and ſhee offered ſufficient hoſtages for the performance of what ſhee promiſed.

The King commaunded the Earle of Cabra to deliuer the priſoner vnto him; the which he did, and deliuered him to *Martin Alarcon*, Captaine of Porcuna, whether King *Fer-*
D *nand* ſent to viſite and comfort him, for the which, *Mahumet* gaue him infinite thankes, ſaying, that he could not be in care, ſo long as he was in the hands of ſo great and courteous a King, whome he had euer deſired to ſerue beeing at his full libertie, and to receiue the Crowne of Granado at his hand, in the ſame manner as king *Iſmael* his Grandfather had done from King *Iohn*. And becauſe the King had occaſion to go into Caſtile, and alſo to Arragon, he did determine to deliuer the Moore King: the opinions concerning his deliuerie were diuers, ſome agreeing thereunto, and others, not, wherein the maſter of Saint Iames, and the Marquis of Cales were contrarie one to the other: Wherefore they ſent to haue the Queenes opinion in the matter, who therein agreed with the Marquis, that he ſhould bee deliuered: the priſoner was brought to Cordoua, where he wold
E haue kiſſed king *Fernands* hand, but he would not permit it, the better thereby to oblige him to himſelfe: hee did there ſweare to accompliſh whatſoeuer was agreed vppon, and he was ſet at libertie hauing beene honoured with rich preſents. King *Fernand* after that went to Victoria, from thence he paſſed into Arragon, and going by Guadalupa, being a deuout Prince, he there performed a vow.

King Mahomet deliuered.

The Frontier was well furniſhed and prouided of all things neceſſarie againſt the aſſaults of the Moores: yet notwithſtanding, they hauing notice of the Kings departure out of Andaluſia, did make diuers roades into the countrey, beeing extreamely mooued againſt King *Mahumet*, in regard he had beene ſo well intreated by the Catholicke King, and was become his vaſſall, and of whom, beſides other benefites, he had promiſe of aide
F and aſſiſtance againſt *Muley Albohacen* his father, and they ſayd, that it was a matter diſpleaſing to God, and againſt all right for the Mahometan Kings to beg any aſſiſtance of Chriſtians againſt the Princes of their owne religion: wherefore diuers forſaking him, they tooke part with *Muley Albohacen*, and brought him with fiue hundred Knights into the Caſtle of Alhapubre, where he ſlue all ſuch as were of his ſonnes faction, who retired himſelfe to Almeria.

Now the army of the Moores beeing ſtrong and reſolute to do their worſt, entred into the marches of Andaluſia, the Garriſons and chiefe Commanders of the warre being in the cities, were foorth-with aduertiſed thereof by the ſouldiers called Almogaraues, or ordinarie watches of the frontiers: therefore Don *Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, Lord of Palmes, who was afterward made Earle thereof, with the forces of the Maſter of Saint Iames, of the Marquis of Cales, thoſe of Eccia, Xeres, Arcos, and others which were gathered together, did march againſt the enemies, whome hee found disbanded, ſpoyling and deſtroying the territorie of Vtrera: whome he charged with ſuch reſolution and courage, as in an inſtant they were all defeated and put to flight, with loſſe of diuers of their captaines, great numbers of ſouldiers, fifteene enſignes, and all their ſpoyle: of which victorie the Queene beeing aduertiſed, ſhee cauſed generall proceſſions to bee made in the cittie of Victoria: and becauſe this encounter happened vppon the ſixth day of Ianuarie beeing Twelfth day, ſhee ſent a gowne of cloath of gold to the Lord of Palmas wife, to the end ſhee ſhould weare it euery yeare vppon that ſollemne feſtiuall day.

The Moores defeated at Vtrera.

Zahara ſurprized by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians in Andaluſia hauing this good hap, the Marquis of Cales was aduertiſed, that *Zahara* was ill furniſhed of ſouldiers and victuals, wherefore hauing communicated his deſſeigne with the Lord of Palmas, they went foorth on a night beeing accompanied by the troupes of Xeres, and hidde themſelues in couert places neere the towne, whither they ſent tenne men, who in great ſilence lodged themſelues at the foote of the wall, towards the Caſtle: theſe were ſeconded by three-ſcore and tenne other ſouldiers. At the breake of day, the Marquis ſent certaine light horſe to runne about the towne, againſt whome three-ſcore and ten Mooriſh horſe-men came foorth, (and with them alſo, the Sentinels and Guard leauing their places) to skirmiſh, then the ten men did ſet vp ladders againſt the Caſtle, and beganne to make a ſhew, as if they would haue skaled the walles, to the defence whereof as many as ſtayed within came running: in the meane ſpace the three-ſcore and tenne ſouldiers which were hidden, did ſeize vpon one of the gates: beſides that, thoſe which were come forth againſt the Chriſtian light-horſmen, perceiuing themſelues to be charged by others, who came to their ayde, turned their backes and fled towards the towne, and were ſo narrowly purſued, as they all entred pel mel together: and beeing in this ſort ſurprized on euery ſide, they loſt the town. The caſtle would haue made reſiſtance if it had beene well victualled, but for want thereof they yeelded, compounding for their liues.

The Earle of Tendilla who kept Alhama, would not ſuffer the Moores his neighbors to reſt, but he oftentimes annoyed them, ſo as he was feared like lightning ouer all the Countrey. The winter this yeare was very rainie, by meanes whereof a great part of the wall of Alhama fell to the ground, making a large breach for the enemies, if they had then aſſayled it: whereat the ſoldiers which were within were greatly amazed and thought vppon nothing but flight, but the courage and valour of the Captaine, which is euer of much woorth, contayned them in their duties, who delt in ſuch ſort by hanging of painted cloathes againſt the breach with ſuch art and cunning, as the enemies neuer knew, that the wall was fallen downe, till it was made vp againe ſtronger then before. The Earle Don *Inigo*, true ſonne to the Marquis of Santillana, cauſed the tower of Alcala la reale to bee repayred, on the toppe whereof euery night a burning lampe was ſet, which ſerued to direct the poore ſlaues that fled from Granado. His ſouldiers beeing diſobedient for want of pay, (money beeing very dangerous to bee ſent vnto them without the conuoy of an armie) the Earle inuented a certaine kind of counterfeit money, and of diuers ſtampes, the which hee named and prized according to the coynes of gold and ſiluer which were currant in Spayne, and with the ſame hee payed his ſouldiers, promiſing them to change all that falſe money into good, according to the value of euery coyne, and by this meanes hee did appeaſe them.

Counterfeit money.

4 Nauarre.

Whileſt theſe matters fell out in Andaluſia, King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* were in great doubt to bee diſturbed on that ſide of Nauarre by the French: it may bee that this ſuſpition came from their owne conſciences touched with their ſiniſter proceedings

A proceedings with the Earle of Lerin, and with the treaties of marriage of theſe poore Princes of Nauarre, and matters happened vppon thoſe occaſions. Now Queene *Catherine*, who was newly come to the Crowne of Nauarre, beſides her beeing wholly at the deuotion of France, and vppon the poynt of her marriage with *Iohn d'Albret*, ſonne to the Earle Alaine, King *Lewis* his death happened a little before, which had openly troubled and hindred the allyance betwixt theſe two great kingdomes of France and Spayne: for Ambaſſadours beeing ſent from one to another, as well for to make the accuſtomed condolements, and conſolations ordinarie at ſuch accidents, as for to treate of the allyances, and moreouer, about the reſtitution of the Earldome of Roſſillon which the French held, the Ambaſſadours of Spayne receyued no pleaſing anſwer from the
E young King *Charles* the eighth, who ſucceeded King *Lewis* his father, nor from his tutors and councellors, ſo as they made the proteſtations and declarations which Princes vſually do make, when they are vppon the point of making warre one againſt another: therefore Queene *Izabella* had furniſhed the frontier of Caſtile ioyning to Nauarre with ſtrong garriſons, and ſent forces to Tudela a towne in Nauarre which held their partie, vnder the conduct of *Iohn de Ribera*.

After the death of King *Francis Phœbus*, his mother the Princeſſe fearing, and not without cauſe, the reuolt of that nation, which was an enemie to reſt and quiet, had ſent thither the Cardinall of Foix, and the Lord of Abenas, brother to the Lord of Albret, who did call a Parlament, to receyue a new oath of fidelitie for Queene *Catherine*, and com-
C maunded them moreouer to receiue the ſayd Lord of Abenas for Viceroy, notwithſtanding that the Conſtable Earle *Lewis* of Beaumont did reſolutely oppoſe himſelfe againſt it, hauing ſecret intelligence with his brother-in-law King *Fernand* for the ſame purpoſe. The Lord of Abenas was a graue, wiſe, and modeſt Knight, who by theſe qualities and vertues had well gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, and maintained it in peace and quiet, vntill ſuch time as Queene *Katherine*, hauing married his Nephew *Iohn d'Albret*, came her ſelfe in perſon to rule and gouerne the ſame. The Conſtable in the meane time, who held the Cittie of Pampelona vnder his power, and many other places beſides, did rayſe troubles, and brought the Caſtillan men at armes into the Kingdome, vnder colour of
D the Factions of Beaumont and Grammont, during all theſe actions they ſtill pourſued the marriage, ſo that after King *Lewis* his death the Princeſſe *Magdalen* beeing continually ſollicited to marrie her daughter Queene *Katherine* to Prince *Iohn* of Caſtile, ſhee was aduiſed to make a finall anſwer, and to ſay, that the inequalitie of their yeares would not permit it to be done, in regard her daughter was marriageable, and the Prince a little child in his cradle: and that in the meane time, before hee ſhould come to age, there might bee great troubles and combuſtions in the Realme of Nauarre, which ſtoode in need of men to gouerne it, and to ſuppreſſe the vſuall contentions and quarrels which thoſe people did naturally entertaine: and that without this let, her ſelfe, and her daughter would thinke themſelues happie in ſo great an allyance; for they eſteemed no match in the world like to that of Prince *Iohn*, who was preſumptiue heire to ſo many rich and
E mightie Kingdomes. All this notwithſtanding, Queene *Iſabella* perſwading her ſelfe to effect this marriage in deſpite of all theſe hinderances, tarried ſtill at Victoria, the moſt part of this yeare 1484. at which time (as hath beene ſayd) ſhee ſent Don *Iohn de Ribera* with forces into Nauarre, who hauing intelligence with the Earle of Lerin, tooke Viana, the Caſtle of Saint Gregorie, that of Irureta and others: which diſorders the Viceroy ſought to redreſſe with great prouidence, and kept the people in their obedience to the Queene their naturall Princeſſe. About this time Pope *Sixtus* the fourth dyed, in whoſe place ſucceeded *Iohn Baptiſta Cibo*, Cardinall of the title of Saint Laurence in Lucina, and Biſhop of Malfetta, who was called *Innocent* the eighth. The yeare before King *Lewis*
F the eleuenth dyed, who (as it is reported) had ordayned by his laſt will, that the Earledome of Roſſillon ſhould bee reſtored to King *Fernand* the lawfull Prince thereof: but his ſonnes Councellours thought it not conuenient. This King beeing very deuoute and greatly honouring Saint Iames, had giuen tenne thouſand Crownes, and ſent great ſtore of mettall and worke-men to make the greateſt bell there in all Chriſtendome.

Don Lewis of Beaumont who ly affectionate to the Kings of Caſtile.

Caſtile. Now for the cauſes heretofore declared, the Kings of Caſtile did enterpriſe againſt A Nauarre and France, notwithſtanding the warre of Granado, the which they would in no ſort giue ouer, but did earneſtly ſollicite it, and prouided ſufficiently for it.

Moores. King *Fernand* beeing yet in his Kingdome of Arragon, there were aſſembled in the cittie of Cordoua, and afterwards in Antequera, the number of ſixe thouſand horſe, and twelue thouſand foot-men, which ouer-ranne and ſpoiled the Countries of Alora, Coin, Caçaranouella and Carthama,, where diuers notable skirmiſhes were made: the Maſter of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Cales, and Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilar* were Captaines of them. This armie was refreſhed with victualls from Siuill and Xeres, and then returned to Antequera laden with ſpoyles. The Queene in the meane time viſited the B Prouinces of Guipuſcoa and Biſcay, and at her returne to Victoria, the King arriued there out of Arragon, where he found much to do, for the Arragonois were not ſo eaſi-

Eſtates of Arragon. ly gouerned, nor ſo ready to pleaſe their Kings appetites, as the Caſtillians, both of them left Victoria, and came to Taraſſone, where the Eſtates of Arragon were appoynted to meet; whoſe Deputies, did ſet downe ſuch difficulties and delayes, as they would by no meanes contribute money towards the warres of Granado, nor againſt France for the Earledome of Roſſillon, ſo as they were at the point to diſſolue the aſſembly: for the time of making warre beeing come, it behooued them either to aſſayle or defend on the frontiers of Granado.

The Kings Councell made long diſputations vppon the difficultie of making this C double warre: for King *Fernand* was deſirous to aſſayle the French for the recouerie of the Earledome of Roſſillon, and the Queenes mind was to pourſue the Moores, euen to the totall ruine of their State, and expulſion out of Spaine. The moſt part of the voyces fauoured the Queenes deſire, and ſhee, to pleaſe her husband, was of opinion, that hee with the forces of Arragon, Valencia, Cattalonia, and ſome part of Caſtile ſhould war vppon the French, and her ſelfe with the reſt of the armie would pourſue the Moores. Hereuppon they ſeuered themſelues, the Queene went towards Toledo, and the King ſtayed to make an end of the aſſembly. The Cardinall of Spaine did accompanie the

The Cardinall entreth Toledo as Archb. The king giues him place that day. Queene, and hauing not yet made his entrie into the cittie of Toledo, ſince hee was Arch-biſhop thereof, he entred the ſame in great pompe, in which ſollemnitie vpon that D day by an auncient cuſtome the Arch biſhop of Toledo was preferred in all honors and ceremonies, aboue the Soueraigne Magiſtrate: neuertheleſſe the Cardinall gaue place to the Queene, albeit ſhee would haue had the old cuſtome obſerued. From thence they went to Andaluſia, where they ordered and reformed certaine cuſtomes which the people of Iaen, Baeça, Vbeda, Caſlona, Andujar, and others had concerning feaſts and plaies nothing profitable to the common-wealth. When they came to Cordoua the great Lords did there meete to conferre about the warres: there came alſo diuers French and Almaine Gunners; for Cannons and Bombards were not as yet much vſed in Spaine. There was likewiſe a great army by ſea ſeuſoorth, Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, Earle of Caſtro beeing Generall. The Queene would haue made the Cardinall Generall ouer all her E land and ſea forces: but the kings vnlookt-for returne, who could do no good with the States of Arragon, gaue end to his commiſſion. They were determined to beſeege Loxa: but for the eaſier execution thereof, they firſt of all did aſſayle Alora, the which they took hauing beaten downe two towers with the Cannon: The Moores fledd into the Caſtle, and did afterwards by compoſition ſaue their liues and goods.

Ceremonies vſed after the taking of any towne from the Moores. The King and Queenes cuſtome was, ſo ſoone as they had taken any towne from the Moores, to ſend three enſignes thither which were conſecrated or bleſſed, (as they tearm it) the which were to be ſet vp on the higheſt tower or place of the ſame towne: the firſt, was of the Crucifixe for a ſigne and token of the redemption of mankind, the which was carried to the higheſt toppe of the towne or fort, and there by an enſigne-bearer diſplayd F and flouriſhed in the ayre: the whole army kneeling downe, and giuing thankes to God in diuers prayers: but this prayer was chiefly rehearſed with a loud voyce, as followeth:

Deus qui per crucem tuam, populo in te credenti triumphum contra inimicos tuos concedere voluiſti, quæſumus, vt in tua pietate adorantibus crucem, victoriam ſemper tribuas & honorem. Others did ſay: *Exaudi nos Domine ſalutaris noſter, et per Triumphum ſanctæ*

Crucis

A *Crucis a cunctis nos defende periculis.* The Clergy and Miniſters of the Church did afterwards ſing, *Te Deum laudamus.*

The ſecond ſtanderd was that of the Apoſtle Saint *Iames* the Sonne of *Zebedé*, whom the Spaniards acknowledge for Patron, and protector of their Country and ſtate, and for guide and defender of their Kings of Caſtile and Leon: at the ſight wherof the army and the people cried out with great ioy, *Santiago, Santiago.* Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iames*, And the third was the King and Queenes royall Banner, wherein were pictured the armes of all their realmes, and dominions; and when that was lifted vp and diſplaied, they all cried aloude Caſtile, Caſtile, for King *Fernand*, and Queene *Iſabell.* After all
B this, the prelats, and Clergy did expiate, and purge the meſquites, or Churches, which had ſerued for the reprobate vſe of the Mahometan religion, bleſſing and dedicating them to ſome Saint or other; and if in the towne or Citty taken, any Chriſtian Captiues were found, as vſually there were ſome, they after the Prieſts had ſung *Te Deum laudamus*, were made to anſwere, *Benedictus dominus Iſraell, quia viſitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis ſuæ.* Theſe were the ceremonies, vſed by King *Fernand*, and Queene *Iſabell*, at the taking of any towne from the Moores.

Alora beeing taken and fortified, Don *Lewis Fernandes* Lord of Palma had the keeping thereof, then the royall army paſſed on to the valley of Carthama, the Marquis of Cales led the vantgard with two thouſand horſe and as many choſen foote-men. Thoſe
C of Alozagra yeelded vpon condition, they might bee mayntayned in their conſciences, and religon, the which the King graunted; then they beſeeged the towne of Caçaranouelle where the Moores made incredible reſiſtance, killing in diuers skirmiſhes greate numbers of Chriſtians, as namely Don *Guttires* de Sottomajor Earle of Benalcaçar, a young Noble-man, of foure and twenty yeares of age, hardy and valiant, who was ſhot throw the body, with a poyſoned arrow, for whoſe death the king and the whole army were very ſorry, becauſe theſe braueries of the Moores, did make them become obſtinate, and encouraged others, which would haue yeelded, to make reſiſtance. The Army, with this loſſe, & without performing any other exploit, then burning the country, did returne backe to Antiqera, where the King receaued letters from the Queene his
D wife, which cauſed the whole army to bluſh for ſhame; for ſhee let them vnderſtand how that ſo goodly an army, ought not to liue vnprofitably, nor returne without doing ſome notable exployt: wherefore, being incourraged by a woman, they retired againe into the enemies country, and ſpoyled it euen to the mountaine called, Sierra Neuada: the King beeing lodged with a great body of an army, within halfe a mile of the Citty of Granada, to oppoſe him-ſelfe againſt the ſallies, which they of the towne might make vpon thoſe that did forrage, the Duke of medina, and the Earle of Cabra, being in an other place, where as much as in them lay, they ſpoyled the country, and made it vnfit to beare frute, the ſooner therby to ſtarue them. The Queene had laden 5000. beaſts of carriage with victualls which by the helpe of this army, entred into Alhama where the King
E left Don *Guttiere* de Padilla gouernour, who was nephew to Don *Garcia Lopes* de Padilla, Maiſter of Calatraua, in regard the Maiſter had promiſed to defend that place, with the forces of his iuriſdiction. After-wards the army returned to Cordoua, where the Queene being demaunded if ſhee were pleaſed with what they had donne, ſhee anſwered, that it was not fit they ſhould ſpend the reſt of the yeare in idleneſſe: where-vpon the King returned, and marched againſt Septenil, which for three daies ſpace was batered, and afterwards the Moores yeelded it vpon compoſition, that they might depart with their liues, goods and liberty; the place was committed to the keeping of D. *Franciſco Henriques*: from thence the army went to ruine the country of Ronde, and becauſe winter did draw neere, it did attempt nothing elſe, and was brought backe to
F Siuill, whether the Queene came. The garriſons of Alhama, Alora, and Septenill, were commanded by the King and Queene to aide King *Mahomet* the little with all their power againſt *Muley Albohacen* his father.

King Fernand promiſeth the Moores, liberty of their conſcience.

A couragious woman and conſtant in her enterpriſes.

6

Portugal.

King Iohn a greate iuſticer, namely againſt the nobility, with other of his qualities.

Wee will here for a while lay by the affaires of Caſtile and Arragon, and ſpeake of Portugall, and of the raigne of *Iohn* the 2. who ſucceeded *Alphonſo* 1481. beeing ſixe and twenty yeares of age. This Prince was a great Iuſticer, and it may be, ouer rigorous

in the execution thereof, eſpecially againſt the Nobilitie and great Lords of his king- A
dome, whome he did puniſh, and reclaymed from many oppreſſions which his father had tolerated: this cauſed him to be hated, and gaue cauſe vnto ſome who were very neere vnto him in bloud, to practiſe againſt his life and ſtate.

He was of a quicke and ſharpe iudgement, and of an excellent memorie, he could diſcourſe eloquently of all matters, and would haue thoſe that did talke with him, to conſider how and what to ſpeake, and he would ordinarily ſay, that it was impoſſible but that Kings ſhould be wiſe men, becauſe euery one that ſpake to them, whether they were fooliſh or wiſe, did ſtriue to ſpeake well and wiſely. He ſhewed great wiſedome in all his actions, not ſuffering himſelfe to be carried away by Court-flatterers, and if hee did fauour B
any one, hee would aduance him but to a certaine meane and no further, giuing authoritie to no man more than was needfull: hee was a louer of good councell, very true, firme, and conſtant in whatſoeuer he graunted or denyed, liberall aſwell to ſtrangers as to his owne ſeruants: he was religious according to thoſe times, and charitable towards the poore, for whoſe eaſe and comfort, hee builded the royall Hoſpitall of Lisborne, in the honour of all Saints: he ſhewed himſelfe very obedient towards his father, and had the good hap, to haue the kingdome of Manicongo diſcouered in his raigne, at which time with great care and diligence, the nauigation for ſpices did beginne, for which things, hee was ſurnamed the Great. When hee beganne to raigne, hee was already father to the Infant Don *Alphonſo* begotten on Queene *Elenor*, daughter to Don *Fernand* C
Duke of Viſeo his Vncle, and to the Infanta Donna *Beatrix*, ſhee who had procured the peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall: the Infant was ſeauen yeares old when his father came to the Crowne, who the yeare 1481. had a ſonne by a Miſtris of his called Donna *Anne de Mendoza*, whoſe name was *George*, Maſter of Saint Iames and Auis, Duke of Coimbra, Lord of Auero and Montemajor the old, who was brought vp openly as the Kings ſonne, by his Aunt the Infanta Donna *Ioane*, a Nunne in the Monaſterie of Ieſus d'Auero: hee was father to Don *Iohn* Duke of Auero, a worthie Prince in our age.

Mediocritie is to be obſerued in the aduancement of Princes ſeruants.

Diſcouery of Manicongo.

Genealogie of Portugal.

This King *Iohn* of whome wee ſpeake, was the firſt King of Portugall that entitled himſelfe Lord of Guiney, the nauigation into which countrey hee mayntained and con- D
tinued, and builded the Cittie and Caſtle of Saint *George*, the fort of Tanger and others. Hee called a Parlament in the Cittie of Ebora, there to receiue the oath of fealtie and homage due to the Kings his progenitors: at the ſame time it happened, that Don *Fernand* Duke of Bragança, beeing at his houſe of Villa-vicioſa, did ſearch for certaine records and titles of lands with other letters of priuiledge, to haue them renewed and confirmed by the new king: his Secretarie whome hee employed in this buſineſſe, found certaine letters of intelligence and practiſe in a cheſt, betwixt the Duke his maſter, and the King and Queene of Caſtile, contrarie to his allegeance to King *Iohn*: Wherefore this Secretarie, whoſe name was *Lope de Figueredo*, beeing mooued either with zeale towards his Prince, or with hope of ſome good reward, did embezil thoſe writings, and gaue them E
to the King, who hauing copied them, re-deliuered the originall to *Figueredo*, who layd them among the reſt of the papers which hee had found, his Lord not perceyuing it: the Duke neuertheleſſe was ſtill fauoured and welcommed by the King, who in matters of weight could very well diſſemble, and was continually at Court accompanying and ſeruing the King and Queene; vntill vppon a time the Court beeing at Almerin, where the Queene was brought a bed before her time, and in great danger of her life: the Duke of Bragança came to viſit her, with Don *Dominicke* Duke of Viſeo, one of his complices, who was brother to the Queene; the King entertained them with a pleaſant countenance, and vppon a certaine day hee tooke the Duke of Bragança aſide into his chappell, within the with-drawing Curtaines, and did brotherly admoniſh him of his fault in theſe F
tearmes:

The Duke of Braganzaes practiſes diſcouered by his Secretarie.

A gentle admoniſhment made by King Iohn to the Duke of Braganza.

„Couſin, I haue vnderſtood a matter, which I muſt acquaint you with in this holy place, where I ſtand in the preſence of God, before whom I will not diſſemble: therefore beleeue it, I ſpeake nothing but truth: I heare that you haue ſecret intelligence and practiſe with the Kings of Caſtile, againſt my State and ſeruice, greatly forgetting therein

the

A the honour faith and loyaltie which you owe vnto mee: in regard whereof, conſide- "
ring the reaſons on both our ſides, I for my part hauing giuen none occaſion to your "
ſelfe or any other, and ſeeing no cauſe why you ſhould hope for more honour and fa- "
uour of any other Prince then of me, I can not but be very much troubled, and I know "
not whether I may firmely beleeue it or no: yet notwithſtanding, howſoeuer it is, I "
thought good to admoniſh you, that if vpon any falſe ſurmiſe, you haue entred into "
this vnreaſonable imagination, to giue it ouer: proteſting to you that I meane to for- "
get, and graciouſly to pardon your offences, requeſting you, ſeeing it hath pleaſed God "
to make me heire to his crowne to ſtand ſtedfaſtly to me, and to acknowledge this fauors "
E towards you, and the place and rancke which you hold in this Kingdome, wherein by "
your owne deſerts, and thoſe of your anceſtors, you are the chiefe perſon next vnto my "
ſelfe, the which ſhould ſtirre you vp to maintaine and procure the ſafety and great- "
neſſe thereof, eſpetially conſidering, that God hath as it were parted the faculties and "
riches of this royall patrimony betwixt vs two: and that of two ſiſters borne of the "
noble race of the Infants Don *Fernand* and Don *Beatrice*, Dukes of Viſeo, I haue mar- "
ried the one and you the other. It may be that I am taxed with ſome fault, common to "
Kings newly come to their crownes, as to proceed ouer rigorouſly againſt ſome per- "
ſons, and to ſhew ſmall liberality and meekeneſſe in certaine matters, which could not "
be otherwiſe managed: but if it were ſo that ſome bee offended with my new gouern- "
C ment; you before all men, ought to tollerate it, and to be a ſingular preſident of loyal- "
tie and obedience vnto others. If my Iudges and Commiſſioners ſent into your iuriſ- "
diction haue exceeded the bounds of modeſty in their charge, you know very well that "
they haue had great cauſe ſo to doe, and that they haue many reaſons on their ſides to "
iuſtifie their proceedings, in reſpect of the preſent ſtate; but if they were in fault, ſhould "
not you greatly binde me vnto you for bearing with thoſe things? and for your owne "
part you may be aſſured, that in regard of your place, wiſedome and deſerts, I can not "
refuſe you any thing that you ſhould craue of mee. Now, you are bound, in regarde I "
am planted in the royall ſeate of Portugall, to aide mee both with counſell and armes if "
need were, and whenſoeuer I ſhall craue it; therefore I intreate and commaund you "
D both in heart and will to diſpoſe your ſelfe therevnto euer hereafter. "

When the Duke heard theſe words, he would haue excuſed himſelfe, and entreated the King not to beleeue thoſe reports, which (he ſaid) were contrary to his meaning, and that whileſt hee had a heart, a hand and meanes, they ſhould all bee imployed in his ſeruice. And ſo the King left of, hoping that the Duke would amend, and that he ſhould no more neede to ſpeake vnto him concerning it. But the Court being not longe after remooued from Almerin to Saint Iren, *Iaſper* and *Peter de Iubartes* brethren and ſeruants to the Duke of Bragança, came to the King, and certified him that the Duke their Maiſter did continue his practizes with Caſtile, and that *Iaſper* had beene twice ſent as meſſenger to the Kings of Caſtile, and that the Marquis of Montemajor, and the Earle
E of Faro the Dukes bretheren, were conſenting to thoſe practizes. The King did largely recompence theſe two bretheren for their aduertiſement, and did reſolue to puniſh the Duke of Braganҫaes treachery, and hauing a fit occaſion by his comming to the court, which lay then at Ebora, whether hee accompanied the Prince Don *Alphonſo*, hee cauſed him to bee arreſted of high treaſon and to bee committed to priſon in May the yeere 1483.

The Kings Aturney General pleaded againſt him, & he was found guilty of treaſon, and was iudged and condemned by the Lords, to haue his head cut off, and al his goods to be confiſcate to the crowne: the which ſentence was executed; and *Fernand* Duke of Bra- *The Duke of Braganſa beheaded at Ebora.*
gança was brought to the publike place of execution in the city of Ebora, where he was
F beheaded and made a pittifull ſpectacle to all men. Six other gentlemen were likewiſe beheaded with him, and diuers baniſhed, in which number, was the Conſtable of Portugall. The Dutcheſſe *Iſabella* the Queenes ſiſter, as ſoone as ſhe heard of her husbands impriſonment, ſent her three children Don *Philip*, Don *Iames*, and Don *Denis* into Caſtile who were kindely receiued and welcomed by Queene *Iſabella* their Aunt: the poore Lady their mother, hauing no other comfort in her widdow-hood but a little

daughter

daughter called *Margueríte*, whoſe company ſhe enioyed not long, for within a while after ſhe died. D. *Philip* her eldeſt ſonne died in Caſtile: the ſecond Don *Iames* returned into Portugall, and Don *Denis* this third ſonne, did marry the Counteſſe of *Lemos* in Caſtile. A

The Marquis of Montemajor, and the Earle of Faro, the Dukes brethren, did likewiſe flie into Caſtile, where they ſpent the remainder of their daies beeing honoured and maintained by King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*. Now Don *Dominico* the Queenes brother, was one of the conſpiracy as hath beene already ſaid; and the King the next day after the Duke of Bragança his execution called him into his preſence, and knowing him to be young both in yeeres and diſcretion, he did admoniſh him as a father, to behaue himſelfe diſcreetly, and told him diuers things which concerned his honour and wel-fare, and did freely pardon him all offences paſt: to which ſpeech of the Kings, Don *Dominico* could not anſwere one word but onely kiſſed the Kings hand in ſigne of thankes. This young Prince had aſpired to reigne, and being young and inconſiderate, he did oftentimes permit his hand to bee kiſſed, and would receiue other honours belonging to a ſoueraigne Prince, the which in the end bred his ruine. B

The Kings fatherly aduertisement to D. Dominico Duke of Viſeo.

After all theſe things the King being gon to viſit the townes and fortreſſes vpon the frontiers of Galicia and countries neere adioyning, Don *Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman arriued in Portugall, of whoſe quarrell to the Admirall of Caſtile and his ſonne we haue amply ſpoken heretofore. This Lord came to the Court at Saint Iren, where hauing a time appointed him to come into the Kings preſence, as hee was going to maſſe in Saint Iames his Church, he kneeled downe at the great doore with his traine and ſeruants; the King preſented him his hand to kiſſe with his gloue vpon it, but Don *Ramir* thinking that the King did either contemne or ſcorne him, and being a knight of an high and couragious ſpirit, he did plucke the Kings gloue off, and ſo, kiſt his bare hand, then the King ſaid, I could haue done that my ſelfe if it had pleaſed me; but Don *Ramir* did not heare him in regard he was ſome-what deafe: for this cauſe he was called euer after in Portugall *El de la luba*, which is as much to ſay, as He of the gloue. Yet neuertheleſſe the King vſed him very graciouſly; and did aſſure him that he was in a place of ſafety, and therefore willed him to be merry and not to feare any daunger at all. Don *Ramir* gaue him many humble thankes, and excuſed his boldneſſe in plucking off his gloue, beſeeching him not to take it as done vnreuerently, in regard it was the cuſtome of Spaine to kiſſe the Kings bare hand. Not long after, done *Ramir*, had ſome iealouſie of the Marquis of Villareall a friend and kinſman to the Admirall of Caſtile, King *Iohn* hauing notice thereof, called the Marquis before him, and told him that his pleaſure was, that Don *Ramir* ſhould liue ſafe and ſecure in Portugall, free from feare either of the King of Caſtile or any elſe, and therefore if any euill did happen to him, his life ſhould anſwere it: the Marquis anſwered, that for him Don *Ramir* ſhould liue in all ſafety, and that he neither had nor would procure him any diſpleaſure. C D

D. Ramir Nugnes de Curman commeth into Portugal.

But the Duke of Bragançaes death did diſpleaſe diuers great Lords of the Kingdome of Portugall, in regard whereof, new conſpiracies were made againſt the Kings life. The chiefe of the conſpirators were Don *Garcia Meneſes* Biſhop of Ebora, and Don *Fernand de Meneſes* his brother, Don *Lope de Albuquerque* Earle of Pegnamaçor, and Don *Pedro* de Albuquerque his brother, Don *Aluaro* de Atayde, and Don *Pedro* d' Atayde the father and ſonne, Don *Guttiere Coutino* Commaunder of Cezimbra ſonne to the Marſhall, and *Fernand Selueyra*, who againe did draw Don *Domingo* the Duke of Viſeo into their practiſes, determining to make him King, and they watched for a fit time and occaſion to kill King *Iohn*, who being at Setuball did diſcouer the treaſon, by the relation of one called *Diego Tinoco*, who knew it by the meanes of a ſiſter of his who was concubine to the aboue named Biſhop no leſſe ſecret then chaſt and faithfull, and this *Tinoco* came of purpoſe diſguiſed in a Friers habit, to diſcloſe it to the King, who in recompence of his good ſeruice, gaue him fiue thouſand Cruzados in ready money and ſixe hundred thouſand Marauedis of yeerely rent, the which hee did not long enioy, for ſoone after, he died. Within few daies after, the King receiued the ſame aduertizement from Don *Vaſco Coutino*, vnto whom Don *Guttiere* his brother, one of the E F

A the confederats had reuealed it, thinking that without any danger he might haue ſpoken it to him by reaſon that he was in diſgrace with the King, and ment to haue fled into Caſtile: but he was therein deceiued; for Don *Vaſco* by this meanes made his owne peace, was created Earle of Barba with hereditary right, and beſide the Caſtle of Eſtremos, hee receiued many other aduancements. The ſame day that the confederats ſhould meete the Duke of Viſeo at the Court, the King hauing viſited a Church neere to Setuball, he went a boord of a little fiſher-boot to ſee them take fiſh, hauing with him onely foure of his faithfull ſeruants, namely *Fernand Martines Mazearenas* captaine of the genets or light-horſe, *Diego* d' Almeida, Don *Iohn* de Meneſes, and Don *Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman: In the euening, as he was returning to Setuball, thirty of the confede-
B rates ſtood vpon the banke of the riuer, with intent to haue executed their treaſon, whereof the King being aduertized at his landing, by a Groome of his Chamber named *Anthony Faria*, who told him in his eare that it behoued him at that time to diſſemble, and to ſhew his Kingly courage, expecting a fitter time and opportunity to puniſh them according to their deſerts: the King who could very well diſſemble, being leapt on horſe-backe, called the Duke of Viſeo to him with a ſmiling and pleaſing countenance, and gaue him and the reſt of the conſpirators, many gratious and louing words, ſo as for that preſent they had not the hearts to proceed in their determinations: in the meane time, the King who was weakely accompanied, went into a Church called Our Lady the Old, wayting for his guardes arriuall, and beganne to talke with them leaning
C his back againſt the wall, the better to keepe his enemies from comming behinde him, among whom was D. *Vaſco Coutino*, whom he called vnto him and made a ſhew to diuert him from going into Spaine, the better thereby, vnder collour of this talke, to draw the whole conſpiracy from him. By theſe meanes it was Gods pleaſure that the King ſhould eſcape that daies daunger, and returne in ſafety to his pallace. Certaine daies after, the King being more ſuffitiently aduertized of theſe Lords conſpiracy againſt his perſon, ſent to commaund the Duke of Viſeo, who was then at Palmela with his mother the Infanta *Beatrice*, to come to him to Setuball, who forthwith did ſo, not doubting any thing, and he was no ſooner arriued and come into King *Iohns* preſence, but hee was ſtabd to death with a poniard by the Kings owne hand, in the night, in a Chamber *The yong duke of Viſeo ſlaine by King Iohns owne hand.*
D in Don *Nugno* d' Acugnas houſe where the King then lay, in the preſence of Don *Pedro Deça*, *Diego* d' Açambuya and *Lopes Mendez*, with no other words but theſe, *Ton ſhall die, and goe carry newes to the duke of Bragança in what ſtate the treaſon ſtands which he beganne.*

In this manner the Duke of Viſeo died a young Prince of twenty yeeres old, by following naughty counſell, and giuing credit to the vaine predictions of Aſtrologers, *The Duke of Viſeo ſeduced by Aſtrologians.*
who had aſſured him that hee ſhould bee King. The Dutcheſſe his mother was by the King certified of what had happened, who excuſed himſelfe, in regard that hee was con-
E ſtrained by neceſſity to commit ſo ſodaine an execution, and intreated her to beare it patiently: and in ſome ſort to comfort her, the very ſame night he called Don *Manuell* her other ſonne into her preſence, who was more wiſe and diſcreet then his brother vnto whom hauing told the Dukes death, and the cauſes wherefore he died, hee gaue all that his brother did poſſeſſe and more, and conferring with him, with a fatherly affection, hee promiſed to cauſe him to be ſworne and acknowledged for Prince and heire to the crowne of Portugall, after his death and Don *Alphonſo* his ſonne: but hee would not permit him to name himſelfe Duke of Viſeo as his brother had done, but Duke of Beja, Lord of Viſeo, and Maiſter of the Order de Chriſtus, and hee made him Lord of the Iſle of Madera, and gaue him other lands.

The Duke was at the ſame time onely ſeauenteene yeeres of age, and the King gaue *A Spheare vpon the armes of Portugall.*
F him a Sphere for a diuiſe to beare in his armes, the which the Kings of Portugall doe yet at this day beare in their armes and royall ſcutcheon: the ſame was a lucky preſage vnto him of the conqueſts and diſcoueries which were afterward made in his reigne and name vnder both the Poles: the ſame was likewiſe fore-told by the Biſhop of La Garde a great Mathematicien; in regard of his Horoſcope, and poſition of the heauens at his Natiuity, being in the yeere 1468. albeit that ſuch iudgments are deceiuable and vnlawful,

full,for the actions of Kings, and the euents of all other matters depend vpon Gods A
onely Ordonance.

Now when the confederates vnderſtood of the Duke of Viſeos death, and that their practizes were diſcouered,each of them thought to ſaue one, but all of them were not quicke enough: for Don *Pedro* d' Albuquerque was taken as he fled towards Liſbone, and Don *Pedro* d' Atayde at Saint Iren who were brought to the Court. The like happened to the Biſhop of Ebora,and to Don *Fernand* de Meneſes his brother,and to Don *Gutierre Coutino*, As for D' *Aluaro* D' Atayde who remained at Saint Iren accompanied with men at armes attending the ſucceſſe of their buſineſſe,meaning to haue taken Donna *Ioane* ſurnamed the Excellent, who was a Nunne,from the Monaſtery of B
Saint Clare at Coimbra,and to haue lodged her in the caſtle, he fled away into Spaine, and ſo did Don *Lopes* d' Albuquerque Earle of Pennamaçor with all his family. D.*Fernand* de Silueyra hauing beene hidden by one of his father ſeruants, who neither for grieuous threatnings nor for promiſes of reward from the King could euer be drawne to diſcloſe him did likewiſe eſcape,and fled into Spaine. The King,to iuſtifie the Duke of Viſeos death,and to giue notice thereof to all men, cauſed his proceſſe to be made after that he had ſlaine him,and condemned the reſt. D.*Fernand* de Meneſes and D.*Pedro* were beheaded and quartered as traitors. As for D.*Guttiere Coutino* he was committed to the tower of Auis,for D.*Vaſco* his brother who had reuealed much of the conſpiracy to the King, did a while prolong his life, neuertheleſſe hee did not eſcape, nor is it certainely C
knowne how he died. D.*Garcia* de Meneſes Biſhop of Ebora, beeing priſoner in the caſtle of Palmela,was found dead vpon the ceſterne of the ſaid fort, and there is great preſumption that his daies were violently ſhortned. At the ſame time, the Kings of Caſtile were at Siuill,where receiuing newes that the conſpiracy was diſcouered,and imagining that the Duke of Viſeo ſhould bee committed to priſon,and that King *Iohn* would not haue proceeded againſt him ſo indiſcreetly, they hauing no notice of his ſodaine death, did ſend D.*Inigo Manriques* Biſhop of Leon,and *Gaſpar Fabro* a Knight of Arragon Ambaſſadors into Portugall,with inſtruction to entreate the King to ſaue the Duke of Viſeos life,if he were yet liuing,and if he were dead, to comfort the Dutcheſſe his mother, who had beene the cauſe of the peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall. The Ambaſſa- D
dors perceiuing the Duke of Viſeo to bee dead, did their beſt to comfort the ſorrowfull mother, and ſo returned into Spaine without ſpeaking to King *Iohn*, who neuer ceaſſed to purſue Don *Fernand* de Silueyra, vntill hee had driuen him out of Spaine: He was afterward ſlaine in Auignon by an Earle of Cattalonia, who was likewiſe baniſhed from his country, but the French King had like to haue taken his head from his ſhoulders in requitall of his paines. This Earle was afterward liberally rewarded by king *Iohn*,for that he had rid him of an enemy. The Earle of Pegnamaçor died in Caſtile,D. *Aluaro* of Atayde liued a baniſhed man during the life of King *Iohn*, and in King *Manuels* time returned into Portugall. By theſe ſeuerities King *Iohn* was feared of all his ſubiects, in regard he had not ſpared thoſe two great Lords who were of the greateſt parentage in E
Portugall.

A Seruants faithfulneſſe.

The Duke of Viſeos complices and conſederates are executed.

An. 1485. Caſtile. The yere 1485.the commons of Caſtile ſent their Deputies and Commiſſioners to Orgas where D.*Alphonſo* of Arragon,Duke of Villahermoſa lay,who was captaine generall of their Hermandades or brotherhoods,and with him D.*Alphonſo* de Burgos Biſhop of Cuenca,preſident of the royall Councel, and *Alphonſo* de Quintanilla, who hauing propounded the great coſts and charges which the Kings were at in following the Mooriſh wars, did demãd a ſubſidy,the which was very readily granted,in regard they did ſee that it ſhould be emploied in matters ſo worthy and proffitable for the commonwealth.

7 Moores. The Gouernors and captaines on the frontiers of Andaluzia would loſe no fit occaſion that might anoy the Moores,who did all of them in a manner follow King *Muley Albohacen*,and had almoſt reſtored him to all his lands in Granado,reuolting from *Mahumet* the Little,becauſe he had beene aided by Chriſtian Kings; ſo that they left him no other place of retreat,but only the city of Almery, from whence hee made cruell warre vpon the Moores which tooke his fathers part: they meaning altogether to deſpoyle him of all rule and gouernment in Granado, and perceiuing King *Muley Albohacen* to bee F
already

A already old and vnfit for warre, did elect, a brother of his, one of King *Iſmaels* ſonnes for their gouernour in Granado, who was likewiſe called *Muley Boabdalin*, who thinking it moſt neceſſary for the eſtabliſhing of his Kingdome to ridde his Nephew *Mahomet* out of the world, hee had ſecret intelligences, with the chiefe men of his faction which were neere in credit about his perſon in Almery, whom he induced by promiſes to deliuer their Prince and City into his hands at a certaine time appointed, before which place *Muley Boabdellin* ſhewing himſelfe, they failed not to open him the gates, & they let him in vpon ſuch a ſodain, as *Mahumet* hardly eſcaped with life, but God gaue him meanes to eſcape, leauing a young brother of his behinde him, who was cruelly
B murthered by his enemies: after the taking of which towne, *Muley Boabdellin* openly and without contradiction was choſen King of Granado both againſt the father and the ſonne, who were driuen away, in the yeere 1485. and the 868. yeere of the reigne of the Arabians there; *Muley Albohacen* hauing reigned nineteene yeeres. Now theſe two Princes of one name did make ſuch cruell warre vpon each other for the crowne of Granado as is not almoſt to bee beleeued. *Boabdellin* is a corrupted word, thoſe which ſpeake it better, call both of them *Aben Abdileha*, but the trueſt is *Aben Abdella*. The Moores to make a difference betwixt them by ſome ſurname, called King *Albohacens* brother, *Zagall*, which ſignifieth valorous, and *Mahumet* the little his Nephew, *Zagois*, that is to ſay, the vnhappy.

C

Muley Boabdelin 21. King of Granado.

IN the beginning of the reigne of *Muley Boabdelin el Zagal*, hee had to doe with the Earle of Cabra, with *Martin Alphonſo* de Corduba, Lord of Montemajor, *Diego* del Caſtillo great Commander of Calatraua, *Pedro Ruis* d' Alarcon, *Diego Lopes* d' Ayala, *Franciſco* de Bouadilla, and other, braue captaines and Knights, who ouer-ranne the
D country neere to Nixar and Guejar beyond the City of Granado neere to the hilles called Sierra Neuada, where they tooke great booties, and made their retreate by meanes of the good guarde which they had left at the difficult paſſages, by the aduiſe of *Pedro Ruis* d' Alarcon, albeit the new King had drawne great numbers of Moores out of the city of Granado and elſe-where to encloſe and defeat them.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella* did then lie at Siuill where Don *Inigo Manriques* the Archbiſhop being dead, the Pope by his full power and authority gaue that Archbiſhoprike to the Cardinall Don *Roderigo Borgia*, who was afterward Pope *Alexander* the ſixth: theſe holy fathers being not able to abſtaine from breaking the concordats which did in ſome ſort reſtraine their power, the which they pretend to bee abſolute: but
E theſe couragious Kings, brideled them at this time likewiſe, and delt in ſuch ſort as the Cardinall hauing reſigned that Archbiſhoprike, and put it into the Popes hands, it was giuen at the Kings entreaty to Don *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoça Biſhop of Palence, and his Biſhoprike of Palence reſigned to Don *Alphonſo* de Burgos Biſhop of Cuenca, that of Cuenca to Don *Alphonſo* de Fonſeca Biſhop of Auyla, and that of Auyla to Frier *Hernando* of Talauera, and Oropeſa, Prior of the Monaſtery of Pré of Valiodolit and the Queenes Confeſſor: In this ſort did euery one affect good Biſhoprikes in recompence of their ſeruices: I call them good, in reſpect of their reuenues.

Caſtile.

Popes cannot keepe themſelues from breaking the concordats which reſtrain their power.

Whileſt the Kings remained this yeere at Siuill, they made diuers good Edicts and Ordonances for Iudges, and for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, as alſo for the mannaging
F of the future warre: and the time drawing neere when as armies vſe to march into the field, and diuerſe companies of horſe and foote being already arriued from all parts of Spaine vpon the frontiers of Andaluzia, they left Siuill and came to Cordoua: diuerſe great Lords, Knights and people of all ſorts did come thither, who ſuted themſelues the beſt they could, which made a gallant ſhew, wherein great coſt and ſuperfluity was vſed, as likewiſe, in feaſts, games and other military ſports: in regard whereof,

the

Profitable waies for to redreſſe ſuperfluous expences.

the Kings thought to redreſſe thoſe matters by two courſes both profitable and milde, namely, by admoniſhments which they themſelues made to the nobleſt, and to others by religious perſons of credit, and afterwards by their owne example ſhewing in their apparrell, traine and manner of life great modeſty, wherein neuertheleſſe ſome Maieſty did appeare, as was fitting for their degree. A

As concerning the warre the opinion was, that Malaga ſhould be beſeeged, and by the way they laboured (but in vaine) to take the caſtle of Montefrio. Paſſing forward, they did ouer-runne, ſpoile and deſtroy the country neere to Carthama, where the common opinion was to ſeeke to take Carthama and Coin before they did attempt any thing againſt Malaga, to the end to haue the country more at their commandement, the which was not the worſt counſell: and becauſe the army was great, part thereof was ſent to beſeege Carthama vnder the conduct of the Maiſter of Saint Iames, the Conſtable, and D. *Alphonſo* D' Aguilar, and the other part to Coyne which was commanded by the Marquis of Cales, the Earle of Crugna, and D. *Hurtado* de Mendoza, with the Cardinalls people. The King with ſome part of his forces was lodged betwixt both theſe ſeeges, to ſuccor either of them as need ſhould require. In the mean time the towne of Benamexi yeelded as it had done in time before: but it did reuolt when the Earle of Benalcaçar was ſlaine, into the which fault it fell againe after it had yeelded, and was now taken by aſſault, the Inhabitants were taken or ſlaine, and the place razed to the ground: the King did chooſe out one hundred of the principall priſoners and cauſed them to be hanged for a terror to the reſt, chiefly for an example to them of Carthama, Coin and Ronde; yet notwithſtanding they were not negligent in their owne defence. Certaine Affrican Moores of Velez de la Gomera, being mooued with zeale to their religion, came ouer into Spaine, and eſpied a fit occaſion whereby to enter into Coin, which they did at ſuch time, as a great and large breach was made, which the Chriſtians did aſſaile, who by this new aide were rudely repulſed with great ſlaughter: there were ſlaine *Pero Ruis Alarcon*, a moſt wiſe and valiant captaine, and *Tello* d' Aguilar likewiſe, whoſe death did greatly greeue King *Fernand*, wherevpon hee cauſed the battery to bee redoubled and did ſo preſſe the beſeeged, as they beganne to talke of compoſition. The King being highly diſpleaſed for his loſſe receiued at that aſſault, would not receiue them at the firſt vpon any condition, but at the laſt he graunted them their liues and goods, and ſo the towne was yeelded vp. Coin was a great towne and very hard to bee kept, wherefore it was razed. Thoſe of Carthama hauing notice that Coin was yeelded, did compound in like manner, whoſe example was followed by *Curiana*, *Puxiana*, and others. The garde and defence of Carthama was committed to the Maiſter of Saint Iames vpon his entreaty, who left there for Lieutenant vnder him a Gentleman of his owne, named *Iohn de Ceſpedes*. About the ſame time, Don *Alphonſo Henriques* high Admirall of Caſtile died at Valiodolit, in whoſe place and dignity Don *Frederike Henriques* his ſonne ſucceeded. The Queene beeing at Cordoua tooke care to prouide the army of money and victualls, wherein ſhe vſed incredible dilligence and dexterity.

Rigorous punishment of the reuolted.

Coin, Carthama, and other places taken by compoſition from the Moores.

D. Frederike Henriques Admirall of Caſtile.

After the taking of the places aboue mentioned, the King paſſed on with a great number of men at armes and came within ſight of Malaga, a ſtrong towne and exceeding well furniſhed with men and all things neceſſary for a towne of warre. The Moore King who lay within it made a ſally with a thouſand horſe, which were the floure of his cauallery, where they skirmiſhed valiantly on both ſides, where D. *Fernand* D' Ayalos the eldeſt of that family was ſlaine. And becauſe the army wanted water, the King went backe to Carthama; where ſitting in counſell what was beſt to bee done, it was concluded to goe and beſeege Ronde. D. *Pedro Henriques* Marquis of Cales and captaine of the frontiers of Andaluzia with other captaines marched on before with three thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot to inueſt the place, and the King followed them at the heeles with the reſt of the army. The towne was ſtronge and defended by very warlike Moores, being beſeeged and furiouſly battered, the Chriſtians in a few daies won the ſuburbes thereof, where *Alphonſo Fayardo* ſhewed great proofe of his worth and valor. The battery continuing againſt the towne albeit the Moores which were ſent to the ſuccor therof, did

B C D E F

A did their beſt to enter into it and did put the campe in continuall alarmes, the Chriſtians neuertheleſſe did ſo preſſe them as the beſeeged were faine to yeeld, vpon condition that their goods and liues might be ſaued, with liberty to liue in their owne ſect in any place of Caſtile where they pleaſed. The King entred into the towne of Ronda vpon Whitſunday; D. *Bernardin* de Velaſco, ſonne to the Conſtable hauing firſt ſeized vpon a tower of the caſtle, and as ſoone as the Moore gouernor was gonne forth of it with his people to retire himſelfe into the King of Caſtiles country to a place in the territory of Siuil, the towne was repeopled with Chriſtians drawne from the ſame city, from Cordoua and other places of Andaluzia. The Queene made prouiſion for the ornaments of the Churches, and things neceſſary for their ſeruice, and the gouernment of the towne B was giuen to *Antonio* de Fonſeca. The Moores of that country hauing made themſelues Mudejares, that is to ſay, vaſſals to Chriſtians, were at that time religiouſly maintained and preſerued, according to the capitulations and promiſes, by meanes whereof, diuers other townes did voluntarily yeeld themſelues to the Kings, namely, Burga, Iunquera, Monda, Ganſin, Caſeres, Montija, with other caſtles and fortreſſes of the mountaines of Ronda, Villalonga, and Carthema, who were permitted to liue in their owne religion, paying the ſame tribute which they were wont to giue to the Moore Kings. The places which did yeeld were more then forty in number. And becauſe *Caçaranouella* did make delaies, King *Fernand* cauſed the Inhabitants thereof to bee ſummoned to yeeld, vpon paine of taſting of all the rigour of warre: wherevpon they ſubmitted, vpon the ſame C conditions as the reſt had done, and the garriſon thereof was giuen to D. *Sancho* de Rojas. Thoſe likewiſe of Marbela, a ſea towne, being ſommoned to yeeld, made anſwere that they were contented ſo to doe, and they ſent their gouernor or Alguazil Major to the King, who deſiring to bee preſent at the yeelding thereof, brought thither his army by the way of Antequera, fetching a long circuit but eaſie and commodious: By the way he receiued letters from the Moores of Marbela, who demaunded new capitulations, the which were not anſwered till the army was in ſight: wherewith they being amazed, deliuered vp the town, and retired themſelues, ſome into Affrica, and others into the Kingdome of Caſtile: Montemajor and other places of the country of Marbela did likeD wiſe yeeld. And becauſe the army beganne to want victualls by reaſon that the tempeſts and ſtormes at ſea did hinder the ſhips of burthen from ſayling, the King was aduiſed to make retreate to Cordoua, ſo the army marched within ſight of Malaga once againe, from whence the Moores came forth and skirmiſhed, but to no purpoſe, the ſeege whereof had not beene in vaine nor without effect, if victuals had not wanted. The army being returned neere to Antequera, it was aboundantly refreſhed with victuals ſent thither by the Queene. The King afterward entred into Cordoua with great ioy and applaud of the Queene, Prince and Infantas of the Court, the people, Clergy, and ſundry Ambaſſadors: there were ſollemne proceſſions made, where the King in manner of a triumph cauſed great number of Chriſtians to bee led in pompe, and in a glorious ſhew, which were redeemed from captiuity, whoſe ſhackles and irons were afterward ſent E to Toledo, and there hung vp againſt the wal of the Monaſtery of Saint *Iohn* of the kings, which are to be ſeene at this day.

Ronda taken, and the Moores liues, goods, and religion granted vnto them.

Equity of the King and Queene of Caſtile.

For the maintenance and preſeruation of what had beene wonne and conquered, *Iohn* de Torres, a knight of the Kings houſe, was ſent vnto the frontiers with a Prouoſt or Alcayde of the Court, named the Licenciate La Font, who deſtributed the lands to the new Inhabitants, for the ordinary garriſons were vp in the country of the Moores more then twenty leagues; and becauſe diuers Pirates had robbed ſundry Moores as they paſſed out of Spaine into Affrike, contrarie to the capitulations, informations beeing made therevpon, the Licenciat recouered all that had beene taken away, who de-F maunding a ſafe-conduct for his paſſage ouer into Affrica to reſtore to euery one what was his owne, the Moores made him anſwere that hee needed none other ſafe-conduct then the greatneſſe and renoune of the Kings of Caſtile his Maiſters: wherevpon the Licenciate made himſelfe ready to paſſe ouer, yet diuers of his friends counſelled him not to giue ouermuch credit to the light faith of the Moores, wherevnto with great boldneſſe and conſtancy hee replied, that God forbid, that the power

Equity of the Kings of Caſtile.

and greatneſſe of his Kings honor ſhould be impaired or diminiſhed thorow his feare: a A
couragious ſpeech of a moſt faithfull and affectionate ſubiect and ſeruant. And ſo he paſſed ouer and reſtored the Moores their goods, and promiſe was kept with him. In the meane time the garriſons of Alhama hauing ouer-runne the country neere to Granado, as they returned with great quantity of cattaile and other booties, they met on a ſodaine and vnlooked for the King of Granado who came from Malaga thither, accompanied with great numbers of horſe, by whom they were charged and purſued vnto the very gates of Alhama with great loſſe of their people, beſide the ſpoiles which were recouered from them. There remained yet ſome ſmall ſeaſon of this yeere 1485. fit to make warre in, the which the Kings would not haue vnproffitably ſpent, without enter- B
prizing ſome matter of worth: therefore they cauſed the forces of Andaluzia, Extremadura, and the Marquiſate of Villena to bee aſſembled (for they had licenced the men of warre of the farthermoſt prouinces of Spaine to depart as ſoone as they returned to Cordoua) whereafter diuers conſultations, they reſolued, at the perſwaſion of the Earle of Cabra to goe and beſeege Moclin: the Earle with *Martin Alphonſo* de Cabra Lord of the houſe of Montemajor, was ſent before to ſhut in thoſe of the towne with the forces which he had in Baena, then their followed him with foure thouſand horſe and other forces the Maiſter of Calatraua, the Earle of Buendia and other Knights; the King with the reſt of the forces came after, and the Queene with the whole Court came to Baena. C

Thoſe that went firſt with the Earle of Cabra beeing arriued on a morning neere to Moclin fell vnawares vpon the King of Granadoes army which was come to Moclin conſiſting of twenty thouſand Moores as well horſe as foote, who neuertheleſſe began to flie as ſoone as they did ſee the Chriſtians whom they thought to bee farre more in number then they were: but hauing better viewed them they returned and charged them ſo brauely as they diſordered and put them to flight: diuers were there ſlaine and taken, the Earle eſcaped being hurt in the hand with a Harquebuze ſhot, his horſe hauing receiued foure wounds with a launce, his brother D. *Gonçall* de Cordoua was ſlaine, the Moores following the chaſe were ſtaied and conſtrained to turne their backes, by the troupes of the Maiſter of Calatraua and the Earle of Buendia. This newes did greatly D
diſpleaſe the Kings, who altering their determination left Moclin and turned their forces againſt Cambill and Alhabar, very ſtrong places on the confines of Iaen, and within three leagues of the city, alwaies well kept and defended by the Kings of Granado. The Marquis of Cales with the vantgard did approach neere vnto their forts, whether the Artillery was brought with great difficulty, and the battery made with all dilligence: but they yeelded forthwith and the Moores which were within it were ſent away free with their goods into Granado: the Queene gaue theſe two forts to the city of Iaen, where the King with the Maiſter of Saint Iames did determine to ſtrengthen Alhama with foure thouſand horſe and fiue thouſand foot which were appointed for the ſame purpoſe. The Treaſorer of Calatraua beeing gouernor of Alhama was ſollicited by a E
Moore of the garriſon of Salea, to come thither with his forces, and hee did aſſure him that he would finde meanes to cauſe him to enter into it: the Treaſorer hauing firſt of all well examined the Moore, and being aſſured that he ment no deceite went on a night to Salea, where the traitors brother did let downe a rope from the walles, and helped to erect the ſcaling ladders by which the Chriſtians mounted, who after a dangerous fight made themſelues Maiſters of the place, the Inhabitants whereof were all made ſlaues.

The Chriſtians defeated at Moclin.

Pope *Innocent* the eight being daylie aduertized of theſe goodly victories, graunted this yeere to the Kings to raiſe greater ſubſidies vpon the Clergy, the which were moderated by the Cardinall of Spaine to one hundred thouſand golden florins of the F
coine of Arragon. About the end of the yeere the Court leauing Andaluzia, came to Alcala de Henares, where Queene *Iſabell* was brought in bed of a daughter named *Catherin* who was wife to *Arthur* Prince of Wales heire to the crowne of England, and afterward married to his brother King *Henry* the eight of that name.

Birth of the Infanta Catherine.

In Alcala which was a place belonging to the Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Alcaides and Prouoſts

A Prouoſts of the Court executing their offices, were hindered by the Cardinall, who was Archbiſhop of Toledo, who made greeuous complaints to the Queene, how her Officers did vſurpe vpon his authority: the Queene told him, that ſhee being Soueraigne in Caſtile, and in all other her realmes, might execute iuſtice in any place. The matter being debated on both ſides, it was referred to the compromiſe and iudgment of fiue perſons of the counſell, whom the Queene would name, and to fiue Channons of the Chapter of Toledo for the Cardinall: but the other affaires of Court, the ſhort ſtaye thereof at Alcala, with other hinderances, did end this ſtrife, the which remained vndecided. Then were the Iudges of the Court diſcharged of part of the Proceſſes which did
B abound in all places where the King and Queene went, the which were turned ouer to the Chancery at Valiodolit, where Don *Alphonſo de Fonſeca* Archbiſhop of Saint Iames was made Preſident, with eight Doctors for his Councell.

Contention betwixt the Archbiſhop of Toledo and the Queene.

During all theſe warres and buſineſſe Don *Ramir Nugnes de Guzman*, of whom wee haue often ſpoken heretofore, had remained in Portugall, greatly honoured by King *Iohn*. Hee vnderſtanding of the Admirall of Caſtils death, his ancient enemy, procured his friends to obtaine his pardon of King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell*, but beeing aduertiſed that the matter was now harder to bee effected then before, by reaſon that Don *Frederick*, ſonne to the deceaſed Admirall, who had begunne the quarrell, was made Admirall in his Fathers place, and highly fauoured, hee deſperately reſol-
C ued to kill him: and to effect his purpoſe, hee departed with leaue from the Court of Portugall, and came to Braganca. Don *Frederick Henriques* beeing aduertiſed by his friends what his enemy did intend, hee thought, like a wiſe man, that it was not good to hold him ſtill in diſpaire, and therefore hee ſent to *Mary Oſorio*, Don *Ramir Nugnes* mother, to let her vnderſtand, that if ſhee would come to Valiodolit to ſue for her ſonnes reſtitution, hee would aſſiſt her therein, prouided that ſhee would take order that Don *Ramir* ſhould returne back from Bragança, to the Court of Portugall.

This Lady beeing deſirous to haue her ſonne reſtored to his lands and goods, did not looſe ſo fit and vnlookt for an occaſion, but came to the Admirall, with whom after long conference, ſhe went to the court being at Alcala de Henares, where ſhe obtained,
D but not without difficulty, the goods of Don *Ramir*, as depoſitarie, and that hee might returne into Spaine, vnder the keeping of the Earle of Feria. Don *Ramir* hauing notice heereof, tooke his leaue of the King of Portugall, and came to the Earle of Ferias houſe, where hee remained three yeares, vntill his buſineſſe were brought to his concluſion; that hee might enioy his goods, and marry with his promiſed wife, the daughter to the Earle of Luna: but that hee might not goe to his owne lands, vntill the King and Queene gaue him leaue. Afterward hee was permitted to come into his owne houſes, vpon condition, that during his life he ſhould not come ouer the riuer of Duero: ſuch was the end of the quarrell cauſed by the Ladies of the Court, betwixt Don *Ramir Nugnes de Guzman*, and Don *Frederick Henriques*.

Sentence of the quarrell betwixt Don Ramir Nugnes de Guzman, and Frederick Henriques.

E Before the Court departed from Alcala de Henares, Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of Tendilla, and Doctor *Iohn de Medina*, both of them of the Kings Councell, were ſent Ambaſſadors into Italy, about the warre which was betwixt *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and Pope *Innocent*; the which Ambaſſage they performed ſo wiſely, as they made peace betwixt thoſe great Potentates. Theſe Ambaſſadors did in open Conſiſtorie performe the obedience and ſubmiſſions due to the Pope. King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell* did in the meane time cauſe diligent ſearch and puniſhment to bee made, vpon conuerted Iewes and Moores, which did returne to their old ſuperſtition. In the beginning of the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, eighty and ſixe, the Court remooued to Medina del Campo, with intent to puniſh Don *Rodrigo Oſorio* Earle of
F Lemos, who did diſquiet the countrey of Galicia, and had ſurpriſed the Caſtle of Ponferrada, driuing thence the garriſon which Captaine *George Abendagno* held for the King, and had broken in all ſorts the truce which the King had made betwixt him and the Earle of Benauent. In regarde whereof hee was commanded to repaire in perſon to the Court, but hee durſt not, and adding crimes to crimes, hee committed ſundry exceſſes and robberies in Galicia.

The Queene being buſied about the warres of Granado which ſhe ſo much affected, and not being able to goe in perſon into Galicia, gaue commiſſion to the Earle of Benauent his vtter enemy to repreſſe this inſolent Earle of Lemos. A

The ſpring time drawing neere, the city of Cordoua began already to be filled with ſouldiars ſent for by the Kings out of all the Prouinces of Spaine for the Mooriſh wars: wherefore the Kings parted from Medina, and paſſing along by Toledo came to Cordoua. There, did hourely arriue many troupes, not onely of Spaniards, but of Frenchmen, Engliſh and other forraine nations. Amongſt the Lords of Caſtile, D. *Inigo Lopes* de Mendoza Duke of Infantazgo made the braueſt and gallanteſt ſhew. The army being muſtered amounted to the number of twelue thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand able fighting foormen, great number of Cannoniers and peeces of Ordinance of all ſorts, thirty thouſand beaſts of carriage, two thouſand waggons with their equipage and ment to driue them. With theſe forces Loxa was beſeeged. Into this towne King *Mahumet* the Little had ſhut him ſelfe, breaking his faith giuen to the Kings of Caſtile, for to reconcile himſelfe to his vncle: for the Moores perceiuing, though to late, that their ordinary diuiſions and ſtrifes had plunged them into extreame ruine, they did ſo handle the matter, as they made theſe two Priences friends, who diuided the ſoueraigne autho ity betwixt them, the citty of Granado remayning neuertheleſſe to King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*: in ſuch ſort as communicating their counſels and forces together to annoy the Chriſtians, *Mahumet* the Little, did vndertake to defend Loxa, from whence diuers ſallies and hot skirmiſhes were made vpon the Kings vantgard, ſo as King *Mahumet* receiuing two wounds there, the Moores were ſhut in, the place was beſeeged, and the battery furiouſly begunne. The Duke of Infantazgo being one day vpon the guarde, did take certaine Moores of Granado who would haue entred into Loxa, by whom he had notice that King *Muley Boabdellin* came with a great power to the aide of the beſeeged, wherevpon the guardes were doubled in all places of the campe, and preparation was made for whatſoeuer might happen. The ſuburbes being opened with the Canon, they were ſharpely aſſailed and well defended, neuertheleſſe they were taken, with great effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, where the Lord Scales Generall of the Engliſh was hurt. There was found in the ſuburbes a Moore that was a Weauer, who was ſo obſtinate, as ſeeing the place to bee taken, and that the other Moores with-drew themſelues into the towne, would not for all that leaue his owne houſe, ſaying, that hee had rather die by iron then die in irons, ſeeing that Loxa which was wont to defend the Moores and offend the Chriſtians, was now the repaire of the enemies, and the graue of her owne citizens, and in this obſtinacy hee was ſlaine. The ſuburbes being wonne, they beganne to batter the towne in ſuch ſort as in a ſhort time, the walles, towers, and defenſes were ouerthrowne, ſo as the Moores which defended them, lay open and expoſed to the Cannons mouth, which did ſo terrifie and diſcourage them as they craued parley and compoſition vpon theſe conditions: That King *Mahumet* the Little ſhould be pardoned for his diſobedience paſſed: that hee ſhould giue ouer the title of King of Granado, and intitle himſelfe thence forward Marquis of Guadix, if ſo bee that hee could recouer the place within ſixe monthes next enſuing, and that it might be lawfull for him to goe into Affrica, or to liue in the country of Granado or elſe in Caſtile as ſhould ſeeme beſt vnto him, and that the Moores which were within Loxa might doe the like. Theſe things agreed vpon, Loxa was yeelded, and the gouernment thereof committed to Don *Aluaro* de Luna Lord of Fuente Duegna, proceſſions and ſignes of ioy were made at Cordoua and elſe-where for the taking of this towne. The Meſquites being purged, the Queene prouided them of ornaments after the accuſtomed manner.

The King of Caſtiles army at the ſiege of Loxa. B C D E

Loxa yeelded.

From thence the King ſent the Maiſter of Saint Iames and the Marquis of Cales, with foure thouſand horſe, and twelue thouſand foot to beginne the ſeege of Illora a very ſtrong place and well defended, diſtant three leagues from Granado: whither the reſt of the army being come, the quarters and lodgings appointed, and well fortified hauing ſet watches, and ſentinells in the fields, vpon towers and high eminent places, to diſcouer from a farre off, (for being ſo nere Granado, they feared ſome ſodaine and vnlooked for F

A for aſſault of the Moores) the ſuburbes were beaten and aſſailed, where the Duke of Infantazgo with his troupes, had the honour of the firſt aſſault: but he perceiuing his ſouldiars, who at the muſter made the gallanteſt ſhew in bravery of armor and apparell aboue all others, to goe coldly to the fight, cried out vnto them, How now my fellowes, "
ſhall men ſay of you, that you are of the number of thoſe braggarts which are of no o- "
ther worth then to make a ſhew in the ſtreetes and in a muſter, where men are out of "
danger and farre from blowes; and that you are couragious in nothing but ſpending of "
your money in bravery like vnto women, no, no, ſouldiars, your honor conſiſteth in be- "
ing valiant in fight, and therefore if you be men, preferre it before your liues, and doe "
B not endure, that being beaten backe from this place with double ſhame, other men "
ſhould carry away the glory from you: for mine owne part rather then I will bluſh at "
your baſeneſſe and cowardize, I am reſolued not to ſuruiue ſuch a ſhame, but forgetting "
the place which I hold, I will caſt my ſelfe into the breach amid the greateſt throng of the "
enemies; and whoſoeuer loue their honour let them follow me. "

The ſouldiars being aſhamed, at this ſpeech reiterated by the Earle of Cabra and others, they tooke courage, beſeeching their captaine to command them what they ſhould doe, and they marched with ſuch fury againſt the enemies, as entring into the ſuburbes, they made a pittifull ſlaughter of all thoſe which could not ſoone enough get into the city; againſt the which, the cannon beeing planted, the flankes and curtines were ſoone ouerthrowne and infinite numbers of houſes perced thorow: ſo as the
C Moores fearing to bee ſooner forced by the enemies, then ſuccoured by their friends, yeelded themſelues and went forth of the towne with bagge and baggage, and without their armes. The King gaue the garriſon of Illora, to Don *Gonçalo Hernandes* de Cordoua brother to Don *Alphonſo* d'Aguilar, who was afterward ſurnamed the great captaine. *Illora yeeldeth to king Fernand.*

The army after that, marched to Moclin, whether Queene *Iſabella* came to ioyne with the campe at Loxa. The towne had beene newly fortified with towers and bulwarkes, more then in former times, but the battery was made with ſuch ſtore of ordinance, as nothing could reſiſt it: the Chriſtians beſides did vſe diuers kindes of artifi-
D ciall fiers, the which did great hurt to the beſeeged, and burnt all their ſtore of gunpoulder, by meanes of a pot of this wild fire which flew in the ayre, and did ſtick faſt in a tower where the ſaid poulder lay, which was blowne vp into the ayre; wherewith the Moores being amazed, they did compound to depart with their liues and goods ſaued. Moclin being taken, part of the army was ſent to beate Montefrio, they were the troupes of Stuill, Xeres, and Carmona, whileſt the King with the reſidew thereof made ſpoile vpon the confines of Granado, not without diuers incounters and ſharpe skirmiſhes with the Moores, who came forth of the head city. The King being returned to Moclin, the captaines of Montefrio and Colomera preſented themſelues vnto him demanding compoſition, which was granted them, and the Moores went forth of thoſe two places to Granado with their goods, but they left their armor, weapons and victuals behind them. *Moclin taken.*
E All theſe places which were taken were rampired and fortified with good garriſons, victuals, and other neceſſaries, and hauing left D. *Frederike* de Toledo, ſonne to D. *Garcy Aluares* of Toledo Duke of Alua, captaine generall of the who country newly conquered, the King and Queene returned to Cordoua.

Not long after, they marched towards Leon, to order the affaires of Galicia, which was greatly troubled, by the inſolency of the Earle of Lemos, who neuertheleſſe appearing before the Kings, did humbly craue his pardon and obtained it, being fauoured by diuers great Lords of the Court: Hee was notwithſtanding enioyned not to enter into Galicia for a certaine time, and the places of Ponferrada, Sarria and Caſtro-real
F were taken from him and were applied to the crowne, the Kings neuertheleſſe giuing a certaine ſumme of money for the marriage of his aunts.

Theſe things thus ordered, the Kings went to viſit Saint Iames his Church, in the which city they builded a goodly Hoſpitall, for the releeſe of the poore and of pilgrims, from thence fetching a circuit round about the country of Galicia, they redreſſed diuers tyranies which were there committed, reſtoring diuers monaſteries and Churches, which *The Hoſpitall of Saint Iames, built by King Fernand and Queene Iſabel for the releeſe of pilgrims.*

were by force diſpoſſeſſed of their goods, lands, and reuenewes by certaine Knights and Gentlemen. To containe whom and all others in their duties, they eſtabliſhed a Iudgement ſeate of foure Auditors, which was the beginning of the Royall Audience of Galicia, and they confirmed Don *Diego Lopes* Earle of Haro in his dignity of Viceroy of the country, as he had beene in time before. And the better to procure the peace of the countrey, they cauſed diuerſe ſtrong houſes to be ouer-throwne and razed to the ground which ſerued for the repaire of theeues and robbers, and carried away with them out of Galicia diuerſe mutinous and quarrellous Gentlemen, to the end they ſhould employ their ſtrength and courage in the warre againſt the Moores. The Court beeing returned to Benauent, the Earle ſhewed himſelfe very liberall and magnificent in the entertainment of the Kings and the great Lords: from thence they came to Salamanca, where they ſpent the remainder of this yeare 1486.

Mutinous and quarrelſome perſons ſent forth of the Country vnder cooller of other employment.

It hapned this yeare in the towne of Trugillo, that the Iudge or Corrigidor of the place, hauing laide hands vpon a Prieſt for committing ſome notorious crime, and not ſending him ſoone enough to his ordinary Iudge, the priſoners kinſ folke hauing taken a Croſſe in their hands, ranne vp and downe the Citty crying out for helpe, and ſaid that the holy Catholicke faith was trodden vnder foote, the which did ſo ſtirre vp the brutiſh multitude, as they ranne to take Armes, and came in tumultuous manner to the Corrigidors lodging, who was glad to make haſt to deliuer the priſoner, whereof the King and Queene had notice, who were greatly diſpleaſed with ſuch ſeditions, and ſent certaine Iudges and Commiſſioners to Trugillo with forces, who executed diuerſe of the mutiners according to lawe.

Mutiny vnder ſhew of religion.

This yeare, *Chriſtopher Colombus* borne at Cugurco vpon the riuer of Genoa, came to the Court of Caſtile, who made offer to ſearch the Occidentall Ocean, where hee did vndertake to diſcouer a great land, riche and aboundant in gold and other commodities, crauing ayde of the King and Queen of money and ſhippes, to furniſh him out on ſuch a voyage. *Colombus* was a man very expert in Nauigation, and vntill that time hee had gotten his liuing by making Sea Cardes. Hee beeing married, and dwelling in the Iſle of Madera; a ſhippe of Biſcay, which had for many dayes beene driuen vp and downe by tempeſts, and caſt vpon the ſame coaſts, whereof hee did then ſpeake, did happen to arriue in the Iſland, *Colombus* brought the Pilot thereof and three other Marriners home to his houſe, who hauing endured much miſery at ſea, did there dye, and in recompence of their kinde entertainment, they did amply informe their hoaſt, whereabout theſe lands lay, and with what windes a man might ſaile thether. *Colombus* being a man of a quick apprehenſion, and great courage, came to King *Iohn* of Portugall, hoping to perſwade him to vndertake that Nauigation, offering him his ſeruice therein, and after that to King *Henry* the ſeauenth of England; in the end to Don *Henriques de Guzman* Duke of Medina Sidonia, and to Don *Lewis de la Cerde* Duke of Medina Celi, who held commodious Hauens in Caſtile, beſeeching them to ayde him in ſo worthy an enterpriſe: but all his trauaile was to no purpoſe, for they eſteemed him as an Italian, who by bragges and vaunts of matters which hee knew not, endeuoured to releeue his pouerty. Now this yeare hee came to Court with letters from Frier *Iohn Peres de Marchena*, one excellently learned in all humane learning, who dwelt at *Rauida*, which gaue good teſtimony of *Colombus* skill, yet all this was to ſmall purpoſe: and without the aſſiſtance of *Alphonſo de Quintanilla*, hee was at the point to haue giuen ouer all: *Quintanilla* hauing brought him to his houſe, and well founded him, gaue him acceſſe to the Cardinall of Spaine, and after that, to diuerſe of the Kings ſpeciall fauourites, by whoſe meanes hee was ſundry times heard diſcourſe, in ſo much as his ſpeech beganne to pleaſe, and the Kings promiſed him ayde and employment for the diſcouerie of a new world, ſo ſoone as the warres of Granado were ended: In this manner *Colombus*, full of hope and courage, did conſtantly purſue, for the ſpace of ſixe whole yeares, the effects of the Kings promiſe, till at laſt it was performed. Hee was a man firme and conſtant in what hee vndertooke, ſtrong and able in trauaile, ſeuere, and chollerick, bigge of limbes and ſtature, redde faced and full of pimples.

The firſt comming of Chriſtopher Colombus, to the King and Queene of Caſtile.

Qualities of Chriſtopher Colombus.

The

A The Court lying at Salamanca, the Kings cauſed the Court of Chancerie to remoone from Valliodolit into their owne pallace there, which was the Biſhops houſe, to the end they might be eye-witneſſes, after what manner they ended ſuites, and did adminiſter iuſtice, in regard many complaints were made of them. And beeing aduertiſed that the Marſhall Don *Pero d' Ayala* had cauſed a Scriueners head to be cut off, who was one of his tenants, for giuing his mother Donna *Maria*, with whom hee was at ſtrife, a coppie of his fathers will, they ſent to take him priſoner, and to ſeize vpon his goods. *Prince ſo eare full of iuſtice.*

When he was brought to Court, the Conſtable, who was allyed vnto him, (for hee had married a Neece of his, daughter to the Earle of Miranda) would haue departed, ſaying, that he would not be preſent at the iudgement of one ſo neere vnto him: but the B Queene aſſuring the Conſtable, that the Marſhall ſhould not bee touched neither in life nor member, ſtayed him there. The controuerſie betwixt the mother and the ſonne, was referred to the Kings Councell, as alſo the difference betwixt the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Earle of Alua de Liſta, about the Earledome of Niebla, which the Earle ſaid did belong vnto him in right of his mother; which controuerſie remaynes at this day vndecided. The countrey of Biſcay beeing at this time ſomewhat troubled, in regard the Kings Officers did ſeeme to incroach vppon their priuiledges, the Licenciate *Garcy Lopes* of Chincilla, one of the Kings Councell, was ſent thither, who did iuſtice, and reformed many matters: but he could neuer obtaine of the people, that the Biſhops ſhould C come into the countrey to viſit the Churches, who ſayd, that it was againſt their priuiledges. In regard of the warre againſt the Moores great leauies of ſouldiers were made as well in Biſcay, Alaua, Guipuſcoa, Aſturia's, as Gallicia, who marched into Andaluſia towards Cordoua. *Biſhops baniſhed from Biſcay.*

The ſtate of the Moores, which was the other day vnited, became on a ſudden diuided, it beeing an impoſſible matter for two Soueraignes to commaund in one country. King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*, which poſſeſſed the cittie of Granado, with a great part of the countrie, began a freſh to purſue his Nephew *Mahomet* the Little; putting all thoſe Moores to death which tooke his part, confiſcating the goods of ſuch as he could catch: and he laboured by all meanes to procure King *Mahomets* death by poyſon or o- D therwiſe, who after the taking of Loxa, had withdrawne himſelfe into the towne of Velez the white. To that place there came to him a very dangerous Ambaſſage from his vncle *Muley*, fayning to treate of peace and concord, with too great ſubmiſſions, the better to diſguiſe his intent, which was to kill *Mahomet*, and the Ambaſſadours had expreſſe charge ſo to do, who brought him ſome poyſoned preſents, to the end that if they fayled in the execution of the one, yet the other might take effect. King *Mahumet* beeing aduertiſed by his friends of the Ambaſſadours intents, would by no meanes heare or ſee them, nor yet receiue their gifts, but ſent them word to tell his Vncle *Muley Boabdellin*, that he was ſufficiently warned of his proceedings, and that he would accept of no other conditions from him, but onely to throw him out of the royall throne of Granado, E which was his true inheritance, and did in no ſort belong vnto him, who was a tyrant and a murtherer of the Princes of his bloud, for the which he did hope ſhortly to chaſtiſe him, and to cut off his head. Moores.

Now was King *Mahomet* ayded and aſſiſted by the commandement of the kings of Caſtile, by *Iohn de Benauides*, Gouernour of Lorcia, and by Don *Frederick* of Toledo, Gouernor of the new-conquered countreys, and other Chriſtian Captaines, who did often enter into the lands and territories of Granado, and were ſundrie times conſtrayned to beate backe the enemies, and to defend their owne gouernements from their inuaſions. This aſſiſtance notwithſtanding, King *Mahomet* the Little was euill intreated by the contrarie partie, diſpoſſeſſed almoſt of all, and brought into deſpayre, by which he was dri- F uen to a marueilous hazard, either to loſe all, or winne all: for hee went ſecretly to Granado, not hauing any intelligence there, and arriuing in the night at the gate of the Albaycin, he called to the guards, by whom he was knowne and brought in, hauing but foure or fiue men in his company: there he aſſembled diuers of the inhabitants of the Albaycin, and did ſo well lay open the tyrannies and wrongs which King *Muley* his Vncle had done to him, and did ſo perſwade them by forcible reaſons to fauour his right to the *Reſh enterpriſe of K. Mahumet the Little.*

Crowne

Crowne of Granado, as euery one beeing mooued with pitty towards him, and rage A
Great ſedition in Granado. againſt the tyrant, did take armes in his behalfe, and raiſed a great tumult in the Citty, crying out, that *Mahomet* was lawfull King. In the morning King *Muley Boabdelin*, who lay in the Forte of *Alhambra*, vnderſtanding that his Nephew had ſeazed on the Albaycin, cauſed his people to arme themſelues, and came forth into the Citty, where hee likewiſe had many partakers, where this curſed nation made ſuch hauock and ſpoile one vpon an other, as imagining the ſtreetes not to bee ſpacious enough for their furie, they went forth into the fields, and fought a fierce combate, wherein dyed multitudes of men, and then returning euery one into his owne Forte, they renewed the skirmiſhes and aſſaults a freſh: but *Mahomet* the little, perceiuing his party to be the weaker, hee B
ſent to Don *Frederick de Toledo*, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of Alua, who was Generall of the Chriſtians in the next garriſons, to entreate ayde and ſuccour from him. Don *Frederick* who was wiſe and diſcreet, gathered together all the forces hee could, and came neere to Granada, but would by no meanes enter into it, to meete whom King *Mahomet* ſent a Moore Captaine named *Aben-Comix* with certaine troopes of horſe, hee himſelfe remaining in the Citty, fortifying himſelfe in certaine places. King *Muley* vnderſtanding of Don *Fredericks* comming, ſent to offer him battaile, but hee would not accept thereof, ſaying, that the Moores feigned to haue quarrels among themſelues, by that meanes to entrappe him and his ſoldiours, and to encloſe them: wherefore keeping his forces in good order without ſtirring, hee placed the Moores horſemen C
ledde by *Aben-comix* in the Front to ſuſtaine the enemies skirmiſhes, which were furious and bloudy. King *Muley Boabdelin el Zagal*, perceiuing that the Chriſtians kept themſelues in order, and that by no meanes they would come to battaile, hee did reenter the Citty, and began to aſſaile the Albaycin, which was couragiouſly defended, in regarde that Don *Frederick* ſtayed more then an houre after, in order of battaile before the Citty: but afterward hee returned into his Forr, leauing the Moores to murther one another; and becauſe hee knew that vpon *Mahomet* the littles victory, King *Ferdinands* and Queene *Iſabels* content and profit did depend, hee ſent him certaine Harquebuziers vnder the conduct of *Ferdinand Aluares* Gouernour of Colmera, by whoſe valour the Albaycin held out, and the aſſaults and combates continued fifty dayes after, D
King *Boabdelins* people beeing vexed within by King *Mahomet*, and abroad, by the Chriſtians of the next garriſons.

Caſtile. Whileſt theſe troubles continued in Granado betwixt the two factions, King *Ferdinand* hauing aſſembled and reuiewed the troopes, which from all parts were arriued at Cordoua, hee went to field with an Armie of twenty thouſand horſe, as well men at Armes, as Genets, and of fifty thouſand foote: the chiefe Commanders were the Maiſters of Saint James and Alcantara, the Duke of Nagera, the Marquis of Cales, and Villena, the Earles of Benauent, Vregna, Cabra, Oropeſa, Feria, Cifuentes, Oſorno, Medellin, and Ribadeo. Don *Alphonſo d' Aguilar*, the Treaſurer of Calatraua, with the Captaines generall of the Frontiers of Andaluzia and Murcia. Thoſe which ſent their E
forces thether, were the Cardinall of Spaine Archbiſhop of Toledo, the Archbiſhop of Siuill, the Biſhops of Burgos and Cuenca, the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, Alua, Playſance, Medina Celi, and Albuquerque, the maiſter of Calatraua, the Marquis of Aſtorga, and Aguilar, the Earles of Caſtro, Gragna, Saint Steeuens, Miranda, Nieua, Priego, Fuenſalida, Alua de Liſta, Montagu, the Conſtable, the great Commanders of Calatraua and Leon, with other Lords and Knights of Caſtile. There came likewiſe from Arragon diuers great Lords, among whom was Don *Phillip* of Nauarre, baſtard ſonne to the late Prince *Charles* of Viana, whom King *Ferdinand* his Vncle had newly made maiſter of the order of Monteſa in the Realme of Valentia, hauing obtained it of the Pope, and depoſed *Philip Boyll* from the ſame dignity, who had beene elected maiſter thereof con- F
uentually. Don *Lewis Borgia* Duke of Gandia was likewiſe there, with many others of Arragon, Valentia, Sicill and Sardinia. With theſe great forces they vndertooke to goe and beſeege Malaga, but firſt of all it was thought fit to remooue all letts and impediments that *Velez Malaga* might do vnto them, the which place was beſeeged in Aprill 1487.

1487. *Velez Malaga beſieged.*

And the king being deſirous to lodge certaine companies of footmen vpon a riſing hill, which

A which did greatly import the ſaftie of the armie, the Moores making a furious ſalley foorth of the cittie, did beate them from thence, and the King was the ſame time armed with a Cuiraſſe, his ſword in his hand, expoſing himſelfe that day to the enemies arrowes and ſhot, which fell round about him as thicke as haile, beeing in great danger of his perſon: neuertheleſſe his people by his preſence were encouraged, and forced the Moores to turne their backes, and to ſhut themſelues into the towne.

Albeit, that this valour of the kings be prayſe-worthie, and highly to bee extolled as a ſingular example, yet notwithſtanding it may be reproued, in regard of the conſequence of a miſchiefe which might haue happened, therefore they beſought him, no more to ha-
B zard his perſon in ſuch dangerous attempts. The next day they aſſayled the ſuburbes, where the Moores had barricadoed themſelues, who defended it for the ſpace of ſixe whole houres with ſuch obſtinacie, as the Chriſtians could not get one foote of ground from them, vntill that the Duke of Nagera, and the Earle of Benauent came with freſh ſuccours, who cauſed the enemies to leaue the place, but to the coſt of diuers: for *Nugno d'Aquila*, and Don *Martin* of Acugna were ſlayne there, Don *Carlo* of Gueuara, *Garcy Lazo de la Vega*, *Fernando de Vega*, *Iohn de Merlo*, with diuers other men of note were hurt. The Artillerie was not yet come to the campe, therefore King *Fernand* cauſed diuers forts to be made againſt the citie, wherein he lodged diuers companies of ſouldiers, and being well acquainted with the Mores pollicies, he placed in all the wayes that led to
C the campe, in the mountaines and vallies, which might any way be an hinderance to the armie, diuers watches and ſentinels, with places for them to retire vnto, which were well furniſhed and defended by valiant ſouldiers; vppon which occaſions, ſundrie profitable things were ordained neceſſarie for martiall diſcipline, the Moores neuer ceaſing from comming downe from the Mountaines, and making many enterpriſes vppon the armie which they kept in continuall alarme.

King *Muley Boabdallin* on the other ſide, beeing importuned by the Affricane Captaines, and old Moores of Granado to ſuccor Velez Malaga, he went to field with great numbers of horſe and foote, and paſſing thorough ſharpe and narrow places, hee ſent part of his forces from Bentomnix againſt the Maſter of Alcantara, who conducted the
D artillerie; but hauing intelligence, that king *Fernand* had ſent the great Commaunder of Leon for his conuoy, he called backe the Moores, and with all his forces he beganne the very ſame night to come downe from the hilles, and preſented himſelfe in order of battell in the view of the Chriſtian armie, making ſhew as if they would ſuccour the beſeeged, or elſe dye in fight. This ſudden and vnlookt-for arriuall of the enemies, made diuers at their wits end, and did in a manner terrifie them: wherefore it behooued king *Fernand* to vſe his beſt skill and diſcretion, ſo to order matters, as he might not receiue a diſgrace: but Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, brother to the Cardinall of Spaine, a braue and reſolute knight, beeing in the fore-ward with the Cardinals forces, did put them out of feare: for he gallantly oppoſed himſelfe againſt the front of the Mores bat-
E talions, and made them to ſtand ſtill. They perceiuing the Chriſtians valour and boldneſſe, did diſlodge by breake of day, like runawayes in ſuch amazement, as many of them flung away their weapons and armor, to be the lighter to run. This notwithſtanding, the king would not be ouer confident, but cauſed euery man to ſtand ſtill in his order the whole day long and the night following, vntill he had certaine notice that the Moores flight was not fained but true.

Shamefull retreate of the Moores.

King *Muley Boabdellin* by this ſhamefull retreate loſt his reputation amongſt his own Moores.
people, ſo as they beganne to deteſt him, and to incline to his aduerſarie *Mahomet* the Little. This Mooriſh armie did diſperſe it ſelfe into ſundrie places, and *Muley* with-drew himſelfe to Alnumeçar, and then to Almerie, from whence he went to Guadix. By this
F diſgrace of his, King *Mahumet* the Little found meanes to recouer the Alhambra, and all the ſtrong places of the Cittie, where hee cut off the heads of foure Mooriſh knights of the noble family of Aben Carrax, becauſe they had oppoſed themſelues againſt him at his returne from priſon. By this meanes he remayned King of Granado alone, and making vſe of the king of Caſtiles friendſhip, hee obtained two truces for his vaſſals, and ſufferance to go and trafficke in their dominions, and to buy all kind of merchandizes,

Muley Boabdellin vanquiſhed, & Mahomet the Little receiued by the Granadins.

armor,

armor, and victuals excepted: and hee did not not onely obtaine it for thoſe Moores, A
which were now obedient vnto him, but for all thoſe that would ſubmit themſelues to
his Crowne hereafter, and beſides that, ſouldiers, artillerie, and all other prouiſion to
purſue his Vncle, and to annoy thoſe places which were vnder his ſubiection, publiſh-
ing declaratorie letters of his loue and good will towards all ſuch as within ſixe moneths
after would ſubmit themſelues to him, and threatning grieuous puniſhment to the ob-
ſtinate and rebelllous.

Caſtille. The Moores within Velez Malaga hauing ſeene the flight of their King *Muley Boabdel-*
lin el Zagal were out of all hope to receiue any ſuccour from him, and fearing that as
ſoone as the artillerie was come, they ſhould be enforced to yeeld, they compounded by B
the meanes of the Earle of Cifuentes, and yeelded vp the place, their liues and goods
beeing ſaued, their victuals and armor excepted: and they had licence to depart into Af-
fricke, or elſe-where, or if it pleaſed them, they might remaine in Caſtile. The towne of
Bentommix followed the example of Velez Malaga, and the gouernement thereof was
giuen to *Pietro Nauarro*, who from a poore youth, (although a gentleman) and from be-
ing a marriner, as it is reported, attained to the degree of a Captaine, and afterward be-
came one of the moſt famous men of his time, as well in the warres of Spaine as Italy,
and was created Earle of Albeto. The towne of Comares, and diuers other Caſtles of
the Countrey called las Alpuxares, hearing of the Kings of Caſtiles good ſucceſſe, did
at the firſt ſummons without any reſiſtance ſubmit themſelues to their obedience, pay- C
ing the ſame tribute to them which they did vſe to pay to the Moore kings; and vppon
other conditions which were impoſed vppon them, to the end to be the better aſſured of
them, till ſuch time as they did become Mudejares, whereby they might liue in their vain
ſuperſtion. The gouernement of Velez Malaga was giuen to the great Commaunder
Don *Guttiere de Cardegna*, Superintendent or high Treaſurer to the Kings.

Malaga beſe-
ged. The neighbour Countries beeing thus cleanſed of the enemies places of retreate, the
armie marched to the ſeege of Malaga, a cittie, as hath beene ſayd, exceeding ſtrong,
and well prouided of men, victuals, and all other neceſſaries: within the which a valiant
Captaine called *Hali Duax*, had the commaund of diuers valiant Moores, as well of the
Realme of Granado, as of Affricane Gomeres, but vnderneath a Generall, or Alcayde D
major, who was as Conſtable to the King *el Zagal*, whoſe name was *Amet-zeli*, who
was then at Guadix, from whence the King made warre vppon his Nephew, and from
thence, at the earneſt entreatie of his ſubiects, hee intended to ſuccour Malaga, if neede
were; which the Kings of Caſtile ſent to ſummon, promiſing libertie to the Moores, and
aſſurance of their liues and goods: but they anſwered that their king had placed them
there, not to giue the towne to the Kings of Caſtile, but valiantly to defend it, whereof
they meant to ſhew ſufficient proofes.

This anſwer beeing made, they conſulted whether it were beſt to batter it, or elſe to
beſeege it a farre off, cutting off their victuals, and annoying them by the neighbour ga-
riſons, vntill they were enforced to yeeld: the king remained firme in his opinion, which E
was to beſeege it roundly neere hand, notwithſtanding, that they prayed him to conſi-
der the great ſtrength thereof, as well by nature as by art: for the cittie of Malago ſtands
vpon a plaine on the ſea ſide, which beates vppon the walles, wherewith it is well round-
ded: and it was flanquered with ſtrong towers according to thoſe times, hauing two Ca-
ſtles ſeated vppon a little hill, one of which is called Alcaçaua, and the other Gibraltar,
which is the higheſt of the two, whereunto men go from the one to the other, by a way
about ſixe foote broade, betwixt two great walles, wherewith it was couered, and theſe
two fortreſſes were likewiſe compaſſed with ſtrong walls and high towers, furniſhed with
Artillerie, engines of defence, and great numbers of valiant ſouldiers, who were all of
them determined rather to dye then to yeeld. F

Now for the more eaſie and commodious lodging of the armie, it was needfull to
winne a little hill, ſeated a ſtones caſt from the fort of Gibralfar, betwixt the ſame and
an high hill: there the Moores made great reſiſtance, notwithſtanding it was wonne, and
foureteene thouſand footmen, and fiue and twenty hundred horſe were placed there, vn-
der the commaund of the Marquis of Cales: the next day after, they diſpoſed the quar-

ters

A ters round about the towne: the Marquis had the firſt, with whome were Don *Gattiere* of Sottomajor, Don *Aluaro Baçan*, *Fernand de Vega*, and the Pourveyor of Villafranca, Don *Pedro Vaca*, and *Garcy Brauo* Captaine of Atiença, with other Captaines and Knights, namely, *Charles Areillan*, *Hernand Carillo*, Don *Franciſco* of Bouadilla, Don *Diego Lopes d Ayala*, *George de Veteta*, Gouernour of Soria, and *Michel d'Abaſſa*. The next quarter belonged to Don *Diego Fernand* of Cordoua, hauing charge of the forces of the Dukes of Albuquerque, and of Medina Sidonia, and ſo conſequently euery man had his quarter diſpoſed to him round about the cittie, the Earle of Ciſuentes, Captaine of the men of Siuill, Don *Lorenzo Suares Figueroa*, Earle of Feria, and Don *Guttiere* of
B Padilla, Treaſurer of Calatraua with the forces of Eccia, thoſe of the Earle of Benauent, thoſe of *Pero Carillo* of *Albornos*, and of the Arch-biſhop of Siuill, then the companies of the Earle of Vregna, thoſe of Don *Alphonſo* of Aguilar, of the Duke of Nagera, of Don *Fredericke* of Toledo, of *Iohn Aluares*, and of *Alphonſo Oſorio*: Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza followed after with the forces of the Cardinall his brother, the Earle of Cabra, the great Commaunder of Leon, with the men of Cordoua, thoſe of Don *Garcy Lopes* of Padilla, Maſter of Calatraua, of Don *Antonio* of Fonſeca, of *Antonio d'Aguilar*, of Don *Alphonſo* of Cardegna, Maſter of Saint Iames, thoſe of Don *Lewis Fernand Porto Carrero* Lord of Palma, and of Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga Maſter of Alcantara.

Malaga beeing thus beſeeged, the Kings tent was knowne by the Moores, who beſtowed many cannon ſhot vpon it from the cittie, ſo as they were conſtrayned to re-
C mooue it behind a little hil. The batterie planted to the moſt conuenient places was great and furious from the Marquis of Cales quarter againſt the Caſtle of Gibralfar, the which in many places was pierced and ouerthrowne in many places, and as ſoone repayred by the Moores. The Marquis hauing taken away the towers which did offend him, aduanced his lodging a ſtones caſt nearer to the fort, but hee was conſtrained to returne to his former quarter by the continuall ſallies which the Moores made vpon him and his people, fighting with ſuch furie, as they came to the poynyard, and ſlue the Captaine of Atiença, and *Inigo Lopes* of Medran, Lord of Cauagnillas, *Gabriel* of Sottomajor, and o-
D ther valiant men, beſides diuers hurt, in the number of whome was the Marquis, who was ſhot into the arme with an arrow, for the Moores fought from a place of great aduantage. At this ſeege, two great ſhippes of warre arriued on the coaſt of Malaga, commaunded by Don *Ladron de Gueuara* ſent from Flanders by *Maximilian* of Auſtria king of the Romaines, husband to the heire of Bourgondie, and father to *Philip* which was ſonne-in-law to the Kings of Caſtile, who for the ſeruice of this warre did ſend theſe two veſſels laden with diuers peeces of braſſe Ordonance, and barrels of powder, bels for the vſe of the Churches of the places newly conquered, great ſtore of mettall, with workmen to worke it, with other inſtruments and things neceſſarie for the warre, beeing deſirous for his part to partake in ſome ſort the honour of this great conqueſt which his poſteritie enioyeth at this day. A tower of the cittie beeing wonne with great toyle and effuſion of
E bloud, was quickly recouered againe by the Moores, who grew more obſtinate in their defence, by meanes of a falſe rumor raiſed by certaine cowards of the campe, which deſired to returne home againe, who ſayd, that Queene *Izabella* did ſollicite the King her husband to rayſe his ſeege, becauſe the plague was within and about diuers places of the Cittie, and in this hope the Barbarians did valiantly reſiſt all aſſaults. The King to let them vnderſtand, that his intent was otherwiſe, ſent for the Queene to come to the campe, who was accompanied thither by great numbers of voluntarie Knights: and then hee ſent word to the beſeeged, that if they would yeeld, he would vſe them gently as hee had done others, if not, he gaue them to vnderſtand, that he would not depart thence, till the cittie were taken, and that then they ſhould expect nothing but rigor; to the which they
F made no anſwer, but did ſtreightly commaund that not any one amongſt them ſhould dare, vpon paine of life, to talke of any agreement or compoſition with the kings of Caſtile: and they did indeed kill diuers vppon the ſame occaſion, being reſolued to hold out till their laſt breath, the which did greatly prolong the ſeege, where powder beginning to fayle, the gallies were ſent to Valencia, Barcelona, yea into Sicill, which brought thither great quantitie.

The Emperor Maximillian ſends Artillery and powder from Flanders to the king of Caſtile.

The

The King of Portugall beeing entreated to ſend ſome thither likewiſe, did it willingly, A
& with great ſpeed. There was no part of the day almoſt, which was free from skirmiſhes,
where many men of either ſide dyed daily: wherefore certaine Moores of the Cittie bee-
ing diſpleaſed with the loſſe of their friends, and fore-ſeeing the danger whereinto they
were likely to fall, yet not daring to ſpeake of compoſition, did ſecretly ſend a meſſen-
ger to the campe, to tell king *Fernand*, that if he would promiſe to ſaue their liues and
goods, they would giue him entrance, whereunto the king conſented, and as this Moore
returned, he was taken by certaine Gomeres of Affricke, who aſſayled him with their
ſwords in ſuch ſort, as he returning hurt to the campe, dyed there, and ſo the treaty ended.
As the land skirmiſhes were continuall, ſo were thoſe at ſea, where the armie of Caſtile B
did hinder, as much as in them lay, any entrance of comming foorth of the cittie, and to
redreſſe the ſallies by land, there were by the diligence of *Garcy Lazo de la Vega*, *Iohn d'E-
ſtuniga*, and *Diego* of Tayde, diuers forts made, and great trenches drawne, where diuers
great Corps de gard were placed, ſo as the Moores in that manner ſhutte in, could not
do ſo much hurt, nor vexe the armie as before it had done, the Moores beeing neuer-
theleſſe conſtant in their reſolution to hold out to the laſt man, nothwithſtanding that
victuals did greatly decreaſe in the cittie: for they were aduertiſed by diuers traitors of
the campe of whatſoeuer was done there good or bad, and oftentimes they told them,
that which was falſe, in ſuch ſort as they were not diſcouraged, but did beleeue, that the
king and Queene would ſhortly bee conſtrained to depart thence, and there were ſome C
that left the cittie, vnder color of yeelding themſelues to the King, and to become Chri-
ſtians, who falſely reported, that there was great and incredible aboundance of victuals,
and all other neceſſaries in the cittie, to the end thereby to cauſe the Chriſtians to leaue
the ſeege, the which report did put the King and his Councell into a ſtudie, whether they
ſhould ceaſe the batteries and aſſaults, and keepe the ſeege by ſea with certaine gallies,
or elſe by land with certaine forts to ſtarue them by little and little: but weighing the na-
The Arabians liue with a little. ture of that nation, who liue with ſo little meate, as it is to be wondered at, this counſell
was reiected as vnfruitfull, wherefore the batteries were renewed, and to that end diuers
artificiall engines were made of excellent inuention, and mynes were wrought in diuers
places, which beeing diſcouered by the induſtrious and vigilant Moores, were cauſe of D
the death of a great number of braue ſouldiers. King *Boabdellin el Zagal* beeing daily ſol-
licited to ſuccour Malaga, went foorth of Guadix, with certaine troupes of horſe
and foote, but beeing met and encountred by the army of his nephew *Mahomet*, which
came foorth of Granado for the ſame purpoſe, hee was vanquiſhed and put to flight,
whereof King *Fernand* had ſpeedie intelligence, to his great contentment. Within the
beſeeged cittie were certaine Moores that were eſteemed holy men, who with mad and
idle prattle went about to encourage the ſouldiers, ſaying, that the dead did greatly de-
ſire to riſe againe, for to helpe them to driue the Chriſtians thence, with other ſuch like
words, which were of great force to animate that ſuperſtitious race. There arriued at the
campe freſh ſupplies of horſe and foote from Arragon, Valencia, and Cattalognia, E
which did much encourage the aſſaylants, who had this aduantage, not to want victuals.
The K. of Tremeſſen being aduertiſed by the Mores which daily paſt into Affricke vnder
the Kings ſafe-conduct of their great good ſucceſſe in thoſe warres of Granado, ſent his
Ambaſſadours to them with rich preſents, who did requeſt their friendſhip and prote-
ction, and permiſſion for their Kings ſubiects to ſaile vpon the ſeas without hurt or feare
of the Spaniſh gallies, the which was graunted them, ſo as the King their maiſter did not
giue ayde and aſſiſtance to thoſe of Malaga, and other Mores of Granado their enemies.
Matters ſtanding at a ſtay, a certaine Moore borne at Tunis, leading a ſolitarie life neere
to Guadix, called *Abraham Alguerri*, a man of a low ſtature, and aged, began to preach
how that their Prophet *Mahumet* had reuealed to him, that if Malaga were this one time F
releeued, it ſhould neuer more be in danger to be taken: therefore vnder the conduct of
this Hermite, who was reputed a holy man, foure hundred horſemen did hazard to enter
the towne, who making way thorough the guards and trenches of the campe, two hun-
dred of them paſſed into the cittie, and the reſt of them were cut in peeces.

The Hermite in the meane time had withdrawne himſelfe aſide, and looking as if hee had

A had beene rauiſhed in ſpirit, was at his prayers in great deuotion: the Chriſtian ſouldiors which purſued the Moores did finde him, and brought him before the Marquis of Cales, who askt him what he was, hee made anſwer that hee was an holy man, vnto whom God reuealed his great ſecrets, which ſhould happen in that ſeege, and end by the taking of Malaga, whith the number of ſeauen; and what ſignifies ſeauen ſayd the Marquis, are they yeares or moneths? they are neither yeares nor monthes, quoth the Hermit but weekes, daies, or howers, but enquire no farther of mee: for *Alla* (that is God) hath commanded mee, to tell the reſt in ſecret to the King and Queene, and to none others. The Marquis although hee made a ieſt of that hee heard the Moore ſay,
B did neuertheleſſe ſend him to the King, by a reuolted Moore; for hee would not leaue his owne quarter, eſpecially ſo ſoone after the fight: when hee arriued, the King was a ſleepe, and the Queene taking no delight to behold ſuch manner of fooliſh people, hee was brought into a tent, where Don *Beatrix* de Bouadilla was in talke with Don *Aluaro* Son to the Duke of Bragança who was fled from Portugall, and *Ruy Lopes* de Toledo the Queenes Treaſorer. The Marchiones looking vpon this old Hermit, bad them giue him ſome meate: hee ſeeing her to bee richly appartelled, and they that were with her in like manner, aſked thoſe that were next him, if it was the King, and Queene, they to mocke him, told him it was they. Then the villaine, who of purpoſe came from his cell with an intent to kill them, layd hand vpon a ſhort Cimetar, that hee wore vnder his habit, and
C therewith gaue Don *Aluaro*, ſuch a ſtroake vpon the head, as he had well neere ſlaine him, and being ready to doe as much to the Marquis, the Treaſorer there preſent did hold him backe, and the reſt runne out of the tent, yet at the noyſe diuers of the Marquis ſeruants, came running in and hewed the wicked Hermit in peeces. The King beeing awakte and hearing what was done, did greatly wonder at his boldneſſe, and was afterward better guarded. The peeces of the Moores body, were with engines throwne into the Citty, in reuenge whereof the Moors did kill a Chriſtian priſoner, who was a man of note, and ſetting him vpon an aſſe, they draue it towards the campe, where at the ſame inſtant Don *Henriques* de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia with his trayne did arriue, who beſides the ſupply of ſoldiours, which hee brought, did lend the King twenty thou-
D ſand golden doubles, and the very day of his comming, more then a hundred ſhippes loden with victualls and munition did arriue in the roade neere to Malaga, where-with the army was greatly refreſhed, and the Duke highly honored and eſteemed, for ſuch a ſeruice: Soone after, there arriued other ſuccors from the Duke of Infantaſgo. The Moores being againe ſummoned to yeeld, and not to attend the miſeries, which a victory gotten by force doth bring with it, being ſtill obſtinate, and hauing notice of certaine diſeaſes in the campe, they would by no meanes harken there-vnto: wherefore they were aſſayled a freſh, and did as valiantly defend them-ſelues, killing many Chriſtians. The citty beeing in great want of victualls, the Moores did already beginne to eate roſted ſkins, and other ſuch like things, but they had ſtill ſome idle Prophet or other which con-
E firmed them in there obſtinacy: yet notwithſtanding, two of the cheefeſt Moores in the citty, whoſe names were *Amet-Aben-Amar*, and *Ali Dudux*, and with them an *Alfaqui* called *Abraham Alharis*; with diuers Marchants, officers, and men of quality, being ioyned together, came and beſought the gouernour to take ſome order, for the people of the Citty, which dyed for hunger, who without any hope of releeſe, could not auoyd the enemies rigor, and that hee needed not to thinke it a diſgrace to him to yeeld the citty of Malaga, ſeeing that other places as ſtrong as it in the realme of Granado had yeelded to the Chriſtians: if hee thought to better their eſtate by a battayle, they wiſht him to march forth to the fight, for they were not able any longer to liue, in ſo great neceſſity: but all this ſerued to no purpoſe. The King perceauinge the obſtinacy of
F this wretched people, cauſed certaine peeces of ordonance to bee bent againſt the towers of the bridge, the firſt of which was wonne by aſſault, *Franciſco Ramiers* of Madrid Captaine of the artillery, haſting and increaſing the battery to prepare entrance for the ſoldiours was by the king made knight the ſame day for his good ſeruice. The beſeeged being brought to the laſt diſpaire, a great troupe of horſe and foote animated by one of their Prophets, made a furious ſally vpon the quarters of the maſters of Saint Iames, and Alcantara, where at the beginning they cauſed great diſorder comming vnlook't for,

A Mahometan Hermite ſlaine.

Superſtitions Moores.

but at the laſt they were repulſed and beaten back with great ſlaughter, and the Moore Prophet was the firſt man that was ſlaine. By this ouerthrow the Alcaide or Gouernor beeing excuſed from making any more reſiſtance, gaue the inhabitants leaue to capitulate as well as they could with the Kings of Caſtile: wherefore they ſent *Amet-Aben-Amar*, and *Ali Dudux*, and three other principall Moores to the Campe, who beſought the Kings to receiue them for Mudejares or vaſſals, and to giue to them and the reſt of the Cittizens, the towne of Coin to dwell in, and to permit thoſe that would, to paſſe into Affrick with their goods: the King told them that the great Commander of Leon ſhould make them an anſwer, the which was, that for as much as the extremity of hunger had conſtrained them to yeeld, and not any good will to the Kings, it behooued them to yeeld to their mercy. Thoſe of the towne hauing vnderſtood the Kings reſolution by their deputies, did ſay, that in regarde they went about to take away the liberty of their perſons, they were reſolued to hang fiue hundred Chriſtian priſoners on the walls, and then to come forth euery man with his ſword in hand, and to dye fighting: the King ſent them word that if they did put one Chriſtian to death, hee would without any mercy, put them all to the edge of the ſword. Thoſe of Malaga once againe ſent foureteene Moores of euery quarter of their Citty to the Campe, who brought with them a writing which they ſhewed for an example of the deceaſed Kings of Caſtiles clemencie vſed to the ſubiugated Moores, and with great humillity they begged for mercy. Diuers of the Lords and Captaines were of opinion to put all that raskally obſtinate nation to death, who were enemies to the name of a Chriſtian: but the Queenes more iuſt and Chriſtian-like opinion was followed, which was to ſaue all their liues. Then the King wrote back to them, that their liues were onely granted, and no more: whereat the Moores being much aſtonied, were at ſtrife amongſt themſelues, ſome beeing of opinion to make a deſperate ſally vpon the Chriſtians with their weapons, and to ſet fire on the Citty, and all the wealth thereof, following the examples of certaine townes of Spaine in antient times; but they who thought it better to become ſlaues, did preuaile. Thus was the Citty of Malaga yeelded: the great Commander of Leon entring firſt into it with his troopes in armes, by meanes of hoſtages, who ſeazed vpon the Citty, towers and Fortes thereof, and hauing diſarmed the Moores of all their weapons and munition, all people of both ſexes and of all ages were aſſembled in the two baſe Courts of the Caſtle of Alcaçauo, where moſt lamentable cryes of Moriſh men and women were heard, lamenting their liberty, and goodly Citty loſt, with their Fortes, Towers and Caſtles, which could not defend her Cittizens liues, nor giue them buriall after their death. Among the multitude, twelue renegades Chriſtians were found, who ſerued as ſpyes for the Moores, who were ſtricken thorow with Darts, and ſo ſlaine: the Chriſtian priſoners were deliuered and ſent home to their houſes, fauoured and rewarded by the Kings. Two other Sea townes neere to Malaga, were likewiſe taken, and the Moores made ſlaues, by *Pedro de Vera* whom the King had ſent thither.

The Citty of Malaga yeelded.

After that all things were ſurely poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians in Malaga, the Biſhops and Clergie made their entrance, who performed the accuſtomed ceremonies, purifications, dedications, with ſuch other ſolemnities, as wee haue heretofore written: and the Kings hauing at the ſame time receiued a Bull from Pope *Innocent*, by the which hee granted them and their ſucceſſors, authority to name and appoint Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticall dignities needfull in the Realme of Granado, it was thought fit to reſtore the Biſhops Sea to the Citty of Malaga, as it had beene in times paſt, and Don *Pedro de Toledo* was choſen Biſhop of the ſame, who was a Channon of Siuill, a man of great learning and merit, who was confirmed therein by the Pope, vnto whom the Kings ſent a hundred Moores Gomeres of Affrick for a preſent, and to Queene *Ioane* of Naples the Kings ſiſter, fifty Moriſh maides, and thirty to the Queene of Portugall: of all the other ſlaues, the third part of them was diuided among the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Captaines of the Campe: an other third part was imployed for the redemption and exchange of Chriſtian Captiues: and an other third part remained to the Kings, towards their great coſts and charges ſuſtained in that ſiege, the which laſted three moneths and one day, which was the eighteene of Auguſt this yeare 1487.

Don Pedro de Toledo Biſhop of Malaga.

The

A The order and gouernement of the Cittie beeing diſpoſed, the commaund thereof was giuen to Don *Garcia Fernandes Manrique*, who had beene Corrigidor of Cordoua. The Iudges, Rectors, and Iurates, with other Officers of iuſtice, beeing eſtabliſhed, the goods were diſtributed to ſuch as were receiued for new inhabitants, who were prouided of good and wholeſome lawes, though fit and neceſſarie for thoſe times.

Theſe matters with others beeing diſpatched, the King and Queene returned victorious and triumphant to Cordoua; where they were no ſooner arriued, but they began to thinke vppon neceſſarie prouiſions for the next yeares warre: for, ſeeing they had had ſo happie ſucceſſe alreadie, they were very loth to giue it ouer by any interruption whatſoeuer.

B In the *interim* of theſe great buſineſſes, the ſtrifes of diuers Arragonois did ſtill trouble the Kings eares, for that in regard of his long abſence, all appeales comming before the Magiſtrate, whom they call Iuſtice of Arragon, all euident wrongs, exceſſes, and outrages committed by the great ones, were with partialitie drawne out in length. The Kings left Cordoua and came to Sarragoſſa, where they aſſembled the Eſtates to redreſſe thoſe inſolencies which were complayned of. The Eſtates beeing perſwaded by the Vicechancellor of the Kingdome, whom the King had appoynted to ſpeake vnto them, did relinquiſh diuers poynts of their pretended rights and liberties, and did ſuffer many things to be reformed, and namely, they were content to eſtabliſh the Courts of iuſtice of the Hermandades or brotherhoods, after the manner of Caſtile, a moſt profitable and *Hermandades in Arragon.*
C neceſſarie matter for the whole countrie, and did beſides that obtaine great ſubſidies of money for the King towards the wars of Granado. And becauſe the Inquiſition brought *Inquiſition in Arragon.* great profite to the Kings coffers in Caſtile, of the goods of the Iewes and Moores, which were reuolted to their fooliſh ſuperſtitions: it was decreed, that like proceeding ſhould be vſed againſt them in Arragon, and Iudges appointed to make their definitiue ſentence. One of the ſayd Commiſſioners had like to haue beene ſlayne, by thoſe manner of people, on a morning in the Church of Sarragoſſa, which gaue them occaſion to enquire more diligently of ſuch as were faulty: wherein, choller, greedineſſe of gaine, and deſire to fill the kings coffers, made them greatly to exceed, the which the practiſe of
D their ſucceſſours at this day can very well witneſſe: the obſtinate were burned, and thoſe which did reconcile themſelues, or were in any fault at all, were fleeced to the very quicke.

The Kings paſſing into the Realme of Valencia, which was troubled with the ſame diſeaſes, did call the Eſtates to Orihuela, where they made diuers goodly Edicts. Whileſt the Court lay at Valencia, there entred into Cattalonia an Ambaſſador from the French king *Charles* the eighth, ſent to King *Fernand*, who ſent to meete him, and to let him vnderſtand, that vnleſſe he brought with him the reſtitution of the Earledome of Roſſillon,
8 he might returne from whence hee came, and for ought that the Ambaſſadour could ſay *King Fernand refuſeth to heare or ſee the French Ambaſſadour.* or do, he could not be ſuffered to come to Valencia, but was enforced to returne without beeing heard or ſeene. King *Charles* at the ſame time was troubled with ciuill warres
E againſt the Duke of Orleance, Duke *Francis* of Brittaine, and the Lord of Albret, who was diſpoſſeſſed of his lands, father to *Iohn* of Albret who was king of Nauarre, and with others.

A

Iohn of Albret, and Katherine of Nauarre, Kings of Nauarre, accounted for the 35. in the order of the Kings.

Nauarre.

IOHN of Albret, the ſonne of *Alain*, of whom we haue made mention heretofore, was married to *Catherine* the heire of Nauarre: but before we come to the declaration thereof, it ſhall be neeedfull to ſpeake of the ſtate wherein the late King *Francis Phœbus* left the ſucceſſion to his ſiſter *Katherine* who raigned after him. *Iohn*, Vicount of Narbone, vnkle to her, and to the deceaſed King, did foorth-with quarrell with the Lords of Foix and Bearne, ſaying, that for thoſe lands, lying vpon the limits of the Realme of France, where women do not ſucceed, that Queene *Catherine* his Neece was incapable of enioying them, and therefore ſhee ought to content her ſelfe with her inheritance of Nauarre, which is gouerned by other lawes, and to leaue thoſe two Lordſhips to him. Vppon this ſtrife great warre aroſe betwixt the parties the Vicount of Narbonne, beeing fauoured by *Iaſper* of Villemur, Seneſhall of Foix, and the Lord of Calmont, *Iohn* of Caſtel Verdun, and others; who the yeare 1484. leading with them forces of horſe and foot, tooke, through the trecherie of one called *Romengas*, the towne of Maçeres, and then they ſeized on Monthault, and in the end they came to aſſayle Pamiers, where the cittizens would willingly haue receiued the Vicount, whom they acknowledged to be a ſon of the houſe of Foix, but not his ſouldiers, whereat the Vicount being enraged, went to S. *Antonies*, which is the Cathedral church, and the Biſhops place of reſidence, from whence he draue away *Paſchal*, who was Biſhop and poſſeſſor thereof, and enthronized *Mathew Artigalu* therein, who pretended and pleaded the ſayd Biſhopricke againſt the other: the Vicount moreouer, doing his beſt to enter into Pamiers, but the inhabitants perſiſting in their reſiſtance, he was conſtrayned to retire to Maſeres, from which place he continued the war againſt his Neece, and the princeſſe *Magdalen* her mother, who ſent in the yeare 1485. *Iohn* of Lautrec to keepe and defend the countrey of Foix with diuers troupes leauied in Bearne, and in the Earledome of Bigorre, as alſo to recouer that which *Iohn* of Foix Vicount had vſurped. *Lautrec* marching on to execute his commiſſion, was preuented by the way by *Raymond Lordat*, Lord of Rodel, who intreated him, from thoſe of Sauardun, who ſome few dayes before had yeelded to the Vicount, to pardon them, in regard they did it to auoyd the preſent danger, and to appeaſe the Vicounts furie, againſt whom they were not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, they being deſirous with all their hearts to ſerue queene *Catherine* their naturall Princeſſe, and that if her pleaſure were to receiue them, they wold obey her, and moſt willingly would caſt off the Vicounts yoake: therefore the Lord of Rodell intreated him to make all the haſt he could to Sauardun, aſſuring him that hee ſhould be kindly welcomed, and let into the towne. *Lautrec* accepting this offer marched thither, and arriued at the bridge gate, at the ſame inſtant, when as the Vicount of Narbone, who was aduertiſed of all their practiſes entred at another gate called Vlmet. Theſe two Lords being met together in this ſort, did in ſtead of aſſayling one another, performe offices of complement, and they fell into diſcourſe of peace, which grew to this concluſion, that *Iohn* of Foix ſhould enioy Sauardun, Maſeres, Monthault, and S. Eſpartio, with the church of S. Anthony, the caſtle of Heremen and Montagu, with other places and forts, the which agreement, as being vnlawfull, was not obſerued: for within a few dayes after, *Odet* Cardinall of Carcaſſon, recouered Montagu and S. Anthonies, and reſtored them to Queene *Catherine*. *Lautrec* likewiſe on the other ſide took Montagu, S. Eſpartio, with the caſtle of Heremen, which he ouerthrew. In thoſe buſineſſes was queen *Catherine* entertayned in the beginning of her raigne, to the great contentment of the chief Lords of the factions in Nauar, who in the meane time managed their owne affaires by the intelligences which they had in Caſtile, notwithſtanding any impediment that the Lord of Aubenas was able to giue them, who was Viceroy in that Kingdome.

Iohn Vicount of Narbon quarrels for the Earledome of Foix, and Seigneury of Bearne.

B C D E F

The yeare following, which was 1486. *Iohn* Vicount of Foix in recompence of the loſſes he had ſuſtained, did by intelligence with certaine of the Inhabitants ſurprize the towne

A towne of Pamiers, and left the Lord of Lauellane with certaine companies of ſouldiers there: but Captaine *Peter Bunfiere*, did, by the ſelfe ſame meanes, and by the helpe of a Locke-ſmith who made falſe keyes to the gate of Conſerans, beeing ſent thither by the Princeſſe *Magdalen*, and the Queene her daughter, recouer the ſayd towne, ſlew diuers of the Garriſon with Lauellanet their Captaine, and carried thence whatſoeuer hee found: yet for all this, the warre ended not, but continued to the great hinderance and preiudice of the countries of Foix and Bearne: during which turmoyles, the Princeſſe *Magdalen* reiecting the great and profitable match which was offered by the Prince of Caſtile, married her daughter to *Iohn* of Albret, which cauſed many troubles in the
B Realme of Nauarre: For it was no eaſie matter to bring the factious to any reaſon. Thoſe which had any intelligences with Caſtile, were ſo farre off from deſiring this marriage with Prince *Iohn* of Caſtile, as they hindered it to their vttermoſt power, becauſe they would not be ſubiect to a Prince that was mightie, and had means to puniſh their crimes, and yet neuertheleſſe, they could make vſe of the occaſion, why that match was not accompliſhed, by reſiſting their Princeſſe and *Iohn* of Albret her husband, and by that meanes vpheld themſelues in their tyrannies. The abſence of the Cardinall of Foix, the Queenes Vnkle, was a great hinderance to her affaires: For this yeare 1486. he was ſent for to Rome by Pope *Innocent* the eighth, to be employed for the pacification of Naples, which was troubled with ciuill wars betwixt the Barons and their King *Fernand*, the
C ſame king beeing at great ſtrife with the Pope, who ſent this Cardinall to Naples with power as Legate *à latere*, where in ſome ſort, he compoſed thoſe differences: but he dyed at Rome, and neuer returned more into Nauarre: the ſtate of which Kingdome beeing thus miſerably diſtracted, *Amand*, Lord of Albret, father to the new king, did reſolue to enter into Nauarre, where hauing had conference with the Lord of Aubenas his brother, who was Viceroy there, and then with *Iohn de Ribera*, who ſpoiling the countrie for the King of Caſtile at the ſame time, vnder color of defending and vpholding the Conſtable D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, and who had taken certaine townes, he delt in ſuch ſort, as he perſwaded him to go with him to Valencia to king *Fernand*, where be-
D ing arriued, the Lord of Albret beeing welcomed and kindly entreated, did beſeech the King to accept of the deſire he had to do him ſeruice, in ſtead of the effect, for ſo much as he was a poore Knight, vniuſtly expelled from his countrie by the French King, who was mooued againſt him, and *Iohn* of Albret his ſonne, whoſe perſon with his kingdome of Nauarre, hee came to offer vnto him, requeſting him to receiue them into his protection: and alſo that he had commiſſion to make the like requeſt for the Dukes, *Francis* of Brittaine, and *Lewis* of Orleance, purſued and afflicted by the ſame King *Charles*, each of whom promiſed him ſeruice and ayde for the recouerie of his Earledome of Roſſillon, and in all other occaſions. The Lord of Albrets ſpeech was fauourably and attentiuely heard by King *Fernand*, who graunted all that which hee demaunded in the behalf of the king his ſon, commanding *Iohn de Ribera* to reſtore to him or his Lieutenants Viana, with
E all the reſt of the places, which he held in the Realme of Nauar. And did moreouer giue order for the rigging forth of an army by ſea in Guipuſcoa and Biſcay, againſt the French King for the aide of the aboue-named Princes, who had likewiſe ſollicited *Henry* the ſeuenth King of England to take their part, who inclined thereunto, ſo as a great number of Spaniſh ſhippes did lye vppon the coaſts of Brittaine, whoſe Admirall was Monſieur *Gralla*, with whom *Alain* of Albret returned, and an armie out of England was likewiſe ſent, conducted by the Lord *Scales* to the hurt of the French-men, who by meanes of a victorie obtained by K. *Charles* or his Lieutenants, at S. *Aubin*, did deliuer themſelues from
F all danger, the D. of Orleance, and Monſieur *Gralla* being taken priſoners: the Lord of Albret eſcaped, and the D. of Brittaine died for griefe of mind, leauing two daughters, *Anne* the eldeſt, albeit that ſhe was promiſed to *Maximilian* King of the Romains, who was of the D. of Orleance faction, was won by King *Charles* to be his wife, who was deſirous by ſuch a marriage to vnite the Dutchie of Brittaine to his Crowne. And becauſe he was betrothed to *Marguerite* of Auſtria, daughter to the king of the Romaines, who beeing very young, was brought vp in France, in hope of the future marriage, he ſent her home againe, and ſhe was afterwards married to Prince *Iohn* of Caſtile.

The factious of Nauarr hinder their Princeſſe marriage.

Caſtillans ſpoile the Realme of Nauarr.

Amand of Albret, ſucceeds the K. of Caſtile in warre vpon K. Charles the eight.

King Fernand fauours Amand of Albret againſt King Charles.

K. Charles his victorie at S. Aubin.

The Britons oppoſe themſelues againſt the French King.

The Bretons euer hating the French gouernment, keeping their Princeſſe in the Caſtle of Nantes, made new practiſes with the Kings of Caſtile and England, and obtained great ayde from both of them, Don *Diego Peres Sarmjento* Earle of Salinas, beeing Generall of the Spaniſh Armie on the coaſt of Brittaine, with Don *Pero Carillo de Albornos*, and other renowned Captaines, hauing two hundred men at armes, and great numbers of footmen, Crosbowes, Pikes, and Harquebuziers, who were called in thoſe dayes Eſpingardiers. King *Charles* in the meane time came with a mighty Armie, and beſieged Nantes, and by intelligence with ſome, hee obtained the Citty, Caſtle, and the Dutcheſſe whom hee married in the yeare 1489. and made her French Queene, making himſelfe Maiſter of her inheritance, in deſpight of the Britons. This faire and gratious Princeſſe *Anne*, was daughter to Dutcheſſe *Marguerite*, and grand-child to Queene *Leonar* of Nauarre, as hath beene already ſaid, and cooſin germaine to Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre, of whom we now treate. A B

Caſtile.

Wee will now returne to the Kings of Caſtile. After the aſſembly of the ſtates of the Realme of Valencia at Orihuela, where diuerſe ancient cuſtomes were reformed, and many notable orders receiued and eſtabliſhed, they came to Murcia, with an intent to warre vpon the Moores from that part. There did Don *Frederick de Toledo* Captaine of the Kings guards, aske leaue to viſit Don *Garcy Aluares de Toledo* his father, who lay deadly ſick; in woſe dignities, to wit, the Dutchie of Alua, the Marquiſat of Coria, and Earledome of Barco, his ſonne ſucceeded him. This yeare likewiſe dyed Don *Aluaro d'Eſtuniga* Duke of Playſance, leauing his ſonne of the ſame name ſucceſſor in his Dutchie. The Biſhop of Aſtorga likewiſe dyed, in whoſe place *Bernardin de Caruajall* was ſubſtituted, who was afterward Cardinall of the Sea of Rome, of the title of the holy Croſſe. The companies from all parts of the kingdome made their Rendez-vous at Lorca, whether King *Ferdinand* marched, hauing in his company the Duke of Albuquerque, the Marquis of Cales, the Earles of Lemos, Saint Steeuens, Caſtro, Cabra, Montagu, Buendia, and Don *Henry Henriques* the great Maiſter, Don *Pero Lopes de Padilla* Captaine of the frontiers of Caſtile, Don *Iohn Chacon*, Captaine of the frontier of Murcia and others. The Army beeing ready to march, the Marquis of Cales, and the Captaine of the frontier of Murcia leading the foreward, marched againſt the Cittie of Vera, the inhabitants whereof, who were Moores, beeing aſſured that they came towards them, would not fall into the like miſchiefe as thoſe of Malaga, wherefore they ſent out before to the Marquis, offering to yeeld their Citty to King *Ferdinand*, if hee were there in perſon: wherefore the King made haſt, and the Citty ſubmitted vnto him on condition that their liues, liberties and goods might bee ſaued, with promiſe to liue in their religion in the next townes, or elſe where they ſhould thinke good. *Garcy Laſo de la Vega* Maiſter of the Kings Hall, was made Gouernor of Vera. Diuers others ſtrong townes and caſtles on thoſe marches, beeing mooued by the reports of the Kings clemency, and fearing likewiſe their great power, ſent their Alfaquins or wiſe Councellors and deputies, to offer them obedience and tribute, as they were accuſtomed to pay to the Moore Kings, and namely the two Velez, the white and the redde, Muxicar, Cueuas, Teleſique Hueſcar, and Porchena, Tabara, Alborca, Serena, Torilla, Monjacar, Tabernas and Benamaruel: the inhabitants of which places and diuers others, made themſelues Mudejares or vaſſals to king *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell*, keeping their ceremonies and ſect. The Armie after this marched towards Almerie, the which towne was then onely lookt vpon by certaine light skirmiſhes with the Moores of the garriſon: then part of the army marched on forward within the view of Baça, where King *Muley Boabdelin* was then in perſon, who came forth with certaine troopes of horſe and foote, and made a great skirmiſh, where D. *Philip* of Nauarre and Arragon dyed, who was maiſter of Monteza, nephew to the King, and ſonne to Prince Don *Charles* of Viana, by vs oftentimes heretofore mentioned, with other men of note, the which cauſed the Chriſtians to make their retreate, who were inſolently purſued in the Rere by the Moores, who notwithſtanding were afterward beaten back by the Captaine of the frontier of Murcia. King *Ferdinand* leauing for that time Almerie and Baça, two ſtrong places, marched towards Hueſcar which yeelded, and Don *Rodrigo Manrique* was made Gouernor thereof. C D E F

Death of Don Garcy Aluares and of D. Aluaro de Eſtuniga.

Vera yeelded by compoſition.

Places yeelded to the King and Queene of Caſtile.

Whileſt

A Whileſt the warre continued in theſe quarters, the Captaine of Alua de Tormes, and the gouernor of the Duke of Aluas lands, did Baſtonado one of the Kings Collectors of his rents, which the King hauing notice of, the Licentiate *Lewis de Polanco* Prouoſt of the Court was ſent thither to doe Iuſtice therevpon, who tooke the Captaine of Alua in his owne Caſtle, and cauſed him to bee hanged in the ſame place where hee had done the deed: As for the Gouernour of the Countrey, hee was brought to the Chancery at Valiodolit, and there condemned to haue his hand ſtricken off, and to bee for euer baniſhed out of the Kings dominions. In the which place of Valiodolit the Court came and wintered: there was an Edict made concerning the moneys, that the ſiluer
I coyne ſhould bee thence-forth made of the ſame ſterling as that of Paris.

Iniury done to one of the kings Receiuers of his money, and puniſhment of the offenders.

Moneys.

It was enacted not long before in Portugall, to coyne certaine kindes of gold of two and twenty Carates, of the golden mine of Guiney, and likewiſe certaine ſiluer money, called, Twenties, of the worth of twenty Res, which were equiualent to the Marauedis of Caſtile: for thirty ſix Res, were at that time worth a Real, as thirty ſixe Marauedis in Caſtile and Nauar: The affaires of which kingdome ſince the execution of the Lords made by King *Iohn* were quiet and peaceable; for euery one ſeeing that hee had not ſpared his owne bloud, kept himſelfe ſtill, and this King was not onely reuerenced in Portugall, but likewiſe in Affricke, where hee poſſeſſed much land: in ſo much as the Moores of Azamor, who had beene in times paſt vnder the ſubiection of Portugall, and
C were now reuolted, did againe this yeare ſubmit themſelues vnto it: about which time he built the Fountaine at Setuball. And hauing no buſineſſes to hinder him, hee went about to purſue new enterpriſes, no leſſe profitable for mankinde, than honorable to the houſe of Portugall: Hauing had the opinion and aduiſe of diuerſe great perſonages skilfull in Coſmographie, and all other Mathematicall ſciences, and eſpecially good Marriners, hee ſent away *Bartholmew Dias*, with a certaine religious Frier, named *Anthony*, inioyning them to coaſt the ſhoares of Affrick of the Ocean ſea, till they could bee able to relate vnto him how farre that land ſtretched, and how the voyage which hee conceiued in his owne vnderſtanding, might bee made by the South into the Eaſt, to the countreys and Iſlands where the ſpices growe: *Bartholomew Dias* and the Fryer arri-
D ued at the Cape of *Bona ſperanza*, or good hope, which is the fartheſt ſtretched out point of Affricke beyond the Equinoctiall winter Tropick, and doubling againe the Eaſt, they came to the mouth of the Iland termed by them, of the Infant, which is a hundred and fifty leagues farther then the Cape of good hope. There Fryer *Anthonie* with the conſent of *Bartholmew Dias* landed, and trauailed with ſuch turnings vp and downe this vnknowne world, as hee brought himſelfe with great labour and danger, as it is credible, into Paleſtine to the Citty of Ieruſalem, taking a carefull note of all things.

15 Portugal.

Nauigations of the Portugals into the Ocean ſea, purſued by the commandement of King Iohn.

Cape de bona Speranza.

River of the Infant.

Fryer Anthonies long and dangerous iourney.

Bartholmew Dias returned by ſea into Portugall, the ſame way hee came, and informed the King of all that hee had ſeene or knowne of the ſhoares and ſea coaſts: as
E Fryer *Anthony* did the like of his land voyage, beeing returned a good while after, the which encreaſed King *Iohns* deſire to execute his praiſe-worthy enterpriſe, eſteeming, and not without reaſon, that by the knowledge and practiſe of that Nauigation great profit might redound to his kingdome. Now the better to vnderſtand the coſts and charges of this trafficke for Spices brought from the Iſlands of the Moluccoes, and to bee able to reckon what the commoditie thereof might come to, following the paſſage of the Ocean ſea: hee ſent *Pedro de Couanilla* and *Alphonſo de Payua* into the Eaſt, who were wiſe and diſcreete perſons, and very skilfull in the Arabian tongue, to bring him word of the traffick of theſe countries: Hauing then furniſhed them with money, credit, and other neceſſaries for ſo long a voyage, they went to Naples,
F and from thence by Rhodes to Ieruſalem, from whence they paſſed by Alexandria to Caire, then they went to Aden, to Ormuz, and at laſt came to Calicut, and other places of the Indies, carrying with them for their conduct, a Carde or Compaſſe made by the licenciate *Calſadilla* Biſhop of Viſeo, the Doctor *Rodrigue*, *Pero d'Alcaçaba*, and *Moyſes* a Iew, who had drawne it after the deſcription of *Martin* of Boheme the great Mathematician, taking information of all the parts of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia,

King Iohns dilligence to learne the voyage to the Eaſt by the Ocean ſea, and the Iſland of Moluccoes.

Perſia, and of the Indies where there is any trafficke, faires or aſſemblies of people. A
Alphonſo Payua died in this voyage: *Pedro* de Couanilla was deteined by *Preſter Iohn* Emperour of Ethiopia, ſo as the King could haue no relation from any of them concerning their voyage: yet Couanilla found meanes to write a diſcourſe of what hee had learned, and ſent it afterward to the King, by one *Rabi Abraham*, and *Ioſeph* de Lamego, who hauing beene already in Perſia, were ſent backe againe by King *Iohn* to heere ſome newes of the ſaid *Pedro* de Couanilla. This diſcourſe did whet on the Kings deſire to effect this voyage, for the which purpoſe he did arme certaine Carauels this yeere 1488. at the ſame time the marriage of his ſonne Prince *Alphonſo*, and the Infanta *Iſabella* eldeſt daughter to the King of Caſtile, whereof mention was made in B
the treaty of peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall, was wholy agreed vpon, albeit the Prince was then but thirteene yeeres of age: For the charges of which marriage the Eſtates of the Kingdome gaue to King *Iohn* the ſum of a hundred thouſand golden cruſadoes: at which time the King being deſirous to aduance to wealth and honor D. *Pedro* de Meneſes Earle of Villareal and Lord of Almeyda beeing at Beja, he created him Marquis of Villareal, and Earle of Oren.

Caſtile. There came now into Caſtile a great Ambaſſage from *Maximillian* of Auſtria King of the Romains, who in the city of Valiodolit propounded to King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*, the deſire which that Prince had to ally himſelfe more ſtreightly with them by marriages, demaunding the Infanta *Iſabella* for himſelfe, and the Infanta C
Ioane their daughters for his ſonne *Philip*, ſetting downe diuers commodities which ſuch a coniunction might bring with it, namely in making warre vpon the French. Theſe Ambaſſadors beeing come by ſea, their charges borne thorow the Kings countries, and highly honoured, they did returne with an anſwere, conteyning very gracious and pertinent excuſes: to wit, that the Infanta Donna *Iſabella* was promiſed to Prince *Alphonſo* of Portugall, but as for the Infanta D. *Ioane*, who was a young child, conſidering that the long attendance for ſuch a marriage might weary the Archduke *Philip*, they could ſay nothing, but that as ſoone as ſhe ſhould be of age, if the occaſion ſhould ſerue, they would eſteeme the alliance and friendſhip of ſo great Princes as moſt honourable and highly to bee deſired, and that they beeing at that inſtant greatly buſied in the D
warres of Granado, could hardly thinke as yet vpon the French warres. Whileſt the Court ſtaied at Valiodolit, *Iſabella* cauſed the city of Playſance to bee ſurprized and taken from *Aluaro d'Eſtuniga* who bare the title of Duke thereof, where ſhee eſtabliſhed officers of the crowne: and becauſe the caſtle made ſome reſiſtance, ſhee cauſed it to be beſeeged by thoſe of Salamanca, Ciudad-Roderigo, and the men of Extremadura: but the Duke knowing it to be to no purpoſe to make reſiſtance did forth-with commaund to yeeld it vp: ſo this city was reunited to the crowne this yeere 1488. The Dukes of Playſance did then and afterwards intitle themſelues Dukes of Bejar. Thoſe of the family of Caruajall did chiefely aſſiſt the Queene in this enterpriſe. The ſame yeere died Donna *Beatrice Pimentell*, who was wife to Don *Aluaro* de Luna Conſtable of Caſtile and Maiſter of Saint Iames, who was executed by order of law, ſhee liued fiue and thirty yeeres in honeſt widdow-hood, and lies buried in the Cathedrall Church of Toledo in the Chappell of Saint Iames neere to her husband. The Kings paſſed this yeere in the aboue named buſineſſes about prouiſion of neceſſary things for the future warre of Granado, doing iuſtice, and in perſecuting the new conuerts returned to Iudaiſme, who were oftentimes ouerthrowne by falſe and ſlanderous accuſations, whereof inquiry was principally made at Toledo, where diuers falſe witneſſes were puniſhed.

Plaiſance taken from D. Aluaro da Eſtuniga.

Iewes and conuerted Moores oppreſſed by ſlanderous reports.

Moores. During this ſtay in old Caſtile farre from the Moores, they taking aduantage of the occaſion, did freely ouer-runne the country and ſurprized the city of Nixar, careleſly kept by captaine *Bernard Franciſco*, where they ſlew three ſcore gentlemen, and preuailed againſt the Chriſtians in diuers other encounters, killing many, in number of whom the Commaunder *Ruy Diaz Maldonado*, ſonne to Doctor *Roderic*, Lord of Aquila Fuente was one, who was a valiant knight, they tooke and burnt the towne of Cuellar, conſtrayning the Chriſtians that kept it to ſaue themſelues within the caſtle, F
the

A the which they defended by the ſpace of fiue daies againſt the enraged aſſaults of the Moores by the diſcretion and valour of *Iohn a' Analos* Lieutenant to captaine *Charles* de Viedma who was abſent.

In the ſpring of the yeere 1489. King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*, departed from Valiodolit, and came by Guadalupa not without great deuotion, to Iaen, with intent to goe and beſeege Baça: for this purpoſe they had leauied thirteene thouſand horſe, and foure and twenty thouſand foote, who hauing muſtered at Sottogordo, the army beganne to march, the Maiſter of Saint Iames conducted the vantgard, and had for fore-runners, according to the antient cuſtome, the captaine de los Donzelles, with the Prouoſt Marſhalls, whoſe charge was to prouide the lodgings of the campe: King 17 Caſtille.

B *Fernand* knowing that the ſeege would bee long and difficult, and that the Moores of Guadix and Almery, which held King *Boabdelins el Zagals* part, would deſturbe them as much as in them lay, did place guards and watches in fit places, as well to withſtand ſurpriſes, as to ſecure the victuallers and other people which ſerued and followed the campe. The firſt attempt which the army made, was at Cujar, a ſtrong place, and furniſhed with all manner of munition for the warres, by reaſon whereof being ſummoned, they anſwered with armes, ſallying forth to skirmiſh: but it was to their loſſe, for beeing put to flight they loſt their ſuburbes, which they had intrenched and fortified, from whence they were afterward ſo preſſed, and vexed, as abating their courage, they would gladly haue yeelded vpon any reaſonable conditions, the which the King refu-

C ſed, being highly diſpleaſed that they had reſiſted his mighty army: whereat they became ſo enraged and deſperate, as in the next skirmiſh they made ſuch ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, as the King reſolued to grant them whatſoeuer they demaunded: ſo they yeelded vp the towne, and retired themſelues with all their baggage in ſafety to Baça: ſoone after the fortreſſe of Benſalema yeelded it ſelfe, with others. The Earle of Tendilla receiued Canillas by compoſition beeing a league deſtant from Baça. The take- *Deſpaire ſometimes bringeth helpe.* *Seege of Baſa.*

ing of theſe forts prepared the acceſſe to Baça, within which place, King *Zagall Boabdelin* had put tenne thouſand ſouldiars as well horſe as foote, with diuers expert captaines, taking the greateſt care he could for the well fortifing and keeping thereof, being the

D place of moſt importance, and the chiefe Bulwarke of the ſmall ſtate that was left him: for that being loſt, hee was no more able almoſt to make any reſiſtance. The Chriſtian army being re-enforced with new troupes diuided it ſelfe into two parts, which lodged round about Baça a farre off, which gaue libertie to the Moores to goe out and in at their pleaſures without any difficulty or danger: wherevpon the King taking counſell, he cauſed the campe to remooue, and to place the quarters neerer to the towne: The Moores who thought it was not for their proffit, comming forth to fight, did maintaine it for the ſpace of twelue houres with a wonderfull reſolution, and it may well bee termed a battaile, for the whole forces almoſt of either ſide, came to ioyne, and a great number of valiant men were there ſlaine: the concluſion was, that the Moores were

E glad to retire, and were in deſpight of them ſhut in, and the Chriſtian army lodged in their gardens. Yet notwithſtanding, this ſeat of the campe being not thought to bee very commodious for diuers reſpects, the King cauſed the lodgings to be remoued where they were at firſt: and in this retreat the beſeeged failed not to anoy their enemies by all meanes poſſible.

The difficulty being great to hinder the furious ſallies of thoſe barbarous people, the opinions therevpon were ſundry and vncertaine, ſo as the King was at the point to raiſe the ſeege, and to cauſe great forts to bee raiſed round about it, furniſhed with ſtrong guardes, and to ſtrengthen the neigbour garriſons, and by theſe ſlow meanes to tame the enemies and make them yeeld: but becauſe Queene *Iſabel* did greatly deſire to ſee an

F end of this warre of Granado, to whoſe conſtancy the purſute thereof and the conqueſt of that Kingdome, ſo long time held by the Infidel is to bee attributed, the King craued her opinion: who being wonderfully diſpleaſed that ſo diſhonorable a reſolution ſhould be taken, did entreate the King to thinke better thereon, and for modeſties ſake would not vtter her opinion: but perceiuing that want of victuals and money was the greateſt hinderance they ſtood vpon, which in ſo long a ſeege might diſaduantage the army, ſhee *The conqueſt of Granado attributed to Queene Iſabels conſtancy.*

ſaid,

ſaid, that they needed not to doubt any ſuch matter, for ſhee would prouide in ſuch ſort, A
as there ſhould be no want of either of them: The King knowing the Queenes dilligence
in ſuch matters, and the deſire ſhee had that Baça might bee taken, commaunded the
ſeege ſhould bee continued with all vehemency, wherewith the whole army in generall
was well pleaſed; wherefore the two campes were diſpoſed and placed, a miles diſtance
the one from the other & a great trench drawn from one to an other fortified with piles
and fifteene forts of timber and flags, where great numbers of ſouldiars were lodged,
and by this meanes the city was more ſtreightly ſhut vp. An other trench was drawne
from the hils ſide of two miles long, ſo as the place was enuironed round about, in which
workes they ſpent two monthes, in all which time they neuer left skirmiſhing. And as B
diuers Moores, diſtruſting the ſucceſſe of the ſeege, fled to the Chriſtians campe it was
knowne by their meanes how that the city was not well prouided with victualls, wherein
King *Zagall* had greatly failed, and beſides, how that they had their water from a foun-
taine at the foote of the hill called *Alboahacen*, which being taken from them they would
be in great want: wherefore the King hauing reſolued vpon this intelligence to build a
fort vpon that hill: The Moores being aduertized thereof by ſome ſpies, did preuent him,
and they themſelues made a fort there for the guarde of their fountaine. In the meane
ſpace Don *Antonio de la Cueua* and others, ranne vp and downe the country, and ſpoi-
led the townes and villages neere to Guadix, from whence bringing great numbers of
cattaile of all ſorts, the Moores came forth to the reskew of them, and there the Chri- C
ſtians beganne to ſtand at a ſtay, and knew not whether it were beſt to leaue their booty
to betake themſelues to flight, or elſe to tarry ſtill and defend it valiantly. The valour
of *Hernand Peres* de Pulgar encouraged the reſt, who hanging an hand-kercher vpon
the toppe of a pike, cried out aloud, let thoſe that are no cowards follow this Enſeigne,
and in this ſort marching againſt the Moores, they beate them backe with great
ſlaughter, and returned victorious to the campe: in regarde whereof the King made
Hernand Peres Knight: and permitted him to beare a white hand-kercher in his armes
in token of his valor to his poſterity.

King *Muley* did oftentimes attempt to victuall Baça but it was in vaine: and fore-
ſeeing that the end of the Moores reigne in Spaine was at hand, his laſt refuge was, D
by the counſell of his friends, to haue recourſe to the Soldan of Egipt, who in a man-
ner commaunded ouer all the pettie Kings of Affrica, vnto whom hee complained
of the greedineſſe of the Chriſtian King, who did vniuſtly diſpoſſeſſe him from the
Kingdome which his Anceſtors had enioyed ſo long a time: whereat the Sultan bee-
ing mooued, ſent two friers Ambaſſadors to Pope *Innocent*, of thoſe that dwelt in the
The Soldan of Egipts dilligence in the behalfe of the Spaniſh Moores. Temple of Ieruſalem which they call our Sauiours Sepulchre: to let him vnderſtand
how that the Kings of Caſtile did deale vniuſtly in vexing the Moores that dwelt there
by warres, wherein if they perſiſted, hee would vſe the Chriſtians in the ſame manner
that liued in his countries and dominions: the Pope gaue notice thereof to King *Fer-*
nand and Queene *Iſabella*, yet they for all that would not leaue of their deſeigne, but E
The King of Caſtile, gaue a thouſand ducats yeerly rent to the friers at Ieruſalem. ſatisfied the Pope with reaſons wherefore they purſued that warre: and beeing de-
uout and charitable Princes they gaue and aſſigned a yeerely ſtipend to the friars of a
thouſand ducats, which they enioy and is the faireſt reuenue they haue at theſe daies: Be-
ſides that, the Queene ſent a vaile wrought with her owne hand to hang ouer the Sepul-
chre at Ieruſalem.

18 During the ſeege of Baça, this yeere 1489. Don *Garcia Lopes* de Padilla the laſt
The Maiſterſhip of Calatraua incorporated to Caſtile. Maiſter of the Knights of Calatraua died: for the Maiſterſhip was then incorporated
to the Royall crowne of Caſtile by the Popes authority, as not long after thoſe
of Saint Iames and Alcantara were: remayning euer after in the Kings hands with title
of perpetuall adminiſtrators thereof: for in truth theſe maſters did draw after them, by F
reaſon of the authority which they had ouer ſo great a number of Knights, all gentle-
men of great houſes, to great a power and to be ſuſpected by the Kings, as pernitious to a
ſtate, where in concluſion they were heads of factions, by whom, Spaine was many times
torne in peeces.

The

A The Knights of this order were permitted to marry the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred and forty, by Pope *Paul* the third. From the firſt inſtitution of this order, vntill this time, and the death of Don *Garcy Lopes de Padilla*, eight and thirty maiſters of the ſame order are reckoned.

The ſiege of Baça had already laſted foure whole moneths, without hope of winning it, againſt which the Artillery wrought no great effect: for that men in thoſe dayes were not skilfull in the approches and neere batteries, as they are now in theſe times: Neuertheleſſe King *Ferdinand* thinking it would bee a great blemiſh to his reputation, if hee ſhould raiſe the ſiege, would by no meanes giue it ouer, beeing aſſured that
B continuance of time would bring the Moores to reaſon: the beſieged on the contrary, knowing that the loſſe of Baça would carry with it Almerie, and Guadix, and ſo conſequently the whole ruine of the Moores ſtate in Spaine, did all of them reſolue to dye rather then to yeeld. And becauſe the trench on the hills ſide was a great hinderance to them, they went out vpon a day to breake and fill it vp, where they gaue a very furious aſſault, wherein great numbers on both ſides were ſlaine. Wherevpon the King commanded that no man ſhould goe forth to skirmiſh without leaue, and cauſed all the Moores to depart out of the Campe, commanding that all thoſe that ſhould flye forth of the Citty ſhould bee made ſlaues, but they had rather vndergoe that condition then to ſtarue. Beeing beſieged ſo farre off, the ſallies were the eaſier and oftner;
C but the Moores commonly had the worſt: At one of theſe skirmiſhes Don *Iohn de Luna* was ſlaine, a yong Knight, and heire to the noble houſe of *Luna* in Arragon. Winter drawing on, gaue ſome hope to the beſieged that their enemies would ſhortly diſlodge, and therefore they meant to hold out a little longer: but when they ſaw that King *Ferdinand* cauſed Carpenters to build ſmall houſes and cabins for the Souldiors, they then perceiued that the King meant not to leaue them ſo ſoone. The ſeaſon beeing wette and rainie, did greatly trouble the Armie before Baça, and that which was worſt of all, the wayes were ſo deepe and full of water, that no victuals nor munition could bee brought to the Campe, but with incredible difficulty. But the diligence of the noble and couragious Queene ſurmounted all theſe inconueniences;
D for ſhee hired foureteene thouſand ordinary beaſts of carriage, beſides thoſe which went vp and downe to the Campe for their priuate gaine, taking marueilous paines and care to prouide all things neceſſary for the reliefe of the Armie, not ſparing for any coſt. For to defray which charges, ſhee engaged part of the Royall patrimonie, and aſſigned pentions: ſhee borrowed money of Citties, and of priuate men and women, and pawned her owne Iewels; and for an argument of her great pietie and charity, ſhee kept foure great tents in the Campe, which were termed the Queenes Hoſpitall, for the reliefe of hurt and ſicke Souldiours, feeing for that purpoſe, diuerſe Phiſitions, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, and prouided for all other neceſſities, with ſuch care, iudgement and diligence, as the conqueſt of the kingdome of Granada,
E and expulſion of the Mahometan Moores forth of Spaine, may more iuſtly bee attributed to this Princeſſe then to any other.

The Queenes Hoſpitall in the Campe.

Queene Iſabels great diligence.

It was thought fitte that the Ordinance which was in the Maiſter of Saint Iames and the Duke of Nageraes quarter, ſhould bee brought neerer to the enemies fortes and defenſes: the which was done with many bloudy incounters: the Moores continuing ſtill more obſtinate, were diuerſe times aduiſed to yeeld, and to enioy the fauour and bountie of King *Ferdinand*, who promiſed them the liberty of their religion, and not to take away their goods, lawes, and cuſtomes, notwithſtanding that they were in great want of victuals and money for the payment of the Souldiours, for whoſe wages, the Captaines tooke away the Rings and Iewels from the women, to
F the end to auoyde ſedition and rebellion in the towne. The continuall miſeries of that ſiege did likewiſe trouble diuerſe that were abroade, who cunningly did councell the King, who was reſolute not to riſe from thence, to cauſe the Queene to come to the Campe, ſaying, that it would cauſe the Moores vtterly to diſpaire: but indeed they thought that the Queene, ſeeing with her owne eyes the trauaile and miſerie which the Armie endured, would bee a meanes to diſlodge, and that the reiected

opinion

opinion of beſieging them by Fortes, would bee then renewed. The King wrote diuerſe letters to the Queene who lay at Iaen, to cauſe her to come to the Campe, the which ſhee did, beeing accompanied with the Cardinall of Spaine, and other Prelates, leauing the Prince her ſonne at Vbeda with the Archbiſhop of Siuill, and ſome others of his Councell. Her comming cauſed moſt of the Souldiours to forget their miſery and trauaile, and brought forth an effect contrary to that which ſome of them, who had beene the occaſion thereof, did imagine; But the Moores were wholy confounded thereby, and diſcouraged to make any longer reſiſtance. Wherefore their chiefe Commander, whoſe name was *Mahomet Abenhazan*, began to hearken to that which had beene ſo often propounded by the King and Queene, and craued a parley. Don *Gutti-ere de Cardegna* great Commander of Leon, had Commiſſion to treate with him, hee beeing an eloquent and diſcreete Gentleman, ſhewed him what fauour and good hee might expect and hope for from theſe victorious Princes, and that there was nothing more plaine, then that God had giuen an end to the Moores happineſſe in Spaine: The Moore apprehending ſufficiently what the Commander told him, did with very humble ſpeeches deſire to become their vaſſall, but hee ſayd, that it behooued him to conferre with the inhabitants of Baça, before hee could giue any reſolute anſwer: which beeing granted him; thoſe people of iudgement which conſented to the yeelding of the towne, were of opinion to let King *Muley* vnderſtand vpon what termes they ſtood, to the end they might hee able to iuſtifie the yeelding thereof.

The Moores of Baza begin to parley.

During this negotiation, a ſuſpence from Armes was granted, and King *Muley* beeing aduertiſed and perſwaded by *Mahomet Abenhazan*, did not onely conſent to the yeelding of Baça, but compounded likewiſe for the reſt which he held, and for his ſtate hereafter: Namely, that Almerie and Guadix ſhould bee deliuered into the Kings hands; the which was effected aſſoone as the Gouernour returned back. The Moores of the garriſon of Baça came forth with their Armor and baggage, and the inhabitants were permitted to liue in the neighbour townes, or elſe-where in Spaine, where they thought good, without any moleſtation in their beliefe and ſuperſtition: and the Gouernour *Mahomet Abenhazen* with all his kindered, was receiued into the Kings fauour as their ſubiect and vaſſaile.

Baſa, Guadiz and Almery yeelded.

The Chriſtian Souldiers entred into Baça the fourth day of December, the ſeauenth moneth of the ſiege. The yeelding of that place beeing diuulged all ouer the countrey, the Captaines and Gouernours of the townes of Almunecar, Porchena, Tabernas, and others of the countrey of Alpuxarras, from Almerie vnto Granado, came and preſented their keyes to the Kings, remaining their vaſſalls and Mudejares, the Captaine of Porchena excepted, who reiecting all entreaties, guifts and offers, would needs paſſe ouer into Affricke. King *Ferdinand* went from Baça to Almery, where King *Muley* lay, who came and met him, hauing layde by the royall Diadem, and like a priuate man, alighting from his horſe, would in ſigne of homage haue kiſſed his hands: but King *Ferdinand*, conſidering the alterations wherevnto humaine affaires are ſubiect, would not permit it, but cauſed him to remount his horſe, and ſo receiued him neuertheleſſe for his vaſſaile. The Citty of Almerie beeing receiued, and the ſame conditions granted to the Cittizens as was to others, namely, to liue free, and to enioy without any moleſtation their goods, and the exerciſe of their religion, in paying the ſame tribute which they were accuſtomed to giue to the Moore Kings, the Kings went to Guadix, where the like was done. This was in the beginning of the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred and ninety. The gouernments of theſe places were giuen by the King, that of Baça to Don *Henry Henriques* his Vnckle; Almerie to the great Commander of Leon, and Guadix to Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, the Cardinalls brother. The Gouernor of Solobregna and other Moores, did likewiſe yeeld their Fortes and Caſtles to the Kings, and did taſte of their mildneſſe and clemencie. The towne of Andaraz was aſſigned to *Muley Boabdelin* for his reſidence, with a thouſand Mudejares to his vaſſalls, and foure millions of Marauedis for his pention, which hee enioyed but a yeare: for diſdaining to liue as a ſubiect, there where hee had reigned, hee went ouer into Affricke. By meanes whereof *Mahomet Boabdelin* the little, remayned ſole King of Granado,

Muley Boabdelin ſubmits himſelfe to the Kings of Caſtile.

1490. Moores.

A Granado, who not long after, was brought to the ſame paſſe like his vncle, as ſhall appeare. The Biſhops and the Clergie did in theſe cities performe the accuſtomed purifications and ceremonies: and *Almery* and *Guadix* were after that erected into Epiſcopall Seas.

The power of the Moores after the taking of theſe places was in a manner brought to nothing: the city of Granado with a few other places remayning to *Mahumet* the Little: but all that was done was to no purpoſe vnleſſe Granado were taken, which had beene the chiefe of that rich and mighty Kingdome for many yeeres: wherefore *Mahumet* was entreated by the Kings to giue them the city of Granado, alleadging a cer- 20
B taine agreement and promiſe which he had made vnto them, that vpon the conqueſt of the cities of Baça, Guadix and Almerie, by the King and Queene, they ſhould giue them to *Mahumet* the Little, with certaine other places, vpon condition, that hee ſhould liue vnder them as their vaſſall, and that hee ſhould enioy the rents and reuenues of thoſe places, and hee in regarde thereof ſhould deliuer the city of Granado into their hands. But the ſaid *Mahumet* thought it an hard matter from a Maſter to become a ſeruant, and from a King a ſubiect, therefore ſome times excuſing himſelfe, by the reſiſtance of the Moores of Granado, from performing his promiſe, and at other times demanding more townes and reuenues, this laſt was graunted him, with promiſe to amplifie and enlarge his dominion, and as for the rebellious Moores, hee was enioyned to diſarme them.

C Some, who ſaw that it muſt needes bee ſo, did yeeld vp their weapons, others who could not endure ſuch baſeneſſe, did ſtirre vp King *Mahomet* in ſuch ſort as hee rebelled openly with them: wherefore this yeere 1490. the Moore King beganne the warre againe, and tooke diuers caſtles neere to the city, driuing away the Chriſtians from thence: by reaſon whereof the garriſons of Alhama, Loxa, the townes of Illora, Moclin, Montefrio, Alhedin and Colomera were fortified by the Kings: who contenting themſelues for that time to haue ſecured the frontiers, and the new conquered cities, they went to Cordoua, and from thence to Siuill: where receiuing newes how the Moores ſpoiled the country, they appointed Don *Inigo Lopes* de Mendoza Earle
D of Tendilla Generall, who abiding at Alcala the real, did giue and take many defeats: but it was not long after, before King *Fernand* came in his perſon, with an army of fiue thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foote, and ſpoyled all the territory of Granado, where hee left nothing for the Moores to liue on, or to yeeld them any eaſe or commodity, not without ſharpe reſiſtances skirmiſhes and dangerous and deadly incounters as well on the one ſide as the other: in the campes retreat the Marquis of Villenas brother called *Alphonſo* de Pacheco, *Stefano* de Luxon, and an other captaine of the Marquis, did amongſt others looſe their liues: the Marquis of Villena himſelfe was hurt in the arme, which hee felt euer after during his life, but at that time hee purchaſed the fame of a braue, generous, and charitable Knight towards his ſeruants: for perceiuing that a groome of his Chamber was hand to hand in fight with fiue
E Moores who had the oddes of him, he not being able to endure to ſee his ſeruant in that danger, did not feare to hazard his owne perſon in his reſcue', but ſpurred his horſe againſt thoſe Moores ſlue two of them with his owne hand, and put the other to flight: and there he receiued that hurt.

King Mahumet the Little enforced to rebell.

Sharpe reſiſtance of Moores.

The Marquis of Villena valiant and charitable.

After that King the had made his retreate and was gonne to Cordoua with the army, ſending them home to their houſes (for they were all of Andaluzia and the neighbour Prouinces) the Moores hauing gathered together ſome forces in the city and out of the hill called Sierra Neuada, came and planted their ſeege before Alhedin, which was kept by *Mondo* of Queſada, where they did aſſaile furiouſly ſeuen daies and ſeuen
F nights, in ſuch ſort as the Chriſtians, hauing no leiſure to eate or ſleepe, were conſtrained to giue ouer the place, except a ſtrong tower whereinto they ſhut themſelues where they made the beſt reſiſtance they could.

The King hauing notice of the daunger they were in, did forthwith aſſemble forces for their ſuccour, but it could not come ſoone enough, for the beſeeged Chriſtians, hauing done as much as men could doe in their owne defence, were at

the laſt conſtrained to yeeld to the enemies diſcretion, who carryed them all away for A
Exploits of the Moores. ſlaues to Granado: when the King heard this, hee turned back againe: but the Moores proud of their victory, proceeded on in taking of places, as Marchena and others: and becauſe there was nothing to bee had in the territory of Granado, they prouided their victualls out of Affrick, hauing procured the Moores Mudeiares of Solobregna, a ſea towne, againſt their faith giuen and ſworne to the Kings of Caſtile, to giue them ſafe acceſſe in their harbor, with victuals, money, and other commodities, and they receiued King *Mahomet* into their towne, who a great while beſieged the Caſtle, which was defended by *Franciſco Ramires* of Madrid, till ſuch time as hauing intelligence of the comming of the Chriſtian Armie, hee was conſtrained to abandon it, and to returne B
to Granado: whether King *Ferdinand* came to make an end of his former ſpoile. And becauſe hee vnderſtood that the Moores who remained in Baça, Guadix, and Almerie, had intelligence with King Mahomet, hee went thither, and cauſed that curſſed race to bee expelled and diſlodged out of all the walled townes and Caſtles, permitting them to dwell in the Villages thereabout if they would, and then went back to Siuill.

21 In that Citty in the moneth of March this yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and
Portugal. ninety, were celebrated the promiſes of marriage, betwixt the Infanta *Iſabell*, and Prince *Iohn* of Portugall, Don *Fernand Siluera*, and Doctor *Iohn de Taxeda* high Chancellor of that kingdome, beeing ſent thether Ambaſſadors for that purpoſe, the Cardinall of C
Spaine performing the ceremonie. The feaſts, coſts, gifts and preſents, were great and magnificent, and the Kings beeing at Conſtantine, vpon their returne to Siuill, they ſent the betrothed Princeſſe into Portugall, who was attended on by the Cardinall of Spaine, by Don *Lewis Oſorio* Biſhop of Iaen, *Alphonſo de Cardegna* Maiſter of Saint Iames, *Iohn de Eſtuniga* Maiſter of Alcantara, Don *Rodrigo Alphonſo Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, Don *Lorenzo Suares de Figueroa* Earle of Feria, Don *Pedro Portocarero* Lord of Palma, *Rodrigo de Vlloa* who went as Ambaſſador, with other great numbers of nobilitie. With this company the Princeſſe arriued at Badajos in the beginning of No-
Caia a ſmall ſtreame diuiding Caſtile from Portugal. uember, and paſſing on to the bridge of Caia, ouer a little ſtreame which deuided Caſtile from Portugall, ſhee was deliuered into the hands of Don *Manuell* Duke of Beja, couſin germaine to the King, who beeing accompanied with the Biſhops of Ebora and Coimbra, with the Earles of Monſanto and Marialua, and diuerſe other Knights, they brought her to Eſtremos, where King *Iohn* and the Prince his ſonne met her, and in that place they were married by *George d' Acoſta*, Archbiſhop of Braga: after that
Mariage of the Infants D. Alphonſo of Portugall and Iſabell of Caſtile they went to Ebora, where they feaſted with great pompe and magnificence. Don *George*, baſtard ſonne to the King, was preſent at the wedding, who was newly come from the Monaſtery of Ieſus d' Auero, where hee had till then beene brought vp, vnder the gouernment of Don *Ioane* his Aunt the Kings ſiſter, who dyed not long before. At theſe feaſts the King maintained the tilt againſt all knights that would runne, furniſhing them with horſe and armor.

22 This yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety and one, the kings of Caſtile beeing
Caſtille. at Siuill, they began to giue order for the ſiege of Granado, ſending for the Knights and men of warre from all places of the kingdome, as well on this ſide as beyond the hills, commanding them to meete at Alcala the reall, to which place they went in the moneth of Aprill, hauing in their company, the Prince and the Infantas their children, who with the Queene remained at Alcala. The king paſſing on into the plaine countrey of Granado with the Armie, conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe, and about forty thouſand footemen, in the which were in perſon, the Maiſter of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Villena, hee of Cales, and his brother in lawe Don *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, who did begin this warre, the Earles of Vregna, Cabro, Ciſuentes, and Don *Alphonſo de Aguilar*: diuerſe great Lords which came not themſelues ſent thither their forces. The Conſtable remained Viceroy in Caſtile the old.

The Campe hauing marched as farre as the place called Los ojos de Hueſcar, ſtayed there, and the Marquis of Vellena was ſent with 3. thouſand horſe, and 5. thouſand foot, into the valley of Aletin & to other places and paſſages of the country called Alpuxarras

to

A to ſpoile it, and becauſe the King was aduertized that in the ſame country were a great number of Moores able to make reſiſtance, he followed the Marquis, and paſſing along by Granado he maintained skirmiſh with diuers Moores which came forth for that purpoſe, who with great loſſe were repulſed; the King went forward, and by the way met the Marquis and his troupes as they returned, who had burned and deſtroied nine townes, and ſlue more then fiue hundred Moores, whom they found careleſſe and ſecure, thinking themſelues ſafe from any ſearch in thoſe ſharpe and ſtony places: ſo their forces beeing ioyned together they returned againe into Las Alpuxarras to make an end of ſpoyling what was left. And King *Fernand* hauing notice that three captaines of the
B Moores were come forth of Granado, and had made themſelues maſters of a paſſage, he ſent the Marquis thither, who fought with them and draue them thence, hee ſlue aboue one hundred of them and tooke three ſcore priſoners, and they deſtroied fifteene townes more in the country, beſides thoſe nine aboue mentioned with great ſtore of ſpoile which they carried away with them: for the Moores did alwaies thinke that their goods were ſafer in thoſe places then in the city of Granado: After which exploit the army was brought backe to Pradal & from thence marched to a place called Goſto: There the king by the aduice of the Lords which were with him, cauſed the compaſſe of a city *Seege of Granado.*
to be meaſured out which was called Saint Foy, with an intent to build houſes in that place for the beginning of the army if it ſhould be conſtrained to winter there, and if the
C ſeege of Granado ſhould bee drawne out in length, as it was greatly feared: they gaue it *The city of Holy faith.*
the title of Saint Foy, in regard that warre was vndertaken for the augmentation of the Holy Chriſtian faith. Round about the foreſaid compaſſe, the campe was lodged, being fortified and rampired with trenches and walls for feare of ſurprizes, in which workes the Moores failed not to hinder them by comming forth of Granado with continual skirmiſhes. The Queene with her children came from Alcala to the campe; the Maiſter of Saint Iames and the Marquis of Cales went forth to meet them, and ſhe with her Ladies were lodged in the ſafeſt place of al the campe, and they did oftentimes ride about the quarters, where for their diſport they did many times behold the fights and skirmiſhes which were almoſt euery houre made a farre off, and one eſpecially among the reſt where
D as the Moores in great troupes being come forthwith two peeces of Artillery, did looſe *A great skirmiſh wherein the Moores are diſcated.*
them, with 600. of their men ſlaine vpon the place, and more then fourteene hundred of them hurt, the Marquis of Cales leading the Chriſtians, who attributed that victory to the Queenes good hap, and ſhe aſcribed it to the Marquis his good fortune. Now thoſe of Granado were not long able to hold out: for the greater numbers of horſmen which were wont to ſally forth of the city, were ſo diminiſhed as they hardly had 300. horſe of *Great neceſſity in the city of Granado.*
ſeruice, the reſt, were loſt and conſumed in the laſt wars: and beſides this; the city which conteined aboue 200. thouſand perſons was very ill prouided of victuals, ſo that diuers caualiers and men of great note began to deuiſe means how to treat with the Chriſtians for their ſafty: to be ſhort, al of them conſidering the ſtate whereinto they were brought,
E and that they had no hope or expectation of reliefe from any place, they were glad to hearken vnto compoſition and agreement in yeelding vp the city to the Kings of Caſtile: wherefore King *Mahomet* the Little reſolued to giue place to neceſſity, and to receiue this fattall wound, to fall from his crowne and regall dignity, and to become vaſſal and ſubiect to his enemies, and to that purpoſe he ſent to entreat the Kings to appoint commiſſioners to treat and compound with him. This newes was pleaſing to the Chriſtians, who did not thinke to haue gotten it ſo good cheape: therefore D. *Gonçall Hernandes* de Cordoua, and the Secretary *Hernando de ſafra*, were appointed to capitulate with him; who after diuers goings and commings, did conclude with the Moores and their Prince *Mahomet* the Little, vpon theſe conditions following.

F 1 That King *Mahomet* ſhould no more terme himſelfe King of Granado: vnto whom the Kings of Caſtile ſhould giue an honorable ſtipend for his entertainment, who might liue in the cities, lands, and other reuenues, ſpecified, which hee had held in the daies of his father King *Muley Albohacen*; and the like to bee done to his mother Queene *Aixa*, his wife, ſiſters, and children.

2 That their traine, ſtuffe, ſeruants and purueiors ſhould be free from al tax and tribute.

3 That the Moores ſhould bee iudged according to their owne lawes and cuſtomes, A
which they call Xaira, and if any Chriſtian were a party, by Iudges that were one halfe
Moores, and the reſt Chriſtians.

4 That their Armes ſhould not be taken from them, (their Harquebuſes excepted) the
which no Moore might keepe without ſpeciall licence.

5 That all Moores ſhould bee ſuffered to liue in Spaine, with free liberty of their ce-
remonies and religion: and if they would goe ouer into Affricke, they might do ſo, and
carry with them their mooueables, money, marchandiſe, and all other commodities, ex-
cepting Armor and munition for the warres, without paying any tribute for three
yeares together, and they ſhould bee furniſhed with ſhipping for their paſſage: After B
three yeares were expired, thoſe that would depart ſhould pay a Ducat for euery head.

Capitulations betweene Ferdinand and Mahomet the little.

6 That all Moores which poſſeſſed immoueable goods in Spaine, might enioy them,
albeit they themſelues were in Affrick, and they might ſell, let out, and accommodate
them, and for that purpoſe they might keepe factors and Atturneys in the King and
Queenes dominions.

7 That no Renegada Chriſtian ſhould bee conſtrained by force to returne to the
Chriſtian faith.

Liberty of religion granted to the Moores.

8 That within certaine dayes after the concluſion of this treaty, King *Mahomet* the
little, or his Alcaydes, ſhould deliuer vp the Fortreſſe of Alhambra, with all the towers
and other ſtrong places of the citty into the Kings hands. C

9 That thoſe of Granado ſhould giue foure hundred principall Moores for hoſtage.
As theſe matters were handling, the Queenes tents were ſet on fire by the negligence of
one of the Queenes women; ſo as the whole Armie was in an vproare, and fell into order
of battaile, thinking it to bee ſome Moriſh ſtratagem: but when the cauſe was knowne,
all was quieted. The like inconuenience of fire hapned at the ſame time at Medina del
Campo, by meanes whereof more then two hundred houſes were burned. Now after
that the aboue-named articles were agreed vpon, a great ſedition was raiſed in the citty
of Granado, by more then twenty thouſand of the common people, who tooke armes,
gaine-ſaying the yeelding vp of the citty, in ſuch ſort as King *Mahomet* was glad to take
the Fortreſſe of Alhambre with a ſtrong garde, looking euery houre when they would D
haue aſſailed him: but their fury being appeaſed, he ſhewed them, that there was now no
more time to make reſiſtance, and gaue them many reaſons for it: Neuertheleſſe, hee
Wizards ſtir vp the people. perceiuing that there was euer ſome frantick Prophet or other among that nation which
did put the people in thoſe tumults, he wrote to the Kings, that without ſtaying for the
day appointed for the deliuery of the Alhambra, they ſhould ſend to take preſent poſſeſ-
ſion thereof, which King *Ferdinand* did forth-with, and marched with his forces againſt
The Alhambra of Granado yeelded the yeare 1492. that Fortreſſe: from whence *Mahomet* the little, no more a King, went out to meete
him, who with a ſorrowfull and deiected countenance, preſented him the Keyes, ſaying,
that they were the Keyes of the Royall Pallace of Granado, the which, with himſelfe, and
all the men that were in it, were at his ſeruice. He pronounced theſe words with a broken E
and ſorrowfull voyce, and would haue alighted from his horſe to haue kiſſed the Kings
hand, who mooued with pitty and compaſſion, would not ſuffer him ſo to doe, but did ve-
ry gently and gratiouſly comfort him. King *Ferdinand* gaue the Keyes to the Queene,
Granado yeelded vp. ſhee to Prince *Iohn* her ſonne, and he gaue them to Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of
Tendilla, who with three thouſand horſe, and like number of footmen, entred into the
ſpacious and royall fortreſſe of the Alhambra, with the Marquis of Villena, and other
Knights: & Frier *Hernando de Talauera* Biſhop of Auila (who was afterward Archbiſhop
of Granado) did forthwith goe vp into the higheſt Tower there, and ſet vp the Croſſe,
which was the very ſame that the Cardinall of Spaine did vſe to haue borne before him
as Archbiſhop of Toledo and Primat, and the which is at this day kept in the Veſtrie at F
Toledo: and then were the banners of Saint Iames and King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſa-
bell* ſet vp, with performance of the accuſtomed ceremonies: and ſoone after, other for-
ces were ſent to ſeaze vpon the gates and towers of the citty, where the people were diſ-
armed, and the armor carried into the Alhambra, ſauing thoſe which were hidden and
afterward found, which coſt diuers their liues, who were executed by courſe of lawe.

The

A The city was yeelded vp the firſt day of Ianuary 1492. the 675. yeere of the reigne of the Arabians there: and thereby ended the warre of Granado, which laſted tenne yeeres, and gaue end to the Arabians and Moores dominion in Spaine; but the moſt part of the Knights would not tarry there but went ouer into Africke: the greedineſſe, inconſtancy, infidelity, and deſire to rule which that Nation had, brought them to this miſery. King *Fernand* aduertized Pope *Innocent* and other Chriſtian Princes his friends of this great victory, and hee ſtaied a great while in the city of Granado, to giue order for the gouernment thereof, as alſo of all that they had newly conquered: wherein Queene *Iſabell's* conſtancy and magnanimity deſerues the firſt place, then King *Fernands* valour, wiſdome and good conduct, with other Lords and chiefe Knights of their
B Kingdomes: the cities of Siuill, Cordoua, Iaen, Eccia, Xeres, Vbeda, Baeça, Murcia, Carthagena and Lorca did not ſpare any of their publike and particular goods.

The end of the Arabians rule in Spaine.

The ſame day that King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabell* made their entry into the city of Granado, D. *Pero Fernandes* de Velaſco Earle of Haro, Viceroy and Conſtable of Caſtile died, whom D. *Bernardin de Haro* his ſonne ſucceeded as well in the Earldome as Conſtableſhip, who this yeere was made Earle of Frias and married to Donna *Ioane* of Arragon the Kings daughter.

A little before the viceroys death, the Preſident and Auditors of the Kings Chancery reſiding at Valiodolit, did greatly forget themſelues, by receiuing an Appellation to Rome, for a certaine cauſe depending before them, for which the King and Queene de-
C priued them of their offices, and placed others therein: they that were diſpoſed, were D. *Alphonſo de Valdiuieſſo* Biſhop of Leon who was preſident, and Doctor *Martin d'Auila*, the Licenciat *Cinchilla*, Doctor *Cano*, and Doctor *Olmedilla* Auditors: In their roomes were placed Doctor *Iohn Arias del Villar* Biſhop of Ouiedo for Preſident, the Licenciat de Villena, Doctor de *Palacios*, the Licenciate *Ville-Muriell*, the Licenciate *Palacios Rubias*, and Doctor *de Villoucla* Auditors. The Iewes did alſo grant a generall ſubſidy to the Kings, which was the laſt ſubſidy raiſed vpon that ſect: for ſoone after they were all driuen forth of Spaine. The King and Queene hauing begunne to take the beſt order they could for the gouernment of the new conquered Prouinces, in 1492.
D the month of March this yeere 1492. they came to Cordoua to intend the affaires of the reſt of the Kingdome: there they made a ſtatute, whereby all gentlemen of the Kingdomes and Lordſhips, ſubiect to the crowne of Caſtile and Arragon, were enioyned to come and make proofe of their pedigrees and nobility: and becauſe it was made at Cordoua, it was called the ſtatute or law of Cordoua.

The Preſident and Auditors of Valliodolit depoſed and their names.

Subſidy raiſed vpō the Iewes.

Statute of Cordoua for the Nobility.

Whileſt the King and Queene were buſied in the warres and ſeege of Granado, the 24
ioy and feaſts in Portugall were ſodainely turned into teares and lamentations: the mar- Portugal.
riage betwixt *Alphonſo* of Portugall and D. *Iſabella* of Caſtile being celebrated with great magnificence at Ebora, and the feaſts and triumphes continuing at Saint Iren, whether the new married couple were gonne to auoide the great heate: the Prince
E on an Euening accompanying the King his father, and beeing mounted vpon a very ready and ſwift horſe, would needs runne a race againſt an other horſe, whereon Don *Iohn de Menezes*, Commander of Algezier, did ride, but the Commander excuſed the matter by reaſon it was late and almoſt night, the Prince commanded a Mule to bee brought vnto him, and in the getting vp the ſtirrop brake, wherefore hee tooke his former horſe, and continuing in his determination to runne, he tooke the Commander by the hand, and giuing ſpurres to his horſe, hee conſtrained him to runne the race with him: but the miſhap was that the Princes horſe ſtumbling at the races end, ouer-threw his rider vnder him, and did ſo bruze him, as hee lay ſpeechleſſe and almoſt dead vp-
F on the ground. The King and all the ſtanders by, being very ſorrowfull, cauſed him to bee carried to the next cottage which was a fiſher-mans, where the Princeſſes, the mother and the daughter in law, hauing vnderſtood this pittifull accident did come on foote, where finding this poore Prince in ſuch ſtate as for no ſpeech nor any thing elſe that cold be ſaid or don, he did make any ſign or ſhew of vnderſtanding ought: They did all melt into teares, vttering forth very ſtrang cries and lamentations. Great *Prince Alphonſo.*
and ſundry were the dilligences and remedies though ſuperfluous, which the Phyſitions

A pittiful accident hapned to Prince Alphonſo of Portugal.

and Surgions vſed for his recouery: the Phyſitions telling the King that his ſonnes end drew nere, he brought the Queene and the Princeſſe to the houſes of Vaſco Pallas, which are vpon the riuer of Tayo, and the Prince died ſeuen and twenty houres after the accident, who was lamented and bewailed by all men, for the great hope and expectation which he gaue of himſelfe in thoſe young yeeres, hauing hardly attained to ſeuenteene yeeres of age: and that which did more encreaſe the ſorrow, was that he left the Princeſſe *Iſabell* a widdow euen almoſt as ſoone as ſhee had beene a wife: for they had not beene married fully eight monthes. The Princes body was laied in a herſe and carried to the Monaſtery of battaile. The Princeſſe in token of ſorrow, did cut off her heire, and clothed her ſelfe in garments befitting her griefe, and hauing remained fifteene daies in the houſe of *Vaſco Pallos* ſhee went to the Kings pallace one euening without any light, where the King, Queene, and ſhee, kept themſelues ſhut vp a long time, giuing themſelues to much ouer to griefe, and forgetting the health of their owne perſons: and being in this eſtate they were viſited and comforted on the Kings of Caſtiles part. After this manner King *Iohns* Court remained deſolate, and it may bee, that God cauſed this loſſe to fall vpon him, for ouer haſtily deſtroying the great houſes of his owne Kingdome, eſpecially that of his Aunt D. *Beatrice* Dutcheſſe of Viſeo, whoſe ſonne D. *Dominigo* a Prince of his bloud, hee had ſlaine with his owne hand. The obſequies and funeralls being ended, where the King and the great Lords and Ladies of the Realme were preſent, Queene *Elenor*, and the Princeſſe *Iſabell* excepted, ſhee being ſorrowfull and a widdow was brought backe into Caſtile the ſame time King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabell* were about Granado in the New towne of Saint Foy which they builded. King *Iohn* being in this anguiſh went backe to Lisbone, where this yeere 1492. the two Maiſterſhips of Saint Iames, and Auis, fell to his ſonne D. *George*: for whoſe gouernor hee appointed D. *Diego Almeyda* ſonne to the Earle of Abrantes.

Princeſſe Iſabels lamentation.

A B C

The end of the three and twentith Booke.

THE

THE FOVRE AND TVVENtith Booke of the Generall Hiſtory of Spaine.

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In

In this foure and twentith Booke followeth in the Line of Portugall,

14. Don *Manuel* the first.

THE warre of Granado beeing happily ended, it was followed with other great enterprises, partly profitable, and partly preiudiciall: whereof, that of the discouerie of the new world might haue beene worthie of great prayse, if those vnto whome the great and good God did the fauour to discouer those countries and nations, vntill then vnknown to our Hemisphere, and their posteritie, could haue rightly vsed, to his honour and glorie, the wealth and riches which they found there, as they were bound to haue done: but there is no memorie of cruelty, auarice, and dishonestie, to bee compared to the actions of the Spanish Christians in the conquest of the occidentall Indies: which their owne Histories beare witnesse of, with terrour to those which reade it, and is a publike scandall to the vnbeleeuing Nations which haue heard tell of their dealings, for the Christian Religion: the which they thinke by reason thereof, to be a bloudie Religion, which seekes nothing but gold and wealth with an insatiate desire of rule. But wee may easily beleeue, that the excesse committed by the euill ministers in these searches of the Westerne Indies, was not by their Kings consent, whose zeale herein is rather prayse-worthie, but their negligence in redressing and punishing such mischieses can hardly be excused. Of which voyages and discoueries we intend not to pourssue the Historie at large, as wee did protest in the beginning of this Worke, but wee will content our selues with the declarations of the decrees and ordonances made in the Courts and Councels of the Kings of Spaine, for the regard of things executed and done in their names and authoritie in those farther Regions, and to handle, by the way, that which hath followed thereuppon in generall: for such matters require particular and distinct Treatises.

The Spaniards auarice and cruelty toward the Indians, makes Christian religion odious to the vnbeleeuing nations.

Wee haue heretofore declared, how that *Christopher Columbus* hauing beene diuers times heard to discourse of the nauigation which hee had conceiued in his mind to bee made towards the West, with knowledge of new lands, whereof there was no memory in precedent times, had hope and promises of *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*, to giue him meanes to effect it at a time conuenient; the which beeing offered vppon the time that Granado was taken, hee obtained three Caruels rigged and furnished with sixe-score men, souldiers and marriners: for the setting foorth of whome, the Councellor *Lewis* of Saint Angell did lend the King sixteene thousand Duckets. Hee departed then from Palos de Moguer in Andalusia, vppon a Friday the fourth of August, in the yeare 1492. and hauing sayled two moneths and eight dayes, hee discouered the land which hee so much desired, that is to say, vppon the eleuenth day of October of the same yeare.

Christopher Columbus his first voyage to the Indies.

An. 1492.

The first man which cryed, Land, was one called *Rodrigo de Triane*, who descried the Iland of Guanahami of Lucaios betwixt Florida and Cuba, where they first landed, and tooke

tooke poſſeſſion of that new world, in the name of King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*: A
then they ſayled to Barucoa, the port of the Iſle of Cuba, where they tooke certaine Indians, and afterward they turned towards the Iſle of Hati, ſince then called Hiſpagniola, and entred into the port by them named Royall.

The Indians gentle and tractable.

There the Indians, at the beginning ſterne and rough, at the view of ſuch new people, did in ſuch manner become tractable, courteous, and gentle, as they came and brought gold, with ſuch victuals as they had to the Spaniards, exchanging them for bables and toyes of ſmall woorth. One of their Kings whom they call *Cachiques*, whoſe name was *Guacanagari*, did ſhew himſelfe ſo kind, tractable and obedient to theſe newcommers, as they louingly receyued from him what commodities they would, ſo as it B
was lawfull for them, beeing ayded by the Indians and their Cachique, to build a fort in that countrey, wherein *Columbus* left eight and thirtie Spaniards with a Captain of Cordoua named *Roderigo d'Arana*, and with his two Caruels which were left, (for he had loſt the third) he returned to Spaine from whence he came, carrying ſome Indians with him, with gold of the Country, and other ſingularities, which he brought to the aforenamed place of Palos de Moguer within the ſpace of fiftie dayes: before *Columbus* departure, King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* did graunt him the twelfth part of all the royall rights of the lands which he ſhould diſcouer, with this reſeruation, that he ſhould not in his diſcouerie, do any thing that might preiudice the King of Portugals nauigation.

2
Edict againſt the Iewes.

There was a matter reſolued vppon in the Kings Councell of Caſtile, as ſoone as they C
found themſelues to be Maſters of Granado, faire in ſhew, but of a pernitious conſequence: For they made an Edict, wherby all Iewes, which inhabited in Caſtile and Leon, were enioyned to turne to the Chriſtian Religion, and to be baptized within three moneths, on paine of hauing their goods confiſcate, and perpetuall baniſhment. This decree was receiued, publiſhed, and executed by an inconſiderate zeale, and without the knowledge of the King and Queene, thinking thereby, as it is likely to augment Chriſtian Religion, and to confirme vnto themſelues the name and title of Catholike Kings: wherunto they were incited by the Prelates and ſlothfull Paſtors, who contemned their charge of teaching good and wholeſome doctrine; and likewiſe by the Monkes and other ſeditious Church-men, who deſired rather to deſtroy, then to feed thoſe miſerable creatures, vnto whom they were in perpetuall deteſtation and skandall, by meanes of their wicked and corrupted liues, whereby it came to paſſe, that the name of God was prophaned and blaſphemed among the Iewes and Mahometans of thoſe times, who would rather haue retired a thouſand leagues, then to draw neere to receiue any religious inſtruction, from ſo irreligious people, whoſe pietie was but childiſh ceremonies, and external ſeruices, their knowledge meere cunning and deceipt, to maintaine and increaſe their riches, eaſe, and vnruly appetites, and their ayme and end, honours and worldly glorie, with a popular opinion of wiſedome in the affaires of this world: the which was playne and euident to people of vnderſtanding among the Infidels: therefore it behooued ſuch euill-affected perſons, and no way diſpoſed to amend, as were the Prelates of thoſe daies E
to ſet forward ſuch councels, and to cauſe the Kings of Spaine to practiſe courſes fit and pleaſing to the Diuell, who is a murtherer from the beginning of the world, and author of all ruine and deſolation: the which hath beene ſince practiſed in all places of Chriſtendome with very bad ſucceſſe: for torments, death, confiſcations of goods, and ſuch other like violences, cannot beget a grayne of fayth in the heart of man, whoſe ſeed is the word of God; the watering, the holy workes of vnfained charitie, by the example of the heauenly Father, and the encreaſe thereof, the ſpirit of the Lord: but they may well bring foorth Atheiſme, Hypocriſie, and deſpaire in aboundance, which are the offerings which the enemy of Chriſt Ieſus doth demaund.

Negligent Paſtors ſtirre vp perſecutions.

The diſtreſſe of thoſe who perſecuted the Iewes.

Now the poore Iewes, at the publication of this Edict, were marueilouſly perplexed, F
and afflicted with ſundry paſſions, for their religion, liues, and goods which were very great: whereunto perhaps, the Kings Councell had regard, thinking by their obſtinacie, which is a vice proper and peculiar to that nation, to find meanes to fill the treaſurie emptied in the laſt warres, by the confiſcation of ſo great wealth as they poſſeſſed in Spain, and to redeeme the alienated reuenues of the Crowne, and the Queenes ingaged Iewels.

Now

A Now the moſt religious Spaniſh Iewes, tooke counſell in theſe three moneths ſpace of delay before they were to leaue the countrey, and found meanes, to ſend away their money and chiefe goods out of Spaine, wherein they were ayded and befriended by many honeſt-minded Chriſtians, who beeing mooued with pittie and humanitie, did helpe to hide them, and to conuey them into Portugall, Affricke, Italy, and elſe-where whether that nation went: great numbers of them did ſpred themſelues ouer Macedon, Greece, and other Regions poſſeſſed by the Turkes, whom they taught to make Ordinance and Artillerie, and the art of making Gun-powder, Harguebuzes, and ſuch other engins, which they haue ſufficiently vſed to the hurt of Chriſtendome.

Humanity of Chriſtians towards the baniſhed Iewes.

B The reſt of them who loued their eaſe, did value the countrie where they were borne, and their goods, aboue all other matters, and were baptized, and made profeſſion, either true or fained, of Chriſtian Religion, ſuch as they could learn and comprehend in ſo ſhort a time, the which did cauſe another inconuenience: for in proceſſe of time the noble families of Spaine, allying themſelues by marriage to that race, did wholy contaminate and pollute themſelues both in bloud and beleefe. Theſe are the effects which this violent law of King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* did produce, by the which the Spaniards end in the 2082. yeare of the Iewes habitation in Spayne, if ſo be they faile not in their account. The ſame rigour was obſerued againſt them in Arragon, Valencia, Cattalonia, Sicill, and other places vnder the Kings obedience, who from Cordoua went into Arragon to order the affaires of that kingdome.

The Turks and Infidels make profit of the Iewes baniſhment

The Nobilitie of Spayne contaminated by the alliances with the conuerted Iewes.

C Beeing in the Cittie of Barcelona, God ſent them a ſmall aduertiſement: for as King *Fernand* on a morning came foorth of the towne-houſe, where himſelfe in perſon had aſſiſted at the pleas of iuſtice, and beeing come downe to the foot of the ſtayres towards the kings houſe talking to his Treaſurer, a certaine mad man borne at Remença, whoſe name was *Iohn de Cagnamares*, drew neere vnto him, and lifting vp a ſhort ſword, hee gaue him ſuch a blow from the eare downe to the ſhoulders, as it was a wonder that hee ſtrake not off his head: Whereat the King beeing aſtoniſhed, and thinking it to be ſome conſpiracie, he cryed out, *Saint Marie helpe me, oh what treaſon, oh what treaſon*; thinking that ſome others would make an end of what that fooliſh fellow had begunne: but D when hee perceiued that no man ſtirred, but that euery one ſtepped before him, to the end the other might not redouble his blow, and that a Gentleman that was his Caruer, and one more had ſtept to the offendour, meaning to haue ſtabbed him to death with poynards: hee commanded not to kill him; therefore they ledde him to priſon; and dreſſed his wounds: beeing afterward examined who had procured him to commit that treaſon, they could neither then, nor after that hee was healed, by any torments whatſoeuer, get any thing out of him, but that the diuell had aſſured him, if he would kill the king, to be king himſelfe.

3 *King Fernand hurt at Barcelona.*

The cittie of Barcelona beeing highly diſpleaſed, that this act had beene committed in their iuriſdiction, and beleeuing verily that there had beene ſome conſpiracie, did put themſelues in armes, and the tumult could not be appeaſed, vntill the king, whoſe wound E was newly dreſt, and ſtitched vp with ſeuen ſtitches of a needle, did come and ſhew himſelfe out of his lodging windowes to the people, to aſſure them that hee was aliue: and then euery man went home to his own houſe. The foole who had comitted the deed, was by law condemned to haue his hands and feete cutte off, his eyes pulled foorth of his head, to bee diſmembred, with burning pincers, and to bee drawn on a cart to the common dung hill, where his bodie was burned, hauing bene firſt ſtrangled, by the Queens clemencie.

In theſe buſineſſes the yeare 1492. was ſpent, in which the Brotherhood of the Court beganne, and the building the ſtately Colledge of the holy Croſſe at Vailliodolit was en- F ded, and the ſame yeare dyed Don *Pero Fernandes*, Generall of the frontier of Andaluſia, Don *Henrique de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don *Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, Marquis of Cales, by whoſe deceaſe without children, the cittie of Cales returned to the Crowne: Don *Pedro* of Eſtuniga, Earle of Miranda of Duero, and Don *Bertrand de la Cueua*, firſt Duke of Albuquerque.

Cales reunited to the Crowne of Caſtile.

Pope *Innocent* the eight dyed likewiſe at Rome, in whoſe ſtead was choſen *Rodrigo Borgia*,

Borgia, Cardinall of Saint Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano*, Biſhop of Alba, Porto, and S. A
Ruffine, Vice-chancellor and Deane of the Church of Rome, ſonne to Don *Ieffrey Lançol*, Lord of Canales, and to a ſiſter of Pope *Calixtus* the third, who was of the family of *Borgia*, from whence this man did take his name, and he was called *Alexander* the ſixt, who ſoone after his aſſumption to the Papacie, made two Cardinals of his Bloud, the one his Nephew, named *Iohn Borgia*, and the other his owne ſonne called *Caſar Borgia*, of whome we ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake in this Hiſtorie.

The ſame yeare the ſonne of Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, Cardinall of Spaine, whoſe name was *Rodrigo*, was by King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*, honoured with the title of Marquis of Zenete, and they made an end of building the vaults of the Cathe- B
drall Church of Toledo, which were begunne in the dayes of King *Fernand* the third, and of the Arch-biſhop Don *Rodrigo Ximenes:* the Court remayning ſtil at Barcelona about
An. 1493. the beginning of the yeare 1493. *Chriſtopher Columbus* arriued there, being returned from
Chriſtopher Columbus Admirall of the Indies. the Weſt Indies, whoſe fame, for the diſcouerie of thoſe new lands, was ſpread abroade ouer all Spayn: he preſented the Kings with gold, beaſts, and other things brought from thoſe Regions, making an ample relation of his voyage, the which did greatly content them, who gaue him the title of Admirall of the Indies, with armes, wherein he vſed this Motto: *For Caſtile and Leon*, Columbus *hath gotten a new world.* If the finding out of the wealth brought from the Indies hath brought any commoditie to the couetous negociators of our Regions, the euils which did accompanie them, did farre ſurmount and C
exceed them:

The great Pockes, the diſeaſe of the Indies brought into Europe. For then firſt of all, was the abhominable Venerean diſeaſe known, which in France is called the great pockes, brought by the Spaniards, which went with *Columbus*, who hauing had to do with the Indian women, which were infected there-with, as with a diſeaſe proper and peculiar to the Country, did communicate it to the women of Seuill, and of the Court, who diſtributed it to others: running on with ſuch contagion and horrible accidents of knobbes and rotting ſoares, as in the beginning, when our Phiſitions knew not the remedie for ſuch a diſeaſe, diuers did miſerably periſh, or remayned lame of their members, with a villanous and ſtrange change of their forme and fauour, the reward of whoredom, ouer common then in Spaine and elſe-where, which neuertheleſſe could not D
chaſtiſe the world in ſuch ſort, but that this ſinne is at this day more in vſe then euer it was, to the diſhonour of God, contempt of his lawes, and confuſion of all good order. The Spaniards in recompence of this euill brought brought from the Indies, carried thither the Kings euill and madneſſe by the biting of dogges, which they brought thither with them, of which diſeaſes the Indians had no knowledge at all.

The right remedie of this contagious infirmitie, are Guaiacū, Chinaū, and Salſaparilla, which nature bringeth foorth in aboundance in that new world, where they haue daily
The Indies haue diuerted the Spaniards from husbandrie and arts. need thereof. Another euill hath the deſire of gold, pearles, and other high prized things found in thoſe Ilands, brought with it, namely, that the Spaniards haue giuen ouer all honeſt and profitable exerciſes, the ground remayning vntilled in diuers places of E
Spaine, and other arts contemned, the people of Spayne making none account of any other matter, but onely of the voyage to the Indies: ſo that euer ſince, it hath had continuall need of the commodities of the neighbour regions.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella* did foorth-with ſend the deſired newes of this diſcouerie to Pope *Alexander*, betwixt whome diuers diſcourſes did paſſe by their Ambaſſadours, and letters to reduce the brutiſh and idolatrous people of that countrey, to the knowledge of the true God, and the benefite of Ieſus Chriſt, which would haue beene a memorable worke. This Pope, in the Conhſtorie of the Cardinals did approoue this
The Pope giues the weſt Indies to the Kings of Caſtile enterprize and conqueſt for the Kings of Caſtile, granting and giuing to them and their ſucceſſours by Apoſtolicall authoritie, the Indies, Iſlands and firme land of the Weſt, F
and did charge and enioyne them to cauſe the Goſpell to be preached: the which mooued the kings to furniſh foorth the number of eighteene ſhippes, vſing therein the diligence of *Iohn Rodrigo* of Fonſeca, Deane of Siuill, who was afterward Biſhop of Burgos, and ſuperintendent of the Indian affaires: of which veſſels, manned with fifteene hundred men, they gaue the charge to the Admirall *Columbus*, and to a brother of his named

A named *Bartholomew*, the dignitie of Gouernour of thoſe new Countries, who departing from Cales, did againe cut thorough the Ocean ſea, and landed at the Iland called by them the Deſired, from whence without ſtaying they paſſed to the port of la Plata in the Iſland Hiſpagniola, and came to the royall port, where they found their fort to be ouerthrowne, and the eight and thirtie Spaniards with their Captaine, whom they had there left, to be ſlaine by the Indians, who were enforced to fall vppon them for the ſpoiles and robberies which they had committed.

There came in this ſecond voyage with the Admirall *Columbus*, Friar *Buyll*, a Monke of the Order of Saint Bennet, a Cattelan by nation, with authoritie of the Popes Vicar, B and twelue learned Clearkes of good and holy life, according to thoſe times, diuers artificers, beaſts, as well horſe as neate, with others, ſtore of victuals, ſtuffes, and neceſſary and profitable matters for the life of man: with theſe prouiſions the better to be furniſhed for future times, the Admirall *Columbus* cauſed a new towne to be meaſured out, which he named Iſabella, after the Queenes name, the which hee peopled, and purſuing his ſearch, hee diſcouered Cuba and Iamaica, and other ſmaller Ilands: wherin being buſied, the Spaniards, left with the Friar, beganne to enter into mutinie, and to commit many diſorders, the Gouernours authoritie, nor the Friars exhortations and interdictions not beeing able to containe them within their bounds, whom the Admirall punniſhing according to their deſerts, at his returne it procured him enemies and hatred, who did vn- C worthily vexe and purſue him, as ſhalbe hereafter declared.

Friar Buyl the Popes Vicar in the Indies.

Don *Alphonſo de Cardenas*, Maſter of Saint Iames, beeing dead this yeare, King *Fernand* retayned the Maſterſhippe, not ſuffering any new election to be made, as hee had done the like to that of Calatraua with the ſelfe ſame conſiderations and reaſons, who by the Popes authoritie, remayned Adminiſtrator of them. Don *Alphonſo* was then the Maſter of the ſame Order, and the three and fortieth in order and continuance: the ſame was done to the Order of Alcantara: the which three dignities were ſince that incorporated to the Crowne by Pope *Adrian* the ſixth, in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was heire to the Kingdomes of Caſtile.

5
The Maſterſhip of S. Iames in the kings hands in quality of adminiſtrator.

The ſame yeare the Kings of Caſtile were altogether rid of King *Mahomet Boabdellin* D the Little, who beeing impatient of the daily ſollicitations which were made to him, for to become a Chriſtian, and to receiue the water of Baptiſme, did ſell all the lands and rights which had beene giuen him by the capitulations, at ſuch time as hee deliuered vp the Cittie of Granado, for foure-ſcore thouſand Duckets, and with his family retired himſelfe into Affricke. There were new teares and lamentations renewed, when his owne mother vpbrayding him, ſayd, That it well became him to put finger in the eye and weepe like a woman, for the loſſe of his dignitie and pallaces, ſeeing that hee could not defend them like a man. He was kindly welcommed and receyued by the King of Fez, but within a few yeares afterwards he was ſlaine in his fierce and inteſtine warres againſt the Xerifs.

E The Spaniſh Authours ſet downe for a memorable matter, that the Kingdome of Granado beganne and ended, two kings of Caſtile of one ſelfe ſame name raigning, namely *Ferdinand*, and the firſt and laſt King of Granado were called *Mahomet*. At the ſame time the Earledome of Roſſillon was reſtored to King *Fernand* by the French king, *Charles* the eighth, who hauing vndertaken at the entreatie and requeſt of *Lewis Sforza*, named the Moore who did vſurpe the Dutchie of Milan, the Conqueſt of the Kingdome of Naples, did feare leaſt the King of Caſtile ſhould in his abſence enterpriſe vpon France, in regard of the ſtrife and contention about the ſayd Earledome: Wherefore to free and acquit himſelfe from that feare and ſuſpition, hee yeelded it vnto him, and renewed the peace and allyances betwixt the Kingdomes of France, Caſtile and Arra- F gon, but it was euill and vnfaithfully kept: Wherein the Kings chiefe Councellours did greatly ſtand him in ſtead, namely, *Steephen Petis de vers*, and Friar *Alphonſo* of Albi, and namely, the holy man Friar *Francis de Paule*; who died at Pleſſis les Tours, certaine of whoſe letters are yet extant, which he wrote thereuppon, and to the ſame effect to King *Fernand*.

The Earledome of Roſſillon reſtored to King Fernand.

It was concluded in this agreement, that King *Ferdinand* of Caſtile ſhould not giue ayde nor aſſiſtance to the King of Naples: whereby it appeareth that this Catholicke King knew well how to vſe the vncharitable rule, which ſayes, that Charity begins by it ſelfe. For he to recouer the Earledome of Roſſillon, without reſtitution of the money which King *Iohn* his Father had borrowed of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, did not greatly care to leaue the honour, ſtate, and life, of his cooſin germaine, and brother in law *Ferdinand* King of Naples for a prey to the French, or at the leaſt hee promiſed it, and ſwore ſo to the French King, notwithſtanding that hee afterward changed his minde. King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell* hauing remained for a while in Cattalonia, and afterward at Saragoſſa, they came to Valiodelit, where Don *Roderigo d'Vlloa* beeing deceaſed, who was one of the ſuperintendents of the treaſure which they call *Cantador major*, they ſuppreſſed that ſuperintendencie, retaining no more but the two that remained, namely, Don *Guttiere de Cardenas* great Commander of Leon, and Don *Iohn Chacon* gouernor of the frontier of Murcia. Beeing departed from Valiodolit to Medina del Campo, they receiued newes of the death of King *Ferdinand* of Naples, whom his ſonne Don *Alphonſo* Duke of Calabria ſucceeded. The King at the ſame time had called in the towne of Tordeſillas, a Chapter of the order of Saint Iames, and reformed certaine abuſes, and there the differences were compounded, betwixt Caſtile and Portugall about the Indian nauigation.

King Ferdinand vncharitable.

6 Portugal. 1493.

Wee haue declared how that Pope *Alexander* had granted by his Bull, dated at Saint Peters, this preſent yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety and three, and the firſt of his Popedome, the weſt Indies to the Kings of Caſtile. Now for to limit the Streights, betwixt Caſtile and Portugall, he did draw a line or a meridionall in the Globe from the Poles of the North to the South, leauing a hundred leagues diſtance to the Portuguze towards the Weſt, from one of the Iſles to Cape vert, to make their nauigation of Affrick, and the Eaſt Indies: wherewith the King of Portugall was highly diſpleaſed, and complained in ſuch ſort to the Pope, that the Kings of Caſtile entreated that the nauigation might bee left free to him towards the weſt, of foure hundred leagues, and the Iſles and lands within the ſame reputed for his conqueſt, wherewith the King of Caſtile was not onely contented, but added to it threeſcore and ten leagues more, ſo as the Portugalls nauigation in all, did ſtretch from the Iſles of Cape vert, towards the weſt, foure hundred and ſeauenty leagues, paſſing the meridionall by that point round about the globe: but time made it manifeſt, that the King of Portugall thereby did ſmally better his condition: for the riche Iſlands of the Moluccos, from whence the ſpices come, are fonnd to bee within the ſtreight of Caſtile: this Tranſaction was paſſed the ſeauenth day of Iune in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety and foure.

The Pope limits the Spaniards and Portugals nauigation.

The Portugals nauigation limited towards the VVeſt.

The Moluccos found to bee within the nauigation of the Caſtillans.

Now King *Iohn* thinking that the Moluccos were his part, hee ſent certaine Caruels this yeare to ſeeke a paſſage by the Affrican ſea towards the Eaſt, but they went not farre beyond the Cape of Good hope: wherefore the King beeing very deſirous, that in his dayes this vnknowne nauigation might bee practiſed, could not haue that good hap, for hee did not liue this yeare. In his time neuertheleſſe the kingdome of Manicongo in Guiney was diſcouered, the King whereof with the moſt part of his nobility were Baptized. King *Iohn* beeing oppreſſed with continuall melancholy for the death of his ſonne Prince *Alphonſo*, hee fell into a dropſie, which by little and little brought him to his end, not without ſuſpition that his diſeaſe was procured or augmented by poyſon: hee neuertheleſſe made his abode in the Citty of Lisbone, and attended the affaires of his kingdome: but his minde was, aboue all other matters, ſet on this nauigation, the which hee did ſet downe according to the opinions which hee had receiued from diuerſe places, which did confirme and verifie the diſcourſe which *Pedro de Cobanilla* had ſent him, who remained in *Preſter Iohns* Countrey Emperour of Æthiopia, from whence there arriued at Lisbone, a little before the Kings death, a learned and diſcreete Monke, who informed the king more particularly of diuers matters, which ſerued afterwards to great purpoſe.

The King of Monicongo receiues the Chriſtian religion.

Now king *Iohn* feeling himſelfe neere his end, made his Will, and hauing no lawfull children, hee knew that the kingdome was to fall to Don *Manuell* Duke of Beja: hee

A Hee was therefore deſirous to giue Don *George* his baſe ſonne a portion, vnto whome hee gaue the Cittie of Coimbra, with the title of Duke, and Montmajor the old, and the lands of the Infantaſgo, in the ſame forme, as his Grandfather the Infant Don *Pedro*, father to Queen *Izabella*, his mother, had poſſeſſed them: hee gaue him moreouer, the Iſle of Madera, Beja, and Viſeo, which was not performed afterward.

This will and Teſtament was ſigned by Don *Manuel*, and D. *George*, and by fiue other perſonages of great place, who made vp the number of ſeuen witneſſes. After this hee went into Algarbe to the Bathes of Monchiz, in the moneth of October the ſeaſon beeing cold, and vnfit for his diſeaſe: and hunting the wild Bore vppon a wet rainie day, hee
B got a fluxe: Wherefore as ſoone as he came to Albor, aſſured tokens of death beganne to appeare vpon him, wherof he was admoniſhed by D. *Diego Ortiz* Biſhop of Tanger, and Don *Diego Almeyda*, Prior of Saint Iohns, who was Gouernour to Don *George*: then diſpoſing himſelfe to dye, hee appoynted certaine things, out of a litle Booke, to be read, and accompliſhed at ſuch time as he was readie to giue vp the ghoſt. Firſt, hee craued pardon of the Dutcheſſe Donna *Beatrix* his mother-in-law, of Queene *Leonora* his wife, and of the Cardinal Don *George* of Acoſta, who then was at Rome, he likewiſe craued pardon of the whole Eſtates of his Kingdome in generall. And to the end that his ſonne Don *George* ſhould not grieue and trouble his mind, hee cauſed him to bee ledde foorth of his chamber, and there ſtood round about his bed, Don *George* of Almeyda, Biſhop of Coimbra, and his brother Don *Diego* of Almeyda, Prior of Saint Iohns, Don
C *Iohn de Silua* Biſhop of Silues, Don *Diego Ortiz* Biſhop of Tanger, and Don *Iohn de Vaſconcellos*, Earle of Penela, with certaine Chaplens, who exhorted him for his ſoules health. In this manner this King died, hauing held the ſcepter of Portugall foureteene yeares and two moneths in the yeare 1495. and in the ſixe and fortieth of his age: his bodie, by his owne appointment, was layd in the Cathedrall church of Silues, and was afterwards tranſported by the commaundement of the King his ſucceſſor to the Monaſterie of Battaile, beeing the laſt king that was buried there, and it is reported that yet to this day his bodie lyes whole and vnconſumed. He was an excellent King, and eſteemed to be ſo by the other Princes of Chriſtendome.

Death of king Iohn of Portugal. 1495.

D Returning to the affaires of Caſtile, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Izabella* departing from Tordeſillas, went to Areualo to viſite the old Queene *Izabella*, mother to Queene *Izabella* then raigning, from whence they came to Segouia, and afterward to Madrid, where by the aduice of their Councell it was decreed, that the king ſhould take the Maſter-ſhip of Alcantara into his owne hands, as well as thoſe of Saint Iames and Calatraua, for to be perpetuall Adminiſtrator thereof, and to the end that there might bee no more maſters in Caſtile, then the King and Queene: the which was approued by authoritie Apoſtolicall: Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga beeing bereft of his Maſterſhip, was otherwaies recompenced. This yeare alſo, the new Chancerie and royall audience at Cité reall was erected for pleas and cauſes depending beyond Tayo, this riuer ſeparating the bounds of
E the two Chanceries: namely, of this, and of that at Vailiodolit, from this Spring in the mountaine of Cuenca, where it enters into the lands of Portugall, Don *Alphonſo Carillo* Biſhop of Catania, and afterwards of Auila, was the firſt Preſident thereof. Now the King and Queene had ſent ſome few dayes before *Antonio Fonſeca* Ambaſſadour to the French king *Charles* the eight, to the end to diuert him from the warre of Naples, enterprized againſt King *Alphonſo* their Nephew, and to declare plainely to him (now that they had gotten the Earledome of Roſſillon) their meaning. And king *Charles* beeing alreadie come into Italy with a mightie armie, the Ambaſſadour mette him at Vilitri neere to Rome, where he deliuered his Ambaſſage, and did proteſt, notwithſtanding the agreement and promiſes made at the reſtitution of the Earledome of Roſſillon, that if
F he did perſiſt to purſue by armes his pretended right to the kingdome of Naples, king *Fernand* his maſter could do no leſſe then ſhew himſelfe his enemie, and take vpon him his Nephewes defence, and therefore he entreated him to thinke of it, and to referre all their differences to the Popes iudgement, who could very well iudge whither the kingdome of Naples did belong to the French or to the Arragonois.

7 Caſtile.

The Ambaſſador wold haue ſayd more, but he was interrupted in his ſpeech, by certain

8 hotte and fierie French Lords, who made him hold his peace, and told him that he ſpake A
Peace betwixt France and Caſtile broken. too arrogantly and impertinently: therefore the Ambaſſador following his inſtruction, tooke the Articles of the laſt agreement betwixt King *Charles* and King *Ferdinand* (which he brought with him) and tare them in peeces in the preſence of the King, Lords, and Knights of his Armie: and hee warned at the ſame inſtant, *Charles de Areillan*, and *Iohn Petit Ceruillon*, Spaniſh Captaines, who ſerued in King *Charles* his Armie: that as ſubiects to King *Ferdinand* they ſhould depart thence within three dayes, and giue ouer the French Kings ſeruice, on paine of being held rebels to their Prince: From the ſame time was the friendſhip betwixt thoſe two Kings broken, and warre in a manner denounced. King *Charles* purſued his deſtenie, and without any difficulty made himſelfe maiſter of B the Realme of Naples, King *Alphonſo* before hee had fully raigned a yeare, hauing giuen ouer the kingdome to his ſonne *Ferdinand*, went into Sicill, and there ledde a monaſtick life: but not long after, the Kings of Caſtile beeing at Tortoſa in Cattalonia, did openly and by effect declare themſelues enemies to the French, as well for feare leaſt they being already Maiſters of Naples, ſhould ſeaze vpon Sicill, where they pretended like right, as alſo at the entreaty of Pope *Alexander* and other Potentates of Italy, being in the ſame feare of their owne eſtates, and would not permit the power of the French to grow ſo great in Italy: therefore they ſet forth a Nauie of Galleys and other ſhips, with fiue thouſand Spaniſh footmen, and ſixe hundred horſe, vnder the conduct of *Gonçalo Hernandes* of Cordoua: the which forces departing from Carthagena, arriued C ſafely in the Porte of Meſſina, this yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety and fiue, making a ſhew as if they would haue ſuccoured the new King *Ferdinand* driuen from Naples. Theſe troopes of Spaniards among other memorable matters, brought the
The Great Pocks in Italy. great Pockes into Italy, wherewith they of the countrey were ſoone poſſeſſed, and did communicate it to the French men, which were ſcattered heere and there in the kingdome of Naples, and they afterward brought it on this ſide the Mounts, and did diſtribute it to their neighbour nations, ſo as this diſeaſe beeing indeed of India, was called the Spaniſh, Neapolitan, and French diſeaſe, according to the next ſubiect where it was diſcouered, and from whence the contagion was perceiued to come.

9 About the ſame time in the Citty of Guadalajara, dyed Don *Pero Gonçales de Men-* D
Death of the Cardinall Don Pero Gonſall de Mendoſa. *doza* Cardinall, and Primat of Spaine and Gotike France, Archbiſhop of Toledo, Patriarke of Alexandria, and Biſhop of Siguença (ſuch were his titles) who beeing viſited in his ſickneſſe by the Kings, and being demanded whom hee thought worthy to ſucceed him in the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, hee named Frier *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros the Queenes Confeſſor, Prouinciall of the order of Saint Francis in the Prouince of Toledo. This Cardinall had a ſingular affection to holy Croſſe, who beſides that it was his hap to haue the holy Croſſe in Ieruſalem for the title of his Cardinalſhip, hee builded a Colledge at Valiodolit, and an hoſpitall at Toledo neere the place of Codebecer, cal-
Pilats original title ſet on the croſſe of our Sauiour, kept for a relicq in Rome. led *Holy Croſſe*: hee re-edified the Church of Santa Cruz at Rome, where they ſay the originall title written by Pilate on our Sauiours Croſſe in Greeke, Hebrew, and Latin, E was found in an vnfitte place, the which remaines as a famous relique in that Church. Beſides, it is reported, that beeing neere his end, a great white Croſſe of more then forty Cubits length appeared ouer the houſe where he lay ſick, which beeing reported to him, he did reioyce, and hauing cauſed a Maſſe of the Holy Croſſe to be ſaid, hee gaue vp the ghoſt: theſe things are written for wonders by the Spaniards: his body lies buried in the chiefe chappell of the Church of Toledo, in a ſumptuous Marble monument. As concerning Frier *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros his ſucceſſor in the Archbiſhoprick of Toledo, hee was ſonne to a ſolicitor of cauſes in the towne of Tordelaguna, called *Alphonſo Ximenes*: his firſt riſing was to the Arch-prieſthood of Vzeda, and hee was great Chaplaine of Siguença, and the lxxi. in the order of the Archbiſhops, and hee was afterward I created Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, of the title of Saint Balbine: but D. *Bernardin de Caruajall* Biſhop of Carthagena, was preferred before him to the dignity of a Cardinall by the title of Santa Cruz in Ieruſalem, and was likewiſe admitted to the Biſhoprick of Siguença vacant by the Cardinals death, and at the laſt obtained that of Playſance. Frier *Diego de Deça*, of the order of Friers Preachers, Schoole-maiſter to

Prince

A Prince *Iohn* of Caſtile, was likewiſe made Biſhop of Salamanca.

The affaires betwixt Caſtile and Nauarre, ſince the time that *Alain* of Albret came to Valencia to King *Fernand*, were peaceable: but the kingdome of Nauarre was ſtill vexed by the factions: thoſe of Beaumont, had euer for their chief the Conſtable *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin: thoſe of Grammont ioyned themſelues with the Lord of Abenas, Viceroy and Gouernour of the Countrey, waiting with great deſire for the comming of King *Iohn* and Queene *Catherine*, vnto whom they proteſted all obedience. Now the great affaires which theſe Princes had on this ſide the mountaines, detayned them a long time there: for beſides that they were in no ſort fauoured by *Charles* the eight, the pourſuites of their vnkle *Iohn* Vicount of Narbonne had continually diſquieted them, vntill the yeare 1493. that they fell to agreement with him: and to ſecure the countries of Foix and Bearne in their abſence, from his ſurprizes and vſurpations, they had made ouer to him the townes of Sauardun, Maſeres, Monthault, and Gibel. 10 *The laſt Coro. nation at Nauarre.*

This Vicount was a widower, by the death of Donna *Marie* of Orleance, ſiſter to *Lewis* the French King, who left him two children, namely, *Gaſton*, who was duke of Nemours, and *Germaine*, which was afterward wife to King *Fernand* of Arragon after Queene *Iſabella*'s death. Hauing then contented the Vicount, and king *Charles* buſied in his iourney to Naples, *Iohn* Lord of Albret, and Queene *Catherine* his wife, went into Nauarre, leading with them great troupes of ſouldiers, for feare leſt the Conſtable ſhould rebell, who held the cittie of Pampelona in ſuch ſort at his commaund, as he diſpoſed of all matters there, as if he had beene King: and when the Princes came to the gates thereof, their entrance was denyed, and they were conſtrayned to lodge at Egues, where they remayned certaine dayes, vntill the Conſtable and his Faction were pleaſed to giue them entrance. In that Cittie were the Eſtates aſſembled, and the King and Queene were crowned with the vſuall ceremonies, in the preſence of diuers Prelats, Knights, and the Ambaſſadors of diuers Princes. It was the laſt Coronation which was made in Nauarre in our time: for this kingdome beeing ſoone after in the Kings of Caſtiles poſſeſſion, they would no longer continue ſuch ceremonies, beeing content to receiue the oath of the Eſtates after the manner of Spaine. The titles of King *Iohn* and Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre, were Kings of Nauarre, Dukes of Nemours, Gandia, Momblanc and Pegnafiell, Earles of Foix, and Lords of Bearne, Earles of Bigorre, Ribagorça, Pontieure and Perigort, Vicounts of Limoges, Peeres of France, and Lords of the cittie of Balaguer.

The yeare 1494. *Cæſar Borgia*, who was after Duke Valentinois, Cardinall and ſonne to Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, did by his procurators take poſſeſſion of the perpetuall adminiſtration of the Church of Pampelona, by the deceaſe of Don *Alphonſo Carillo* the Biſhop, and by the grant of the Pope his father: and the yeare following 1495. Princeſſe *Magdalen* of France dyed, who was mother to Queene *Catherine*, in the ſame cittie of Pampelona, who accompanied her daughter to her coronation, and had euer vertuouſly employed her ſelfe about the conſeruation of her childrens eſtates for the ſpace of fiue and twentie yeares, all which time ſhe had liued in holy widow-hood: her bodie lies buried in the great Chappell of the Cathedrall church of the ſame cittie. About that time Queene *Katherine* viſited the King and Queene of Caſtile at Alfaro, by whome ſhe was greatly honoured and welcommed, as befitted ſo great a Princeſſe: and we reade of none other occaſion of her comming thither, but onely for to ſee them. *Cæſar Borgia Cardinal Biſhop of Pampelona.*

Now after that the King and Queene had made themſelues maſters of the Cittie of Pampelona, the chiefe of the Kingdome, and of many other places which they feared, they were obeyed and reuerenced by the moſt part of their ſubiects, and ſtrongly accompanied with Knights and men at armes, they did call to remembrance many raſh actions committed by the Conſtable *Lewis* of Beaumont, as well againſt King *Iohn* of Arragon, and Queene *Leonora* their Grandmother, as againſt king *Francis Phœbus* and themſelues, namely, that the Beaumontois had denyed to open them the gates of Pampelona, with other ſuch recent occaſions, whereupon they began to perſecute him very ſharpely, ſo as the Realme of Nauarre was againe in as great confuſion as euer it had beene: the two old Factions not forgetting to make vſe of any occaſions that might hurt one another: the which ſtormes were in ſome ſort quietly calmed by the mediation of King *Fernand*

of Caſtile & Arragon who procured this agreement, that the Conſtable *Lewis* of Beaumont his brother in law ſhould withdraw himſelfe into Caſtile for a certaine limited time, in which meane ſpace either part ſhould lay by their armes, and that the ſaid Conſtables goods and lands ſhould be laied in *depoſito* in King *Fernands* hands. And in this ſort the Conſtable left Nauarre, but he loſt nothing thereby, for King *Fernand* gaue him twice as much reuenue as he had before, and made him Marquis of Hueſcar in Granado. The name of open warre ceaſſed in Nauarre, but they left not of committing of many murthers and robberies without feare of law, for that nation had beene a long time accuſtomed to ſuch outrages in contempt of the law; the which waxed ſtill worſe thorow King *Iohn* and Queene *Catherines* negligence, who by euill counſell, and particular affections, vnworthy of ſoueraigne Princes, did at the laſt bandy themſelues in leagues one againſt the other, the King taking part with thoſe of Beaumont, and the Queene with the Grammontois whereof infinite miſeries enſued.

Lewis of Beaumont made Marquis of Hueſcar.

11 Caſtile.

During theſe troubles *Gonçalo Fernandes* de Cordoua, ſurnamed the Great captaine, hauing ioyned the forces that hee brought from Spaine with thoſe that King *Fernand* had, who was driuen forth of Naples, and beeing accompained with D. *Hugo* Cardona the Sicillian, did ſo handle the matter as after that King *Charles* was departed forth of the Kingdome hee recouered Calabria from the French, and draue thence the Lord *d'Aubigni* who was gouernor in thoſe marches, notwithſtanding that ſoone after hee receiued an ouerthrow by him neere to Seminara, where King *Fernand* of Naples had like to haue beene taken priſoner: after which *Gonçalo Fernandes* hauing made his retreate to Rijoles, where he ſtood a certaine time on his defence, and beeing afterwards re-enforced with new ſupplies out of Sicile, and a nauy of three ſcore and tenne ſhips brought from Meſſina by King *Fernand*, hee had courage and meanes to beſeege and make himſelfe Maſter of the city of Naples, with her caſtles, and draue thence Lord *Guilbert* of Montpenſier, whom King *Charles* had left there for gouernour and Lieutenant Generall, making ſuch ſharpe warre vpon the reſt of the French that were left there, as King *Fernand* in ſhort time was reſtored to his Kingdome, by the valour, proweſſe, and diſcretion of this great captaine: which when Don *Alphonſo* vnderſtood, who of a King was become a Monke in Sicile, hee laboured to recouer his former dignity: but his ſonne who was in poſſeſſion thereof, and who had valiantly imployed himſelfe in the recouery of that which his father had careleſly loſt, would not giue it ouer: wherefore Don *Alphonſo* did not liue long after in his monaſticke ſtate, for hee died this yeere 1495.

Exploits of Gonſalo Hernandes of Cordoua ſurnamed the Great captaine.

D. Alphonſo from a King become a Monke, ſtriueth in vaine, from a Monke to become a King.

The ſucceſſull exploits of the Spaniards in the Kingdome of Naples did greatly reioyce King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella*, who beeing at Tortoſa, did agree vpon the marriage of Prince *Iohn* their ſonne and heire to the Kingdomes, with *Marguerite* of Auſtria, daughter to *Maximillian* then Emperor, who was ſent home, as hath beene ſaid, by *Charles* the French King: and by the ſame meanes the marriage was concluded betwixt *Philip* of Auſtria ſonne to the ſaid Emperor and Donna *Ioane*, ſecond daughter to the King and Queene of Caſtile and Arragon. Theſe Princes and Princeſſes which were married, brother and ſiſter to the brother and ſiſter, were very nere of kinne by the line of Portugall: for Donna *Iſabella* of Portugall, wife to Duke *Philip* of Burgondy, was mother to Duke *Charles* father to *Mary*, who was mother to *Philip* and to *Marguerite* of Auſtria.

Alliances betwixt the houſes of Auſtria and Caſtile.

12

And on the other ſide D. *Leonora* of Portugall the Empreſſe, wife to *Frederike*, mother to *Maximillian*, father to *Philip* and *Margnerite*, was coſin germain to King *Fernand*, daughter to Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, ſiſter to King *Iohn* his father, the which Donna *Leonora* was wife to King *Edward* of Portugall. Theſe treaties being made, the King made ſome ſtay at Tortoſa, and then returned into Caſtile: but they were not long there, till the King was conſtrained to returne to Tortoſa to take order for the warre which the French had raiſed in the Earldome of Roſſillon: for King *Charles* beeing highly mooued that the King of Caſtile, contrary to the agreement and promiſe which hee had made him, had ſent aide to the King of Naples, fought againſt his armies and townes which hee had conquered, had ſent a mighty army

Warre betwixt the French and Spaniards in the Earldome of Roſſillon.

13

to

A to the Pirenean hills, the which did aſſaile Sauſſes, defended by Captaine *Bernard Franciſ*, who was ouer-come and taken, and almoſt al the Spaniards were cut in peeces in the ſight of the Spaniſh Armies, commanded by Don *Henry Henriques* Earle of Alua de Liſta, and by the King himſelfe, who was come as farre as Gyrone, thinking by vaine ſhewes to cauſe the French to retire: the which they did, but it was becauſe winter drew on, and for want of victualls, the enemies Armie being in the like neceſſity. Sauſſes beeing forſaken, diſmantled and burnt by the French, a truce was taken for foure moneths. Among other men of name which dyed at the taking of Sauſſes were Don *Diego de Azeuedo*, and *Pedro de Solis*: the ſame hapned the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety and ſixe. *Sauſſes taken by the French.* 1496.

B Queene *Iſabell* remaining at Burgos, gaue order for the iourney of her ſecond daughter Don *Ioane* into Flanders to *Phillip* of Auſtria, vnto whom ſhee was promiſed, and for the ſame purpoſe ſhee cauſed a great Nauie to bee rigged in the Porte of Laredo, whether ſhee came in perſon, after ſhee had celebrated the obſequies of Queene *Iſabell* her Mother, who dyed at the ſame time at Areualo, hauing liued a widdow the ſpace of two and forty yeares, troubled with ſickneſſe both of body and minde, whoſe body beeing then laide in the Monaſterie of Saint Francis of Areualo, was afterward tranſported to the Carthuſians in the Citty of Burgos, called Mirefleur, where King *Iohn* her husband was buried. The ſame yeare dyed in Guipuſcoa Don *Iohn de Gamboa*, a C perſonage full of yeares and honour, who was Maiſter of the horſe to the Kings of Caſtile, and of their Councell, Captaine generall of the frontiers of France and Nauarre, and gouernor of Fontaraby. This Knight left onely two daughters, one of which was married in Guipuſcoa in the family of *Sarauz*, and the other into Biſcay into that of *Arteaga*: the Queene gaue the conduct of the Nauie, and of the Infanta Donna *Ioane* her daughter, to Don *Frederick Henriques* high Admirall of Caſtile her Vnckle, beeing accompanied by Donna *Maria de Velaſco* the Admiralls Mother, with other Lords, Ladyes and Gentlewomen, who beeing ſhipped, the Queene went back to Burgos, and from thence into Cattalonia to ayde the King her husband. *Queene Iſabell the Dowager ſick both in body & minde.* *Death of Don Iohn de Gamboa.* *The Infanta Don Ioanes voyage into Flanders.*

In the meane ſpace, the great Captaine continued the warre on the one ſide, and King D *Ferdinand* on the other in the kingdome of Naples, who were reſiſted in Calabria by *Eberard Stuard* Lord of Aubigni, aſſiſted by the faction of *Aniow*, and with a few French forces which were left him, and in the territorie of Lauoro by the Lord *Guillert* of Montpenſier Lieutenant generall to the French King, in the ſame kingdome, who was beſieged in the Citty of Auerſa by King *Ferdinand* and the great Captaine both together, and was brought to ſuch extremitie, as hee promiſed, if within thirty dayes hee were not ſuccoured, to yeeld vp all that the French men held in the kingdome of Naples, excepting Gaieta, Venoſa and Tarentum, which were in the hands of ſtrangers, vpon condition that they would furniſh him with ſhippes to carry him and his people into France: there fell afterwards great ſickneſſe among the men of warre on either E ſide: and Lord *Guilbert* of Montpenſier dyed at Pozzuolo with other French Lords, and there dyed likewiſe on the enemies part diuerſe men of note, as namely King *Ferdinand*, who had for ſucceſſour his Vnckle Don *Frederick* of Arragon, brother to Don *Alphonſo*. King *Frederick* ſtayed not long ere hee beſieged Gaietta, during which ſiege the Lord D' *Aubigni* rendred the places which hee held in Calabria, by whoſe example Gaietta, Venoſa and Tarentum were yeelded, and King *Frederick* by that meanes recouered all the realme of Naples.

In this warre all the Potentates of Italy ſhewed themſelues enemies to the French, the Florentines excepted, who thought by the meanes of the Frenchmen who held Piſa, to bring that Cittie into their ſubiection. And the warre beeing ended, Pope F *Alexander* did ſharply perſecute the Vrſins, friends and ſeruants to the houſe of France, and the chiefe of that family *Virginio Vrſino*, an excellent Captaine, of all which matters, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Iſabell* of Caſtile were aduertized to their great contentment. *All the Potentates of Italy enemies to the French except the Florentines.*

The beginning of the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninetie and ſeauen, the Kings beeing in the Citty of Burgos, they receiued aduertiſement that the Armie of 1467.

Caſtile

Caſtile was returned, which had conducted the Infanta Donna *Ioane*, wife to *Philip* of Auſtria, and brought *Margueret*, ſiſter to the ſaid *Philip*, betrothed to Prince *Iohn*, who were married in the ſame Citty, Frier *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros Archbiſhop of Toledo and Primat of Spaine dooing the ceremony: and they had for their God-father Don *Frederick* the Admirall, and Donna *Maria de Velaſco* his mother for their God-mother. The feaſts and magnificences were great and pompous, whereat dyed Don *Alphonſo de Cardegna* ſecond ſonne to Don *Gutiere de Cardegna*, great Commander of Leon. A

Fryer Francis Ximenes Archbiſhop of Toledo.

The wedding being ended, the Court came to Medina del campo, where *Chriſtopher Colombus* arriued as a priſoner by the ſlanders and accuſations of the Spaniards his enemies, who were impatient of diſcipline, the moſt enuious of whom was Frier *Buil*, who came back the ſame time into Spaine: neuertheleſſe the Kings thinking it an vnſeemly matter that ſuch a perſonage ſhould yeeld account of his actions in quality of an offender, they did abſolue him of the great rigor which hee had executed by iuſtice on the Spaniards, with commandement thence-forward to vſe thoſe more gently, who did croſſe ſo many ſeas to doe them ſeruice, and they willed him to returne to the Iudges, they being highly contented with the reports which hee made of the great riches and wealth which thoſe countries yeelded: whereof hee brought them proofes of golde, Brazil, mother of Pearle, Amber, pretious Feathers, Indian tapſtrie, and other ſtrange things: They did againe rigge forth eight ſhips for him, furniſhed with men and victuals, two whereof hee ſent away before laden with victualls and weapons to his brother *Bartholomew Colombus*, who had begun to builde the Cittie of Saint Domingo, vpon the riuer of Ocama in the Iſland of Hiſpagunola: hee with the other ſixe parted from Saint Lucar de Barameda, and beeing arriued at Madera, vnderſtanding that there were French Pirates at ſea that watched for him, beeing drawne thither by the renowne of the wealth of the Indies, hee ſent onely three of his ſhippes directly to the Iſland of Hiſpagnuola, and hee with the other three ſayled towards the Iſles of Cape vert, tending to the Equinoctiall, and after great trauaile of heates, and calmes, hee arriued at Paria the firme land of thoſe Weſt Indies: then coaſting three hundred and thirty leagues vnto Cape de Velas, hee diſcouered and tooke note of all that countrey, where are Cabo Anegado, the point of Salinas, Cubagua, otherwiſe called the Iſle of Pearles, the point of Araja, Cumana, Chiriuichi, the Gulphe of Cariari, Curiana, Saint Roman, Venecuela Coquibocoa, and other places, from whence hee paſſed to the new Citty of Saint Domingo, and there was receiued for Gouernour, to the great griefe of diuerſe. B C D

14 *Colombus his third voyage to the Indies.*

This was the third voyage that *Colombus* made to the Indies, and then they had already begun to trade and negociate with the Indians by force of armes: for the violent vſage of them had made them become ſtrange, and enemies to the Spaniards, ſo as they left off tilling of their grounds, and ſowing of their Maiz, to the end to conſtraine them by hunger to leaue the contrey, and at the ſame time as theſe ſhippes arriued, great number of Indians beeing gathered together, did beſiege the Spaniards of the Forte of Saint *Thomas du Ciabo*, who were put to flight by *Alphonſo de Hoiedo*. Hauing then gotten the Cachique *Coanabo* into the Forte, keeping him priſoner for the death of diuerſe Chriſtians, more then fiue thouſand Indians aſſembled themſelues, beeing conducted by a brother of his, for to deliuer him, who were likewiſe defeated by *Hoyeda*, hauing but a hundred Spaniards in his company, and ſome amongſt them were horſemen, the which made the Spaniards to bee greatly feared, and much more afterward when *Bartholomew Colombus* by night defeated fifteene thouſand Indians, tooke fifteene Cachiques, and a Generall aboue all the reſt named *Guarionex*, all which hee ſet at libertie vppon their words and promiſes to continew ſubiects to the Kings of Caſtile. E F

Enterpriſes vpon the Affrican Moores.

Beſides theſe conqueſts in the Indies, the Spaniſh Nobilitie, who ſeeing that there was no more warres in Spaine againſt the Infidells, began to enterprize vppon the neighbour ſhoare of Affrick, and this yeare the Citty of Melilla, neere the ſea in the kingdome of Tremeſſen, was taken by Don *Iohn de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, who

A who led a ſufficient army thither, at his owne coaſts and charges. This was the firſt place which the crowne of Caſtile did poſſeſſe in that country beyond the ſea, which gaue beginning to the warres of Afrike, which continued afterward, and whereof wee will ſpeake in his place. This exploite of the Duke of Medina was acknowledged and rewarded by the King, who lying at Valencia of Alcantara did treat the marriage of their daughter, the Infanta *Iſabell* the widdow, with the new King D. *Manuell* of Portugall, of whom we muſt diſcourſe.

B

D. Manuel the fourthteenth King of Portugall.

THis Prince ſucceeded King *Iohn* his coſin and brother in law in the crowne of Portugal the yeere 1465. being ſeuen and twenty yeeres of age: hee was ſonne to Don *Fernand* Duke of Viſeo, and of the Infanta Donna *Beatrice*, grand-child to King *Edward*, and great grand-child to King *Iohn* the firſt, whoſe aduancement to the royall crowne had beene fore-told by certaine Soothſaiers and Aſtrologians: he obtained it by right of lawfull ſucceſſion, and by the teſtamentary appointment of King *Iohn* his predeceſſor: in whoſe life time he did in no ſort take vpon him the title of Prince and heire of Portu- 15 Portugal.

C gall, but onely of Duke of Beja and Maſter of Chriſtus. Hee was a iuſt King, and loued honour, religious and zealous in the faith which had beene taught him, vſing the Nobility kindely, the which hee increaſed and aduanced in his dominions as much as hee could: he was gentle, liberall and a great giuer of almes, eſpecially to religious friers as well of his owne Kingdome as to ſtrangers, dilligent and carefull in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, an enterprizer, lucky in voyages, nauigations and diſcoueries of countries, whereby he greatly augmented and amplified his Kingdome and Siegnories: hee was beloued and eſteemed as well of his owne ſubiects as of ſtrangers: magnificent and ſumptuous in buildings, which the royall monaſtery of Belen or Bethlem, of the order

D of Saint Ieroſme doth beare witneſſe of, edified for the buriall of the Kings: the caſtle of Belen, which ſtands almoſt in the riuer of Tayo, for the guarde of the Port of Lisbone; the Monaſtery of Saint Mary de la Pegna of the ſame order of Saint Ieroſme neere to Sintra, and that of Saint Clare the New in the towne of Eſtremos: all which workes were by him built from the foundation; and hee did moreouer reſtore and augment the couents of Saint Francis of Lisbone, Ebora and Saint Iren. The bridge of Coimbra, and that of Oliuença vpon Guadiana are likewiſe of his ſtructure, with diuers others publike buildings and reparations: all which vertues and magnificencies were blemiſhed by one vice, whereupon Princes and great Lords doe often ſtumble, namely, he was to light of beleefe. Whereby hee ſhewed himſelfe inconſtant and variable, retracting on euery ſmall occaſion his decrees, orders, guifts and priuiledges by con-

E trary commandments.

Qualities of King Manuel.

Buildings of King Manuel.

This King Don *Manuel* was thrice married, and all his wiues were Infantaes of Caſtile, and the two firſt were ſiſters: his firſt wife was Donna *Iſabella*, widdow to the Infant Don *Alphonſo* his Nephew his ſiſters ſonne, on whom hee begat a ſonne named D. *Michel*, who was borne in Arragon in the city of Saragoſſa at ſuch a time as ſhalbe ſet downe hereafter, who if hee had liued, had beene heire to all Spaine: Donna *Iſabella* being dead, his ſecond wife was her ſiſter, called the Infanta *Maria* of Caſtile, third daughter to King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella* by whom hee had a great iſſue. Firſt of all, D. *Iohn* heire of Portugall borne at Lisbone in the pallace of the Riuer, the Infanta

F Donna *Iſabella* borne in the ſame city, who was Queene of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon and Nauarre, and Empreſſe of Germany, married to *Charles* the fifth. Donna *Beatrice* who was Dutcheſſe of Sauoy, wife to *Charles* the ninth, and mother to Duke *Emanuel Philibert* of Sauoy, D. *Lewis* borne in Abrantes, father to D. *Antonio* who was at ſtriſe for the kingdome of Portugall with *Philip* king of Spaine in our time; next D. *Henry*, who in our time was a Cardinall, borne likewiſe in Abrantes on the riuer of Tayo, D.

Genealogie of Portugal.

Alphonſo

Alphonſo who was borne in the city of Ebora, and was likewiſe made Cardinall at ſeuen A
yeeres of age by Pope *Leo* the tenth; Don *Catherine* who died young, then D. *Fernand*, Don *Edward* and Don *Antonio*. His third and laſt wife was Donna *Leonora* daughter to *Philip* of Auſtria, Infanta of Caſtile, and ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, by whom he had a ſonne named *Charles* who died young, he had moreouer by her a daughter, borne after his death, named Donna *Maria*, who liued in great chaſtity in our daies: So as this King had by his three married wiues thirteene children liuing, namely nine ſonnes and foure daughters: This Prince comming to the crowne hee erected diuerſe Earledomes for the ornament of the Nobility of Portugall, hee gaue that of Portalegre to *Diego* de Silua his gouernor, who enioyed but the title onely, for the Inhabitants B
of Portalegre did defend themſelues, by reaſon of their priuiledges: hee made Don *Vaſco* de Gama Admirall of Portugall Earle of Bediguera, Don *Martin de Caſtel-blanc* Earle of Villanoua, Don *Iohn de Meneſes* Earle of Taroco and prior of Saint Iohns, Don *Rodrigo de Merlo* Earle of Tentugall, Don *Pedro* de Caſtro Earle of Montſancto, Don *Franciſco* de Soſa, ſonne to the Biſhop of Ebora Earle of Bemioſo, and Don *Antonio* of Portugall Earle of Lignare, honouring in that manner, by liberality and royall bounty the Nobility of Portugal.

Earldomes erected in Portugall by King Manuell.

D. James reſtored to the Duchy of Viſeo and to his fathers goods.

At the inſtant entreaties and requeſts of the widdow, Queene *Leonora* his ſiſter, and of the Dutcheſſe Donna *Iſabel*, widdow of Bragança, hee reſtored to the honours and goods of the deceaſed Duke, D. *Iames*, vntil then in exile in Caſtile, who was the C
Dukes ſecond ſonne, for Don *Philip* the eldeſt died in Caſtile, becauſe the Princes of his bloud ſhould not liue in ſuch calamity, and that ſo noble a race might not faile in Portugall: he ſhewed the like grace and bounty to diuerſe other Lords, who were abſent, for offences committed againſt the crowne, albeit that the new Duke D. *Iames* had for his owne part no way offended, but had run into his fathers diſgrace who was executed by law. For a notable and religious act, as he and his counſel thought, he gaue commandement that all Iewes and Moores ſhould voide forth of Portugal, vnleſſe they would bee baptized, confiſcating their goods, and children of euery ſex, excepted vnder thirteene yeeres of age, whom by force he cauſed to be baptized, but beeing afterwards better aduiſed, hee retained onely the men and women of thoſe ſects by force, cauſing them to D
receiue baptiſme, and to confeſſe Ieſus Chriſt with their mouthes, but, as it is to bee preſumed, without beleeuing it in their hearts, and people conſtrained, and not wel inſtructed, the which did beget infinite apoſtacies, ſects, and hereſies in Portugal, as it could not fall out otherwiſe.

Iewes conſtrained to be baptized.

16 Following the ſteps of his predeceſſor King *Iohn*, hee ſent men into the parts of
D. Vaſco de Gama a Portugal Captaine in Calicut. the Eaſt to make ample and certaine information of the trafficke of ſpices, and hee cauſed Don *Vaſco* de Gama to purſue the nauigations and diſcouery of the ſhores of Affrike, who departing from Lisbone this yeere 1497. with two ſhips, the one named the Angel *Gabriel*, the other the Angel *Raphael*, manned with a hundred and forty men, coaſted about Affrike, and touching at the Iſle of Saint Iames, and that of E
Saint Helen, places by him ſo named, hee came into Maçambuque a country of the Moores, and from thence, by a long and tedious iourney paſſing hard by a rocke, which hee called Saint George, and by the ſhelues and ſands of Saint Raphaell hee arriued at Mombaça a land fertil, pleaſant, and of great trade and commerce, then going forward he came to the city of Melinde, in the which hee had not only ſome reſt and refreſhing from his paineful iourney, but did likewiſe contract peace and alliance betwixt the King of Melinde, and King *Manuel* his Maſter: at the laſt ſayling farther, he came to Calicut the place ſo much deſired which was the aime of his enterprize. He found Calicut to be a great and wel peopled city, and of great trade for ſpices, he ſaw in the hauen more then a thouſand fiue hundred ſaile of marchants ſhips, great and ſmal, but ill built and vnſeruiF
ceable for long voyages, without art in their ſailes, anchors and tackling, not vſing the compaſſe, and wholy vnfit for ſea fights, not beeing able to ſaile vnleſſe they had a fore winde.

17 Now King *Manuel* beeing ſuch an one as wee haue deſcribed him, and in his flo-
Caſtile. riſhing age, the marriage betwixt him and the Princeſſe *Iſabella* of Caſtile; who

was

A was a widdow was concluded at Valencia of Alcantara, at the ſame time as Prince *Iohn* of Caſtile newly married to *Marguerite* of Auſtria fell ſicke of the diſeaſe whereof hee died at Salamanca: the which cauſed king *Manuell* to haſten the effecting of this marriage: becauſe that after Prince *Iohn*, the ſucceſſion of the Realmes of Caſtile and Arragon fell to Donna *Iſabella* as to the eldeſt. Therefore hee vſed ſuch dilligence as the marriage was accõpliſhed before the Prince his death, who deceaſſed to the great griefe of the kings his father and mother, and of all their ſubiects, hauing not fully attained to the twentith yeere of his age, and was buried in the Monaſtery of S. Thomas of the frier preachers in the city of Auila. All the Gentlemen, Knights, Lawiers, and other men

Death of Prince Iohn of Caſtile.

General mourning.

B of note in all parts of Spaine, did in ſigne of mourning for his death cloath themſelues in blacke friſe, or ſuch like courſe cloath of meane price. The Princeſſe *Marguerite* his widdow, who was with child, was brought in bed ſoone after in the towne of Alcala de Henares of a dead daughter. King *Fernand* beeing the firſt that receiued theſe lamentable newes, fearing leaſt the Queene his wife would fall into ſome great perplexity for the loſſe of an onely ſonne, heire to ſo great a ſtate and of ſuch young yeeres, did determine to ſend her newes that he himſelfe was dead, and then when ſhee ſhould enter into teares and lamentations, to come into her preſence at the ſame inſtant to comfort her, and then plainely to tell her the truth of their ſonnes death, imagining that a ſodaine conſolation betwixt two extreame griefes, would greatly mode-

A good meanes to comfort an extreame ſorrow.

C rate both the one and the other: the which tooke good effect, by the good reaſons and examples which hee alleadged vnto her. By Prince *Iohns* deceaſe, Donna *Iſabella* his ſiſter was Princeſſe of the Aſturia's, and eldeſt heire to the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Arragon.

This yeere died Don *Iohn Arias* de Villar, who was Biſhop of Ouiedo, the which place was giuen to Don *Garcia Ramires* de Villa Eſcuſa, laſt perpetuall prior of Saint Markes of Leon, and euer afterward the Priors of that place were but from yeere to yeere. There died alſo by a lamentable chance, the Court beeing at Alcala, Don *Lewis Pimentell* Marquis of Villa-franca, eldeſt ſonne to Don *Roderigo Alphonſo Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, who fell downe to the ground out of a gallery. Don *Diego* of Ca-

D ſtile great commander of Calatroua did likewiſe die, and his commandery was giuen to Don *Guttiere* de Padilla Treaſorer, and his place to Don *Alphonſo* de Silua, brother to the Earle of Ciſuentes. Now the new Queene of Portugall, Infanta of Caſtile and Arragon, hauing right to ſo great a ſucceſſion by the death of Prince *Iohn* her brother: it behoued the King her husband and her ſelfe to paſſe into Caſtile, to receiue, in quality of future heires to thoſe Kingdomes, the oth of the States: therefore leauing the widdow Queene *Leonora* Regent in Portugall, they came to the city of Toledo the yeere 1498. where Queene *Iſabella* of Portugall was ſworne, and acknowledged Princeſſe of the Aſturia's, heire to Caſtile and Leon: then going into Arragon, the like was done for the ſucceſſion in thoſe Kingdomes. But this Princeſſe being with child,

An. 1498.

E ſhee was brought in bed and died in the city of Saragoſſa, leauing heire to all her fathers and mothers dominions, the child newly borne if he had liued, who was called D. *Michel*, who in that infancy was ſworne Prince of Girone and heire to Arragon and Sicile. With this ſorrow D. *Manuel* returned a widdower into Portugal, leauing his onely ſonne in Saragoſſa. The dead Queenes body was brought to Toledo and buried in the Monaſtery of Saint Antolin, which is a parriſh Church where were Religious Nuns, which was builded by Don *Agnes d' Ayala*, wife to the Admiral of Caſtile, grand-mother to King *Fernand*. And afterward becauſe of this Princeſſe, which was there buried, it was called the Monaſtery of Saint Elizabeth, and the parriſh remooued to Saint Marks which was of the number of the Muſarabes.

D. Michel that was borne Infant ſworne heire of Arragon.

F About this time *Lewis* the twelfth of that name, before Duke of Orleance hauing ſucceeded *Charles* the eight in the crowne of France, and hauing his thoughts wholy bent to diſpoſſeſſe Duke *Lewis Sforza* of the Duchy of Milan, which hee ſaid was the antient maternall inheritance of the houſe of Orleance, peace was granted to King *Frederike* of Naples, and an agreement procured betwixt France and Caſtile: therefore

fore Don *Gonçalo Hernandes* ſurnamed the great captaine, returned out of Italy into Spaine, full of victory and honor. The Court being come to Ocagna, where Queene *Iſabella* found her ſelfe ſomewhat well at eaſe the yeere 1499. the Infant Don *Michel* was ſworne Prince of the Aſturia's, and heire to Caſtile. There aroſe a great quarrel in Ocagna amongſt the courtiers, wherein Don *Alphonſo Pimentel*, ſonne to Don *Iohn Pimentel* was ſlaine. A

Oth to the Infant D. Michel for the future ſucceſſion of Caſtile.

The Court comming to Madrid, the marriage was celebrated betwixt D. *Rodrigo de Mendoza* the firſt Marquis of Zenete, a widdower by the death of his wife D. *Leonora* de la Cerda Marquiſſe of Zenete, onely daughter to the Duke of Medina Celi, and Donna *Maria* de Fonſeca, daughter to D. *Alphonſo* de Fonſeca, of which marriage was borne a daughter and heire called *Mencia* de Mendoza, who was wife to *Henry* Earle of Naſſau. B

D. Mencia de Mendoza wife to Earle Henry of Naſſau.

The affaires of the Indies grew worſe and worſe, the Spaniſh arrogancy not beeing able to endure a bridle to reſtraine them in their diſorders, for *Rowland Ximenes* from a ſeruant being become great Prouoſt and Preſident of iuſtice in the Indies, by the fauour of the Admiral *Chriſtopher Colombus*, did openly mutiny againſt *Bartolmew Colombus* the gouernour, and with threeſcore and tenne of his confederates, hee ſequeſtred himſelfe and went into Xaragua, proteſting that hee did not forſake the Kings ſeruice of Caſtile, but onely his obedience to the Geneuois, whoſe pride he could not beare: the Admirall endeuored by all meanes to appeaſe this tumult, but he could not, wherefore they fell to writing one againſt an other into Spaine, and to lay great offences to each others charge, ſo as the Kings ſent *Francis* de Bouadilla, a Knight of the order of Calatraua with foure caruels, with ample power and authority to the Indies to make information of theſe matters, who being arriued in the Iſland of Hiſpagnuola, found, after enquiry made in the city of Saint Domingo, that the two brothers *Colombs* were in the fault, therfore hee apprehended them, and ſent each of them in a caruell priſoners in fetters into Spaine. C

18

The brothers Colombus brought backe againe priſoners into Spaine.

Being landed at Cales, the Kings hauing notice of their arriuall, cauſed them to bee ſet at liberty and to come to Granado where the Court then lay, where notwithſtanding their iuſtifications, the gouernment of the Indies was taken from them. And ſo the Admiral remained three yeeres in Spaine, without returning to the countries by him diſcouered. The Kings the ſame yeere gaue leaue to *Pero Nugno* borne at Palos de Moguer to goe to the Indies with a ſhip and thirty marriners, on condition that he ſhould not land, nor come neere the lands diſcouered by *Chriſtopher Colombus* by fifty leagues: who beeing arriued at Parias, and hauing well noted the coaſt euen to Curiana, which is nere to Veneçuela, he landed in Curiana, where he found the people to be ſimple, with whom he exchanged his pedlery ware of ſmal value, for very precious pearles. This *Pero Nugno* being returned into Galicia was accuſed by his own fellowes, and had a long ſuite before *Hernando* de Vega Lord of Grayales viceroy in that country. Other inhabitants of Palos Moguer, who had beene in the voyages of *Chriſtopher Colombus*, and had inriched themſelues were deſirous to ſaile againe to the Indies, as namely, Vicont *Iames Pinſon*, and *Arias Pinſon* his nephew, who at their owne charges hauing victualled and rig'd foure caruels, they paſſed by Saint Iames his Iſle, one of thoſe of Cap-vert, and arriued at the Cap of Saint Auguſtin, a country very thicke of trees, amongſt the which they found one that ſixteene men could not fadom, where they wrote their names, and thoſe of their King and Queene in token of poſſeſſion: then coaſting along the ſhoares (not without danger) where they thought to land, in regard they found there very fierce and barbarous Indians, they came to the mouth of the great riuer Maragnon, in the gulphe of Parias, and to that of the riuer Oreillana, which are the greateſt in the world, and doe runne almoſt euer vnder the Equinoctiall: the which riuer of Oreillana the *Pinſons* hauing failed, and ſpent tenne monthes in thoſe nauigations; they returned into Spaine with two caruels onely laden with braſill and drogues, but no gold nor pearles. D E F

Pero Nugnos voyage.

The voyage of Vincent and Arias Pinſon.

Portugal. Don *Vaſco* de Gama arriued likewiſe this yeere in Portugal from his voyage of Calicut laden with ſpices, which hee had bought at a cheape rate, from which place hee departed

A parted in the month of September of the precedent yeere, captaine *Nicholas Coello* going before from the Cap of good hope to bring the King of Portugall good newes thereof, after whom the ſaid *Vaſco* arriued, who was moſt graciouſly welcomed, and largely rewarded for his trauaile which laſted ſix and twenty monthes, and of all the men which he carried out with him hee brought home fifty onely. The Portugalls from that time, did ordinarily ſaile to the Eaſt Indies.

This yeere the Princeſſe *Margueret* of Auſtria widdow, parted from Spaine to re- Caſtile.
turne into Flanders, afterward ſhee ſhas married to *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, by whom hauing had no children, after his death ſhe remained a widdow, and gouerned the coun-
B try of Flanders a long time: the Monaſtery called Bruns neere to Bourg in Breſſe, was builded by her. The Court beeing at Granado, Queene *Ioane* of Naples, widdow to the late King *Fernand* the firſt came thither, ſhee was ſiſter to King *Fernand* of Caſtile. In her company was the Cardinall *Lewis* of Arragon, ſonne to Don *Roderigo* of Arragon baſtard to the King her husband: and in Flanders the Infanta Donna *Ioane* wife to *Philip* of Auſtria was brought in bed of a daughter named *Leonor*, who was Queene of Portugall, married to the King Don *Manuel* and afterward to the great King *Francis* of France.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabella* being come from Granado to Siuil, beeing mooued with zeale to religion, and the better to obtaine the title of Catholike Kings, by the counſell alſo of the Prelats, and namely of frier *Francis Ximenes* de Ciſneros Archbi-
C ſhop of Toledo, frier *Thomas* of Torquemada, the chiefe Inquiſitor of Spaine being deceaſed a while before, they vndertooke the voluntary and forced conuerſion of the Moores, contrary to the promiſes and capitulations made vnto thoſe which yeelded during the warres, whereof great troubles enſued.

The Archbiſhop *Ximenes* was at Granado to aſſiſt frier *Hernand* of Talauera a lit- 19
tle before made Archbiſhop of Granado, who laboured to procure that conuerſion to *Moores Mudeiares enforced to change their religion.*
bee voluntary, without vſing conſtraint. But hee of Toledo imagining that the o-
ther had proceeded ouer gently, did beginne to preſſe the Moores that were inhabi-
tants of the Albayzin after his owne humor; giuing hard ſpeeches to ſuch as would
D diſpute of religion with the Monkes and Curats, who thought to conuert them: and then comming to deeds, he laid hands vpon a chiefe Moore of the familie of Zigri, who was deſcended from the Kings of Granado, and kept him ſo long in priſon as to recouer his liberty, hee ſaid that hee was contented to beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt, and that hee had had a viſion which did aſſure him that it was the right way of ſaluation. Hee ſent after that, one of his houſehold ſeruants named *Sazedo*, with a Prouoſt that was very ill beloued to apprehend a woman dwelling in the ſame Albayzin, but both of them were there ſlaine. Diuers Moores being gathered together at the womans cries, who after the deed ranne to the Archbiſhop of Toledos lodging to haue done as much to him: but he and his people did valiantly defend themſelues vntill the Earle of Tendil-
E la the Gouernor came and freed him from them: the which Earle with the Archbiſhop of Toledo delt in ſuch ſort as the mutinous people were appeaſed, and their Alguaſils were heard, who proteſted that they did not riſe againſt the King, but onely to hinder the breaking of the Articles agreed vpon, which were, not bee enforced to change their religion.

This was the firſt attempt of the Moores conuerſion, with no ſmall daunger and tumult, which laſted tenne daies. The King hauing notice of what was done, was highly mooued againſt the Archbiſhop of Toledo; but hee contented him with reaſons wherewith hee was not vnfurniſhed, and cauſed him to allow and approoue to haue them conuerted by force: for at the report of what the Moores of Albayzin
F had done, thoſe of the mountaines, and of the country called Alpuxarres did fall into a mutiny, to chaſtice whom they were conſtrained to proceed by armes the yeere following 1500. In the ſame yeere Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, celebrated the tenth Iubiley at Rome, whether people of ſundry Nations went in great numbers: and they beganne to conuert the Moores of Granado, this yeere where diuers of them

did mutiny: neuertheleſſe more then fifty thouſand of that ſect receiued the water of Baptiſme, and their Moſquees were bleſſed and conſecrated to ceremonies and vſes accuſtomed amongſt the Chriſtians of that age: thoſe amongſt them who would not change their religion at the Kings command, were conſtrained to doe it by force of armes, and becauſe the townes of Hueſcar, Lanjaron, and Andarrax in the country of Alpuxarras did make the greateſt reſiſtance, the inhabitants being enforced were made ſlaues. And the ſame yeere was borne in the city of Gaunt vnto *Philip* of Auſtria and Donna *Ioane* of Caſtile vpon Saint Mathias day, a ſonne named *Charles*, who was heire to all the Kingdomes of King *Fernand*, and Queene *Iſabella* his grand-father and grand mother, and Emperour of Almaine, the fifth of that name, a great and an excellent Prince. It is reported that when the newes of his birth was brought to Queene *Iſabella* his grand-mother, ſhe in a propheticall ſpirit of his future vniuerſal ſucceſſion in the great dominions of Spaine, ſpake theſe words, taken out of the Acts of the Apoſtles, *The lot is falne vpon* Mathias, noting thereby, that Don *Michel* of Portugal then liuing ſhould not inherite, but that it ſhould bee hee who was borne vpon Saint Mathias day: the which in deed fell out to be happy for the Emperour *Charles*, it is the foure and twentith day of February.

Birth of Charls of Auſtria who was King of Spaine and Emperor.

Saint Mathias day lucky to Emperor Charles.

Nauarre. 20

King Fernand beeing returned from the Catholike warre of the country of Alpuxarres in the Kingdome of Granado vnto Siuill, hee was viſited by *Iohn d' Albret* King of Nauarre, whom hee welcomed with great honour and curteſie, for the ſpace of ſeuenteene daies that hee remained there. Diuers buſineſſes mooued this Prince to come into Caſtile, but there were two of greateſt importance, for hee imagined to get againe the townes of La Garde, Arcos, Saint Vincent, and Bermedo, the caſtles of Toro and Herera, and other places of La Soſierra which the King of Caſtile poſſeſſed of the antient patrimony of Nauarre; hee did moreouer, in the right of the late Queene *Blanch* of Nauarre, firſt wife to King *Iohn* of Arragon, and great grand-mother to Queene *Catherine* then reigning, and by grant made in the contract of her marriage, demaund the Infantaſgo of Caſtile, the Duchy of Pegnafiel and Lordſhip of Lara, with many other lands, and therewith all the ſonne of 420112. florins, ſixe ſhillings eight pence of the coine of Arragon: for which matters King *Iohn d' Albret* and Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre being at Pau, had not long ſince ſent two Franciſcan friers in Ambaſſage to the Kings of Caſtile, who were men of vnderſtanding, namely frier *Iohn de Vadre* Warden of Corella, and frier *Iohn de Ro*, warden of Tafalla, with ample inſtructions to obtaine them: but they brought away nothing but pleaſing words and dilatory excuſes. Beſides this buſineſſe, the ſuſpition which they had of the Earle of Lerin did greatly trouble them, who was newly come into Caſtile, and was much honoured and aduanced there, and it was reported to them that King *Fernand* had often times ſolicited him, to make ouer vnto him all the lands, goods, rights and actions which he had in the Realme of Nauarre, promiſing him treble recompence for them in Caſtile; the which the Earle had neuertheleſſe refuſed, either for the naturall loue which he did beare to his country, or elſe that hee did better eſteeme the place which hee held, almoſt as King of Nauarre, then to bee in Caſtile, where diuers others tooke place before him as it was fit: Theſe two chiefe occaſions cauſed the King and Queene of Nauarre to depart from Pau, whether they were goone as ſoone as they had newes of King *Charles* the eight his death, and to returne into Nauarre, where the Queene remained gouerneſſe aſſiſted by frier *Pedro Eraſo* Abbot of the Monaſtery of Oliua: King *Iohn d' Albret* went to Siuill to bee reſolued by King *Fernand* concerning theſe buſineſſes, to preuent the inconueniences which he feared, and to renue the peace, friendſhip and alliance betwixt thoſe two Kingdomes: Hee was highly honoured, as hath beene ſaid, by the Kings of Caſtile, and lodged with them in the fort of that magnificent city: and the more to gratifie and reuerence him the Conſtable, the Earle of Lerin, was forbidden to come into the caſtle.

King Fernand deſirous to get the Kingdome of Nauarre.

It is reported that King *Fernand* cauſed the King of Nauarre to bee ſounded whether he thought well of the exchange which hee deſired to make with the Earle of Lerin

of

of the lands which he poſſeſſed in his Kingdome, for other recompence in Caſtile, and that hee would giue King *Iohn d' Albret* a good ſumme of money, if hee would conſent that thoſe lands ſhould remaine to Caſtile: who notwithſtanding the euill will that he did beare to the Earle of Lerin, vttered his opinion concerning it, which was, that a man ſhould neuer exchange lands and reuenues for money. King *Iohn d' Albret* got no other matter by this iourney but good cheere, and diuers preſents of rich plate, hangings, horſe, iewels, and other ſuch like things: wherefore hee returned into his Realme of Nauarre, leauing the matters hee went for vn-effected. The Earle of Lerin Conſtable of Nauarre beeing at that meeting reconciled to him did follow him and ſtaied in Nauarre, certaine monthes in good quiet. We haue made mention how that Cardinall *Cæſar Borgia*, ſonne to Pope *Alexander*, had the Biſhoprike of Pampelona in nature of perpetuall adminiſtrator thereof, hee reſigned the ſame to the Cardinall of Saint Praxede: he laide aſide likewiſe his Cardinals hat, and followed the warres whereunto he was more inclined then to Church matters, and was made by his father Duke of the country called in old time Flaminia, and Gonfaloner and captaine Generall of the Church, this was the Duke Valentinois.

A man ſhould neuer exchang lands for mo. ney.

Cæſar Borgia, made Duke Valentinois.

In theſe daies beganne the warre which in proceſſe of time did ſubiect the ſtate of Milan vnder the dominion of the Kings of Caſtile. King *Lewis* the twelfth, of the houſe of Orleance, pretending that the right of that Duchy belonged vnto him as the proper inheritance of the Ducheſſe *Valentine* his grand-mother, lawfull daughter to Duke *Iohn Galeas* Viſcont, and heire to her two brothers *Iohn Maria*, and *Philip*, ſucceſſiue Dukes on after an other, who died without children, hee gaue ouer all thought of the conqueſt of Naples, the right of the houſe of Aniou, and turned his forces againſt the Duke then raigning, *Lewis Sforza* vſurper of that ſtate, whereat not onely the Potentates of Italy, hating the French dominion, were diſcontented, but they drew the Spaniſh forces to the defenſe of Prince *Sforza*, wherein chiefely King *Frederike* of Naples imployed himſelfe, ſoliciting King *Fernand*, and Queene *Iſabella* by continuall meſſengers and letters to oppoſe themſelues by all meanes againſt the greatneſſe of the French in Italy, who if they ſhould obtaine the Duchy of Milan, hee did aſſure them that they would paſſe on to Naples, and after that into Sicile which was their antient right: Therefore it was concluded in the counſell of Caſtile, to ſend backe Don *Gonçal Hernandes* the great captaine; who tooke ſhipping at Malaga the eight of Iuly, this yeere 1500. and led into Italy, eight thouſand foot, and twelue hundred horſe, where beeing arriued, to auoide idleneſſe, hee went ouer with his army into the Iſle of Zante in old time *Zacinthium*, in the Illiri an ſea, to the end to aide the Venetians oppreſſed by the Turkes army, which had taken from them Modon, Coron, Criſſe, and Pila in Morea, and the Iſland of Cephalonia, in which the Spaniſh army ioyned to the Venetian, commanded by *Benedetto Pezaro*, did land, and there behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, as they brought againe that Iſland vnder the Venetians power, the army of the Turke *Bajazet* then reigning, being gonne to Conſtantinople. The Venetians in acknowledgement of which ſeruice did honour the great captaine with the title and priuiledge, of a Gentleman of their commonwealth, a thing rarely granted by them vnto ſtrangers, who brought backe his army victorious to Meſſina, wayting for an occaſion to employ it to the preiudice of the French.

21 Caſtile.

VVars of the French againſt Lewis Sforza.

During theſe ſtirres, the Court being at Granado, there died the Prince Don *Michel* heire to theſe Kingdomes, to the great griefe of the Kings of Caſtile his grand-father and grand-mother, and of King *Manuell* his father, hauing not exceeded the age of two yeeres, who lies buried in the chappell of the Kings, ſince then builded in the ſame City: By his deceaſe the Infanta Donna *Ioane*, wife to the Archduke *Philip* had right to the ſucceſſion of theſe great Eſtates, and ſo conſequently the lotte fell vpon her ſonne *Charles* borne on Saint Mathias daie, as Queene *Iſabella* had fore-told, the Archduke and Donna *Ioane* his wife beeing called vpon that occaſion, prepared themſelues for their iourney into Spaine. The ſame yeere died Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*, ſecond Duke of Infantaſgo, who was buried in the Conuent

22 Portugal.

D. Ioane wife to the Archduke Philip, preſumptiue heire of Caſtile and Arragon.

Conuent of Saint Francis at Guadalajara, King *Manuel* being a widdower and without children, contracted marriage with the other ſiſter of his deceaſed Queene named Donna *Maria*, third daughter to the King and Queene of Caſtile, by whom he had many children, as hath beene heretofore declared. The new Queene of Portugal departed from Granado in the monthes of September this yeere 1500. and was conducted to the King her husband by D. *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoza Archbiſhop of Siuill and Patriarke of *Alexandria*, who was afterward Cardinall, with diuers other Lords and Knights. A

Caſtile.

23

The Moores perſecuted in Spaine, to cauſe them to turne to Chriſtian religion.

The conuerſion of the Moores of the Kingdome of Granado, begunne by King *Fernand* and Queene *Iſabel*, was ſo greatly by them deſired as they would not depart out of that country till they had brought it to ſuch paſſe as they intended: the Moores on the other ſide not being inſtructed, and ſeeing diuers contempts of religion, and infinite euill examples amongſt the Prelats and in all the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy of the Chriſtians; they thought it a ſtrang matter to be enforced to change their religion the which they thought to be holy, and that they ſhould ſo perfidiouſly breake the agreements and promiſes, vpon which they had yeelded themſelues to the Kings of Caſtile: wherefore they made all the reſiſtance poſſible: Neuertheleſſe the inhabitants of Las Alpuxarras, thoſe of the cities of Almerie, Guadix and Baça, did in ſome ſort faſhion themſelues to the Kings religion: but thoſe of Benefique, Nixar, and Guijar, ranne to armes and reſolued rather to die then to bee ſo euill intreated: wherefore they were conſtrained to ſend an army thither, by which thoſe townes were taken by force and cruell ſlaughter made of the inhabitants: namely after the fury of the fight, the Kings cauſed all the male children, which were of age to beare armes, to be executed by law, and as for the women they were all ſold for ſlaues, and this was done to quench the bloudy thirſt of the prelats and monkes, counſellors and ſolicitors of that ill vnderſtood conuerſion. Yet for all that, after the fury was paſt, the King cauſed the children of either ſex amongſt thoſe miſerable people vnder eleuen yeeres of age to bee ſeparated and baptized, giuing them their liberty as innocent of their fathers obſtinacy. This rigour was ſo farre off from fearing or abating the courage of the reſt as they thereby became more ſtubborne: their being no ſpurre in the world more ſharpe, then religion, to make men giue ouer and contemne life, and all other things to be beloued in this world, when they are conſtrained to take armes for that reſpect: for diuers Moores dwelling vpon the coaſt of Ronda, *La Sierra Vermeille*, and *Villa longa*: being brought to the laſt hope of being able to liue in the freedome of their conſciences, and to keepe their old religion, did arme themſelues, to the number of twelue thouſand perſons, which cauſed the Kings to thinke that they were entred againe into a very difficult warre, and that the conqueſt of the kingdome of Granado was not yet ended. B C D

Cruel execution of the Moores at Beniſique, Nixar, &c.

VVar renued by the perſecuted Moores.

And becauſe it behoued them to giue a preſent remedy to this fire which kindled, they diſpatched away Don *Alphonſo d'Aguilar*, and the Earle of Vregna, with as great forces as the preſent neceſſity could furniſh: but Don *Alphonſo* who was old, and a well experienced captaine, proteſted that with ſo ſmall a number he could doe the King no ſeruice, but ſhould receiue loſſe and diſhonour; for the Moores were foure to one of his people: neuertheleſſe being vrged to it, he marched againſt the enemies, who keeping themſelues cloſſe togither, and in ſtrong places, would not giue the leaſt aduantage to the Chriſtians; for whom they laide waite in the valleies and ſtreight places of the country, well knowne to themſelues, to the end to ſurprize and defeat them, the which came to paſſe: for the Chriſtians being lodged one night at the foote of Sierra Vermeille, in ſuch a place as Don *Alphonſo's* troupes were ſeparated from thoſe of the Earle of Vregna by a great botome which was betwixt them, the Moores at the ſhutting in of day-light fell vpon Don *Alphonſo* and his people with ſuch fury, as they cut them all in peeces, Don *Alphonſo* himſelfe lay dead vpon the place: his ſonne Don *Pedro*, hauing his teeth beaten out with the blow of a ſtone, and hurt with an arrow, with great difficulty eſcaped at the beginning of the fight, the Earle of Vregna beholding the ſlaughter of his friends, not being able to ſuccour them by reaſon of E F

the

A the bottome that lay betwixt them, or elſe becauſe hee would not, as diuers did thinke, for euer among great Lords, and chiefe commanders vnder one Prince are enuy, iealozie, and emulation found, which cauſe ſuch effects to the loſſe of their Prince and commonwealth.

Particular enmities among captains of one ſelfe ſide, doe oftentimes cauſe the publique cauſe to be forgotten.

King *Fernand* did greatly apprehend this loſſe, as alſo Don *Alphenſos* death, the which could not bee imputed to raſhneſſe: for he had proteſted that ſuch reſolute men as thoſe Moores were, who were in their forts, ought not to haue beene aſſailed with ſuch weake forces: and that they knew very well, the common prouerbe, which ſaith, that for to fetch a dead man out of his owne houſe, there muſt alway bee foure, how
B much more then did it behooue them to goe ſtrongly accompanied againſt thoſe with whom he had to do, who weare liuing men, ſouldiers, and well armed: It is reported that as he was aſſailed, diuers Knights were of opinion to turne their backes and to flee, but he would needs make head, ſaying, that neuer any of his race did turne their backes to a Moore. Wherefore being kept backe by ſhame and diſhonour hee ſuſtei-ned that conflict, whereas hee might haue made an excuſable retreat. Now the King being in a merueilous chollor, departed from Granado againſt theſe Moores, with an intent to puniſh them rigorouſly: but perceiuing that it is euermore harder to exe-cute then to counſell; hee was content to permit them to paſſe ouer into Afrike, and to leaue the country: by this meanes after ſundry defeats and ſlaughters on either ſide, he obtained his deſire, and returned to Granado, where the marriage of D. *Catherine* his
C fourth daughter with *Arthur* Prince of Wales, heire to the crowne of England, was trea-ted of. This Princeſſe tooke her iourney towards her husband the yere 1501. accompani-ed by Don *Alphonſo* de Fonſeca, Archbiſhop of Saint Iames, Don *Antonio* de Rojas Biſhop of Majorque, who was afterward Archbiſhop of Granado and Preſident of the royall counſel, and D. *Diego Fernandes* de Cordoua Earle of Cabra: and at the ſame time Queene *Ioane*, the widdow of Naples, ſiſter to King *Fernand*, tooke her leaue of him and withdrew herſelfe to Valencia: The Archdnke *Philip* of Auſtria making preparation for his voyage into Spaine, was father of his third child, Donna *Ioane* his wife beeing brought in bed of a daughter named Donna *Iſabella*. This Princeſſe was wife to *Chri-*
D *ſtierne* King of Denmarke, hee who was depoſed by his vncle *Chriſtierne* King of Swethland, taken by him, and kept in perpetuall priſon: by which *Chriſtierne* ſhee had two daughters, that is to ſay, *Dorothy*, future wife to *Frederike* Earle Palatin, and Elector of the Empire, and *Chriſtine*, who was married to *Franciſco Maria Sferza*, Duke of Milan the yeere 1534. who died the yeere after; ſhee was ſecondly married to *Francis* Duke of Lorraine, father to Duke *Charles* who liues in our time. After that King *Chriſterne* was depoſed from his owne Kingdome, for inuading that of Sweuia: this Princeſſe D. *Iſabella*, went into England, where her Aunt Donna *Catherine* was married, and then ſhe died being ſix and twenty yeeres of age.

Vnſeaſonable magnanimity of D. Alphonſo de Aguilar.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed on in Spaine, the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, did luckily end his enterpriſe of Milan, and did ſhut vp into cloſe and perpetuall priſon Duke
E *Lewis Sforza*, ſurnamed the Moore, the Author of all the warres and ruines of Italy in his time: the which King *Frederick* of Naples conſidering, hee was mooued partly by feare, leaſt he ſhould againe haue to doe with the victorious French armies, partly not to oblige himſelfe ouer much to the Kings of Spaine, and not to giue occaſion to the Spaniſh inſolency to grow ouer ſaucie in his Kingdome: and namely becauſe King *Iohn* of Arragon, and Don *Fernand* his ſonne, had at one time called in queſtion the late King *Alphonſo* his teſtamentary decree, whereby hee had left that Kingdome to his baſtard ſonne, incapable thereby (as they ſaid) of ſo great an inheritance: wherefore hee beganne to haue ſecret intelligence with the French King, whereof King *Fer-*
F *nand* was ſoone aduertized: who thought, that hee was very ingratefully delt with-all and ill requited for all his coſt beſtowed in the recouery of that kingdome out of the French mens hands: and he imagned that hee ſhould not tranſgreſſe either diuine or humaine lawes, if he reputed that conqueſt to belong to him ſelfe; and if hee ſhould ioyne this action to that which his father and hee pretended in the ſaid Kingdome by

24 *Sforza taken by the French.*

reaſon of the illegitimate ſucceſſion of Don *Fernand* baſtard to Don *Alphonſo* of Arragon: wherefore, he vſing the ſelfe ſame pollicy, did practize with King *Lewis*, in ſuch ſort, as they parted the Kingdome of Naples betwixt themſelues, and diſpoſſeſſed King *Frederike* thereof, whom they condemned for light and inconſtant: vnto King *Fernand* were aſſigned, Calabria, and Puglia, as countries neere to his Realme of Sicile: to the French King, Abruzzo, and Terra di Lauor, where ſtands the city of Naples: on condition that King *Fernand* ſhould intitle himſelfe, as hee was wont to doe, King of Sicile; and the French King ſhould adde to his titles, King of Naples and of Ieruſalem, for all rights pretended by the houſe of Aniou: That theſe diuiſions ſhould be conquered from King *Frederike*, at the particular coſts, and by the forces of either of theſe great Kings; wiith condition that the one ſhould not hinder the others conqueſt. This agreement and diuiſion, made and concluded in great ſecret, was afterward allowed and confirmed at Rome by Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, the two Ambaſſadors of France and Caſtile requiring it: and the French King did preſently ſet his hand to the worke, ſending a mighty army vnder the conduct of *Lewis* of Armignac Duke of Nemours, who enuaded the portion aſſigned to the King his Maſter, and tooke the cities of Naples, Capua, and other ſtrong places, being aſſiſted by *Cæſar Borgia Lançol* Duke Valentinois, who from a Cardinall was become a ſouldier, and murtherer of his owne brother Don *Franciſco Borgia Lançol* Duke of Gandia. The great captaine on the other ſide, preſſing King *Frederike* very hardly, who beeing amazed to ſee him ſelfe ſhut in betwixt two ſuch mighty enemies, beeing not prepared, nor ſtrong enough to reſiſt, at the laſt giuing place to neceſſity, hee reſolued to make an agreement with the French King, making ouer to him all his right, and the forts which he held, on condition that he might be Duke of Aniou, and receiue in France where hee would remaine thirty thouſand ducats of yeerely rent.

The King of France and Spaine, diuide the Realme of Naples, and depoſe King Frederike.

This agreement was concluded to *Frederikes* great loſſe; who contemned King *Fernand* of Caſtile, or at the leaſt did diſtruſt his friendſhip, perceiuing that contrary to the hope which he had to be aided by him at his need, and wherein hee had entertained *Proſpero Colonna* with great numbers of ſouldiers, he did ſhew himſelfe to bee his enemy: It may be that the feare which he had of his owne ſouldiers did haſten him to this concluſion, hauing no meanes to pay them their entertainment, the fauor of Spaine failing him, and fearing leaſt they would haue plaide him the like trick, as the Switzers, defrauded of their paies, had done to the Duke of Milan, whom they deliuered to the French King his enemy. He went into France with his wife and children, his eldeſt excepted, and carried with him his moueables and money, receiuing of Duke *Valentine* a great ſum of glod for his Artillery and munition which he ſold to him. This King *Frederike* was the fifth of the houſe of Arragon, who had ſucceſſiuely held the crowne of Naples, counting from King *Alphonſo* of Arragon, adopted by Queene *Ioane*, who deceaſſing at Naples the yeere 1458. left it to his baſe ſonne *Fernand*, hee to his ſonne *Alphonſo*: *Alphonſo*, inforced by *Charles* the eight, gaue it ouer to his ſonne *Fernand*, by whoſe death the Kingdome fell to *Frederike* his vncle, who hauing reigned foure yeeres, made it ouer to King *Lewis* of France, and died in the city of Tours; leauing his eldeſt ſonne D. *Fernand* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria, heire to all that he poſſeſt, whom he had left fortified in the inexpugnable city of Tarentum, with D. *Iohn* de Gueuara Earle of Potentia, and other Knights, who neuertheleſſe being beſeeged and aſſailed by the great captaine, did yeeld, vpon condition to bee ſet at liberty: the which was not performed; for the great captaine to preuent the inconueniences which might happen, detained and ſent them priſoners into Spaine.

King Frederike of Naples, goes into France.

The great captaine makes none account of keeping his faith and promiſe.

About the time of the agreement betwixt theſe two Kings, not long before. *Claude* daughter to King *Lewis* was borne, ſhee was preſumptiue heire to the Duchy of Britan: There was motion made of marrying her, when ſhe ſhould come to age with *Charls* of Auſtria, ſonne to the Archduke *Philip*, and to the Infanta D. *Ioane* his wife, who purſuing there voyage into Spaine, went thorow France, and were by King *Lewis* his command greatly honored in all places, and namely in the city of Paris.

Among

A Among other poynts and articles of this Treatie of marriage, it was concluded (as the Spaniards write) betwixt the Emperour *Maximillian*, pretending right to the Dutchie of Milan, and King *Lewis*, who then poſſeſſed it; that hee, by whoſe fault this marriage was not accompliſhed, ſhould forfeit all his right in the ſayd Dutchie. The Arch-duke and the Infanta his wife beeing at Paris, were required by the King to do him homage, as to their Soueraigne, for the Earledome of Flanders, and other lands belonging to the Crowne: whereat the Infanta Donna *Ioane* was ſo diſpleaſed, as albeit ſhee were in the Kings dominions, ſhee did obſtinatly contradict it, and would neuer conſent thereunto. Theſe two houſes by the iuſt iudgement of God were appoynted to vexe one ano-
B ther by long warre in time to come, for to ſcourge the world. It is an hard matter to entertaine the friendſhip of great men, or when it is diſioyned, to ſet it firmely together againe.

Homage for Flanders and Artois refuſed to the French King.

The houſes of Spayne and France, in former times vnited by holy concord, and moſt profitable friendſhip, did firſt of all diſagree about the Earledome of Roſſillon, pawned to King *Lewis* the eleuenth by King *Iohn* of Arragon for 3. hundred thouſand crownes, about the reſtitution whereof, pernitious warres enſued, the which in ſome ſort beeing compoſed, they were afterward renewed concerning the Kingdome of Naples, and either part did not let to ſearch, and take all occaſions lawful, or faigned, to hurt one another, and to violate and breake all agreements procured betwixt them: in ſuch ſort as there is no Region on the earth, which hath not beene troubled with their quarrels, or
C felt the miſeries and calamities of their warres.

The agreement made betwixt the two Kings, diuiding another mans Kingdome, did not laſt long: for before the yeare was ended, there aroſe a great quarrell betwixt the two Kings Gouernours and Lieutenants in the Kingdome of Naples about a bitte of ground lying betwixt Puglia and Abruzzo, called the Capitanato, the which each of them pretended for his owne, and maintained it for his part, becauſe that otherwiſe they ſhould be depriued of a taxe rayſed vppon cattell in that countrey, the which in leſſe then a moneths ſpace affoorded more then foureſcore thouſand Duckets: and the French men did particularly challenge it, becauſe this Capitanato did abound in corne, wherewith the
D countrey of Abruzzo and Terra di Lauor was furniſhed, thinking it to bee a very great loſſe, if they ſhould leaue it to the Spaniards. Howſoeuer it was, their claime was ambiguous, each others limits beeing not plainely ſpecified in the diuiſion, ſo as they fell to armes more fiercely then before, wherein for that time the French-men preuayled, and made themſelues maſters, not onely of the ground that was in ſtrife, but likewiſe of many places of Calabria and Puglia for which there had beene no contention at all.

In the meane ſpace, the Arch-duke *Philip* and Donna *Ioane* his wife arriued at Guipuſcoa, where Don *Bernard de Rojas* and *Sandouall*, who was afterward Marquis of Denia, with great numbers of Lords and Knights of name, waited for them at Fontarabie, by whome they were conducted, and theſe Princes paſſing by Saint Adrians mount, did
E chriſten *Philip de Laſcan*, ſonne and heire to the houſe of Laſcan. From thence by Alaua, Bureua, Burgos, Vailliodolit, Medina del campo, Segobia, and Madrid, in all which places they had ſumptuous and magnificent entertainement, they came at laſt to the cittie of Toledo, where the three Eſtates of the Realmes of Caſtile and Leon were aſſembled.

25

Arriuall of the Arch-duke & D. Ioane his wife in Caſtile.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella* departing from Seuile, came likewiſe to Toledo, where after they had beene feaſted, and entertayned with diſports for the ſpace of fifteen dayes, *Philip* of Auſtria and Donna *Ioane* were ſworne and acknowledged Princes of the Aſturia's, and eldeſt heires to the Kingdomes of Caſtile and Leon, in the right of Donna *Ioane*: This was done in the preſence of King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*, the Primate
F Friar *Francis Ximenes*, Arch-biſhoppe of the ſame cittie, Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, Arch-biſhoppe of Seuile, Cardinall of Saint Sabine, and Patriarke of Alexandria, the Biſhops of Calaorra, Palence, Oſma, Cordoua, Salamanca, Iaen, Cité Rodrigo, Malaga, Mondognedo, and other Prelates: of *Bernardin de Velaſco* Conſtable of Caſtile, the Dukes of Infantaſgo, Alua, Bejar, Albuquerque, and the Marquis of Villena, the Earles

Ceremonies at the ſwearing to the Princes Philip & Ioane

Earles of Oropeſa, Miranda, and Benalcaçar, Crugna, Siruella, Ribadeo, Fuençalida, A
Ajamonte, and others, with the Procurators, and Commiſſioners of all the citties and prouinces of Spaine, which haue place in ſuch aſſemblies. This oath beeing made for Caſtile, King *Fernand* was deſirous to haue the like done for the Kingdome of Arragon and dependancies thereof: and ſo he iourneyed towards Sarragoſſa, leauing the Queene with the Princes at Toledo, who went to paſſe away the hotte time of Iuly and Auguſt at Ocagna, recreating themſelues in the pleaſant forreſt of Aranjues neere to the riuer Tayo: and from thence they departed to Sarragoſſa, where by the Eſtates they were likewiſe declared and ſworne Princes of Girone, heires to Arragon, Valence, Cattalognia, Sicill, and other Countries belonging to that Crowne. The Queene in the meane time B
ſtaying at Toledo, remoued to Madrid, where ſhe beganne to be euill diſpoſed of her perſon, which cauſed king *Fernand* to haſten his returne to her, the Princes deſiring to follow him, did ſeparat themſelues, becauſe the Princeſſe was with child, wherefore ſhee remayned at Sarragoſſa, and the Prince went to Madrid. Theſe matters fell out, the yere 1502. wherein dyed the Cardinall *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza in the ſame cittie of Madrid. Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga, who had beene Maſter of Alcantara, and afterward was Cardinall ſucceeded him in the Arch-biſhoppricke of Siuill. The Marquis of Denja dyed likewiſe. The precedent yeare, about the time that the Princeſſe *Catherine* departed into England, Don *Iohn d' Arias del Villar* dyed, who was Preſident of Vailliodolit, and Biſhop of Segobia, in whoſe place ſucceeded Doctor *Iohn de Medina*, Biſhop of Carthagena. C
There dyed alſo D. *Lewis de la Cerde*, firſt Duke of Medina Celi, ſonne to Earle *Gaſton*. The Prince of Wales, husband to the Infanta *Catherine*, died likewiſe this yeare; and the Cittie of Gibraltar was re-united to the Crowne, and another perſecution was raiſed againſt the Moores.

26 Before the Kings of Caſtile departed from Siuill to come to Toledo, they had ſent an
The king of Caſtile ſends an Ambaſſade to the grand Cairo. Ambaſſadour to the Souldan of Egipt, who was as Emperour of Arabia, acknowledged then for Soueraigne, ouer all the Kings of Affricke, who had beene informed by the Kings of Tremeſſen, Fez, Bugie, Tunis and others, of diuers rigors and inhumanities exerciſed vppon the Moores and Iewes dwelling in Spaine, which that Prince did greatly recent. The Ambaſſadour ſent thither was called *Peter Martyr Angleria* of Milan, Deane D
Peter Martyr of Angleria Ambaſſador. of Granado, a learned and well-experienced perſon, vnto whome were letters of credite and inſtructions giuen, how to appeaſe the Souldan, and to perſwade him otherwiſe, then he had beene before informed: Wherefore he went by Venice, where the Seigneurie prouided him of a ſhippe to carrie him to Alexandria: there he found diuers Chriſtian Merchants, with a Conſul, who was a Cattelan by nation, by whom hee was well entertayned. The Warden of the Monaſterie of mount Sion beeing aduertized, ſome few dayes before of his comming, ſent him word, that he would meete him at Cairo: therefore *Peter Martyr* ſent certaine Friars before to Cairo, whom he had brought with him, for to receiue that Friar Warden: and to obtaine a ſafe-conduct for his owne perſon and trayne from the Souldan, to the end to declare his Ambaſie vnto him. The father War- E
den and his Friars beeing arriued at Cayro found a Truch-man or Interpreter there who was a Spaniard borne at Momblanc in the Realme of Valencia, vnto whom hauing giuen notice of the Ambaſſadors arriuall at Alexandria, and demaunded the ſafe-conduct, the Souldan granted it, and ſent word to the Gouernor of Alexandria, whom the cal Admirall, to cauſe him to be conducted in ſafetie. But the Monkes hauing vnderſtood by their conferences with the Truchman, how ſiniſterly the Souldan was poſſeſſed againſt the Kings of Caſtil, by the reports of the Moores of Granado, and the Iewes which were expulſed out of Spaine, they did aduertize him to be well aduiſed what he did, and to foreſee the danger he had put himſelfe in, by comming to the preſence of that angry Prince, whoſe anſwer, perhaps might be death: but the Ambaſſador was no whit amazed thereat: F
but ſayd, that it would be a great happineſſe for him to die in ſo honourable a cauſe: ſo he tooke his iourney, going againſt the ſtream of the riuer Nilus, accompanied by diuers
Mamelues in Egypt. Mameluke ſouldiers, which were Chriſtians renied, or children of bought Chriſtians, in whoſe hands lay the gouernment of al the affairs of Egypt, and namely, out of their bands was the Souldan choſen.

Being

A Being come to Caire, he was longed in the ſayd Truchmans houſe, and then the day following, he was ledde to the Caſtle to the Souldans pallace, and paſſing thorough diuers galleries full of Mameluques, he was brought into an hall where the Souldan taried for his comming: Hee found him ſitting vppon a bed of State, like vnto women, made in faſhion of an altar, clothed in a gowne of skarlet with large ſleeues furred with Martins, and vpon his head a rich Turbant, with two hornes after a ſtrange faſhion, and a ſword neere vnto him, being compaſſed about with diuers Gouernours of Prouinces, which they called Admirals. Before this Emperor, the Ambaſſadour preſented himſelfe, apparelled in a coate of blacke ſattin, and a gowne of purple veluet, kneeling vpon one knee, the Monkes and other Chriſtians which followed him, kneeled on both their knees and hands, as though they would haue kiſſed the earth, then riſing vp, and going on neerer by two and two paces, they made three ſuch reuerences: then ſtanding vpon their feete, the Ambaſſadour went a little forwarder neere to the Prince, and hauing made a fourth reuerence, he ſtood vp, and preſented the Kings of Caſtils letters of credit to the Truchman, the which beeing opened and read with diuers ceremonies, the Souldan told him, that hee was welcome. Then the Ambaſſadour making a great reuerence, told him, the Kings his Lords and Maſters had ſent him thither to ſalute and viſit him in their name, and to offer him whatſoeuer was in their power, excepting that which belonged to Chriſtian Religion, and that he had commandement and inſtruction to communicate diuers buſineſſes with him, Wherefore he beſought him to be pleaſed to giue him audience in a more priuate manner: the Souldan anſwered him, that he was contented to do ſo, and told him, that if in the meane time he wanted any thing, he ſhould ſpeake, and that whatſoeuer he demanded ſhould be giuen: The Ambaſſadour hauing againe thanked him, and ſayd, that he could deſire no more fauour and courteſie then hee had alreadie receiued, then tooke his leaue and returned to his lodging; whether the Souldan ſent him diuers preſents of meates.

Admirals Gouernors of Prouinces.

Three dayes after, the Ambaſſadour accompanied by the Truch-man, was brought againe to the Pallace early in the morning, before the Ambaſſadours of the Kings of Affricke and the Moores were riſen, and finding the Souldan at leyſure, he gaue him ſecret audience, where he anſwered very pertinently to all the Souldans demaunds, and did highly content him, and this conference betwixt them laſted till two of the clocke in the after-noone, all the contrarie Ambaſſadours beeing come to Court, in hope to ſee the Spaniſh diſgraced: but they were deceyued, for they beheld him returne to his houſe very honourably accompanied. Afterward, the Mooriſh Ambaſſadours in two ſeuerall audiences, preſſing and accuſing the Kings of Caſtile, *Peter Martyr* did ſo well diſguiſe and handle the matter, as he perſwaded the Souldan, that whatſoeuer his aduerſaries had ſaid, was but meere vntruths: Wherefore hee beeing ſent backe againe the ſame time, the Truchman procured a fourth audience, wherein the Ambaſſador of Caſtile being heard almoſt an whole day, did in ſuch manner content and ſatisfie the Souldan, as hee procured his fauour and friendſhip for his King and Queene. And as hee was going forth of the Souldans preſence, two Admirals cloathed him with a gowne of Damaske furred with very rich Ermines, (it was in the moneth of Februarie) for which hauing giuen thankes, and made his vſuall reuerences, hee returned with his trayne. In this manner are the faults of great men excuſed by great men. Before *Peter Martyrs* departure, he feaſted and banqueted the Admirals and chiefeſt Mamelucs, ſo as they were highly contented with him: and departing from Cayro, he went to viſit the notable places of Egypt and Syria: of which voyage and ambaſſage hee wrote a diſcourſe at his returne. This is hee which wrote an hiſtorie of the Indies by Decades in Latin, which he entitled, *The Ocean*, vnto the yeare 1526. He returned into Spaine with honour, and gaue good account to the Catholicke Kings of his Legation.

The nauigations to the Indies were this yeare very common, diuers particular perſons, tickled with a deſire of gaine, vndertaking thoſe dangerous voyages at their owne coſts, by the Kings permiſſion notwithſtanding. *Rodrigo de Baſtidas* was one of thoſe aduenturers, who ſet forth two Caruels at his owne coſts, and *Iohn de Ledeſma's* and others, carrying with him *Iohn de la Coſa*, an excellent Marriner borne in Saint Mary port,

27 *Voyages of diuers particular perſons to the Indies.*

port, who departing from Cales, ſayled neere to Cape de Vela, and ranne one hundred three ſcore and tenne leagues vppon the coaſt from that Cape to the Gulph of Vraba, and Darian, in which are found Caribana, Zenu, Carthagena, Zamba, and S. Martha, places inhabited by people called Caribes, who feed on mans fleſh, without law or naturall honeſtie, beeing armed with darts and poyſoned arrowes. *Rodrigo de Baſtida* beeing afterwards come to the cittie of Domingo, did loſe his Caruels there, and was committed to priſon by the Commander *Francisco de Bouadilla*, Gouernor of the Iland of Hiſpagniola, laying to his charge, that he had trafficke with the Indians for gold, defrauding the king of his right: wherefore he ſent him priſoner into Spaine: but the kings ſet him at libertie, knowing that this voyage was for the publike good, and gaue him 200. Duckets of rent. *Nicholas d'Ouando*, Commander of Larez, of the Order of Alcantara, a valiant Knight, did by the kings commandement, ſet ſayle, with thirty ſhippes, and a great company of ſouldiers, to ſucceed the Commander *Bouadilla*, taking along *Rowland Ximenes* in his company, the enemy and accuſers of the breethren *Columbus*, did embarke himſelfe in the ſame veſſell, which had brought the new Gouernour, whereof *Antonio de Torres* was Captaine, hauing with them more then an hundred thouſand Duckets weight of gold, and among others, a graine of pure gold to preſent vnto the Queene, weighing 3. thouſand, three hundred Caſtillans: but their hap was ſuch, as both they and their wealth periſhed by ſea: the Admirall *Columbus*, and his brother beeing by that meanes reuenged of the great rigour that *Bouadilla* had vſed towards them, by ſending them from the Indies in yrons into Spayne, and of *Rowland Ximenes* ingratitude and rebellion, with whom were drowned more then three hundred men, ſo as of thoſe thirty ſhips, hardly ſixe eſcaped. *Nicholas d'Ouando* remained in his gouernement of the Iſland of Hiſpagniola, the ſpace of ſixe yeares, all matters ſucceeding well and proſperouſly with him, by reaſon of his humanity and gentlenes: he conquered the Prouinces of Higney, Zauana, Guaycarima, he pacified that of Xaragua, and vſing all his authoritie with ſuch courteſie and modeſtie, he got honour and wealth for himſelfe and the Kings his maſters, vnto whom hee ſent great treaſures, in recompence whereof he was made great Commander of Alcantara. Then was the Admirall *Columbus* permitted to go to ſea, who departed with foure Caruels ſet foorth at the Kings coſt, with an hundred, threeſcore and ten ſaylers: but beeing come to the mouth of the riuer Oçman in the Iſland of Hiſpagniola, the Gouernour *Nicholas d' Ouanda* would not ſuffer him to come into the city of S. Domingo: wherfore he ſayled to the port Eſcondido or hidden, and after came to the riuer and cape of Figtrees: from whence he ran more then three hundred and ſeuenty leagues alongſt the Southerne coaſt, deſirous to find a paſſage beyond the Equinoctiall, he came to a place called Nombre de Dios, and from thence returned to Cuba, and foorth-with paſſed to Iamaica where he loſt two Caruels.

Nicholas d'Ouando Gouernor of the Indies.

The Gouernour Bouadilla drowned, with three hundred Spaniards.

Columbus his fourth and laſt voyage to the Indies.

In this Iland the Admirall had many croſſes, for moſt of his people fell ſicke there to the death, then they mutined, and would haue ſlaine one another, *Francisco de Porras*, Treaſurer of his nauie being author of that ſedition: and beſides that, the Indians refuſed to giue him victuals, which did greatly trouble him: for this he found a preſent remedie, and beeing a good Aſtronomer, he knew that the day following, there would bee a great Eccliſpe of the Moone, he told the idolatrous Indians, that if they gaue him not victuals, they ſhould all of them die of the plague, and for a true token thereof, they ſhould the morrow after ſee the Moone appeare all bloudie; the which by reaſon of the Eclipſe, became duskie and ſpotted: the Indians were ſo greatly amazed thereat, as they beſought the Admirall to pardon them, and to reconcile them to the Moone, and brought him more victuals then he had need of. Hauing remained a yeare in Iamayca, the Admirall *Columbus* returned into Spayne, from whence he neuer afterwards did ſtirre: this was his fourth and laſt voyage to the Indies.

Columbus foretels an Eclipſe of the Moone to the Indians to feare them.

28 Portugal.

The ſame courſe held king *Manuel* in his nauigation to the Eaſt Indies, wherein hee ſpared no coſt: for hauing had ample information of the whole voyage of Calicut by D. *Vaſco de Gama*: he had ſent thither in the yeare 1500. a Nauie of twelue Carauels, vnder the command of Captaine *Pero Aluares Cabralde*, a Gentleman of Portugal, followed by other Gentlemen manned with fifteene hundred ſouldiers, carrying along with him

fiue

A fiue Friars, and good ſtore of merchandize, to exchange for ſpices, and other things which the Eaſt produceth, all of it according to the order and appointment of Don *Vaſco de Gama*.

Theſe Caruels hauing ſayled in view of the Ilands of the Canaries, and arriued at S. Iames, as they diſcouered the Iſle of Breſill, there appeared to them a Comet with long and fearefull beames towards the Eaſt: continuing their voyage, there aroſe ſo great and ſtrange a tempeſt, as by day the water of the ſea ſeemed as blacke as pitch, and in the night like to fire, which ſwallowed foure of thoſe ſhippes, the reſt of the Nauy ſayling on in great danger, came in ſight of cape Double, and from thence arriued at Moſambique,
B then ſayling towards Melinde, and beyond that to Anjauina, they came at laſt within a league of Calicut: from whence he beganne to contract with the King of the ſame countrie: but afterwards they fell at oddes, which cauſed loſſe to either of them. Vppon this occaſion, *Pero Aluares Cabralda*, went into the land of Malabar, belonging to the King of Cochin, with whome he agreed, and found meanes to lade his ſhips with ſpices: and ſo returning homewards, he touched at the cape of Good hope, and from thence to Lisbone, where he arriued in Iuly, in the yeare 1501. with ſixe Caruels of twelue, that hee 1501.
carried out with him, hauing beene in that voyage neere ſixteene moneths.

Before his returne *Iohn de la Nueua Gallego*, departed from Lisbon with three ſhippes and a Caruell for the ſelfe ſame voyage of Calicut: but King *Manuel* conceyuing in his mind to find a way to the Iſles of Moluccos, and thoſe countries where the ſpices grow,
C he ſent the ſame yeare 1501. a skilfull marriner called *Americus Veſpucius* a Florentine, with foure Caruels, who paſſed not much farther then Saint Auguſtines Cape, and without taking notice of the great riuer of ſiluer, or Rio de Plata, he returned home. *Voyage of Iohn de la Nueua a Portugal.*

The yeare 1502. Don *Vaſco de Gama*, Admirall of Portugall, was againe ſent by the King into the Eaſt, with thirteene ſhippes, and three Caruels, manned with great numbers of Gentlemen and ſouldiers, with Merchandizes, munitions and victuals, and all other things neceſſarie for ſo long and painefull a voyage: and within few dayes after, hee ſent other fiue ſhippes to follow Don *Vaſco*, commanded by *Stephano Gamo*. By theſe were new lands diſcouered, to the great profit and commodity of the nations of Europe. *An.* 1502. *D. Vaſco de Gama his ſecond voyage.*

D This ſame yeare King *Manuel* had by his wife Queene *Mary*, a ſonne called *Iohn*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, the day of whoſe birth was rainy, and ſuch thunder and lightning on the day of his chriſtening, as the Royall pallace was in danger of beeing burned. *Birth of prince Iohn of Portugal.*

And the yeare following 1503. his daughter the Infanta *Izabella* was born, who came to be Empreſſe of Germany, and was mother to king *Philip* the ſecond deceaſed. Don *Vaſco* beeing returned from his luckie and proſperous voyage, king *Manuel* gaue no intermiſſion to that moſt profitable and honorable nauigation: but the Portugals hauing raiſed warre in the Eaſt betwixt the Kings of Calicut and Cochin, tooke the King of Cochins part, beeing by him receyued and welcommed into his countrie and hauens: ſo as he of Calicut did in ſhort time know, that he had greatly erred in wronging his gueſts. *An.* 1503. *Birth of D. Iſabella.*

E The yeare 1504. King *Manuel* hauing notice of this warre, was diſpleaſed therewith, and ſet foorth a Nauy of twelue great ſhippes, Don *Lopes Suares de Mereſes* beeing Admiral of the ſame, who arriued in ſafetie at Cochin, by meanes whereof they did greatly encreaſe the renowne of the Portugals, and eſtabliſhed the trafficke, pourchaſing their King friends, not onely among thoſe Eaſterne people, but alſo tributarie Princes for his ſeruants. Theſe conqueſts were purſued by *Ferdinand* of Almeyda, and *Alphonſo* of Albuquerque, and other vertuous and valiant Captaines, which haue continued thoſe voyages ſince, and by meanes thereof haue carried ſome knowledge of the name of Ieſus Chriſt to thoſe barbarous and vnbeleeuing people. *An.* 1504. *Voyage of Lopes Suares de Meneſes.*

F The Court of Caſtile lying at Alcala de Henares, the yeare 1503. the Princeſſe D. *Ioane* was there brought in bed of a ſonne, who was named Don *Ferdinand*, who was king of Hongarie and Bohemia, and at the laſt Emperour. In Alcala dyed Don *Guttiere de Cardegna*, great Commander of Leon, a moſt faithfull ſeruant to the Kings, who would haue giuen the great Commanderie to *Iohn Lopes* of Leaçarraga their Treaſurer, but he refuſed it, ſaying, that he had alreadie too much wealth: hee likewiſe refuſed the 29 Caſtille.

place

place of generall Superintendent of the Kings reuenues, and left behind him the report A
of a loyall, faithfull, and iuſt man in all his affairs: he was borne in the towne of Ognate.

The affaires of Italy not ſucceeding proſperouſly for the Kings of Spaine, they began to reſolue vppon ſomewhat that might bee hurtfull to the French: The great Captaine kept himſelfe in Barletta, beeing conſtrayned to retire himſelfe thither, and wanting all neceſſarie things: ſo as the French forraged the countrey at their owne pleaſure: but at the laſt hauing new ſupplies, as well from Sicill, (from whence *Hugo de Cardona* entred into Calabria, with certaine companies of Spaniards, which had ſerued the Duke Valentinois, when hee warred vppon the Vrſins, with intent to haue made himſelfe Lord of Romagnia) as alſo from Spaine, from whence the King ſent Don *Manuel de Bonarides* B
Antonio de Leuz his firſt paſſage into Italy. with certaine numbers of horſe and foote: with which troupes *Antonio de Leua* did firſt paſſe into Italy, who was a famous Captaine in the warres of Lombardy and Piedmont, betwixt France and Spain, and likewiſe after that other Spaniſh companies arriued vnder the conduct of Don *Pedro Puerto Carrero*, who dying in Italy, hee left his men vnder the commaund of *Ferdinand* of Andrada, who hauing receyued by the gulph of Venice ſome Germaines, which had beene leauied by him, hee employed theſe forces in ſuch ſort, beeing ſometimes diuided, and ſometimes vnited, as hee ſoone reſtored all things, and ſuppreſſed the enemie by the winning of many victories, Spayne hauing alwaies after that time the aduantage. Yet they had treated an accord betwixt the two Kings, *Lewis*
Prince Philipp in Flanders. and *Ferdinand*, and had ſent Ambaſſadours to that end, but without any effect: vntil that C
the paſſage and the returne of the Arch-duke *Philip* Prince of Spayne, into Flanders, gaue ſome greater hope of an agreement. This Prince paſſing thorough France in his returne, as he had done going, was honorably receiued in all places, eſpecially at Blois, whereas King *Lewis* attended him, who, to vſe the Arch-duke with greater courteſie, and to aſſure him the more, had ſent certaine French Noblemen into Flanders for hoſtages, vntill he were arriued, the which the Arch-duke cauſed to returne, beeing loath to yeeld vnto the King, in demonſtrations of friendſhip and ceremonies. Beeing at Blois, they treated an accord betwixt the French King and him of Spaine, the Arch-duke *Philip* hauing an ample Commiſſion, with this onely reſtraint, that hee ſhould communicate all things to the Ambaſſadours of Caſtile, which were ſent expreſly with him, and ſhold D
gouerne himſelfe by their counſell.

Treaty of peace betwixt France and Spaine. Matters beeing debated, in the end they were concluded, by the confirmation of a future marriage betwixt the Ladie *Claude* of France, the Kings eldeſt daughter, and Don *Charles* of Auſtria, ſonne and heire to great Eſtates which fell to the houſe of Auſtria: capitulating, that the Lands which were in queſtion in the Realme of Naples, ſhould be left *in depoſito*, in the Arch-dukes hands, and the future ſpouſes ſhould from that time intitle themſelues Kings of Naples, and Dukes of Calabria. That the French king ſhould enioy that portion which did belong vnto him in the ſayd Realme, and appoint whome he pleaſed, to gouerne it in the names of the Princes *Charles* and *Claude*, and that the mariage beeing conſummated, he ſhould giue it in dowrie with his daughter. E

This peace was ſollemnely ſworne in the Church at Blois, but yet it prooued of no effect: for notwithſtanding that the Arch-duke gaue ſpeedie aduice vnto the Kings Don *Fernand* and Donna *Iſabella*, yet they did not forbeare to make warre in the Realme of Naples, whence they had daily intelligence that their great Captaine proſpered: wherefore hee beeing required by the Duke of Nemours, Lieutenant for the French King, to ſtay all acts of hoſtilitie, he anſwered, that hee had no ſuch commaundement from the King Don *Fernand* his maſter, but continuing to make warre, as well in Calabria, as in other parts of the Realme, the French had alwaies the worſt, hauing had two Armies defeated in leſſe then eight dayes, one in Calabria, led by the Lord of Aubigny, who was then taken, with many other Noblemen: the other at Cirignole, whereas *Lewis* of Ar- F
maignac Duke of Nemours, their Generall, was ſlaine with many French. By meanes of which victories the great Captaine tooke Naples, Capua, Auerſo and Melfi, by compoſition, and in the end the two caſtles of Naples by mynes and other practiſes inuented by *Peter* of Nauarre: ſo as the French had nothing but Gayette, and ſome other ſmall places remayning in the Realme of Naples.

The

A The kings of Caſtille being aduertiſed of theſe things, they little regarded the accord made by the Archduke their ſonne in law, alledging for excuſe, that he had exceeded his charge, and had not gouerned himſelfe by the aduice of the embaſſadors which went in his companie: Yet they ſent embaſſadours into Fraunce, to treat a new peace, in a more honeſt forme than before, propounding, that the realme ſhould be reſtored to king *Frederic*: But king *Lewis* holding them but mockeries, and that the kings of Spaine had no wills to diſpoſſeſſe themſelues, ſeeing that all things ſucceeded wiſhfully for them, he ſent backe their embaſſadors without any other anſwer. 1504

Excuſes of the Catholike kings for not maintaining of the peace.

30 Before that the Court of Caſtille parted from Alcala, D. *Iohn Chacon*, gouernor of
B the frontire of Murcia, died. From Alcala the queene came to Madrid, and from thence to Segobia, where ſhe had newes of the death of Pope *Alexander*, by poiſon which had bin prepared for certaine cardinals, by the duke of Valentinois, his ſonne, the which he alſo drunke, through the negligence of the cup-bearer, or butler, who tooke one bottle for another. Cardinall *Franciſco Thedeſchin Picolonimi* of Siena, ſucceeded him, who was called *Pius* the third; but hauing held the See but ſix and twentie dayes, there was choſen Pope *Iulian* of Rouere, biſhop of Alba, and then of Oſtia, cardinall of S. *Peter ad Vincula*, whom they named *Iulio* the ſecond. In theſe elections of Popes, which are made through the fauour of the princes and great monarches of Chriſtendome, for the intereſt of their temporall eſtates, the citie of Rome was in great feare and jelouſie, that the great cap-
C taine would approach with his victorious armie on the one ſide, and on the other the lord of Tremouille being ſent into Italie, by the French king, with great forces, and aſsiſted by Florentines, Siennois, the duke of Ferrara, and the marqueſſe of Mantoua, either of them to fauour the cardinals of their faction, and to make a Pope by force, to the prejudice of the citie, and of the whole territorie. This yeare there were ſixteene foiſts of Moores ſcoured the coaſts of Valencia, who landing neere vnto the riuer Xucar, aſsailed the towne of Cullera, carried away ſeuentie priſoners, and committed other ſpoyls. The duke of Valentinois, at his fathers death, was ſo ill with this drinke which he had taken, as he was conſtrained to be a neuter, as he had carried himſelfe in the warres betwixt Fraunce and Spaine, yet adhering more to the great captaine, for the deſigne which they both had
D to inuade Tuſcanie, when as the warres of Naples ſhould be ended. Hauing entertained himſelfe in fauour with Pope *Iulio*, at his aduancement, they fell afterwards to quarell, for certaine places in Romania, held by the duke of Valentinois, which the Pope would haue, ſo as the duke was ſtaied at Oſtia, meaning to imbarke, & to go to Specie, and from thence by Ferrara to Imola. Afterwards hauing in ſome ſort ſatisfied the Popes deſire, and being ſet at libertie, he retired to Naples, hauing a paſport from the great captaine, thinking to be verie ſafe there: whereas propounding many great enterpriſes, euen vpon Tuſcanie, and beginning to make preparation to put his deſigne in execution, the great captain ſtai-
ed him priſoner, ſaying that it was by the commaundement of the king D. *Ferdinand*, to whom he ought more reuerence than to the paſport he had giuen him, and ſo he ſent him
E into Spaine, where he was lodged in the caſtle of Medina del Campo, called la Mote. By this meanes the great captaine kept this turbulent man from troubling the affaires of Italie any more. The armie led by the lord of Tremouille, being come into the realme of Naples, did nothing but increaſe the glorie and reputation of the great captaine, who by a memorable victorie gotten at the riuer of Garillan, did there ſettle the Spaniards commaund: for ſoone Gajete, which was the onely hope of the French, yeelded, vpon condition, that all priſoners ſhould be deliuered, and that the French might retire ſafely into France, who being naked, and vnprouided of all things, periſhed in a maner all by the way of hunger, cold, and other extremities. At the ſame time king *Lewis* hauing appointed two armies to inuade Spaine, one by Guipuſcoa, the other by Cattelonia, that which
F marcht towards Fontarrabie, wherof the lord of Albret had the charge, could neuer come together; the other led by the marſhall of Rieux, entred by the countrey of Roſsillon, and beſieged Sauſſes, but not being able to take it, he was forced to retire, both for that he fell ſicke, as alſo for that D. *Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alua, Generall of the Spaniſh armie which was raiſed at Perpignan, began to march to raiſe the ſiege, king *Ferdinand* being alſo come in perſon into Cattelonia, to giue order for the affaires of this warre, the

Death of Pope Alexander the ſixt.

Quarels betwixt Pope Iulio and the duke of Valentinois.

Duke of Valentinois ſent priſoner into Spaine by D. Gonſalo.

Retreat of the French out of the realme of Naples, verie miſerable.

Two armies of French in Spain.

1504 which afterwards had ſome intermiſſion, by a truce of fiue monethes, which was made at G
the inſtance of king *Frederic*, who was not out of hope to returne into his realme: Which
conceit was grounded vpon the demonſtrations of fauour were made him both by France
and Spaine; which was but a vaine content, and a comfort to him in his miſerable eſtate.
This truce was afterwards continued for three yeares, both by ſea and land, with free traf-
ficke for all their ſubiects, except the French in the realme of Naples. For the great ſer-
uices which D. *Gonſalo Fernandes*, ſurnamed the Great Captaine, had done to the kings D.
D. Gonſalo Fernandes made duke of Terra noua and Seſſa. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Iſabella*, in this warre, he obtained the duchie of Terra noua, and of Seſ-
ſa, beſides the duchie of S. Ange, which king *Frederic* had ginen him, when as he fauou-
red him, and the Conſtableſhip of the realme of Naples. *Pedro Nauarro* had alſo for his H
Pedro Nauarro made earle of Albeto: his beginning. good ſeruices, and in recompence of his great induſtrie during the warre, the countrey of
Albeto, in the ſame realme of Naples, neere vnto Aquih. This man from a ſmall conditi-
on came to this greatneſſe by his vertue: for his beginning being ſcarce knowne, he firſt
of all went to ſea, and was a mariner, after which he was a footman to the cardinall D.
Iohn of Arragon, then a ſouldier, and in the end a famous captaine, and an earle. After the
Earthquake in Spaine. ſwearing of the ſaid truce, there was a great earthquake throughout all Spaine, to the
great terrour and amazement of all men, by the which many houſes, churches, forts, and
other buildings, were ſhaken and ruined.

At that time, they ſay, the teſtament of the deceaſed king *Henrie* the fourth, was found
by the diligence of *Hernando Gomes* of Herrera of Madrid, who hauing notice from the I
curat of S. Croix, of the ſame towne, that this teſtament was in the towne of Almeyda
in Portugal, whither he had tranſported it with other writings of importance, he aduerti-
ſed the queene, and by her commiſsion went to Almeyda, with the curat, found theſe wri-
tings, and brought them away: In recompence whereof, the king made the bacheler
Hernand, Alcayde, or Prouoſt of the juſtice of his houſe and court. The queene did not ſee
this teſtament, as it is probable; for ſhe fell extreamly ſicke, and after foure monethes lan-
Death of the Q. Iſabella. guiſhing died, at Medina del Campo, in the yeare 1504, being 53 yeares old, and ſeuen
monethes, and the thirtieth yeare of her raigne. A princeſſe adorned with great vertues,
which may couer ſome exceſſe of ambition, & her other imperfections: ſhe was zealous
in religion, chaſt, liberall, and courteous. Her bodie was tranſported to the citie of Gra- K
Bodie of the Q. Iſabella in a Friers weed. nado, and remained long there in the Alhambra, in the habit of a Franciſcane Frier, as ſhe
had ordained: And after the deceaſe of her husband, which was twelue yeares after, it
was layed with his, in the royall chappell of that citie. That yere died D. *Magdeleina*, In-
fanta of Nauarre, in the ſame towne of Medina del Campo, being daughter to the king
D. *Iohn* of Albret and *Katherine*, then raigning. D. *Henrie Henriques*, vncle to king *Ferdi-
nand*, and his lord ſteward, and D. *Pedro* of Eſtuniga, cardinall, and Archbiſhop of Seuille,
did alſo leaue this world: which Archbiſhopricke was giuen to *Diego* of Deca, borne at
Toro, being then biſhop of Palence, a doctor in Diuinitie, and afterwards Inquiſitor ge-
nerall, Confeſſor to the king, and founder of the colledge of S. *Thomas* of Aquin, at Se-
uille.

THE

A

THE 25 BOOKE OF THE Hiſtorie of Spaine.

The Contents of the 25 Booke.

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25 *Purſuit of the king and queene of Nauarre in Caſtille, to be reſtored to much of their patri-* G
monie in that realme, but without any effect.

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28 *Cenſures againſt* Lewis *the twelfth the French king, and his realme. Retreat of king* Iohn *of Albret into Fraunce. Inuaſion of the realme by the Caſtillans. Pampelone taken by the duke of Alua.*

29 *Exploits of* Vaſco Nugnes *of Bilbao, and other Spaniards, at the Indies.*

H

D. Philip 1. and D. Ioane, 21 Kings of Caſtille, *and 42 of Leon.*

1504 THe Caſtillans and Leonois, for want of their Queene proprietarie, D. *Iſabella*, began to accuſtome themſelues to the yoke of German princes, hauing preſently ſet vp in Caſtille the Armes of the Archduke *Philip* of Auſtria, and of D. *Ioane*, heire of theſe realmes in her mothers right; and D. *Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alba, aduanced theſe banners in their name: yet the king D. *Ferdinand* continued lawfull gouernour vntill the comming of theſe princes, who had I
aduertiſement ſent them preſently into Flaunders of the Queenes death. The Archduke *Philip* was then ſix and twentie yeares old, faire of face, well proportioned of his members, of a good grace, mild and courteous in ſpeech, of a great ſpirit, actiue, quicke, and learned: by reaſon whereof being in him more then ordinarie, hee was ſurnamed the Great. Whileſt that he made preparation to come and take poſſeſsion of this great inheritance, king *Ferdinand*, after the royall and ſtately obſequies of the deceaſed Queene, and the bodie tranſported to Granado with a great traine, he retired himſelfe to the monaſterie of Mejorada, and from thence hee paſt to Toro, being accompanied by D. *Francis Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, *Diego* of Deca, Archbiſhop of Seuille, and K
others of great qualitie and learning, to conferre about the execution of the deceaſed Queenes will.

Voiage of Iohn de Coſa. 1 In the meane time *Iohn de Coſa*, a good ſea-man, rigged forth foure Carauels, out of port S. *Maria*, at his owne charge, and by *Iohn* of Ledeſma of Seuille, and others, deſirous to inrich themſelues, vndertaking the conqueſt of that countrey at the Indies, which was held by the Caribes: Whereupon ſetting ſayle he came and toucht at a place called Carthagena, there being joyned vnto him captaine *Lewis Guerre*; who beginning to make warre together, they tooke ſixe hundred of theſe Barbarians in the iſland of Codego: then coaſting along the ſhore, deſirous to barter wares, and to buy gold, they entred into Vraba, where they found ſome little gold in the ſand; and from thence they returned into the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and the citie of S. Domingo, laden L
with men, but ſcanted of victuals, and of all other things, eſpecially of gold, wherof they were exceeding greedie.

Fernando Cortez voyage to the Indies. The ſame yeare 1504, there went vnto the Indies *Fernand Cortez*, borne at Medellin in Eſtremadura, one of the moſt famous men that hath beene in theſe conqueſts vnto our dayes. He arriued at S. Domingo in a ſhip belonging to *Alphonſo Quintero* of Palos of Moguer, where he was well entertained by the Secretarie *Medine*, the gouernour being then abſent, and afterwards by the gouernor *Nicholas d' Ouando* himſelfe, being returned. This was he which conquered Noua Hiſpania. Of the maners of the Indians, their idolatries, and damnable ſuperſtitions, the curious may be more amply informed by the particular hiſtories of the Indies, written by *Peter Martyr* of Angleria, *Gonſal Fernandes* of Ouiedo, *Franciſco Lopes* of Gomara, and others. M

During king *Ferdinands* gouernment in Caſtille, the Eſtate began to be troubled by ſome noblemen, who thought that queen *Iſabel* being dead, they might lawfully tyrannize: but
1505 the king hauing called the Eſtates to Toro, in the yeare 1505, he cauſed a new oath to be taken to the queene D. *Ioane* his daughter, and to her husband, as kings of Caſtille, Leon, Granado,

A Granado, &c. and by his wiſedome pacified thoſe tumults and diſorders which were likely to grow: Which yeare, for many reaſons, the Chauncerie which was at Cité Royall, was tranſported to Granado, where ſince it hath remained. And by the perſuaſion of *D. Franciſco Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine, there was an expedition attempted againſt the Moores of Africke, nothing concurring with the embaſſage which had beene ſent to Caire, whereof mention hath beene made. 1505 *Chauncerie tranſported frõ Cite Royall to Granado.*

2 The Primate had had ſundrie diſcourſes with a Venetian, called *Ieronimo Vianello*, an induſtrious man, and knowing the countrey of Africke. His deſigne was vpon the citie of Oran, well peopled, free, hauing priuat lawes, rich, a common hauen for all nations traf- *Deſcription of Oran.*
B ficking into Barbarie, who entertained an ordinarie garriſon for the ſafetie of their marchandiſes, and payed ſome tribute to the king of Tremeſſen, for protection; and they ſay, that it contained aboue 6000 families. This citie is ſeated vpon the deſcent of a high hill, enuironed about with wals and towers: the ſea is within a ſtones caſt on the one ſide, and on the other ſide they haue pleaſant gardens, & ſtore of fountains. The countrey men call this citie Madaura, Aera, Auran, Guhara, all names ſignifying a place hanging, and expoſed to the winds: but we call it Oran. The Archbiſhop *Ximenes* did eaſily conceiue by *Vianelloes* diſcourſe, that it were labor loſt to aſſayle that citie, if they were not firſt maſters of the coaſt about it, wherof *Vianello* made him a model in wax, which repreſented vnto him the hauens, ports, hills, vallies, townes, rockes, forts, and other particularities of that
C countrey, namely, of the watch called the Lampe, which is ſet vpon the top of a high mountaine, the which is inacceſſible, but by one difficult paſſage, whereby they muſt neceſſarily paſſe that will goe to Oran. This watch hath on the one ſide the citie of Oran, and on the other the port called Merſalcabir, or Marſael-quibir, great and famous, the which they muſt firſt get, to make the expedition of Africke profitable and eaſie. Ha- *Merſalcabir a great port in Africke.*
uing acquainted king *Ferdinand* with theſe deſignes, and ſeeing that there wanted money to effect it, the treaſure hauing beene waſted in the warres of Granado and Italie, the Archbiſhop offered to lend money to pay the armie two monethes; whereupon they began to make readie for the voyage, whereof the young courteors were verie deſirous. The charge of Generall was giuen to *D. Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua, who af-
D terwards was marqueſſe of Comares, who had for aſsiſtants *D. Raymond* of Cordoua, Generall of the gallies, *Diego Vera*, maſter of the ordnance, *Gonſal Ayora*, captaine of the gards, *Ieronimo Vianello*, conductor of the enterpriſe, *Pero Lopes* of Oreſco, and other old captaines and of great experience: Who parting from the port of Malaga came within few dayes neere vnto Mercaleabir, whereas the Moores being aduertiſed of their comming, had prepared to receiue them. Wherefore as ſoone as the armie was diſcouered, they gaue ſignes in ſuch ſort as all Africke had ſoone notice thereof, and all the countrey was full ſouldiers of that nation, which came to ſuccour them. Notwithſtanding the Spaniards woon the port, and landing, had meanes to campe, and to fortifie themſelues from ſo great a multitude of enemies which came running from Oran and
E other neighbour places. To gard the port there was a fort built vpon a rocke enuironed by the ſea but of one ſide where it joyned to a mount that did commaund the fort; which the Spaniards ſeeking to win, and to plant their batterie thereon, they found a ſharpe and bloudie reſiſtance made by the Moores: notwithſtanding they planted their ordnance there, and began to batter the fort furiouſly, both from thence, and from the gallies, vntill the captaine, who imployed himſelfe vertuouſly for the defence thereof, was ſlaine with a bullet. In the meane time the king of Tremeſſen had ſent an armie, againſt the which the Chriſtians had many skirmiſhes, ſometimes with gaine, ſometimes with loſſe; yet the ſiege of Merſalcabir continued ſtill, whereat the ſouldiers being diſcouraged, by reaſon of the loſſe of their commaunder, and alſo for that they
F ſaw the paſſages both by ſea and land were ſtopt by the Spaniards, ſo as they could neither be releeued with men nor victuals, they did capitulate, after ſome reſiſtance, That if within certaine dayes the king of Tremeſſen did not come and ſuccour them, they would yeeld the place to the Spaniards, the inhabitants and ſouldiers departing with their wiues, children, and baggage. No ſuccours appearing, the fort was yeelded *Merſalcabir taken by the Caſtillans* the fiftieth day after they parted from Malaga. The Moores went forth, the Chriſtian

armie being in battell, and proclamation being made, that no man ſhould goe out of his ranke, to offer them any violence vpon paine of death: the which a Spaniſh ſouldier tried, who for that he had offered to ſpoile or rauiſh a Mooriſh woman, was by the commaundement of *D.Diego Fernandes* ſlaine with darts. This conqueſt being made to the great contentment of all men, the king *D.Ferdinand*, and the Archbiſhop *Ximenes* were inſtantly aduertiſed, where attending the kings pleaſure, the fort was rampared and furniſhed. They ſay, that moſt of the men of qualitie and wealth, which dwelt at Oran, being amazed at the taking of Merſalcabir, retired to Tremeſſen, thinking that the Chriſtians would not ſtay long to come and beſiege that citie, as it fell out: But foure yeares being paſt, and nothing attempted, they all returned to their loſſe, except one Moore, who was verie rich, who was ſtill conſtant to remaine at Tremeſſen, and foretold the ruine of the reſt. *D.Diego Fernandes* hauing well manned his conqueſt with good ſouldiers, he ſent back the reſt of his armie into Spaine, which was full of joy for ſo important a victorie, whereby not onely the coaſts of Spaine were aſſured from the ſpoyles of pyrats, Moores, but alſo there was a faire way made for the Spaniards to inuade Africke. *D.Diego Fernandes* ſtayed ſtill in Merſalcabir, vntill he had a new commaundement from the king. In the meane time *Diego de Vera*, *Gonſal Agora*, and *Pero Lopes Oroſco*, ſurnamed by the Arabians *Alzagal*, paſt into Spaine; and there was preſented vnto the Primate *Ximenes*, by *Pero Lopes*, a ſtaffe of Ebene, which the Cadis or high Prieſts of the Arabians were accuſtomed to carrie, the which he carried many dayes for his ſake, and then he ſent it to his Academie at Alcala of Henares, for a monument of this Africane victorie. The king ſent *D. Roderigo Dias* of Roia, a man of great worth and valour, for the gard of the fort and port of Merſalcabir, with one hundred light horſe, and foure hundred foot, and called home *D.Diego Fernandes*, whom he honoured with the gouernment of his conqueſt, & other fauors, *D.Roderigo Dias* being his lieutenant, who ouerran the countrey, & kept the Moors ſtill in alarme during his aboad there. There is one of the ſtrangeſt blowes reported of him, that euer was giuen of any; who with an Azagay, or Iauelin, pierced a man thorow the pomell of the ſaddle and the horſe necke. The fort of Merſalcabir hath ſince beene much fortified by the kings of Spaine, eſpecially by *D.Philip* the ſecond, who made it impregnable.

Birth of the Infanta Marie, who was queen of Hungarie.

The ſame day that Merſalcabir, or Maſalquiuir, was woon, which was the 13 of September, Queene *Ione* was brought in bed in Flaunders, of a daughter called *Marie*, who was Queene of Hungarie and Bohemia, maried to king *Lewis*, ſonne to *Ladiſlaus*, after whoſe deceaſe, remaining a widow, ſhe gouerned the Netherlands, and then came and died in Spaine, in the towne of Cigales, neere to Vailledolit, in the yeare 1558, and lyes in the monaſterie of S.*Benedict* of Vailledolit.

3 Whileſt that the Queen *D.Iſabella* liued, they did ſtill practiſe ſome meanes of peace betwixt France and Spaine, and to this end the kings of Caſtille and Arragon had their embaſſadors in the French kings Court, making ſhew that they would reſtore king *Frederic* to his realme of Naples, or giue it to *D.Ferdinand* duke of Calabria, his eldeſt ſonne, who was reſident in Spaine: but it was not credible, for that is not the cuſtome in our age, to giue away kingdomes which they doe quietly enjoy, eſpecially hauing gotten it with ſo great charge, neither did he any thing: But the yeare of her deceaſe there was a peace concluded betwixt the Emperor *Maximilian* and his ſonne *Philip*, and king *Lewis*, by the which it was the third time agreed, That prince *Charles* of Auſtria ſhould mario *Claude* of France, with the conſent of the princes and noblemen of France, by the kings commaundement, and namely of *Francis* duke of Angouleſme, who was next in degree to the Crowne. It was alſo concluded, That the Emperor *Maximilian* ſhould grant the inueſtiture of the duchie of Milan to king *Lewis*, for him and his heires and ſucceſſors males, and for want of males to his daughter, and to her future ſpouſe prince *Charles*, who dying before the conſummation of the mariage, ſhe ſhould be giuen in mariage to the Infant *D.Ferdinand* his brother, and they & their deſcendants ſhould enjoy the ſaid duchie of Milan. For the expedition of which priuiledge and donation, king *Lewis* ſhould pay vnto the Emperor 70000. ducats vpon the deliuerie of the letters, and the like ſumme ſix moneths after, and euery yere vpon new-yeres day a paire of gilt ſpurs, in ſigne of honor.

Be-

A Betwixt the Pope, the Emperour, king *Philip* his Sonne, and the French king, there was a league made againſt the Venetians, to recouer the townes, and Lands which either of theſe Princes pretended to belong vnto him, and had beene vſurped by this Commonweale, into which league *Ferdinand* king of Arragon might enter if he pleaſed, and there was not any mention made of the realme of Naples, in expectation whereof king *Frederic* ended his daies that yeare 1505. at Tours. That yeare the truce betwixt *D. Ferdinand* king of Arragon and the French king, was conuerted to a peace, vpon condition that king *Ferdinand* ſhould marry *Germaine* the kings neece, daughter to his ſiſter and to *Iohn* of Foix and of Nauarre, Vicount of Narbone, which Lady was allyed to King *Ferdinand* in the third degree, the Vicont of Narbone being borne of queene *Leonora* of Nauarre his Siſter: by reaſon of which conſanguinity they had a diſpenſation from the Pope, and in conſideration of this marriage it was agreed, that the part which the French king might pretend in the realme of Naples, ſhould ſtand in ſtead of a dowrie for his Neece, the future queene of Arragon; vpon condition that the king *D. Ferdinand* ſhould pay vnto the French king ſeuen hundred thouſand ducats for the charges hee had beene at in the warre of Naples, and moreouer ſhould indowe his ſpouſe with three hundred thouſand ducats: and in regard thereof a peace being concluded, the Noblemen and Barons of the Realme that were priſoners in the Spaniards hands, ſhould be deliuered, and the baniſhed men reſtored to their eſtates, all confiſcations being void:

League made againſt the Venetians.

Peace betwixt France and Spaine.

Treatie of marriage betwixt Ferdinand and the Lady Germaine of Foix.

C That queene *Germaine* dying without children before the king *D. Ferdinand*, her dowrie ſhould remaine to him, but if ſhe ſuruiued and had no children, it ſhould returne to the crown of France: That king *Ferdinand* ſhold be bound to aſſiſt *Gaſton* of Foix, brother to his future ſpouſe, to conquer the realme of Nauarre which he pretended to belong vnto him, and not to queene *Katherine* his couſin: That the French King ſhould giue leaue to queene *Elizabeth* widowe to King *Frederic*, to retyre into Spaine with two children which ſhee had in France, to whome the King *D. Ferdinand* ſhould giue honeſt meanes to liue: and if ſhe ſhould refuſe to goe, that the French king ſhould not giue any entertainment to her nor her children, That for a ſtronger bond of peace and aſſurance of the two realmes, the king of Spaine ſhould be bound to aide him of France with two D thouſand light Horſe, three hundred men at armes, and ſixe thouſand foot, the French king him of Spaine with a thouſand Lances, and ſixe thouſand foot in their warres.

The king of England was caution for both of them for this peace, whereunto and to the marriage king *Ferdinand* did eaſily incline to quiet his minde in regard of the realme of Naples, being alſo aduertiſed that his ſonne in law king *Philip* contemning the will and teſtament of queene *Iſabell* his mother in Lawe, did not meane that hee ſhould gouerne the realme of Caſtille. The widow queene of Naples, being chaſed out of France according to the accord, ſhe deſired rather to retyre to Ferrara vnder the protection of Duke *Alfonſo* of Eſte: then to go into Spaine, fearing, it may be, that king *Ferdinand* would put her children to death, that there might not be any to pretend to the E realme of Naples. King *Ferdinand* hauing remained moſt part of the yeare at Segobia, and hunting at Cerezuela, hee came to Salamanca there to ſpend the remainder, in which yeare there dyed many great men of Spaine: *D. Alfonſo* of Fonſeca Biſhop of Oſma, to whome there ſucceeded an ignorant and vicious Prelate, baſe Sonne to the Admirall *D. Frederic Henriques*, called *D. Alfonſo Henriques*, borne of a ſlaue, of which promotion the king did often repent him, and was much blamed for it by other Prelates, namely of frier *Anthonie de la Pegna*, who preached before him: There dyed alſo *D. Pero Aluares Oſorio*, Marqueſſe of Aſtorga, who left for ſucceſſor his Sonne *D. Aluar Peres Oſorio*, *D. Gomes Suarez* of Figueroa, Earle of Feria, to whome ſucceeded *Don Laurence Suarez* of Figueroa his Sonne, who hauing marryed *D.* F *Katherine* of Cordoua, eldeſt Daughter to *D. Pedro* of Cordoua, and neece to the great Captaine, came by her right, to bee Marqueſſe of Priego, *D. Alfonſo* of Fonſeca, Lord of Coca and Alacxos, and *D. Franciſco* of Velaſco, Earle of Siruela, *D. Hurtado* of Mendoſa gouernour of Caſorla, brother to the deceaſed Cardinall *D. Pero Gonſales* of Mendoca, did alſo end their daies this yeare. The plague did alſo carry away infinite numbers of people in the citie of Burgos, ſo as it was in a manner left deſolate.

Iſabel widow to Frederic of Naples chaſed out of France.

Death of many Gentlemen in Spaine.

4 In

1506 4 In the yeare 1506, vpon the controuerſie growen betwixt the two kings father G
in lawe and ſonne, touching the gouernement of Caſtille, Leon, Granado, and o-
Difference betwixt D. Ferdinãd king of Arragon, and D. Philip, and D. Ioane king of Caſtille for the gouernment. ther the hereditarie lands of the deceaſed queene D. *Iſabella*, and for the which king
Philip had ſent embaſſadors into Spaine, it was concluded that the kings, D. *Ferdinand*,
D. *Philip*, and D. *Ioane* ſhould bee all three gouernours, and that all letters ſhould bee
diſpacht in their name, whereupon their armes and Enſignes were againe ſet vp, ac-
cording to the ancient cuſtome; and this accord was proclaimed in the Citie of Sa-
lamanca, on Twelfe day: and ſoone after the kings, D. *Philip* and D. *Ioane* parted from
Flanders with many Ships, who were ſuddenly diſperſed by a violent ſtorme, and ma-
D. Philip & D. Ioan driuen into England by a ſtorme. ny of them driuen into diuers parts of England. That wherein the kings were and H
two other ſhips came to Hampton, where they cauſed ſome alteration in the towne,
the inhabitants fearing they had beene enemies, but being knowne they did them
honour, as was fit for ſo great Princes. Many knights and men of experience of
their traine, perſuaded them not to land, foreſeeing that which did happen; but
king *Philip* hauing beene extreamely ſicke, and ſeeing the queene and noblemen which
did accompany him in the ſame eſtate, would not beleeue them, but was the firſt
who leaping into a boate cauſed himſelfe to bee carried to land. It being bruted a-
broad that a ſtorme had driuen the kings of Caſtille vpon that coaſt, a knight, whoſe
name was *Thomas Trenchard*, hauing his houſe there nere adioyning, came to doe him
reuerence, offring him his lodging, with other commodities, and entertained him I
vntill that king *Henry* the ſeuenth then raigning, was aduertiſed by meſſengers, ſent
in poſt: then many men drewe thither in armes, with a captaine called *Iohn Carew*,
who in the company of *Thomas Trenchard* beſought king *Philip* not to depart out of
England, vntill that hee had ſeene their king, who was his friend. Then did king *Phi-
lip* find that hee had erred, in not beleeuing the counſell of his followers, and the
queene more, who notwithſtanding carryed this croſſe couragiouſly: wherefore ſeeing
that this intreatie was a commandement, and that hee muſt obey it, hee ſtaied, alleа-
ging in vaine that his voyage was verie haſtie, with much other excuſes. Soone af-
ter there arriued many Engliſh noblemen, who conducted them with great honour
to the caſtle of Windſore, whereas king *Henrie* attended them. There king *Philip* K
King of Englād forceth king Philip to deliuer him the duke of Suffolke. was required by the king of England, to deliuer vnto him *Edmond de la Poole* duke
of Suffolke his Competitor, who was then a priſoner in the caſtle of Namur: and
ſo great was his deſire to haue this duke, as forgetting the lawes of hoſpitality
and the friendſhip which princes allyes ſhould beare one vnto another, hee forced
the king of Caſtille, notwithſtanding all excuſes, to giue him the duke, vpon a pro-
miſe that hee ſhould not put him to death: whereupon men were ſent into Flan-
ders to fetch this poore duke. In the meane time king *Henrie* led his gueſts to Lon-
don, where hee entertained them with great and ſtately feaſts, and royall ſports;
and the priſoner being arriued, they had libertie to depart at their pleaſures. So as
theſe kings hauing renewed the league with the king of England, they imbarked and L
continued their voyage towards Spaine.

Marriage of the king of Arragon with Germaine of Foix. In the meane time *Germaine* the new queene of Arragon came to Duegnas, wher-
as king *Ferdinand* came and married her. There paſſed many noblemen of the realm
of *Naples* of the Angeuin faction, with her out of France into Spaine, who ſoone
after did accompany the king D. *Ferdinand* to Naples. After the conſummation of the
marriage, the king led the queene his wife to Vailledolit and there leauing her with
D. *Ioane* his ſiſter, the old queene of Naples, and one of her daughters, hee went
to Burgos, to receiue the kings, D. *Philip* and D. *Ioane*, thinking that they had
landed at Laredo, or ſome other place of Biſcaie, but it fell out otherwiſe: for they
tooke port at Corunna, or the Groine in Galicia, whereof king *Ferdinand* being ad- M
uertiſed, hee tooke the way to Leon, and then to Torquemada, to goe and meete
his ſonne in law and his daughter.

Death of Chriſtopher Columbus. 5 At that time there dyed in Vailledolit the admirall *Chriſtopher Columbus* the diſ-
couerer of the Indies, whoſe body was carryed to Seuile, and was buried in the mo-
naſterie *de las Cuenas* of the Cartuſiens. To him his ſonne *Diego Columbus* ſucceeded
in

A in the Admiraltie of the Indies, who marryed D. *Maria* of Toledo, daughter to D. *Ferdinand* of Toledo great Commander of Leon: hee left another Sonne called D. *Ferdinand Colombus* who was neuer married. Among many deeds worthie of commendation, of this Admirall D. *Diego Colombus*, hee gathered together in the citie of Seuile, one of the greateſt and goodlyeſt Libraries in Chriſtendome, ſeeking out with great care and charge, all good bookes, in what language ſoeuer: ſo as there were aboue twelue thouſand volumes: for the keeping, maintenance and increaſe of which liberarie, he left and aſſigned ſufficient rents. 1506

Library gathered together by Diego Colombus

6 At the arriuall of the new kings of Caſtille, the king D. *Ferdinand* found by ex-
B perience that princes ſeruants doe moſt commonly follow them for profit, and not for loue and affection: for many of thoſe that were with him in this voyage, left him without leaue, and went before to offer their ſeruice, and to accompany their new maiſter, the which diſcontented him very much. Theſe princes met betwixt Puebla of Sanabria and Aſturie, where hauing conferred together touching the manner of gouernment, they did not agree: whereupon the king D. *Ferdinand* came to Tordeſillas, much diſtaſted of the king his ſonne in law, who with Queene D. *Ioane* paſt to Benauent. The diligence and care of the Archbiſhop of Toledo, to reconcile king *Ferdinand* and his children, was ſuch, as they concluded that the king of Arragon ſhould inioy the three maſterſhips of Caſtille, Saint Iaques, Calatraua and Alcanta-
C ra, with the reuenues of the Indies, and eight millions of Marauidis of yearely rent during his life, which queene D. *Iſabella* had left him, in regard whereof hee ſhould bee contented to remaine in his countrie of Arragon: to confirme which accord, the two kings had an enteruiew within a league of Vailledolit, in the veſtrie of Renedo, whereas the archbiſhop himſelf kept the doore: There they ſay king *Ferdinand* gaue much counſel to his ſonne in law, by whome hee was intreated, notwithſtanding their accord, to remaine in Caſtille, and to helpe him to gouerne, but he refuſed him, and went away this yeare 1506, in Iuly, leading his wife Queene *Germaine* with him into Arragon. The kings D. *Philip* and D. *Ioane* entred into Vailledolit, whether they had called the eſtates of the realm, and there took a new oath, cauſing their eldeſt ſonne D. *Charles* to
D be ſworn heire to the crown of Caſtille, Leon, & Granado. In theſe princes were vnited vnto the realms of Caſtille and Leon, and there dependances, the great eſtates of the low countries and Burgundy, and afterwards Arragon, Sicile, Sardynia and Naples. At Vailledolit there were many noblemen honored with the order of the golden fleece. The gard of the caſtle of Segobia was taken from the marqueſſe of Moya, & giuen to D. *Iohn Manuell*, who was much fauored by the kings, who being at Tudele of Duero, there appeared a ſtrange comet in the firmament, foreſhewing (as they ſaid afterwards) the approching death of king *Philip*, which happened ſoon after in the city of Burgos, to the generall griefe of all his ſubiects, the comet ſtill raigning, whereunto he did attribute his death, ſaying often in his paines and agonies, *Ha comēta, ha cometa*: He died in the floure
E of his age, in the conſtables houſe, this yere 1506, hauing raigned 1 yere and ten monthes: his body was laied many yeres after by the commandement of the Emperour *Charles* his ſonne, in the royal chappel of Granado, hauing remained in diuers places. This ſummer which was very drie, there died in Caſtille D. *Guttiere* of Toledo biſhop of Plaiſance, to whome ſucceeded D. *Gomes* of Toledo, ſonne to D. *Guttiere de Solis* earle of Coria.

King Ferdinād retires into Arragon.

Order touching the gouernment of Caſtille.

Princes ſeruāts follow for profit and not for affection.

Death of Philip King of Caſtille.

7 At the time of the death of the king D. *Philip*, king *Ferdinand* was at ſea ſayling towards Italie: for after the enteruiew of theſe two princes, & the order taken for the gouernment of Caſtille, he went to Cattelonia, where hauing cauſed a goodly fleet to bee made readie at Barcelona, he imbarked to go and viſit the realms of Naples, & of Sicile, hauing conceiued a iealouſie that the great captaine did fauor the deſignes of the king of Caſtille
F his ſon in law: for hauing ſent often for him to come into Spaine, hee had ſtill delaied it with excuſes, as he thought. At his departure out of Caſtille, he was abandoned by all the great men, except the duke of *Alua*, who did accompany him to the frontiers of Arragon. He who ſhewed himſelfe moſt faithfull of all the noblemen, was D. *Bernard* of Rojas and Sandoual marqueſſe of Denia, who neuer abandoned him, neither aliue nor dead: for hee retired many of his officers and houſhold ſeruants, which had no maintenance. It was concluded

Voyage of king Ferdinand into Italy.

A faithfull ſeruant.

cluded by the laſt accord made betwixt him and king *Philip*, that the realme of Naples, G
although it had been conquered by the means and forces of Caſtille, more then by thoſe
of Arragon, ſhould remain to the crown of Arragon. Being therefore ready to ſet ſaile to-
Sinceritie of the great Captaine wards his realme of Naples, he receiued letters from the great captaine, by the which hee
did aſſure him of his ſincerity and ſeruice, and did aduertiſe him of the eſtate of the coun-
try, wherewith he was ſo wel ſatisfied, as he did confirme all his former gifts vnto him &
added new, yea he was much more pleaſed with him, for that contrary to the opinion of
many he came and met him at the port of Genoua: for both the Pope and all the Poten-
tates of Italy, thought that he was gone from Naples, with an intent to retyre himſelfe in-
to Caſtille, and not to ſee king *Ferdinand*, as if he feared to looke on him. The king being H
ſtaied there ſome daies by reaſon of cõtrary winds, he had news of his ſon in laws death, for
the which he ſeemed verie ſorrowful: & notwithſtanding that he was preſt by the widow
queen D. *Ioane* his daughter to returne into Spaine, yet he went on his voyage to Naples,
Entrie of king Ferdinand into Naples. where he entred in great pompe, vnder a canopie of cloth of gold, the city wal being bea-
ten down for the more ſtate, hauing all the honors and ceremonies accuſtomed at the re-
ceptions of new kings: he ſtaied 7. months there to the great content of the whole realm,
and of all the Potentates of Italie, who poſſeſt with an opinion of his juſtice and equity,
ſent to viſit him by ambaſſadors, and made him arbitrator of many cõtrouerſies, that were
among them. The Neapolitanes offered him great ſummes of money and other commo-
dities; but he would not accept any but 30000 ducats, for the charges of his voyage. Hee I
would not at that time breake with the Venetiãs for the Popes pleaſure or of any others,
and yet they detained certain places from him, referring that quarel to a more conuenient
time. He paciſed and ended many quarrels, and pretenſions of Barons, yea, of the Ange-
uin party, who were yet diſpoſeſt of their goods, which had been confiſcated, & paſt into
priuate mens hands, to whome they had been giuen in recompence of their ſeruices: and
that which he could not end, he left in charge to the Viceroy D. *Iohn* of Arragon earle of
Ribagorſa, whom he left in the place of *Gonſall Fernandes* of Cordoua, the great Captain,
whome he cauſed to imbarke with him at his returne, and carried him into Spaine, being
iealous of the honor which he had gotten in the conqueſt of the realme. In regard of the
realm of Sicile, he made many good lawes, but he could not goe thither in perſon, being K
preſt by the queen D. *Ioane* his daughter, the councel, cities, and comminalties of Caſtille
D. Ioane queene of Caſtille touchi in her ſences. to return into Spaine: for this poore princeſſe, beſides her affliction for the death of her
husband, had other infirmities, which ſhe did inherit from her grandmother by the mo-
thers ſide D. *Iſabella* of Portugall, wherefore finding her ſelfe vnable to gouern ſo great a
ſtate, ſhe put all ouer into the hands of D. *Franciſo Ximenes* Archbiſhop of Toledo &
Councell of Caſtille. primate of Spain, & of doctor D. *Alfonſo Suarez de la Fuente del Sauz* biſhop of Iaen preſi-
dent of the kings councell, *Garcia* of Muxica licentiate in the laws, born in the prouince of
Guipuſcoa, doctor *Pedro* of Orepeſa, a moſt religious Baron, the licentiat *Fernando Telles*,
doctor *Laurence Galindez* of Carnail, & the licentiate *Lewis* of Polanco, with others of the
councel, who took charge of the affairs, in the abſence of the king D. *Ferdinand* her father, L
the Prince D. *Charles*, who was then bred vp in Flanders, being yet a childe of 7 yeres old.
Pope *Iulio* ſtaied many daies in the caſtle of Oſtia, thinking that K. *Ferdinand* would land
there to ſee him, but he excuſed himſelfe by reaſon of the ſmal intelligence that was be-
twixt them: for the king hauing demanded of him the confirmation & inueſtiture of the
realm of Naples, he would not graunt it, but with heauier conditions then other kings of
Arragon his predeceſſors had held it. Queen *Germain* did accõpany the king her husband
in al this voyage, who ſailing towards Spaine, they toucht at Sauone, which place was aſ-
Enteruiew betwixt the frech king and him of Arragon. ſigned for an enteruiew, betwixt them and *Lewis* 12. the French king, who was already
ariued with a goodly train of his nobilitie. At the comming of the Spaniſh army king *Lew-*
is ſhewed ſo great a confidence in the vertue and generoſity of king *Ferdinand*, as he made M
no difficulty to enter into his galley, without any gards, by a bridge of wood made to that
end, and there hauing conference awhile together, they entred all into the city; queene
Germaine going betwixt the two kings, the king her husband being on the right hand, and
the French king on the left, who were immediately followed by the Cardinall of Rouan,
and the great captain, and then by many noblemen, ladies and gentlewomen, richly atty-

red

A red: king *Ferdinand* made ſhew of as great confidence to the French king, entering into Sauone, a towne held by him, where hee was lodged in the Caſtle, and king *Lewis* in the biſhops Palace. For three daies ſpace that theſe great Princes were together, they treated of many matters of importance, in the which the Cardinall of Praxeda, the Popes Legate, was a great dealer: king *Lewis* ſpake much concerning the renewing and ſtrengthning of their leagues, and the friendſhip which he deſired to entertaine with the emperour *Maximilian*, who was greatly diſcontented with him, for many reaſons, but eſpecially for that the ladie *Claude* the eldeſt daughter of France, ſo often promiſed to prince *Charles*, had beene lately made ſure to *Francis* duke of Angou-
B leſme: the which king *Lewis* excuſed, ſaying, that he had done it at the inſtant requeſt of the eſtates of his realme. They did alſo treat of many things concerning Italy, and yet neuer entred into any ſpeech of the realme of Naples: but the French king ſhewed great hatred to the Venetians, and little loue to the Pope, againſt whome hee propounded to haue a generall Councell called, being animated thereunto by the Cardinall of Rouan, deſirous to finde a meanes to attaine vnto the dignitie of Soueraigne biſhop, whereof he had ſome hope, when the ſeat was voide, by the death of *Alexander* the ſixt, wherein there were reſolutions then taken, to the contentment of both kings: but as for a Councell, king *Ferdinand* excuſed himſelfe, ſaying that it was a dangerous thing for the common-weale of Chriſtendome. The French king hauing often deſired to ſee and
C know *Gonſalo Fernandes*, called the great captaine, he imbraced him with much honour, and could not be ſatisfied in looking on him, as admiring thoſe great matters which hee had heard of him, getting leaue of king *Ferdinand* that hee might eate at their table, whereas Queene *Germaine* ſayed (it may bee indiſcreetly) that he which had vanquiſhed kings, ſhould eat with kings: Some ſay, that at that time onely hee purchaſed the ſurname of Great, for that king *Lewis* did ſo call him, ſaying freely vnto king *Ferdinand*, that hee did enuie him for ſo worthy a man, whome hee honoured with praiſes and great titles in all his diſcourſes, and taking a chaine of gold of great price from off his owne neck, he put it about his. The fourth day of this enteruiew, the kings parted one towards Prannee, and the other continuing his courſe towards Spaine,
D where the fleete arriued in mid-Auguſt 1507, at the port Valencia, from whence, without ſtay, the king and queene went to Almaſan, a towne of Caſtille, not without diſcontentment of the Arragonois, who found his ſhort aboade among them verie ſtrange, to buſie himſelfe with the affaires of a realme where hee had found ſo much ingratitude. The great Captaine was receiued in Spaine with great fauour of all men, being held the honour and ornament of Caſtille, but hee neuer ſaw Naples more, where he was exceedingly beloued, and deſired. They ſay that at his departure from Naples, hee gaue a great part of his meanes to ſuch as had beene faithfull companions vnto him in the warre, to performe the which he ſold ſome of his lands.

1507

Councels are dangerous for the church of Rome.

Gonſalo Fernandes honored by Lewis the 12.

Bounty of the great Captaine.

E 8 Whilſt that the king D. *Ferdinand* was in Italie, the duke of Valentinois, who was a priſoner in the Caſtle of Medina del Campo, being ill garded ſlipt downe by a roape, and eſcaped going towards Guipuſcoa in a diſguiſed habit, whereas he found in the towne of Mondragon, one *Lewis Lauregui*, who had ſerued him in Italie, and was then one of the chiefe of the place, who gaue him meanes to paſſe into Nauarre, towards king *Iohn* of Albret, whoſe ſiſter hee had married. D. *Ioane* queene of Caſtille being with-childe at her Husbands death, had beene deliuered of a Daughter in Torquemada, who was named D. *Catherina*, future wife to *Iohn* the third of that name, king of Portugall. This yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and
F ſeuen, there was a chaunge of Biſhops in Spaine from leſſe to greater, after the accuſtomed manner: for by the death of D. *Iohn* of Medina Biſhop of Segobia, D. *Frederic* of Portugall was aduanced to that Biſhopricke, and that of Calaorra, which hee held, was giuen to D. *Iohn* of Velaſco, who before was biſhop of Carthagena, the which was beſtowed vpon doctor *Martin* of Angulo, Archdeacon of Talauera in the church of Toledo: The archbiſhoprick of Granado in like maner being void, by the death of frier *Hernando* of Talauera, there was preferred to that dignity D. *Anthony* of Rojas, Biſhop

Duke of Valentinois eſcapes out of priſon.

Change of biſhops in Caſtille.

1507 ſhop of Maiorca, and his Biſhopricke was giuen vnto D. *Diego* of Riuera. By the deceaſe alſo of D. *Garcia Ramires* of Villa excuſa Biſhop of Ouiedo, who was the laſt Prior of S. Marc of Leon, D. *Valerio Alfonſo* of Villaquiran, was made Biſhop in his place; and the biſhoprick of Villaquiran & citie Roderigo, which he held, was giuen to D. *Franciſco* of Bouadilla, ſon to the Marqueſſe of Moya. The ſame yere D. *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros Archbiſhop of Toledo, obtained a Cardinals hat, with the title of *Sancta Balbina*: and for that he was primate of Spain, he was called Cardinall of Spaine: And D. *Alfonſo Fonſeca*, was allowed to reſigne the Archbiſhopricke of Saint Iaques to his ſonne, carrying the ſame name, for the which Cardinall *Ximenes* did greatly reproach king *Ferdinand*, who had countenanced it, ſaying, that he made Archbiſhopricks hereditarie, and that hee ſhould ſee if women were excluded. King *Ferdinand* was then come to Sancta Maria del Campo, with the queene his daughter, where they made the anniuerſarie for the deceaſed king *Philip*: from thence they went to Arcos, where the Queene ſtaying, the king came to Burgos, where during his long aboade, wee will returne to the affaires of Nauarre. The king D. *Iohn* of Albret, who is numbred for the fiue and thirtieth king of Nauarre, and the third of that name, had by his wife *Katherine* of Foix, a great iſſue, *Iohn* and *Andrew Phœbus*, who dyed both yong, *Henrie* who ſucceeded them in the eſtates of Foix & Bearn, and in the title of Nauarre, and was born three daies after the death of *Andrew Phœbus* his brother, in the town of Sangueſſa, in the yere one thouſand fiue hundred and three, in the month of Aprill: the godfathers at the Chriſtening were two Germaine Pilgrimes, which paſt by chance at the time of his birth, to goe to Saint *Iaques*, whereof the one was called *Henrie*, and the other *Adam*: the which the king his father did by deuotion: but the Spaniards ſay that it was an aduertiſement and preſage of his future condition, that he ſhould liue a ſtranger and Pilgrim out of his realme: Beſides theſe, hee had *Charles*, named by ſome *Francis*, who dyed in the Lord of Lautrees voyage to Naples; *Katherine*, *Anne*, *Quiterie*, *Magdeline*, *Iſabell*, and fiue other children, whoſe names are not ſpecified, for they dyed young. Of the daughters, *Anne* was betrothed, but not marryed the earle of Candale, for ſhee dyed at the aſſurance making: into which houſe the Queene of Nauarres aunt, called *Katherine* alſo, had beene married; ſhee was mother to Queene *Anne* of Hungarie, wife to king Ladiſlaus: *Iſabell* married with the earle of Rohan in Brittaine. This king D. *Iohn* of Albret was full of pompe and ſtate in his court, and houſe, the which was frequented by the nobility both of Spaine, France, and other nations, as much as any of the greateſt monarchs. His ſtudie and delights were diuers, for he loued learning and books, whereof hee made a goodly Librarie; hee was curious in the ſearch of Genealogies of noble families, and would vnderſtand their armes, and blaſons; yet ſometimes he made ſome noble, that were of ſmall merit: hee tooke great delight to diſcourſe priuately and familiarly with his vaſſals and others, as if hee had been no king, but a priuate gentleman: hee daunced willingly, and did ſo little mainteine his royall grauitie, as hee made no difficultie to come into publike aſſemblies, and to dance in the ſtreets with wiues and virgins after the countrie maner: he went familiarly to dine and ſup, and to make good cheare in his ſubiects houſes, inuiting himſelfe, the which did winne him the loue of ſome, and made him to bee ſcorned of others, as not knowing how to hold his ranke: the which hee held of the French humor, whereas the princes doe ſometimes make themſelues too familiar with petty companions. Hee was ſo giuen to his pleaſures, as many times he referred matters of greateſt importance to others, the which did purchaſe him contempt and hatred with many: for by this meanes againſt his oath and promiſe made at his coronation, many ſtrangers were admitted to eſtates, offices, and benefices within the realme of Nauarre, wherof there were ſundrie admonitions and proteſtations made vnto him in the aſſemblie of the eſtates by the noblemē of the realm, but he did not regard it: for hee thought to find a great ſupport in the king of Caſtilles friendſhip: yet notwithſtanding king *Ferdinād* did not forbeare to capitulat with *Lewis* 12 the Frēch king who ſhould help to diſpoſſeſſe him of the realm of Nauar, to inueſt *Gaſton* of Foix duke of Nemours ſon to *Iohn* vicont of Narbone, & brother to queene *Germain*, which D. *Ferdinand* did afterwards ſeaſe on vpon

Archbiſhop of Toledo made a Cardinall.

9 *Nauarre.*

Genealogie of Nauarre.

Diſpoſition of king Iohn of Nauarre.

A vpon another occasion, as we will shew. About the end of the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and sixe, the Duke of Valentinois hauing escaped from *Medina del Campo*, and being come, as we haue said, into Nauarre, he found that the King *D. Iohn* of Albret, and the Queene his wife were growne into factions one against another; the King fauouring them of Beamont, and the Queene the others of Gramont: wherefore the Duke shewing therein both iudgement and affection, hee dealt so as hee reconciled them, making the King his brother in law to fauor the faction of Gramont, wherewith the contrary partie was much troubled: yet *Lewis* of Beamont the Constable, a man of a great courage, maintained himselfe still proudly in his ranke, so as on a time a certaine Officer comming to giue him notice of some commaundement from the King, he caused him to be beaten B with cudgells, and to be cast into prison in the castle of Larraga, making shew that he did not much respect the King, nor his Aduersaries of Gramont which were fauored by him, which was the cause of his ruine: for the King being iustly incensed at this audacious fact, hauing by many messages sent for him to Court, and hee not obeying, hee resolued to ruine him quite. He had to friend, although he were of the contrary faction, *D. Alfonso Carillo* of Peralta Erale of Saint Stephen, sonne to *Troilo Carillo*, and grandchild to *D. Alfonso Carillo* of Acugna Archbishop of Toledo, who did aduertise him of all that was practised against him, aduising him by no meanes to come to the Court, vnlesse hee would fall into their ambushes. By reason of this contumacie, the King hauing caused his processe to be made, he was condemned to loose both life and goods, as guiltie of high treaC son: and hauing sent forth troupes for the execution of this Sentence, he giue the charge to the Duke of Valentinois his brother in law, to pursue him with all extremitie of warre, the which the Duke beganne by the siege of the castle of Larraga the eleuenth of February 1507. But a Gentleman called *Oger* of Berastegui who commanded there, defended it brauely, so as both the King, who was there in person, and the Duke, left it, and went to Viana, whereas the towne made not any resistance, but the castle held good, although they were scanted for victualls: whereof the Earle of Lerin the Constable being aduertised, he resolued to relieue it; for the effecting whereof hauing gathered together about two hundred horse and some foot, hee came to Mandauia to watch some opportunitie to execute his designe, the which succeeded happily, for the same night there did rise a horD rible tempest, which made the Duke thinke that the enemy would not goe to field, and that they would not aduenture to succour the besieged; wherefore he retired his gardes and sentinells which he did vsually set vpon all the approches to the castle, wherein hee was deceiued although he were held for a wise and discreet Commander: for through fauour of the noyse of the winde, and the great raine, three score horses parted from Mandauia, euery one carrying a sacke of meale, and some baked bread, which prouision they put into the castle by a posterne, and were not discouered: Morning being come, in their retreit they discouered certain horsmen vpon the way of Logrogno, which made them thinke that it was a supply of 300. Castillan horse which the Duke of Negera had promised to send vnto the Constable, wherefore they beganne to crie, Beaumont, BeauE mont, which gaue an alarme vnto the Towne. The Duke of Valentinois hauing caused himselfe to be richly armed by a groome of his called *Ianicot*, who had sometimes serued the Constable; he went forth brauely mounted, and followed by a thousand horse, and a great troupe of foot, and so hee went towards Mandauia, saying, Where is this pettie Count? I vow to God I will this day kill him, or take him prisoner, I will not leaue him vntill he be quite ruined, and will not pardon any one of his, all shalbe put to the sword, euen the dogges and cattes. Being thrust on with this violent passion, he aduaunced his troup, folowing 60. horse which retired before him. The Constable had sent forth some, aswell to receiue those (if need were) which were gone to victuall the castle of Viana, as F to discouer what the enemy did, who seeing the Duke whom they knew not come thus alone, and with a great assurance, doubting that he was followed by some great troupes, they retired to the place where the Constable remayned, who wondering what this Knight should be, and at his hardinesse, What? (saies hee) is there no man here that dares affront this gallant, which comes so neere vs? Then there disbanded three gentlemen of his troupe, who went to incounter him in a hollow way like vnto a ditch, whereas

1597

Diuision of Albret king of Nauarre & the Queene his wife fall into factions.

10

Rashnesse of the Erle of Lerin, which caused his ruine.

Sentẽce against the Earle of Lerin.

Castle of Viana besieged by the Duke of Valentinois.

Viana victualled by the Earle of Lerin.

1507 the duke could not well vſe his force and dexteritie, nor mannage his horſe, who hauing charged their Lances againſt him, one of them tooke him vnder the right arme pit, where hee was vnarmed, as hee did lift vp his arme to charge his lance, and ſo ranne him through, hee falling downe dead to the ground. They ſaie that hee that gaue the blow was one of the Garceſes of Agreda: The bodie was preſently ſtript by theſe three companions, and left naked in the way, hauing couered his priuie parts with a ſtone: they carried theſe rich ſpoyles vnto the Conſtable who beganne to retire, not knowing any thing of him that was ſlaine, but that hee ſhould be ſome great captaine, vntill that the ſame morning *Ianicot* the groome of his chamber, who had followed his maſter, and miſt his way, was taken by ſome and led to the Conſtable, by whom it was knowne after that he had ſeene his armes and habiliments, that it was *Ceſar Borgia* duke of Valentinois which had beene ſlaine, whoſe bodie was found by the army which followed after. King *Iohn* himſelfe being in perſon in the rereward, who lamented much for the death of his brother in lawe, and couering him with a cloake of ſcarlet he cauſed him to be carried to Viana, and to be buried in the great chappell of the pariſh church of Saint *Mary*, where this epitaph is to be read.

Death of the duke of Valentinois.

A qui iaze en poca tierra
El que toda le temia,
El que lapas, y la guerra
Por todo el mondo hazia.

O tu que vas à buſcar,
Dignas coſas de loar,
Se tu loas lo mas digno,
Aqui pare tu camino
No cure de mas andar.

It is obſerued in Spaine for a memorable thing, that the death of the duke of Valentinois happened in Nauarre the like day that hee had in the ſame realme taken poſſeſſion of the perpetuall adminiſtration of the church of Pampelome, the chiefe of that realme, which was the eleuenth day of March, on the which God would ſhew ſome teſtimonie of his wrath againſt him, who in contempt of all religion had quit his Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, and the Miniſterie, to follow the practiſe of armes: The Conſtable would haue beene more ioyfull if hee had beene taken aliue, to haue preſented him to king *Ferdinand*. The king of Nauarre by reaſon of this death fell into ſuch a rage againſt the Conſtable, and all his houſe, as euen ſome of his kinſemen which followed the Kings armie were forced to retire, not daring to preſent themſelues before him: againſt whom the caſtle of Viana did ſtill make reſiſtance, notwithſtanding that his armie was much increaſed by certaine troupes which had beene ſent him out of Caſtille from D. *Bernardin* of Velaſco Conſtable and Duke of Frias, and the Earle of Nieua, with whom and with the Earle of Aguilar, the king had alwayes entertayned a ſtrict friendſhip: but hee paſt into the Conſtables lands where hee committed all the ſpoyles that an incenſed enemy could deuiſe: hee tooke the towne of Lerin, where hee ouerthrew and ruined the ſepulchre or monument of the houſe of Lerin, and the Conſtables progenitours, which was a ſumptuous and ſtately building; hee raſed his houſes, cut vp his vines and trees, then taking the reſt of his places and caſtles, ſome by a voluntarie yeelding, and ſome by force, where hee cauſed the captaynes which made reſiſtance to be hanged, hee reduced him to that extremitie, as hee was forced to retire himſelfe into Caſtille to D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon his brother in lawe, being followed by many other knights of the faction of *Beaumont* which was then vnder foote, and that of *Gramont* aduaunced, amongſt whom was the Marſhalles place; and moreouer by the Conſtables retreat they obtayned that Office for D. *Alphonſo Carillo* of Peralta Earle of Saint Stephen: Then the caſtles of Viana and Larraga yeelded. And in this exile the Conſtable beeing old and diſpoſſeſt, died ſome moneths after in Arragon, in the towne of Aranda: His wife D. *Leonora* of Arragon dyed likewiſe at the ſame time in the citie of Tortoſa in Cattelonia. The Conſtables bodie hauing beene left for a time in the monaſterie of Veruela, was afterwards tranſported to Lerin, where he lies: his ſonne D. *Lewis* of Beaumont ſucceeded him after the conqueſt of Nauarre, made by D. *Fer-*

Warre againſt the Conſtable of Lerin.

Death of D. Lewis of Beaumõt the Conſtable.

A D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, in the office of Conſtable, and of high Chancellour of the realme, and in all his other eſtate and lands being by his mothers ſide, nephew to the king D. *Ferdinand*, and graundchilde to D. *Iohn* king of Arragon the ſecond of that name. There was a bruite, that the Conſtable and his ſonne had treated with *Lewis* the twelfth to diſpoſſeſſe king *Iohn* of Albret of the realme of Nauarre, and to inueſt *Gaſton* of Foix duke of Nemours his nephew, and that *Lewis* of Beaumont, the ſonne of D. *Francis* of Beaumont, and D. *Pedro Menat* of Beaumont went into France to ſollicite the king in this buſineſſe, aſſuring him that all things ſhould be eaſie for him, and fauourable, but that the king being then buſied in other affaires, eſpecially to reduce the citie of Genoua which was then rebelled, to his obedience, would not hearken to it: B wherefore D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, and D. *Pedro Menat* returned into Arragon, leauing D. *Francis* in the French kings ſeruice, where hee continued vntill that hee was called home by his father D. *Iohn* of Beaumont, who had a certaine quarrell with *Amador* of Laſcan, whoſe challenge hee could not anſwer by reaſon of his age, ſo as hee came and preſented himſelfe to the combat againſt *Amador*, during the raigne of theſe kings; but there growing a certayne queſtion being ready to fight, vpon the qualitie of the armes, they ſpent the whole day in diſputes, and nothing was done. The cardinall D. *Anthony* biſhop of Pampelone being dead about the end of this yeare one thouſand fiue hundred & ſeuen, there was preferred in his place by pope *Iulio* the ſecond, the cardinall of Sancta C Sabina, called *Facio*; but the chapter of the church of Pampelone, hauing already choſen cardinall *Amand* of Albret of the title of Saint *Nicholas in carcere Tulliano*, the kings brother, for their biſhop, the cardinall of Sancta Sabina was reiected and kept from the poſſeſſion of that biſhopricke: whereupon Pope *Iulio* did cenſure the whole realme of Nauarre in the beginning of the yere one thouſand fiue hundred and eight, and did continue a whole yere, to free them from the which they were forced to accept of the cardinall preferred by him for their biſhop of Pampelone, whereof he tooke poſſeſſion by his deputy, and the election made by the chapter was declared voyd. This cardinall *Facio* liued not long after, wherefore cardinall *Amand* of Albret the kings brother recouered his right, and was receiued in the place of the deceaſed. The archdeaconſhip of D the table of that church, a chiefe dignitie, and of great reuenues, was giuen vnto D. *Iohn* of Beaumont, for his ſonne called alſo D. *Iohn* brother to D. *Francis* of Beaumont aboue mentioned, who being returned out of France into Nauarre, was, notwithſtanding the hatred and factions of *Beaumont* and *Gramont*, much fauoured by the Marſhall D. *Pedro*, who was then in greateſt eſteeme and authoritie with the Kings D. *Iohn* and D. *Catherina*.

1508

11 This yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and eight *Muley Mahumet* king of Fez, of the family of the Merins, beſieged the citie of Arzilla, in the which the earle of Redondo a Portugall was gouernour, and hauing taken the towne with his great power, being aboue a hundred thouſand fighting men, hee alſo tooke part of the caſtle, and forE ced the Earle to retire into a tower with ſome ſouldiers: whereof king *Ferdinand* being aduertiſed, hee ſent to the Earle *Pedro Nauarro* an excellent captaine of his time, being at Malaga, to goe and ſuccour the Portugalls at Arzilla, appoynting him certaine old ſouldiers which were come from Naples, who were then lodged in the Axarchia of Malaga. The earle hauing receiued this charge, imbarqued with great ſpeed in a ſhippe of his owne, which was called Mariette, with other ſhippes which hee found readie, and foure gallies, about two thouſand and fiue hundred of theſe ſouldiers, and ſo ſayled towards Arzilla, where vpon his firſt approach hee ſo terrified the Moores, which beſieged the Tower where the Earle of Redondo was, with his great ordonance from the ſhippes, as they ſuffered him to land his men, with the which hee entred the citie, and F fought ſo valiantly, as hee chaſed away the Moores, whom he found lodged, and fortified there, ſtriking ſuch a terrour into the king of Fez his armie, as the ſame night it retired about two leagues from the towne. D. *Pedro Nauarro* incouraged with this good ſucceſſe, going forth with certaine field peeces, and ſetting a countenance on it, hee held the enemies in ſuch doubt, as they retired to Fez, and Arzilla was freed, whereas within few dayes after the armie of Portugall arriued, being ſent to ſuccour it by the king

Caſtile. Arzilla beſieged, the Moores and the towne taken.

Exploit of Pedro Nauarro at Arzilla in fauour of the Portugalls.

1503 D. *Manuel*, the which had come too late without the diligence and good office of King *Ferdinand*, and the Earle D. *Pedro Nauarro*, who hauing ſent backe part of his ſouldiers in the Mariette, hee ranne along the coaſt of Barbarie with his foure gallies, vnto *Belis* or *Veles* of Gomera, who diſcouering a rocke in the ſea fit to build a fort on, for the defence and ſafetie of the coaſt of Spaine, eſpecially for the ſtreit, and the reſt of Andaluſia hee put thirtie ſouldiers in garriſon there, in deſpight of the Moores: And being returned to Malaga, hee aduertiſed the King of the commoditie of this ſeat, yeelding him many reaſons to induce him to build a fort there: whereupon the King ſent a gouernour thither, whoſe name was *Iohn* of Villalobos, captaine of Trebeja, and rector of Malaga, who entring into this place called Pegnon de Veles, with three ſcore and tenne ſouldiers, he ſpent his life there in garriſon, and after him his ſonne, who put in his place an vncle of his called *Francis* of Villalobos, in whoſe time this fort was taken by the Moores, eight yeres after it had beene firſt fortified by the earle D. *Pedro Nauarro*.

Pegnon de Veles fortified.

12 The king D. *Ferdinand* hauing this yeere ſent one of the Prouoſts of his Court called the Bacheler *Hernando Gomes* of Herrera to Cordoua, for certaine executions of Iuſtice, hee had ſuch a quarrell with D. *Pero Fernandes* of Cordoua, nephew to the great captayne, as the marqueſſe cauſed him to be taken priſoner, and to be carried to Montillo, wherewith the king found himſelfe much wronged, and loath to imploy anie other, hee went himſelfe to puniſh this diſobedience and contempt. Wherefore comming to Toledo, and from thence by Cite royall, Syerra Morena, Pedroche, and Adamuz hee entred into Cordoua, where he beganne to haue informations made againſt the marqueſſe, for whom the great captaine and other noblemen were ſuiters, intreating him to remember how D. *Alphonſo* d'Aguilar the marqueſſes father died, and how his vncle the great captaine had liued: yet the marqueſſe was condemned in a great fine, his houſe of Aguilar raſed, and himſelfe baniſhed for a certaine time.

Prouoſt of the court troubled in his charge, and the puniſhment the king inflicted.

13 In Portugall the king D. *Manuel* attending the gouernement of his realmes, and the nauigations to the Eaſt Indies, made his greateſt reſidence in the citie of Ebora, whileſt that Lisbone was afflicted with cruell ſeditions, by reaſon of religion; an ordinarie thing in this later age, whenas moſt Chriſtians iealous of their owne glorie, worſhip their opinions, and maintaine their ceremonies by tumults and effuſion of bloud. It did ſeeme vnto ſome women of the auncient families of Chriſtians in that citie, that ſome of the new conuerts or of their deſcendants, being in the Conuent of the friers of Saint Dominike had mockt at the hoſte, which they are accuſtomed to keep in their churches: wherewith being moued with a womaniſh choler, they beganne to caſt their pattens at them, ſaying, Goe you wicked dogges, God forbid that the plague and other miſeries ſhould fall vpon vs for you. At this noyſe there came two friers running, who moued with a monkiſh zeale, tooke vp a Croſſe, and running vp and downe the ſtreetes, cried, Kill, kill theſe wicked hereticall dogges, for both plague and famine will fall vpon this countrey for their impieties: with which cries they ſtirred vp the people, ſo as falling vpon theſe new Chriſtians (as they call them) they ſlue aboue 4000, regarding the innocent no more then the offender: and that which was the chiefe motiue, they ſpoiled their goods, ſackt their houſes, and burnt many in the ſtreetes, and publike places of the citie: the which the officers of Iuſtice could not help. In the end, being tired rather then glutted with killing and ſpoyling, the tumult ceaſed. King *Manuel* beeing aduertiſed of this exceſſe, cauſed the two friers which were the authors to be apprehended, and to be publikely burnt at Ebora, and informations being made againſt the mutines, and ſpoilers, about 70 of them were moſt iuſtly hanged, wherein it is ſtrange how often they were then abuſed, who leauing Mahumets or the Iewiſh impietie, came into the boſome of the Romiſh church, thinking to find a ſafe refuge, or ſome mildnes and humanitie there, whereas they did often make triall of the ſmothered hatred, and crueltie, of theſe proud and rauiſhing olde Chriſtians, as they call them in Spaine; men truely vnfitte to draw infidelles to the healthfull Doctrine of IESVS CHRIST: for this deteſtable example could no wayes edifie the ſonne of the King of Manicongo, who was ſent a while after into Portugall, to bee there inſtructed in the Romiſh Religion. This King ruling vpon the weſterne ſhoare of Afrike beyond the Equinoctiall, was vaſſall and

Portugal.

Sedition at Liſbone for religiõ.

A and alied to the king D. *Manuel*, the infant his ſonne was named *Henry*, and was bred vp and inſtructed in the Latine tongue and the ſciences for the ſpace of twelue yeeres, at Saint Eloy in Lisbone, after the which hee returned into his countrey, being accompanied by many of the monkes of S.Eloy, carrying with him many ornaments ſeruing for the ceremonies of the Romiſh religion, and many gifts from the King D. *Manuel*. 1508 *Henry Infant of Manicongo baptized.*

14 D. *Ferdinand* King of Arragon for his part, ſeeking the propagation of religion, following the aduice of his councell and of the diuines of Spaine, gaue leaue this yeere one thouſand fiue hundred and eight, to ſome Spaniards dwelling at the Indies to ſearch into the maine land there, to conquer prouinces and people, and to conuert thoſe in- *Caſtille.*
B fidelles to the Chriſtian religion, by armes, if they did not willingly ſubmit themſelues; ſending ample inſtructions vnto them. The firſt that vndertooke that enterpriſe was *Alphonſo* of Hojeda or Fojeda, borne at Cuenea, hauing dwelt long at the Indies, who parting from the port of Beate of Saint Dominike with foure ſhippes and three hundred men, came vnto Carthagena, beeing followed by an other ſhippe, in the which there ſhould be certaine mares, ſwine, and other cattell to breed, being conducted by the bacheler *Martin Fernandes* of Enſiſo with an hundred and fiftie Spaniards. Hauing landed, *Alphonſo* of Hojeda cauſed the *Caribes* a cruell and barbarous nation, which inhabite that countrie, to be ſummoned, to yeeld obedience to the King D. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Ioane* *Alphonſo of Hoieda firſt diſcouerer of the firme land at the Indies.*
C of Caſtille, and to receiue the preaching of the goſpel, offering them peace with great priuiledges and exemptions: but they making no regard of all theſe things, *Hoieda* made cruell wars againſt them, killing or making ſlaues all he could get, according to the inſtruction of the diuines of Spaine. He marcht about fiue leagues into the land, and beſieged a little borough of ſome one hundred houſes, where there might dwell ſome three hundred perſons of theſe Caribes, who defended themſelues in ſuch ſort with poyſoned arrowes, and their other armes, as they ſlew three ſcore and tenne Spaniards, and among them *Alphonſo* de la Coſa of Palos of Moguer in Adaluſia, a man expert in nauigation, and lieutenant at that time to *Hoieda*, which was a great loſſe; and had not *Caribes defend themſelues courageouſly.*
D *Diego* of Nicueſa of Baeſa arriued, they were in daunger to haue receiued a greater loſſe and affront. *Nicueſa* parting from the ſame port of Beata of S. Domingo, had brought foure ſcore Spaniards in ſeuen ſhippes and two brigantines. *Hoieda* hauing ioyned with 780. did eaſily force the borough, and burnt it with all the Indians, who had no leaſure nor meanes to flie, of the which they retayned ſeuen priſoners: and hauing gathered vp ſome little gold in the aſhes of this fire, theſe captaines diuided themſelues, *Hoieda* bending towards Vrabia, and *Nicueſa* to Beragua.

15 This was done at ſuch time as the Chriſtian princes made a league at Cambrie againſt the Venetians, into the which D. *Ferdinand* King of Arragon and Gouernour of Caſtille entred. The Venetians who alwayes knew how to make their profite by other mens quarrels, held Padena, Vincence, Verona, Friuli and Treuiſo which the emperour *Pretenſions of Chriſtian princes againſt the Venetians.*
E pretended. The French king as duke of Millane demaunded of them Cremona, Ghiaradda, Breſt, Bergamo and Crema, for the pope there was exacted the towne of Faruſe, Rimini, Rauenna and Ceruia, and King *Ferdinand* deſired to retire the places and ports of the realme of Naples; which had beene engaged vnto them by the old King D. *Ferdinand* of Naples: for theſe conſiderations all their embaſſadors met there together, to conclude a warre againſt the Venetians; but king *Ferdinand* had no great will to take armes againſt that common weale, proiecting other meanes to recouer his right, but to pleaſe the Emperour hee ioyned in this warre, and for that there was ſome diſcontentment betwixt the king D. *Ferdinand*, the emperour and prince *Charles*, by reaſon of the gouernement of Caſtille, it was ſaid, that there ſhould be no ſpeach of it, vntill the
F end of that war. There were many other particularities treated of and concluded there, euery one of theſe princes ſeeking more his owne priuate intereſt then the good of the league in generall. King *Ferdinand* was then at Tordeſillas, whither hee had accompanied his daughter the Queene. *D. Ioane*, who liued there, and hauing beene a widow eight and fourty yeares, ended her dayes there. In May, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and nine, queene *Germanie* wife to king *Ferdinand* was deliuered

1509 of a ſon at Vailledolit, who was named *Iohn*, but he liued not long, after which this princeſſe had not any more children : but the king her husband before he maried her had D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon by the vicounteſſe of Eboli; he was archbiſhop of Saragoſſe, a prince of ſinguler vertue : he had alſo *D. Ioane* of Arragon who was wife to the Conſtable *D. Berrardin* of Velaſco : and moreouer by a gentlewoman of Bilbao called *D. Tota*, he had D. *Maria* of Arragon, who was a nunne at Madrigal : and of a lady of Portugall of the family of the *Pereiras*, an other daughter named alſo D. *Maria* of Arragon, who was in like manner a nunne in Madrigal with her ſiſter ; this was the poſteritie of king *Ferdinand*.

Genealogie of Arragon.

Fort built by the Spaniards in the firme land of the Indies.

Policie of the Indians.

16 That yeare *Alphonſo* of Hojeda or Fogeda, running ouer the countrey of Vraba, tooke in the ſtrong Iland two men and ſeuen women, and got about two hundred ounces of gold : and hauing landed in Caribana, hee beganne a fort and towne, which was the firſt the Spaniards made in the firme land of the Indies. The Spaniards being entred foure leagues into the countrey, they aſſailed a little towne called Taripi, whereas the Indians made great reſiſtance, and they had this policie, to draw their enemies on with gold, whereof they knew them to be very couetous, caſting it in certaine places, that comming to gather it vp, they might pierce them more eaſily with their poyſoned arrowes, whereof they died like mad men. *Hoieda* preſt with theſe difficulties, and with hunger, raiſed his ſiege, and went to another Borough, where he found ſome ſmall ſtore of victualls, and tooke ſome priſoners, and among others, a woman, whoſe husband came before *Hoieda*, and promiſed by a certaine day to bring her ranſome, at which prefixed time hee came, being accompanied with eight archers, who began to ſhoot many poyſoned arrowes among the Spaniards, wherewith *Hoieda* himſelfe was hurt, and others died, wherefore the Spaniards ſlue them all nine. Hereupon *Bernardin* of Talauera arriued with a ſhip laden with victualles and three ſcore and tenne Spaniards to ſuccour *Hoieda*, but this did not much comfort the Spaniards : wherefore *Hoieda* fearing that they would mutine, hee reſolued to returne himſelfe to Saint Domingo, to make ſufficient prouiſion of victualles and other things neceſſarie, leauing for lieutenant in his place *Francis Picarro*, who was afterwards marqueſſe of Atabillos, with an expreſſe charge, that if within fiftie dayes they had no newes of him, they ſhould make the beſt ſhift they could. So *Hoieda* parting from Caribana, hee arriued in the Iland of Hiſpaniola a citie of Saint Domingo, where being tired with the toyle hee had endured, and with the bad ſucceſſe of his voyage, deſperate, wounded, and ſicke of his perſon, he became a Franciſcan Frier the remaynder of his life. *Diego* of Nicueſa who had taken the rout of Beragua, aduaunced with a carauell and two brigantines, and paſt the land without diſcouerie : but one of his brigantines commaunded by *Lope* of Olano, turned backe to conſider of that coaſt, then returning to the other brigantine they went together, to enter in at the mouth of the riuer of Chagre, which they called Lagartos, where they found the reſt of the army, except *Nicueſa*, who was ſtrayed with his carauel. Being come to the riuer of Beragua, thinking to finde their captayne *Nicueſa* there, but hearing not any newes of him, they were out of hope euer to returne vnto their houſes, breaking their veſſelles in peeces which were halfe rotten, they choſe *Lope* of Olano for their captayne, who beganne to make a fort there, and to till the ground, meaning to make his abode there. In the meane time *Nicueſa* who had loſt his carauell, was come to Sorobaro in great want of victualls, ſo as hee and his companie liued ſome daies with wild fruits; the which was reported to *Lope* of Olano, by thoſe men who had ſtolne away his carauells cocke-boat : wherefore hee preſently ſent a brigantine vnto him laden with victualls, in the which he came to Beragua : but there enuying the good ſucceſſe of *Olano*, he began to charge him that he had incroched vpon his authoritie, intreating him ingratefully, whereat the whole company was much diſcontented : after which he cauſed them to diſlodge, and to leaue that country, where they had ſowen much Mays, leading them to Porto Bello, where hee left halfe his men, and led the reſt to a place called Marmoll or Marbre, where hee began a fort, which ſince hath beene verie famous, which he called Nombre de Dios; there *Nicueſa* and his people were in ſuch extreame neceſſitie, as they were forced to eate their dogges, whereof ſome were ſold for

Nombre de Dios

A for fiue and twenty ducats of Caſtile, yea they did eate the fleſh of an Indian, whom they found dead and halfe rotten. They which *Hoieda* had left in Caribana, ſeeing that their captaine returned not at the fiftieth day aſſigned, being oppreſt with hunger, they imbarqued by the aduice of *Francis Picarro*, and hauing loſt one brigantine, they ſayled towards Cochibocoa, neere to the which they met with the bacheler *Martin Fernandes* of Enciſo, hauing a ſhippe laden with victualles and men, and a brigantine, who commaunded them to returne backe with him: and hauing landed and watered at Camari, they came to Vraba, in which gulfe they built a Towne, the which they called Guarda. The King or Cachique of that countrey called *Cemaco*, being incenſed that without his B leaue they built vpon his land, hauing hidden all the wealth of his towne among the reedes, hee drew together fiue hundred Indians, and beganne to threaten the Spaniards: then was the Bacheler in great diſtreſſe, and beganne to make vowes and promiſes, That if he got the victorie of thoſe men, hee would build a Temple of the Cachiques towne, the which he would haue called, Our Lady of the Ancient of *Darien*, and that he would ſend a certayne quantity of gold and ſiluer to the church of our Lady the Ancient of Seuille: whereupon a hundred Spaniards did charge theſe Indians, and defeated them, and their towne was taken and ſpoyled, and their hidden treaſure found, which was not ſmall, & then they began to build the towne and colonie of the Antique of Darien.

Extremitie of the Spaniards at the Indies.

C 17 Whileſt that theſe men guided by auarice, & by the practiſe of cruelty, thought to amplifie the religion of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt at the weſt Indies, the cardinall D. *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros archbiſhop of Toledo, vnder the ſame pretext, but it may be thruſt on by ſome other affection, made offer to go in perſon into Affrike, and there to make warre againſt the Moores, animated thereunto (beſides his owne deſire to make that enterpriſe) by the ſpoyles which ſome pyrates Moores had lately made vpon the coaſt of Spaine, from whence they had carried away many poore ſlaues of all ages, men and women: and that which did more pricke him forward, was, that D. *Diego Fernandes* Gouernour of Merſalcabler had beene lately defeated by the Moores of Oran, importunately prouoked by him; which diſgrace hee deſired to reuenge vpon that citie. Theſe D things happened during the kings abſence, whenas he was at Naples, from whence being returned, hee was preſently ſollicited by the Cardinall to vndertake this enterpriſe of Oran, whither hee offered to goe himſelfe: wherein hee had many oppoſitions and croſſes, not ſo much by the king, as by the noblemen of the court, who ſcorned him, holding him for a man drunke with ambition, and ignorant how to maintaine himſelfe in his ranke and profeſſion, ſaying, That it was a pleaſant change to ſee the great captaine *Gonſal Fernandes* famous for ſo many victories which hee had obtayned, now telling of his beads at Vailledolit, and the archbiſhop of Toledo to leaue his miter and croſſe and to put on armes, hauing no thoughts but of killing and ſheding of bloud: but thoſe courtiers which found this ſo ſtrange, had not peruſed the Annales of Spaine, where they E might haue read warrelike exploits of many other Biſhops, equalling the greateſt captaines of their time. Notwithſtanding all the oppoſitions of theſe diſdainefull ſpirites, yet the cardinall obtained what hee pretended: for the king knew his qualities and vertues better then any other, and could ſo extoll him to his Councell, and other noble men in Court, as in the end they did allow of the Cardinalls propoſition, they commended it, and perſwaded the youth to follow him into Affrike. This warre being concluded, there was preſent order giuen, that all the gallies and other veſſelles of warre, and ſhips to carrie victualls and baggage which were made ready in diuers ports, ſhould come to Malaga or Carthagena: there was prouiſion made in diuers places of corne and all kindes of victuall, great ſtore of caske to water in the enemies countrey, and of poul- F der in euery part of Spaine: and there was commaundement giuen to all vaſſals holding fees, commaunderies, and militarie benefices, to be there in perſon, and no man to be exempted but for a very lawful cauſe, and for the neceſſary defence of the Chriſtian commonweale: the ſouldiers which were in the kings pay, and remaining in ordinarie garriſons were alſo ſent, and new leuies made. There were alſo two Alcaides or Prouoſts of Iuſtice of the court appoynted to aſſiſt the cardinall, which were *Callego* and *Aguirro*, who

Enterpriſe of Oran by Ximenes.

in

in the Kings name, and by his authoritie, ſhould containe euerie man in his duetie. G
Herewithall there were giuen vnto the Cardinall many blanckes ſigned and ſealed by the King, to vſe them when neede ſhould require, namely, to inſtitute and appoynt Iudges to puniſh offenders: wherewith the cardinall would not meddle, for that hee was a Franciſcan Friar, and a man of the church. Theſe things prouided, the great captayne *Gonſalo Fernandes* did aduiſe, that the managing of the warre ſhould bee giuen vnto *Pedro Nauarro* Earle of Albeto, who ſome few moneths before had built the fort of Pegnon de Veles againſt the Moores, and was a captaine of iudgement and great experience. The cardinall conferred with him of all matters, and did write to *Vargas* of the Kings councell, and to *Villalobos* commiſſarie of the victualles, that they ſhould deliuer the victualls and munition ordayned for this warre, as *Pedro Nauarro* ſhould appoint, and to the colonels to cauſe their men to march towards Malaga: the chiefe of H
which were D. *Roderigo Moſcoſo* Earle of Altamira, D. *Iohn Spinoſa*, *Alphonſo Vanega*, *Gonſalo Ayora*, *Pedro* of Arias, and *Iohn Vilalua*, hauing many good and valiant captaines vnder them. To *Garcia Villaroello* was giuen the commaund of the horſe: *Ieroſme Vianello* was made marſhall of the campe, by reaſon of the experience and knowledge hee had of the countrie of Africke, and therefore held fitteſt to chooſe the ſituation of the camp, and the places where they ſhould aſſaile the Moores. Thus the cardinall drew together about foure thouſand horſe and tenne thouſand foot. To this warre, beſides the money which the king did furniſh out of his treaſure, and that which the cardinall drew out of
his coffers, the chanons of Toledo did alſo contribute: for the cardinall knowing that I
money is that which maintaines and giues perfection vnto warre, hee would not make any iuſt proportion of the charge of this worke, or what it might amount vnto, but ſought to gather ſo much together, as hee might haue an ouerplus. The execution of all theſe prouiſions was much delayed, and the voyage almoſt broken, for many did ſtill detract the Cardinall and his enterpriſe to the king, tearming it fooliſh and vnfit for a man of his coate, ſo as the king being almoſt altered, was in a manner reſolued to referre it to another ſeaſon: the which the commiſſaries, collectors, captains of gallies, gouernors of townes, and others hauing publique charges, perceiuing, there was not anie one that cared to doe his duetie, nor to obey *Pedro Nauarroes* commaundement; there came not a ſhippe to Malaga, the victualls and munition which was not neere, were made K
deere for the cardinalles men, who had not his money yet readie: the which D. *Pedro* ſeeing, he ſought himſelfe to diuert this expedition by another enterpriſe which he propounded vpon ſome other parts in Afrike; wherewith the cardinall was much perplexed, but hee muſt ſhew his magnanimitie and perſeuerance: for then hee reſolued to
imploy all his meanes, and friends, rather then to faile in that which hee had vndertaken, which was publiſhed to all the world, and had beene a great diſhonour to the king, to him, and to all Chriſtendome, if after ſo great a ſhew of armes, they ſhould retire without cauſe: which hauing made knowne vnto the king with pertinent reaſons, and vehement perſuaſions, hee had anſwer from the king according to his deſire, that although hee were diſſuaded, yet hee would haue the armie paſſe into Afrike at the firſt L
opportunitie, yet notwithſtanding there grew new difficulties, the ſouldiers beeing hardly ſtayed, and the victualls and other prouiſions, through the couetouſneſſe and malice of the commiſſaries, delaied, and in a maner denied, and many of the men at armes gone backe: yet hee ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, making the rendes-vous for his armie at Carthagena: he himſelfe parting from Alcala, being accompanyed with a great number of his friends and ſeruants in armes, where there were many Friers of his houſhold, which girded themſelues with ſwords vnder the habite of Saint *Francis*, hee came to Toledo, where hee made knowne vnto the Chapter the cauſe of his voyage, and hauing recommended the charge of the archbiſhopricke in his abſence to D. *Iohn* de Velaſco biſhop of Calaorra, he came to Carthagena. Many of his chanons deſirous to M
ſee the world, would haue followed him, but he ſtayed two onely, and ſent backe the reſt: thoſe two were *Francis Aluares* learned in the lawes, and *Charles* of Mendoſa Abbot of Saint Leocadie. Being readie to imbarque, the ſouldiers began to call for money, elſe they would not goe: the author of this ſedition was a raſcall of Alcala of Henares, called

Conſcience of Ximenes.

Pedro Nauarro chiefe conductor of the Affricane warre.

Colonels at the warre of Oran.

Foreſight of the Cardinall.

Magnanimitie of the Cardinall Ximenes.

Sedition in the Cardinals camp cauſed by a raſcall.

A called *Arnold*, who had beene a broker in his youth: the which did ſomewhat trouble the cardinall, not knowing whether it had a further reach, being reſolued not to giue the ſouldiers any money vntill they were paſt into Afrike. *Vianello* maſter of the campe, cauſed as many of the ſeditious as hee could lay hand on to bee hanged, or to paſſe the pikes: wherein vſing too great ſeueritie, the Cardinall ſent *Garcia Villaroello* vnto him, to admoniſh him to proceed more mildly for the loue and reſpect of his perſon, and the religious habite which hee bare, whom ſo great rigour did not befit, and the rather for that manie of theſe ſouldiers were raiſed in his Archbiſhopricke, and were come to the warres for the loue of him, abandoning both wife and children. It is not well knowne in what maner *Garcia* deliuered his meſſage to *Vianello*, but he made him a proud B anſwer, to the diſgrace of *Garcia*, and of the Cardinall himſelfe; with which affront D. *Garcia* being incenſed, he could not containe himſelfe, but drew his ſword and hurt *Vianello* very ſore, and then hee fled into a caſtle, whereas a kinſeman of his was captayne, fearing the Cardinalles indignation, who was much offended with theſe actions. *Vianelloes* hurt did ſomewhat ſtay the departure of the armie; in the meane time they got the mutined ſouldiers to imbarke, with promiſe that they ſhould haue money as ſoone as they were on ſhippe boord, the which was perfourmed. Beeing then imbarked, eſpecially by the care and policie of *Salazar* colonell of them of Toledo, they ſawe in the Generalles galley manie ſackes full of crownes, deckt with bowes, and many barkes about it, dreſt in like maner, with a great noyſe of trumpets and drummes, which made C them forget all diſcontent, receiuing their pay with great ioy. The Cardinall did alſo imbarke, but hee was forced to ſtay ſome dayes for a winde, the which turning faire, they paſt happily into Afrike, beeing foure ſcore ſhippes of burthen, thirteene gallies, and many other ſmaller veſſells, carrying tenne thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, with many marchants, victuallers, groomes, pioners and other people neceſſarie in a campe. The Spaniards which write of this action, ſay that the Cardinall at his departure from Carthagena, had conceiued ſuch a hope of victorie, as hee did ſollicite the king by his letters to prouide for the gard of Oran which he had alreadie conquered, aſſuring him that he might ſhortly make vſe of the armie which he led, for his affaires of Italie, whither hee himſelfe would goe if need required, and that it ſhould pleaſe him to D commaund him. Hee was not deceiued in his conceit: but comming to the coaſt of Afrike on Aſcenſion day, the whole countrey was preſently aduertiſed by the watches and fiers which were made by the Moores, and all the Chriſtians ſhippes came ſafely that night into the port of Merſalcabir, although it were verie darke. Hauing called a Councell, it was reſolued to ſeaze preſently vpon the ſtreit paſſage which is betwixt Merſalcabir and Oran, whereas the beacon is ſet, and to bring the ſhippes of burthen in view of Oran, and to plant their batterie ſpeedily, before that the Alarabes being aduertiſed from all parts, ſhould gather together to make head, and hinder their deſcent. Vpon this reſolution *Pedro Nauarro* cauſed all the veſſells as ſoone as the ſouldiers were landed, to paſſe towards Oran, and preſently to towe all the barkes which ſhould carry E the horſe, holding them vnneceſſarie in a Countrey which was rough and vneuen: the which the Cardinall not vnderſtanding ſo well as the other, hee held it for a diſgrace which *Nauarro* meant to doe him, commaunding the horſe that they ſhould follow by land as well as they could, diſpoſing gardes in conuenient places, for feare of the Moores ſurpriſes, the which did ſerue to ſome purpoſe. The paſſage was attempted and woon, not without great difficultie, beeing defended by the Moores, and Alarabes, which came out of Oran: the which was in the meane time battered from the Chriſtians ſhippes and gallies. It happened that many ſouldiers landing out of the gallies, they hindered the Moores and the Alarabes from flying into the towne, hauing beene cha- F ſed from the paſſage of the mountayne, and were purſued by *Pedro Nauarroes* troupes, ſo as the Citie wanting men to defend it, it was taken none knowes how: the ſouldiers climing myraculouſly ouer the walles and rampiers, with the helpe of theyr pikes: the which beeing tryed by manie after the taking of it, they could not

1509

Vianello Maiſter of the campe hurt by Garcia Villaroello.

Army parts from Carthagena.

Oran taken miraculouſly.

get

1509 get vp by reaſon of the height of the walles, and the weakeneſſe of theyr pikes, G
ſo as this priſe was held miraculous; *Soſa* who carried the Cardinalles cornet was
the firſt that mounted, crying Saint *Iago*, *Ximenes*, and victorie. The Moores fayl-
ing both in defence and courage, ſhut themſelues into their Meſquites, or into their
ſtrongeſt houſes; ſome held the market places, being reſolued to die fighting. But the
citie gates being broke open, and all the armie brought in, all this wretched multitude
ranne towards the port which is towards Tremeſſen, to ſee if they might eſcape. But
Garcia Villaroello was ſet there in gard with ſome horſe, to put all them to the ſword that
ſhould ſeeke to flie away. It happened that neere vnto that port there lay hidden in the
Treacherie of the mercenarie Moores. gardens and other places couered with trees a hundred and fiftie horſe *Alarabes*, of thoſe
which had beene chaſed from the paſſage of the mountaine, with no other intent but to H
ſpoile the people that ſhould flie out of the citie (ſuch trecherous and couetous theeues
they bee) when as they ſaw theſe Chriſtian horſemen, who watcht alſo for their pray,
they charged them ſodainely and with ſuch fury, as before they had viewed them, they
ſlew tenne, and put the reſt to flight, whereas *Garcias* horſe was ſlaine. This accident
gaue many poore Moores meanes to eſcape. Within the citie the victorious army put all
to the ſword that they found in the ſtreetes or houſes, in hatred of their religion, not
ſparing neyther age nor ſex, neyther did the care of the commanders and captaines pre-
uaile any thing, who cauſing a retreat to be ſounded, called euery one backe into his
quarter, the night approaching: for moſt of the ſouldiers being diſperſed in the Moores
houſes and ſtreetes, hauing fed well, fell ſo ſoundly aſleepe among the dead bodies, as I
Dutie of a well aduiſed captaine. many of them could not bee awaked the next day at noone: wherefore it was needefull
that the Earle *Pedro Nauarro* and the captaines with troupes choſen out of their beſt men
to watch that night. *Pedro Nauarro* beeing ſufficiently aduertiſed of the Moores ſubtil-
ties, did neuer diſarme, neyther did he ſleepe, vntill hee ſaw all things aſſured, perform-
ing therein the duetie of a well aduiſed captaine. The Moores which had fortified them-
ſelues in their Meſquites and other places, beeing ſummoned to yeeld, and refuſing, de-
teſting the conquerers crueltie, were forced. In this ſlaughter there was a miſerable
ſpectacle of a little infant which ſtroue to take the mothers dugge being ſlaine. There
Number of them that were ſlaine at Oran. were ſlaine as ſome write, aboue foure thouſand, and about fiue thouſand priſoners, or
eight thouſand, as *Ieroſme Lulien* the cardinalls Secretary writes, and of the Chriſtians K
only thirtie. The ſpoile of that citie was eſteemed to be worth aboue 500000 crownes,
the which is credible, for they hold that there were fifteene hundred ſtore-houſes, or
marchants ſhoppes. To conclude, all men made themſelues rich there, yea the verie
horſe boyes. The cardinall being in the fort of Merſalcabir hauing had intelligence of
the winning of the citie of Oran, cauſed himſelfe to be conducted thither in the gallies,
where hee entred with great acclamations, cauſing a croſſe to be carried before him:
there hee receiued the keyes of the Alcazaua, that is to ſay, of the chiefe fort, from
whence there were drawne aboue 300 poore Chriſtian priſoners and ſet at libertie.
The ſpoyle being all gathered together, and kept to be preſented vnto him, that he might
Diſtribution of the ſpoyle at Oran. diſpoſe thereof as generall of the army, hee retained nothing for himſelfe, but onely cau- L
ſed certaine things to be layd a part for the king: he did ſeperate alſo a part for the com-
moditie and vſe of the army in generall, leauing the reſt to the captaines and ſouldiers:
many of the which who had ſhewed themſelues moſt valiant he honoured with preſents.
It was no ſmall difficultie to cleanſe the towne of dead bodies, which did already ſtinke,
and were likely to corrupt the ayre, for the number beeing great, after that they had bu-
ried many in great and deepe pittes, and burnt many, yet did they many dayes after
finde ſome in the ſtreetes and houſes; beſides, there were few men that would buſie
themſelues to bury the dead, for there was not ſo great gaine, as in killing them that
were liuing. They found aboue three ſcore peeces of ordonance, and an infinite number
of other engins for defence, ſo as it is admirable, that a towne ſo well peopled and ſo M
well fortified made no defence, being aſſured of ſuccours from the Alarabes, vagabonds
and mercenaries of Afrike, whereof they had means to entertaine good numbers. True it
it is that ſome ſay this city was taken by practiſe and treaſon plotted by the Cardinall,
and

A and by the miniſterie of *Martin Argoto* of Cordoua, and *Alphonſo* of Martos priſoners in Oran, ſince the defeat of D. *Diego Fernandes* gouernor of Merſalcabir, and that theſe two did corrupt *Hamet Acanix*, or *Aben Canex*, and *Iſael Otaybi* receiuers of the reuenue which the king of Tremeſſen had there, and a Iew dwelling at Oran, called *Cetora*, who were the cauſe that the ports were ſhut againſt the Alarabes which were repulſed, from the paſſage of the mountaine, of the watch, and gaue entrie to the Spaniards: the cardinall hauing had aduice by theſe traitors, that he muſt aſſaile the towne the day after his arriuall, for if he delayed it, he ſhould be deceiued of his expectation, for that the king of Tremeſſen had a mighty army which marcht to ſuccour the city. And they ſay, that he that was captaine of the Alcazaua or fort of Oran, called *Cedrin*, was kinſeman to *Acanix*,
B and a partiſan of his treaſon, the which is probable: for in trueth the Spaniards did firſt enter into Oran by the fort. The cardinall hauing cleanſed the Meſquites, the chiefe of them was dedicated to the Annunciation, and an other to Saint *Iaques*: hee made an hoſpitall called Saint *Bernard*, and two Couents, one of Franciſcan Friars, and the other of Iacobins, and hauing ordered all things concerning religion the beſt he could, he left the care of ſtate and warre to *Pedro Nauarro*, and ſo returned into Spaine, for there was no good agreement among them. The cardinall ſpent a whole yeere in theſe matters, for he arriued in Spaine the ſame day that he parted: He did erect a dignitie with the title of an Abbot in regard of this victorie, to the which hee aſſigned a ſeate in his church of Toledo.

1509
Oran taken by practiſe as ſome hold.

C 18 This yeere, one thouſand fiue hundred and nine, D. *Catherine Infanta* of Caſtille, widow to *Arthur* prince of Wales, was married to *Henrie* king of England, the eight of that name, brother to her deceaſed husband, who was that yeere come to the crowne, by the deceaſe of their father *Henrie* the ſeuenth, and was crowned on Saint *Iohn* Baptiſts day, which by reaſon thereof was ſolemnized with extraordinarie pompe in Caſtille by king *Ferdinand*: who to perform the articles of the league made at Cambray, ſent at the ſame time a ſea-army to the realme of Naples: wherefore the Viceroy of Naples beganne to ſhew himſelfe vpon the coaſt of Apulia in ſhew of an enemy, to force the Venetians to yeeld vnto the king his maſter, the townes of Manfredonia, Trani, Monopoli, Brindez and Otranto, which had beene ingaged vnto them, during the precedent
D warres with France. The Pope, the Emperour, and the French King did likewiſe inuade them, the euent whereof I will forbeare to relate, it belonging not to this Hiſtorie of Spaine.

Army of Spaine ſent to annoy the Venetians.

During the warre againſt the Venetians, there was a controuerſie reconciled betwixt the emperour *Maximilian*, and king *Ferdinand*, touching the gouernement of Caſtille, after the death of king *Philip*. The emperour thought, that being grandfather by the fathers ſide vnto prince *Charles* the heire of that realme, and of his brother and ſiſters, D. *Ferdinand*, D. *Leonora*, D. *Maria*, D. *Iſabella* and D. *Catherina*, iſſued of his ſonne and D. *Ioane*, and therefore pretending right in Caſtille, it was more fit that hee ſhould haue the gouernement, than the king D. *Ferdinand*, their grandfather by the mothers ſide;
E but king *Ferdinands* title ſeemed to be the better, for that D. *Ioane* his daughter, the proprietarie Queene of Caſtille was yet liuing, and that it was an vnwoorthy thing that the gouernement of a realme, which had beene honored and inlarged by him with ſuch great conqueſts, ſhould be taken from him, to giue it vnto ſtrangers. This controuerſie was ended by the mediation of the French king, vpon theſe conditions, That the king D. *Ferdinand* ſhould gouerne the realme of Caſtille, Leon &c. in caſe hee had no ſonne by queene *Germaine*, vntill that prince *Charles* ſhould come to the age of fiue and twentie yeares, at which time hee ſhould reſigne the gouernement vnto the prince, with this charge, that during the life of queene *Ioane* his mother hee ſhould not intitle himſelfe
F king of Caſtille: That during this time king *Ferdinand* ſhould pay vnto the emperor fifty thouſand ducats yearely, and to prince *Charles* other great ſummes of money, and that perſiſting in the accords of the league made at Cambray, hee ſhould contribute to the warre of Lombardie againſt the Venetians. After this accord the Emperour and the French King vnderſtood, to their great griefe, what the Pope and King *Ferdinand* had done with the Venetians.

Controuerſie betwixt the emperour Maximilian & king Ferdinand reconciled.

19 The

Practiſes of pope Iulio the 2. againſt the French.

19 The pope doubting that the French king who was mighty in Italie, would ſeeke G
ſome reuenge againſt him, he began to ſtudy by what means he might diuert him from I-
taly, and if occaſion were offred to expell him quite: wherefore he drew the Suiſſes vnto
him, hee did ſollicite the king of England to make war againſt the French, and did what
hee could to cauſe D. *Ferdinand* to declare himſelfe their enemy; but the Popes practiſes
were then of ſmall effect, for England ſtirred not, & king *Ferdinand* ſeeing that the French
king made no ſhew that hee meant to annoy the pope, hee perſiſted in ſome ſort in the
league of *Cambray*, ſaying that hee would according to the treatie made with the empe-
rour, aſſiſt him in the warre of Lombardie whither he ſent foure hundred horſe, and two
thouſand Spaniſh foote, vnder the command of the duke of Termini. The pope fearing
that the Venetians ruine would alſo cauſe that of the ſtate of Rome, and of the other po- H
tentates of Italy, he ſought to haue ſome pretext to quarrell with the French king, ho-
ping that if hee declared himſelfe his enemie, with any colour he ſhould ſway the league
of Cambray much; wherefore he tooke an occaſion for that king *Lewis* fauored *Alphonſo*
of Eſte duke of Ferrara, againſt whom hee had a quarrell, puniſhing him with his ſpiri-
tuall and temporall armes: and to gratifie king *Ferdinand* and to draw him to his deuo-
tion, hee confirmed vnto him the poſſeſſion of the realme of Naples, with the ſaid con-
ditions that the king of Arragon his predeceſſors had formerly held it: the which hee
had before refuſed, and moreouer hee drew a promiſe from the king, to aide him with
three hundred men at armes, if need were, for the defence of the territories of the church.
King *Ferdinand* foreſeeing and fearing the miſeries that might enſue, if the French king I
and the pope ſhould grow to an open quarrell, he did all good offices to reconcile them,
but hee could not: for the pope was obſtinately bent to oppreſſe the duke of Ferrara, and
the king held it diſhonourable for him to abandon his allie: whereupon king *Lewis* mo-
ued with a iuſt indignation, began to treat a new league againſt pope *Iulio*, with the em-
perour and other princes and potentates of Chriſtendome, perſuading *Maximilian* as
emperor, to purſue the vniting of the lands held in Italie by the pope as belonging right-
ly vnto the empire, and that the Germans and French ioyntly ſhould demaund a generall
Councell propounded to reforme the pope. Councell, for the reformation of the pope and clergie: and to giue ſome forme thereun-
to for his part, hee called an aſſembly of the prelates of France, in manner of a Nationall
Councell, in the citie of Orleans, to the end they ſhould withdraw themſelues from the K
popes obedience by a decree. The prelates hauing transferred the aſſembly from Orle-
ans to Towers, they drew ſome articles to be preſented vnto the pope in the name of
the French church, and in caſe hee did refuſe them, then to proteſt that they did not ac-
knowledge him for their ſuperiour, appointing in that reſpect an other aſſembly within
Cardinall of S. Croix a Spaniard againſt the pope. ſixe moneths after, of the clergie of France. To this enterpriſe the king had drawne ſome
cardinalls, namely D. *Bernardin* of Caruajal biſhop of Siguenſa cardinall of Saint Croix
a Spaniard, who had beene apoſtolike legat in the emperours court, hoping to make
king *Ferdinand* to yeeld vnto it, for the reſpect hee bare vnto the emperour. The pope
beſides the intereſt of the Venetians and of all Italy which did moue him, being in heart
an irreconcileable enemie to the French, and to all them beyond the mountaines, he de- L
ſired nothing but troubles, as appeared by his courſes. In the mean time king *Ferdinand*,
by reaſon of an army of Turkes which had beene diſcouered neere vnto Otranto, was for-
ced to call home his ſouldiers which he had ſent into Lombardie, in fauour of the league
of Cambray: which made the emperour and French king ſuſpect that hee would ioyne
with the pope; whereupon they ſent vnto him to know his intent: whereunto king *Fer-
dinand* made a plaine anſwer, without any ambiguitie, that although by reaſon of the
fee of Naples, hee had furniſhed the pope with ſome horſemen, yet hee meant not for
all that to leaue the league of Cambray, but would entertaine it more then before: and
therefore hee promiſed to ſend his ſouldiers backe into Lombardie: but as for the other M
league which they treated of, hee could not yeeld vnto it, and much leſſe that which
Excuſes made by king Ferdinand for not yeelding to a councell. concerned a generall councell, for that, ſayd this catholike king, it were a ſcandalous
thing, and would trouble all Chriſtendome; being moſt apparent, that this councell
was not propounded but to offend the pope, whom both he and all Chriſtian Princes did
acknowledge to be Chriſts vicar in the church of God: and that peace and vnion ſhould
be

A bee the end of all holy councels, wherefore hee excuſed himſelfe from entring into any other league, then that of Cambray, exhorting them for the tranquilitie of the ſtate of Chriſtendome (torne and diſmembred with warre) to hearken to ſome good agreement with the Pope, notwithſtanding which anſwere the French king and the Emperour made a new League, for the executing of the league of Cambray againſt the Venetians, leauing libertie for the Pope to enter within fiue monethes, and for the kings of Spaine and Hungarie within foure: and if the Pope ſhould refuſe to enter into their league, then they would call a generall Councell: for the effecting whereof, the Emperour ſhould aſſemble the Prelates in Germany, as the French king had
B done them in France. Thus, great miſeries did threaten Italie, through the obſtinacy of Pope *Iulio*. 1509

Excuſes made by king Ferdinand for not yeelding to a councell.

20 Whilſt that the Chriſtian Princes of Europe treated of theſe things in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and tenne, the coaſt of Africke was much annoyed by the army of Spaine, of the which the earle *Pedro Nauarro* was gouernour, who tooke the citie of Bugia, which had beene a great Vniuerſity for the Moores; the which ſtrooke ſo great a terrour throughout all Africke, as the towne of Algier and many places vpon that coaſt became tributaries to the crowne of Caſtille, agreeing with *Pedro Nauarro* what annual rent they ſhould paie, and ſending embaſſadors into Spain, who brought with them 50 Chriſtain, ſlaues, and they landed at Va-
C lencia, at ſuch time as king *Ferdinand* hauing left the Infant D. *Ferdinand* his grand-childe with Cardinal *Ximenes*, whom they called the Cardinall of Spain, and the councel at Vailledolit, he came into Arragon, and called the eſtates of the realmes to Monſon. The earle *Pedro Nauarro* continuing his conqueſts, hee woone Tripoli in Barbarie: and ſoone after, about the middeſt of Auguſt, D. *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo arriued at Gelbes with ſome ſhips and Spaniſh ſouldiers, the which hee ioyned to the army of D. *Pedro Nauarro*. D. *Garcia* was eldeſt ſonne to D. *Frederic* of Toledo duke of Alua, a gallant knight, but vnfortunate in this expedition, for hauing landed in that countrie with his troopes, hee was fought with all, vanquiſhed and ſlaine vpon the place by the Arabians, and could not bee relieued by the earles army, which was at ſea, his
D men before they came to fight with the enemy, being almoſt dead with thirſt which they had endured in that drie and barren countrie. Some did taxe the earle D. *Pedro Nauarro* for this rout of D. *Garcia*, ſaying, that hee would not ſuccour him as he might, being diſcontented and iealous of his comming in qualitie of generall of that lamentable enterpriſe. 1510

Bugia taken by Pedro Nauarro.

Algier tributary to Caſtille.

Tripoli in Barbarie taken.

D. Garcia Aluares of Toledo ſlaine by the Arabians.

21 At the weſt Indies *Diego* of Nicueſa had not much better ſucceſſe in his Colonie of Nombre de Dios, which was built vpon the firme land. Thoſe alſo that were in the Colonie of the Antique of Darien were alſo in mutinies & ſeditions among themſelues, raiſed by a great ſouldier, but verie mutinous, called *Vaſco Nugnes*, of Balboa, borne at Badajos, who had incenſed ſome of the people, againſt the bacheler *Martin Her-*
E *nandes*, of Enciſo, who was appointed gouernour in that place by the king: but the Bachelers Letters were vnfortunately loſt, whenas hauing cauſed *Franciſco Pizaro*, and the companions of *Hoieda* to returne with him, the ſhip wherein hee was, was caſt away at his comming to Vraba: wherefore *Vaſco Nugnes* hauing quarreled with him, ſaying, that ſuch charges did not belong to Bachelers, and hee oppoſing to the contrarie that he had receiued it frō the king, he could not ſhew it: ſo as there was great & long contention betwixt them, vntil the comming of *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares, with two carauels laden with victuals and prouiſions, and 70 men, who went from the port of Beata of S. Domingo, to ſeeke out *Hoiedas* companions. He being come to a place called Garia, had landed with fifty Spaniards, to fetch water, but they were inſtantly charged by
F a great number of Indian archers, who ſlue 47 and tooke the reſt aliue, and then they eate them all: whereupon *Roderigo* diſlodging, he entred into the gulph of Vraba, where he found ſome ſteps and marks of the Spaniards landing: wherefore he ſhot off certain peeces of ordenance, and made a great ſmoake, to giue aduertiſment that he was on ſhoare, to end that if there were any Spaniards they ſhould anſwere him. Thoſe of the Antique of Darien perceiuing the ſmoake, and hearing the ſhot, made anſwere in like maner: where-

Behauiour of the Spaniards at the Weſt Indies. Seditions among them.

1510 fore *Colmenares* directed his courſe that way, where he was receiued with great ioy. The Spaniards were relieued by him of their miſeries & pouertie: for had he not arriued, they had been cut in peeces, or periſhed for hunger. *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares labored in ſuch ſort as he did pacifie theſe mutines of the Antique of Darien, making them al conſent, except *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa, and the Bacheler *Martin Hernandes* of Enciſo, who were the heads of the factions, that the ſuperintendency & authority ſhould bee giuen to *Diego Nicueſa*, as to him who had order from the king to cõmand. And then *Colmenares* ſet ſaile towards the fort of Nombre de Dios, with one ſhip & a brigãtin, & hauing found *Diego Nicueſa* there poor, he did cõfort him with good news of his election, ſo as after much diſcourſe of his misfortunes, he imbarked him 60 with of his companions, to carry him to the Antique of Darien: but *Nicueſa* being an indiſcreet man, & ful of arrogancy, he began in his voyage to braue & threaten them which had not yet receiued him for their magiſtrate, ſaying, he would teach *Balboa* and *Enciſo*, the authors of theſe factions, to hazard the affairs of the king their maſter by their diuiſiõs, & that he would puniſh them ſeuerely, and put others in their places, that he would take away their gold, & doe many other wonders: which words proceeding as from a mad man, diſpleaſed *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares, and others of his company, who failed not to make report therof to them of the Antique, yea to the 2 heads of the factions, who receiued *Nicueſa* with 1000 ſcoffes & iniuries, making him to take another courſe with his 60 companions. This wretch directing his voyage to the Iland of Hiſpaniola, with an intent to accuſe the bacheler *Enciſo*, & *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa, before the admiral D. *Diego Colombus*, eldeſt ſonne to *Chriſtopher Columbus*, then lieutenant general or viceroy in thoſe countries, in the place of the commander *Nicholas* of Ouãto, he periſhed at ſea, with all his cõpany. The diſſention betwixt *Enciſo* & *Balboa* cõtinuing, *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares did adhere to *Vaſco Nugnes*, of Balboa, who ſhewed himſelf ſo proud & raſh as he not only attẽpted to put the bacheler *Martin* into priſon, & to confiſcate his goods, but, if ſome had not ſtaied him, he was reſolued to do him a publike ſhame, which he himſelfe did better deſerue.

Arrogancy of Nicueſa makes him loſe the gouernment of the firme land at the Indies.

1511 The yere 1511 being come, in the which king *Ferdinand* after the aſſembly of Mõſon, being returned to Madrid, & grieuing for the death of D. *Garcia Aluares* of Toledo, and of his men at Gelbes, he cauſed a great fleet to be made ready in the ports of Malaga, Gibaltar & Calis, being reſolued to go in perſon into Afrike, & to make war againſt the Infidels: from the which he was diuerted, by the intreaties of the eſtates of his realms, ſhewing him the inconueniences which were to be feared, if his perſon ſhould miſcarie, beſeeching him to giue the charge of that war to his captains. The hatred betwixt the Pope and French king, was very great: the Pope did beſiege Mirãdola, with ſuch vehemency, being himſelf at the ſiege in perſon (againſt the aduice of the colledge, & the dignity of his papal eſtate) that he took it, and hauing put 500 Spaniards, & 300 Italiãs there in garriſon, he took the way to Bolonia, the princes ſeeking to quench this fire by all good means, yea the king D. *Ferdinand* by his embaſſadors, D. *Ieroſme Vich* of Valẽcia in the court of Rome, & D. *Pedro* of Vrrea, in that of the emperor, whom he deſired to reconcile with the Venetians, hoping that the French king would afterwards yeeld vnto it: intreating them all to giue him this cõtentment, to ſee Chriſtendom at peace, that he might with more liberty attẽd the war of Africke; an enterpriſe which by reaſon ſhould pleaſe, and be fauoured by all Chriſtian Princes: but he labored particularly to diuert the emperour from proceeding to an aſſembly or conuocation of the Prelates of Germany, concerning a Councell, the which hee did vtterly diſalow: propunding inſtead thereof an aſſembly of embaſſadors in the city of Mantoua, to conſult of a pacification. By his care and diligence this aſſembly was made, and there met at Mantoua, for him the aboue named embaſſadors; for the empererour the biſhop of Gurgenſis, and for the French king, the biſhop of Paris, whoſe labour proued fruitleſſe. The time was come in regard of the league of Cambray to retyre king *Ferdinands* three hunderd men at armes, which had ſerued the Pope, wherefore theſe horſemen being retained longer then was agreed, they returned to Naples. The Pope being obſtinate and furious, not caring for the Emperour, and much leſſe for the French king, was forced to diſlodge from Bolonia, for feare of the French army, which did approch, which city, either for that it was abandoned by them he left there, or

King Ferdinand oppoſeth againſt the calling of a Councell.

A or by intelligence with the Bentiuoly, came into the power of king *Lewis*, without any difficulty: and ſoone after there were bils ſet vp in the publike places at Mantoua, and at Bolonia, declaring that a generall councell was aſſigned in September that yeare 1511, to the which (the Pope and his adherents being accuſed of many crimes) were cited: for the which the Pope (being a cholerike and furious man) thought to run mad, calling thoſe Cardinalls which were oppoſite vnto him, wicked Sectaries, vſurpers of the Soueraigne biſhops authority, to whom only (ſaid he) it did belong to cal a councel, inciting the Vniuerſities, and faculties of diuinitie, who declared this act to be hereticall. The Emperour had made offer as a fit place, and fatall to diſordred Popes, of the citie of Conſtance, Tu-
B rin had alſo beene propounded, but *Piſa* was held moſt conuenient. The furye of this war was ſo great in Italie, as king *Ferdinand* (being iealous of his realm of Naples) ſent three thouſand Spaniards to his viceroy D. *Raymond* of Cardonea, vnder the command of *Pedro Nauaro*, earle of Albeto, ſtil doubting that king *Lewis* did gape after it, notwithſtanding the accords made in regard of the marriage of Queene *Germaine*; and hee deferred his voyage of Africke, attending the iſſue of theſe troubles, and of the councell of Piſa, the chiefe fauourers whereof, were the Cardinalls of S. Croix a Spaniard, Bayeux, Saint Malo, Albret, brother to *Iohn* of Albret king of Nauarre, Frenchmen; they of Coſenſa, &
C Saint Seuerin, Italians: but Pope *Iulio*, for that he would not ſeeme to faile in his paſtorall office, pretending that the calling of a councell did belong to him, and to diſperſe that of Piſa, he did publiſh another at Saint Iohn de Latran in Rome: the which wrought great effects in the hearts of princes, and of religious people which did abhor ſchiſmes. So as notwithſtanding that the French king had ſent 24 biſhops to Piſa, in the behalfe of the Clergie of France, expecting that the emperour according to their accord ſhould do the like for the Clergy of Germany, yet whether retained by conſcience or otherwiſe, he neither ſent biſhops nor embaſſadors, finding ſomtimes one euaſion ſometimes another.

1511 *Publ... a Counc... den at P...*

Cardinals fa... uouring the counc... of Piſa.

23 King *Ferdinand* being alſo ſollicited by the Pope, and (as it is credible) hauing good intelligence with him, he made a publike declaration, that ſeeing neither by intreaties, nor perſuaſions, he could not diuert the French king from his reſolution to diſquiet the Apoſtolike ſea, he tooke it into his protection: and it is likely that the emperour *Maximili-*
D *an* had beene alſo wonne by theſe two. This declaration was made at Seuile, whether ſoone after came letters from the councell of Piſa, ſommoning king *Ferdinand* to ſend his Prelates, and embaſſadors thither, whereof hee made no accompt: whereupon he parted from Seuile and came to Burgos, from whence as the Spaniards ſay, he ſent to *Iohn* of Albret king of Nauarre, to intreat him him not to beleeue the councell of the Cardinal his brother, not to adhere in any ſort to that falſe Councell of Piſa. Yet the k. of Nauarre ioined with the French king, & was declared a ſchiſmatike, which made king *Ferdinand* to inuade his realm, as we wil ſhew. And being now come to open war king *Ferdinand* ſent the whole army which he had prepared for Africk to Naples, whereof he made D. *Alfonſo* of Caruajal, ſon to D. *Diego* of Caruajal, Lord of Xodar, general, and one called *Camudio*,
E Colonell of the foot. In this army were 3000 foot, and ſome 1100 horſe, whereof 600 were light horſe. During his abode at Burgos, he had news that Pope *Iulio* was fallen dãgerouſly ſicke, ſo as there was neither hope of life nor recouery, the which held many Potentates in ſuſpence, fearing ſome great alteration, but he recouered. From Burgos he ſent embaſſadors to *Henry* king of Englãd his ſon in law, to moue him to make war againſt the French king vpon his old pretenſions; againſt whom & his Councel of Piſa, there was a league made, which had bin breeding betwixt the king D. *Ferdinand*, the Pope, & the Venetians, ſince the beginning of theſe quarrels, vnder colour to defend the rights of the Apoſtolike ſea, to diſperſe the ſchiſmatical & heretical councel of Piſa, for the recoueries of the cities of Bolonia & Ferrara, & the reſtoring of them to the church. King *Ferdinand* did
F offer for this war 12 hundred men at armes, one thouſand light horſe, & 10000 Spaniſh foot, the Seigniory of Venice eight hundred men at armes, one thouſand horſe, and 8000 foot, & the Pope 400 men at armes, fiue hundred light horſe, & 6000 foot: Moreouer 12 galleys for the king D. *Ferdinand*, & 14 for the Venetians: making D. *Raymond* of Cardone viceroie of Naples, generall of this warre: for the entertainment of which army the Pope ſhould furniſh twenty thouſand ducats a month, and the Venetians as much, and fourty

Warre betwixt France and Spaine.

League betwixt king Ferdinand the Pope and the Venetians.

1511 thouſand preſently: and this league was publiſhed at Rome, in the church of Sancta Maria del populo, in Octob. this yeare one thouſand fiue hundredand 11, into the which the king of England ſhould be admitted, if he would. After which they did admoniſh & proceed againſt the Cardinalls which diſobeyed the Pope with the accuſtomed ceremonies, ſolemnities, and delaies, to bring thē into the boſom of the holy mother church, that is to ſay, to the Councell aſſigned by the Pope at Saint *John de Latran*: which if they diſobeyed, they ſhould be depriued of their dignities and liuings, and puniſhed as ſchiſmatikes and heretikes; which act was celebrated by the Pope, in his pontificall habit, and in a conſiſtorie of ſeuen partiall Cardinals. Thoſe of the contrarie faction, notwithſtanding all this, began to hold the councell of Piſa, whereas the Florentines would not ſuffer 3 hundred Frenchmen at armes to enter, which the Fathers and Prelates demanded for their gard, being led by *Gaſton* of Foix, the kings nephew, and duke of Nemours, fearing leaſt they ſhould ſeaſe vpon that city for the French king. The fathers comming to the firſt ſeſſion, they were ſo mockt by the people, & receiued ſo many indignities, as they were forced to transferre the councell of Piſa to Milan, where they had neither more honor, nor better vſage, notwithſtanding that they were in the French kings dominion, where they held their ſecond ſeſſion, the Cardinall of Saint Croix a Spaniard being preſident; where they attended the prelates of Germany, and the Emperors embaſſadors in vaine, but they wanted no excuſes.

Order of the conception of Nunnes.

Theſe ſeeds of warre being caſt among chriſtians, Pope *Iulio* doing his duety in matters of religion, he confirmed the new order of the conception of Nunnes, inſtituted in the citie of Toledo ſome yeares before, by one of the ladies of Queene *Iſabell*, who was ſecond wife to king *Iohn* the 2, her name was D. *Beatrix de Silua*, of Portugal, who being ſuſpected by her miſtreſſe, for that by reaſon of her great beauty, many courted her, and there grew dailie quarrels among the courtiers, ſhe was put in priſon, where being kept three daies in teares and heauines, without bread or drinke, ſhee was moued to make a vow of chaſtity, and for this cauſe, they ſay, the virgin Mary appeared vnto her in the habit which the Nunnes doe now weare, that is, a blew cloake, and a white hood, and did comfort her. Being out of priſon, and going to Toledo, with an intent to be a religious woman, there appeared two Franciſcane friers vnto her, which ſight made her think that they were ſent to cōfeſſe her, & then ſhe ſhold be put to death: but theſe fathers told her that ſhe ſhould be the mother of many daughters, declaring vnto her the ſpirituall vnderſtāding of it, that it ſhould be of many religious women, & then they vaniſhed: wherfore ſhe going on her way, being come to Toledo, ſhe put herſelfe into the monaſterie of religious women, of S. Dominike the royal, where ſhe remained 30 yeres in a ſecular habit, liuing holily; afterwards ſhe remoued with 12 nuns to a place where now S. Foy is, which in former times was called the palace of galiena, being deſirous to inſtitute an order in honor of the virgin *Mary*, and there ſhe remained with her company, by the permiſſion of the queen D. *Iſabella*, wife to the king D. *Ferdinand* now raigning, vntill that the habit was confirmed vnto them by Pope *Innocent* the eight, & the office of the conception, vnder the rule of Criſteaux, without any other new order: in the which hauing cōtinued ſome time, they ioyned with the Nunnes of Saint Peter de las Duegnas, of the order of Saint *Benet*, making a medley of the rules of the Benedictins & Bernardines, vntill that Cardinall *Francis Ximenes*, then prouinciall of the Franciſcans, and generall reformer in Spaine, made them to leaue the rules of Saint *Bennet* and Saint *Bernard*, and to take the habit and the Office of the conception, vnder the rule of Saint *Clare*, putting them into the monaſterie which at this day is called of the Conception, which was woont to bee the conuent of *Franciſcane* Friers, tranſported by reaſon of them to S. *Iohn des Rois*. There this yere 1511 Pope *Iulio* confirmed them in their own rule and order of the conception, leauing that of S. *Clare*. This yere all the coaſt of Affrike was terrified vpon the brute of the great preparation which had been made in Spain, to inuade them: The king of Tremeſſen ſent his embaſſadors to king *Ferdinand*, to offer him vaſſalage, and a tribute of 13000 double ducats of gold payable in the citie of Oran. In Spain there died D. *Beatrix* of Bouadilla, Marqueſſe of Moya, and ſoone after her husband D. *Andrew de Cabrera*.

The yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and twelue following, king *Ferdinand* hauing

A ning vndertaken the Popes defence, hee commanded D. *Raymond* of Cardoua vice- 1511
roy of Naples, appointed generall of the holy league, to ioyne his forces with the Popes and Venetians, the which was done at Imola, where they made the body of the army, in the which was *Legate* for the Pope Cardinall *Iohn* of Medicis, of the title of Sancta *Maria* in Dominica. Theſe forces entring into Lombardie, in a manner all that the duke of Ferrara held on this ſide Pò, yeelded vnto the league, without any force, but La Baſtie, which the earle *Pedro Nauarro* tooke: and then they camped before Bolonia: but *Gaſton* of Foix duke of Nemours, a gallant young nobleman comming to releeue it, the army of the league was forced to retyre to Imola.

B On the other ſide the Venetians tooke Breſſe, but not the Caſtle; and Bergamo, with other places were yeelded vnto them: but the duke of Nemours comming to ſuccour the caſtle of Breſſe, hee encountred *Iohn Paul Baſſon* vpon the way, with part of the Venetian army, and put them to rout, and then hee entred the towne and put eight thouſand Venetians and inhabitants to the ſword, hee tooke *Andrew Gritti* their commander priſoner, with *Anthonie Iuſtinien*, and other men of great quality, and ſoone after recouered Bergamo, and all the places which the Venetians had taken. In the meane time king *Ferdinand* prepared a fleet in the ports of Biſcaye and Guipuſcoa, to aſſaile France vpon the coaſt of Guienne, hauing induced the king of England to reuiue the old quarrell, who at the perſuaſion of the Popes embaſſador, had made

Exploits of Gaſton of Foix.

C an aſſemblie of the Prelates of his realme, and promiſed to ſend to the Councell of Latran: and for a greater demonſtration of his hatred, hee cauſed the French embaſſadors which did reſide in his court to diſlodge.

25 During theſe troubles, the king D. *Iohn*, and the Queene D. *Catherine* of Na- *Nauarre.*
uarre his wife, did enioy their realme in peace, ſince the expulſion of the earle of Lerin the Conſtable, and of *Lewis* of Beaumont his ſonne, with others of that faction: then all their care was to reſtore it to the ancient eſtate, and the places reunited which were diſtracted and held by the king of Caſtille: for the which, and to demaund other rights which they pretended, they had ſent many embaſſadors to king *Ferdinand*, who had returned with good hope to obtaine what they demanded, or the greater part: wherefore

D they ſent againe doctor *Iohn* of Iaſſu Seigniour of Pauierre, *Ladron* of Monleon, and the Protonotarie *Martin* of Iaureguiſar, who were of the councel, with ample inſtructions to capitulate, compound, and end all their pretentions, in this form: That they ſhould intreat the king of Arragon, Regent of Caſtille, that, if he made any accord with the French king, the kings of Nauarre might be comprehended. That the embaſſadors ſhould make great inſtance to king *Ferdinand* that the townes of Saint Vincent, Sos, Arcos, Garde and Bernedo, and moreouer the places of Soſierra, held by him, and the crowne of Caſtille, might bee reſtored vnto them according vnto the will of the deceaſed Queene D. *Iſabella* at her death, as places belonging to the Crowne of Nauarre: That in like maner they ſhould demand as hereditarie things, the Duchies of Gandie, & of Mom-

Embaſſage of Nauarre to king Ferdinand

E blanc, the earledome of Ribagorſa and the citie of Balaguer in Arragon, the duchie of Pegnafiel, and the Infantazgo of Caſtille, the townes of Cuellar, Caſtro Xeris, Haro, Villalon, and other lands, and moreouer the ſumme of foure hundred and twenty thouſand a hundred and twelue florins of gold, ſixe ſoulz and eight deniers of Arragon, giuen in dowrie by king *Charles* the third of Nauarre, to his ſonne in law, D. *Iohn* king of Arragon: Theſe were the pretentions of the kings of Nauarre againſt Caſtille, for the which they had beene fed with many vaine hopes, that reaſon ſhould be done them: but in effect king *Ferdinand* ſhewed by his delaies that he had no ſuch meaning, & that he expected ſome other occaſion to acquit himſelfe, and yet not to leaue any thing that he held: wherein the beſt euaſion hee had was the reſtitution of them of Beaumont, which

F he knew to be moſt odious to the kings of Nauarre. The embaſſadors hauing done their duties, and loſt many iourneys in following the court of Caſtille, they returned without any effect, diſcharging themſelues vnto their kings D. *Iohn* and D. *Catherine*, who were in France: whereupon they returned into Nauarre, whereas being, when as the aboue-mentioned warres were hotteſt in Italie, king *Ferdinand* who had a deſigne to leade an Armye into Gaſcoyne, in fauour of the Engliſh, ſent to

1511 demaund a paſſage of them for his ſouldiers victualls, and munition, and for his aſ- G
ſurance, they ſhould giue him in hoſtage, the caſtles of Eſtelle and Maye in Nauarre,
and that of Saint *Iohn de pied de Port*, vpon the frontiers of Fraunce: promiſing
them, as hee had done at other times, in requitall of this pleaſure, to reſtore vnto
them the townes of Saint Vincent, Arcos, Garde, and others, of the principalitie of
Viana. The king D. *Iohn*, and D. *Katherina* were much troubled at this demaund,
for they ſawe themſelues much ingaged to either of theſe two realmes of France and
Caſtille, ſo as in the quarrels of theſe great Monarchs, taking the party of the one,
they declared themſelues enemies to the other, and being neuters, they were a pray
to both. Being thus in ſuſpence, their owne vncle *Amand* of Albret, Lord of Obal, H
King of Nauar adheres to the French king. being then in their court embaſſador for France, made them to adhere to king *Lewis* his maſter, promiſing them infinite fauours, and aduancements, from the which *Mondognedo* embaſſador for the king of Caſtille ſought in vaine to diuert them, ſhewing them the miſeries that would enſue. King *Ferdinand* being preſently aduertiſed hereof, hee thought it a fit occaſion to further his deſignes, and to vnite the crowne of Nauarre to that of Caſtille: wherefore hee made great complaints of this reſolution and adherence of the kings of Nauarre to the French king, whome hee called ſchiſmaticall, and an enemy to the church of Rome, and to Pope *Iulio*; who hauing vſed the ordinarie meanes, by admonitions and fatherly perſuaſions to theſe princes, according to the forme and ſtile of Rome, to quit the allyance of the peruers, and to ioyne with him and his adherents, ſeeing that they did perſiſt to hold the I
party of France, hee proceeded againſt them by the laſt remedie, declaring them
Sentence giuen by the Pope againſt Iohn Albret king of Nauarre. by the aduice of the conſiſtorie of Cardinals, ſchiſmatikes and heretikes, depriuing them and their poſteritie, of all right to the realme of Nauarre, and of all their goods, giuing and transferring them to king *Ferdinand* regent of Caſtille, whoſe forces being prepared to paſſe into Guienne, did ſerue him fitly to conquer Nauarre. King *Iohn* of Albret vnderſtanding of all theſe proceedings, hee ſent D. *Alfonſo Carillo*, his conſtable, and D. *Pedro* of Nauarre marſhall of the realme, embaſſadors, to preuent, if it were poſſible, theſe apparent dangers, who hauing found *Lewis* of Beaumont, and other baniſhed men in the court of Caſtille, much fauoured, ſoliciting D. *Ferdinand* to vndertake the enterpriſe of Nauarre, holding it to bee the onely meanes for K
them to bee reſtored, they were ſo ill entertained, as they made all the haſt they
could to returne, to make report vnto the king and to the eſtates aſſembled at
Tudele, that all things tended to warre. King *Ferdinand* hauing the Popes ſen-
tence for a pretext to aſſaile this countrey, and for meanes the intelligences of many
fauorers, of the faction of Beaumont, hee held it an eaſie matter to conquer it:
wherefore hee deferred the warre of Guienne: yet for his greater iuſtification hauing
gathered his armie together about the citie Victoria, whereof *Frederic* of Toledo duke
Demands vnciuill made by king Ferdinand to him of Nauarre. of Alua was the generall, hee ſent againe to ſommon the kings of Nauarre to deli-
uer into his hands the aboue named places and caſtles, aduertiſing them that vpon refu- L
ſall thereof, hee would put the Popes ſentence in execution, and ſpoile them not one-
ly of Nauarre, but of all that they held in France. Notwithſtanding all theſe proteſta-
tions, king *Iohn* refuſed him the paſſage, and the deliuerie of the caſtles, obiecting
the league and allyance which hee had with the French king, neither could hee per-
ſuade himſelfe that king *Ferdinand*, whome hee had neuer offended, ſhould purſue
him with ſuch rigour as he ſaid, but he found himſelfe deceiued, for the duke of Alua had
commandement preſently, that leauing the way of Guipuſcoa, he ſhould enter into Na-
uarre, to cõquer it. At that time by the death of D. *Bernardin* of Velaſco, firſt duke of Frias,
Caſtille. & 3 earle of Haro, his brother and heire, D. *Inigo* of Velaſco was made conſtable of Ca-
ſtille. There dyed alſo that yere D. *Iohn de Sylua*, earle of Ciſuentes, preſident of the coun- M
cel, and *Ferdinand* infant of Granado, ſonne to king *Muley Albocen*. In Germany the em-
peror who ſought but an occaſion to breake with the French king, had called an
aſſembly of the Prelates at Ausbourg, who declared the councell of Piſa to bee o-
dious, and worthy to bee reiected: The emperour had in like ſort refuſed the marri-
age which had bin offered by king *Lewis* of his ſecond daughter *Renee* with prince *Charles*
of

A of Auſtria, and the reſtitution of that which he held in Bourgondie: Yet the warre continued ſtill in Italie, and ſuccesfull for the French, who hauing taken many places in Romania, and deliuered them to the cardinall of S. Seuerin, who was created Apoſtolike Legat for the Councell at Piſa, they beſieged Rauenna, which the armie of the league comming to ſuccour, the French defeated them in battell, but with the loſſe of their Generall *Gaſton* of Foix, duke of Nemours, who preſſing the enemie that fled, was ſlaine. The loſſe of this battell much troubled the Pope and all the cardinals at Rome, and their onely care was how to auoyd the furie of the French, whom they thought to be at their backes: And had not king *Ferdinands* embaſſadour vſed great diligence, Pope *Iulio* had
B caſt himſelfe into the Florentines armes, who were friends and allies to the French king, to obtaine ſome good conditions of peace by their meanes: but being better informed of the whole ſucceſſe by *Iulio de Medicis*, who was afterwards cardinall, and then Pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, he changed his reſolution, and continued the warre, being incouraged by the deſcent of the Suiſſes into Italie, to defend the Church of Rome. At that time began the firſt ſeſsion of the Councel of Latran, that of Milan being ſo ridiculous, as the cardinall *Iohn* of Medicis, a priſoner, hauing ample authoritie from the Pope, gaue diſpenſations, abſolued from cenſures, and did all acts of an Apoſtolike Legat, with a great concourſe of people, before the cardinals and prelates of the oppoſite Councell; the which the gouernours of Milan for the French king did not contradict.

Battell of Rauenna.

Deſpaire of the Pope.

C King *Lewis* fearing to be aſſailed in Fraunce by the forces of Spaine and England, and and the Suiſſes being incenſed againſt him, hauing paſſed the Alpes with the cardinall of Sion, the Popes Legat, the Emperour *Maximilian* hauing alſo called home all the Germans that ſerued the French, preſt with many difficulties, he was forced to yeeld the field to the enemie, and (after that he had ſought an accord in vaine) to abandon the eſtate of Milan, and to retire his forces into France, and to defend his owne. The cardinals of the Councell of Piſa retired: Bolonia, and in a manner all other places were recouered, Genoa obtained her libertie, and *Iohn Fregoſo* was choſen duke; ſo as the French king had nothing remaining in Lombardie, but the caſtle of Milan, that of Cremona, Breſſe, Crema, Lignago, the Lanterne of Genoa, and Caſtellet.

Victorie of Rauenna vnprofitable for the French.

D 28 Thus Pope *Iulio* ſeeing his affaires ſo ſucceſſull, began to thunder out his ſpirituall cenſures and fulminations, againſt K. *Lewis*, cauſing him to be declared, by a decree of the Councell of Latran, an heretike and ſchiſmatike, depriuing him for that cauſe of all honour and royall dignitie, yea of the name of Moſt Chriſtian, which had beene ſo long affected to the kings of Fraunce; which title he would transferre to the kings of England: And on the other ſide he did honour the king D. *Ferdinand* with the title of Catholike, the which the kings of Spaine carrie at this day, vnder colour of the happie warres which he had made and ended, againſt the Moores which had vſurped the prouinces in Spaine, and other Infidels; but being chiefly mooued by the good offices which he had done for him and the See of Rome, oppoſing himſelfe at that time againſt the French and the
E Councell of Piſa, and fauouring the deſignes of Pope *Iulio*, which were to prejudice the Crowne of France: whereof letters and Apoſtolike briefes were preſented vnto king *Ferdinand*, being in the citie of Burgos, in the yeare 1512.

Popes fulminations againſt K. Lewis the xij.

The realme of France was not ſo eaſie to be ſwallowed vp as that of Nauarre: which was inuaded by the duke of Alua, king *Iohn* and queene Katherine being at Pampelone, and the Caſtillan armie within eight leagues of them; they were ſo vnprouided of all meanes to make reſiſtance, as king *Iohn* could take no better reſolution, then to abandon the realme, and retire himſelfe into Fraunce. The inhabitants of Pampelone ſeeing themſelues forſaken, demaunded of him, That ſeeing he left them, what his pleaſure was they ſhould doe; Defend your ſelues (ſaid he) as well as you can, and if you cannot make
F it good, yeeld vnto king *Ferdinand* vpon ſome good conditions, for I will take good order that he ſhall not long enjoy Nauarre. Queene *Katherine* found it ſtrange, that the king her husband ſhould ſo ſoone abandon his realme, before that the armie of Caſtille had done any notable exploit: but whether it were feare, or diſtruſt that he had of them of Pampelone, who he knew were affected to the earle of Lerin, and to the faction of *Beaumont*, he left it, notwithſtanding all her reaſons and perſuaſions, on the two and twentieth of

Nauarre.

King Iohn of Albret forced to retire into France.

1512 of Iulie, this yeare 1512; ſaying, That he had rather liue in woods and mountaines, than G
to be a priſoner in his owne countrey. His retreat was by the vallie of Baztan, and the
caſtle of Moya, and ſo went to the Court of France, leauing the queene his wife at Pam-
pelone, who hauing ſtayed there but two dayes after him, followed him, with prince *Hen-*
rie her ſonne, and three daughters; and hauing ouertaken him, among other ſpeeches ful
Speech of Q. Katherine to the king her husbād of bitterneſſe, ſhe ſaid vnto him: *O King, you ſhall remaine* Iohn *of Albret, and neuer thinke*
more of the realme of Nauarre, for that hauing beene ſuperfluouſly good, you haue beene the leſſe
eſteemed of your ſubiects, and haue vndone your ſelfe and your realme. D. *Pedro* the marſhall
of the realme, parted with theſe princes, and many other knights of the faction of Gra-
Factiō of Beaumont in the Court of Nauarre. mont. D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, earle of Lerin, had ſuch intelligences in the Court, and H
throughout the realme of Nauarre, as hee had particular aduiſe of all that was done,
whereof he aduertiſed the duke of Alua, who marching before, came and camped with-
in two leagues of Pampelone, hauing in his armie ſix thouſand foot, a thouſand men at
armes, and fifteene hundred light horſe, Caſtillans, beſides the ſupplies of *Beaumont*, their
friends, kinsfolkes, and partiſans. Then the inhabitants of Pampelone ſent forth vnto the
duke, requiring that they might be receiued vpon certaine lawes and conditions (for they
had no power to defend themſelues, nor, it may be, will:) To whom anſwer was made by
the duke, That it was for the vanquiſher to preſcribe lawes vnto the vanquiſhed; where-
fore they ſhould reſolue to yeeld themſelues freely into his hands, or to attend all the mi-
ſeries and calamities which are vſually felt in the expugnation of townes: by reaſon I
whereof he reſtrained their demaunds to the obſeruation of their auncient priuiledges
and liberties; the which was granted them, and moreouer ſome prouiſions for the preſent
Articles vpon the yeelding of Pampelone to the duke of Alua. eſtate. Among theſe articles that were agreed vpon, the chiefe of them were theſe.

1 That the duke of Alua ſhould from thenceforth be patron and mediator for the in-
habitants of Pampelone, in the demaunds and requeſts which they ſhould make vnto the
kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Ioane*, for all matters either honourable or profitable.

2 That ſuch as ſhould remaine vaſſals or ſeruants to the kings of Caſtille, ſhould be
maintained in their goods and eſtates, fees, rents, and penſions whatſoeuer, which they
had beene accuſtomed to receiue from precedent kings. And to ſuch as meant to retire
themſelues, ſuch things ſhould not be payed, but to the day of the yeelding vp of the K
citie.

3 That the kings receiuors ſhould gather vp the rents, reuenues, impoſts, and other
profits of the Crowne, as they had beene accuſtomed, ſo as they did remaine in the citie
of Pampelone.

4 That the wages of Counſellors and Preſidents of juſtice, Auditors of the royall
accounts, and other officers and magiſtrats of the kings D. *Iohn* and D. *Katherine*, ſhould
be paied them, with condition that they ſhould remaine in Pampelone.

5 That the inhabitants of Pampelone ſhould remaine faithfull ſeruants to the kings
D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Ioane*, and in regard thereof they ſhould enjoy their goods mouable
and immouable, rights, and auncient priuiledges: And in like manner thoſe which had L
followed the kings D. *Iohn* and D. *Katherine*, if within thirtie dayes they did returne into
the countrey.

6 That the inhabitants of Pampelone ſhould not be bound to lodge any one without
paying for it, no more than they of Saragoſſe, Valencia, and Barcellona.

7 That all knights and gentlemen which within thirtie dayes ſhould ſubmit them-
ſelues to the ſeruice of the kings D. *Ferdinand* and queene *Ioane*, ſhould be well and ho-
nourably intreated in their perſons and goods, and not called in queſtion for any crime
formerly committed in the time of the diſſentions and factions of *Beaumont* and *Gra-*
mont.

8 That when they ſhould goe vnto the warre, their priuiledges and rankes, touching M
their perſons and qualities, ſhould be maintained, as in the time of precedent kings.

9 That the rights of prouiſions of victuals, ſilkes, money, and other things due by the
kings D. *Iohn* and D. *Katherine*, to their officers, citizens of Pampelone, which came to
ſerue the kings of Caſtille, ſhould be paied them, ſo as it were duely verified.

10 That if any of theſe articles were prejudiciall to any one, the judgement thereof
ſhould

A ſhould be referred to the kings of Caſtille, D. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Ioane* his daughter. 1512

Many other heads were propounded, whereof ſome were granted, and others ſent backe vnto the king and his counſell; but theſe were the moſt remarkable, the which were promiſed and ſworne by the duke of Alua, in the name, and with the conſent of the kings of Caſtille, the foure and twentieth of Iulie, in the preſence of D. *Lewis* of Beaumont the conſtable, D. *Antonio* of Acugna, biſhop of Cuenca, *Pedro Lopes* of Padilla, *Ferdinand Suarez* of Toledo, and other knights. And notwithſtanding that the duke had promiſed not to enter into the citie vntill the next day, leaſt it ſhould be reproached vnto them, That they had yeelded before they had ſeene the enemie, yet the earle of Lerin,

B who was conſtable of Nauarre, entred the ſame day, being the foure and twentieth, and the fiue and twentieth the duke with the reſt of the armie. Thus the kings D. *Iohn* and Q. *Katherine*, were ſpoyled of their realme of Nauarre, which they had held together eighteene yeares and a halfe, and the queene almoſt ten yeares alone, after the death of her brother *Francis Phœbus*. From the 25 of Iulie 1512, being S. *Iames* day, Nauarre was vnited to the Crowne of Caſtille, 468 yeares after that it had beene diuided from it, in the time, and by the death of the king D. *Sancho* the great. After the yeelding of the chiefe citie, the duke of Alua cauſed the other places of ſtrength within the realme to be ſummoned to yeeld, promiſing that in ſo doing they ſhould be intreated with the like clemencie to Pampelone; if not, he would purſue them with fire and ſword, as ſectaries to prin-

C ces, who were declared ſchiſmatikes and heretikes. In the beginning ſome townes ſeemed difficult, but hauing better conſidered of their affairs, the townes of Lumbier, Sangueſſe, Montreal, Olite and Tafalla, with the citie of Tudele, yeelded, yet the caſtle thereof held good for the kings that were expelled, *Denis* of Deſa, a gallant knight, and a good ſeruant to his maſters, commaunding therein. They of the vallie of Roncal, and of the vallie of Ameſcoa, truſting in the naturall force of their mountainous countrey, made no account to yeeld. King *Ferdinand* being at Burgos, hearing the ſucceſſe of this conqueſt, ſent ſupplies of men to the duke of Alua: And the better to juſtifie his actions, he ſent D. *Antonio* of Acugna, biſhop of Zamora, embaſſador into France, to king *Iohn*, offering him, That if he would quit the friendſhip and alliance of king *Lewis*, he would reſtore his

D realme to him againe. The biſhop came not to king *Iohn*; for notwithſtanding the prerogatiue of embaſſadors, he was ſtaied priſoner in Bearn, from whence he parted not, but for a great ranſome. Vpon this exceſſe the duke of Alua was readie to paſſe into Bearn, to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto the king his maſter, and to his embaſſador: but ſeeing the towns of Tudele, Olite, Tafalla, and Eſtella, begin to be ſomewhat moued at the brute of king *Iohns* comming with a French armie, he remained in Nauarre; where hauing ordered matters in ſuch ſort as they ſeemed ſecure, he aſſembled the chiefe men of Pampelone, in the monaſterie of S. *Francis*; where hauing made a long diſcourſe vnto them, to juſtifie the conqueſt which his maſter had made of that realme, he required them to take an oath to king *Ferdinand*, and they demaunded three dayes reſpite to conſider

E thereon; which being expired, they ſaid, That they were content to take an oath as ſubjects, but not as vaſſals. And what difference, demaunded the duke, make you betwixt vaſſals and ſubjects? He (ſaid they) is to be vnderſtood a vaſſall, whom the lord may intreat well or ill, at his pleaſure; but the ſubject ought to be well intreated by him. Then the duke hauing ſhewed them that they ſhould not doubt but the king would intreat them well and fauourably in all things, he alledged many reaſons which induced them to take this oath, acknowledging king *Ferdinand* for their king, who parting from Burgos, came vnto Logrogno, neere to Nauarre, where he ſtaied the remainder of that yere, to prouide for the defence of this new conqueſt.

Duke of Alua enters into Pampelone.

Vnion of Caſtille and Nauarre by conqueſt.

Denis of Deſa faithfull to king Iohn of Albret.

King Ferdinands embaſſador arreſted in Bearn.

Difference betwixt a vaſſall and a ſubiect.

This yeare died D. *Paſcall*, of the Order of the preaching friers, biſhop of Burgos, at *Caſtille.*

F Rome D. *Iohn* of Fonſeca, biſhop of Palence, and ſuperintendent of the affaires of the Indies, was preferred in his place; D. *Iohn* of Velaſco, biſhop of Calaorra had that of Palence and D. *Iohn Caſtellan* of Vilalua, came to that of Calaorra; he was brother to the colonell *Valalua*: D. *Valerio Alphonſo Ordognes* of Villaquiran, biſhop of Ouiedo, died alſo, and his biſhopricke was giuen to D. *Diego* of Muros, who was biſhop of Mondognedo, he who did found the colledge of S. *Sauior* in the Vniuerſitie of Salamanca, which hath the name

of

1512 of Ouiedo: the biſhopricke of Mondognedo was giuen to D. *Diego* of Villamuriel, Preſident of the Chauncerie of Granado. G

29 King *Ferdinands* affaires ſtanding in theſe termes in Europe, the Spaniards remayning at the Indies, at the place called the Antique of Darien, being commaunded by *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa, they obtained of him the deliuerie of the bacheler *Martin Hernandes* of Enciſo, who could not be ſtaied by any intreaties in that countrey, to be chiefe Iuſtice ouer all, but went preſently to S. Domingo, and from thence into Spaine, where hee made his complaint vnto the king, accuſing *Vaſco Nugnes* of much wickedneſſe and exceſſe: whereupon there was a grieuous ſentence pronounced againſt him, the puniſhment whereof he auoyded by his great future ſeruices. The firſt voyage which *Vaſco Nugnes* made againſt the Indians, was againſt a Cachique, or king of that countrey, called *Careta*, lord of Coyba, who hauing refuſed him victuals and gold, was by him & his troups, which were 130 Spaniards, aſſayled, taken, and his burrough ſackt, where they found three Spaniards, who, for villanies committed, had fled from their captaine *Nicueſa*, and had beene receiued and wel intreated by this Cachique, at whoſe intreatie he was deliuered, and held for a friend, and *Vaſco Nugnes* promiſed to aid him againſt another Cachique, his enemie, who was called *Ponſa*. Being preſt with hunger, and want of all neceſſaries, theſe Spaniards of Antique ſent *Samudio* and *Valdiuia*, two of their men, into the iſland of Hiſpaniola, to fetch them victuals; and another into Spaine, called *Zamudio*, who carried the proceſſe of the bacheler *Martin Hernandes* of Enciſo. *Vaſco Nugnes* in the meane time went in perſon againſt the Cachique *Ponſa*, who fled away with his people, carrying all their wealth with them: whereupon he went againſt another Cachique, called *Comagro*, whoſe land was not farre from the South ſea: for the region of Darien is but an iſthmus, or a ſtrait necke of land. *Vaſco Nugnes* contracted friendſhip and alliance with this Cachique, for he found him mild and tractable. He lodged him in a hall which was 150 paces long, and 80 broad, whereas he and all his Spaniards made good cheere with their victuals, wine of dates, and other fruits after their maner: and the Cachiques eldeſt ſonne brought the weight of 4000 dragmes in gold wrought, and ſeuentie ſlaues, which he gaue vnto the Spaniards; who ſeeing them through greedineſſe to contend and quarell about the diuiſion of theſe things, he wondred much, and ſaid vnto them, That ſeeing they had ſo great a deſire of gold, which was but earth, as for it they did thruſt themſelues into ſo great dangers, and did trouble ſo many peaceable nations, he would ſhew them a region not farre of, and neere vnto the other ſea, where they ſhould glut their couetouſneſſe; but they muſt not goe with ſo ſmall a troupe, being neceſſarie to lead a thouſand Spaniards thither. *Vaſco Nugnes* and *Roderigo* of Colmenares being verie joyfull of this aduertiſement, and more for that they heard him ſpeake of another neere ſea, imbraced this lord, who was called *Panquiaco*, intreating him to become a Chriſtian, and that hee ſhould goe with them: the which he did willingly yeeld vnto, and was baptiſed *Charles*, in honour of prince *Charles* of Auſtria, the heire of Spaine. This region whereof *Charles Panquiaco* ſpake, was called Tumanama, to come vnto the which they muſt of neceſſitie paſſe the mountaines and woods inhabited by the Caribes, cruell people, and eaters of men, carrying arrowes dipt in deadly poiſon, which made them madde that were wounded therewith: and therefore *Vaſco Nugnes* returned to Antique, to prouide all things neceſſarie for this voyage and conqueſt. Hauing found *Valdiuia* returned from S. Domingo with ſome victuals, he ſent him into Spaine, and with him 15000 dragmes of gold, for the kings fift part of diuers booties which they had taken; giuing him charge to beſeech the king to ſend a thouſand Spaniards for the conqueſt of the South ſea. But *Valdiuia* miſcarried by the way, he and all his treaſure being drowned. In the meane time *Vaſco Nugnes* with a brigantine and many barkes began to ſaile into the gulph of Vraba, to ſeeke for victuals, and finding a great riuer which he called S. Iohn, he went ten leagues vp againſt the ſtreame, but he found not any man, for all were fled vp into the countrey, hauing bin terrified with the crueltie and inſatiable couetouſneſſe of the bearded Spaniards (as they called them) by *Cemaco* the Cachique, who had beene vanquiſhed by *Martin Hernandes Enciſo*: yet the Spaniards forraged the countrey neere vnto the riuers ſides, and made great bundels of arrowes and other armes, nets, couerings, and other Indian implements, the

Exploits of Vaſco Nugnes of Balboa.

Darien an iſthmus or neck of land.

Couetouſneſſe of the Spaniards ſomewhat checked by an Indian.

A the which afterwards they caſt into the ſea, for that in their returne they were taken with a ſtorme, carrying away the value of ſeuen thouſand Caſtillans in gold, but nothing that could ſatisfie hunger: for theſe people in truth were poore, and liued only of fiſhing, exchanging their fiſh with their neighbours for Mays. *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares running vp along the riuers ſide with ſeuentie companions, returned without bread, or any other victuals; but he brought much Caſſe-fiſtula, which he found growing in thoſe regions in great aboundance. Hauing joyned againe with *Balboa*, they entred into the mouth of a floud, which they called the blacke riuer, where they were to incounter a Cachico, called *Abenamaquer*, whom they defeated and tooke priſoner, whoſe arme a vil- 1512

B lanous Spaniard cut off, in cold bloud, for that he had been wounded during the skirmiſh. *Colmenares* remaining there with this Cachico, and the moitie of the Spaniſh troupes, *Balboa* with the reſt paſt on, & came vnto a place where as he found a building made vpon great old trees, much like vnto a cage to keepe birds in: there a Cachico kept, who thinking himſelfe to be in a ſafe place, & inexpugnable, they mockt at the Spaniards who were on the ground, & did ſummon thē to yeeld: but when as they ſaw them begin to ouerthrow the foundation of his palace with axes, he came downe with two of his ſonnes, and preſented himſelfe humbly to *Balboa*, excuſing himſelfe that hee had not any gold, whereof he had no need, but promiſed that he would goe and ſeeke ſome, if he would ſuffer him at libertie. *Balboa* truſting him, let him goe free, but he was deceiued: For this

C Cachico falſifying his faith, conſorted with other Cachicoes and their people, in great numbers, who fell vpon the Spaniards, but to their owne loſſe, for they were repulſt with the loſſe of many Indians. Not content with this inſolencie, the Cachicoes about the blacke riuer and that gulph, conſpired to aſſaile the Antique of Darien ſuddenly with all their power, and to kill the Spaniards and eat them: The which was diſcouered to *Vaſco Nugnes* by a faire Indian woman whom he entertained as his friend, who had beene aduertiſed to free her ſelfe of this danger, by a brother of hers, who was of the conſpiracie, and for her ſake did frequent familiarly among the Spaniards. *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa cauſed this Indian to be taken, & hauing vnderſtood the truth from him, and what courſe the Indians meant to take to execute their enterpriſe, he wrought in ſuch ſort on the one

D ſide, and *Colmenares* on the other, as they diſperſed their forces, put a confuſion in their counſels, and did in a maner ſubiect all the countrey of Vraba. Being returned to the Antique of Darien, they ſent *Iohn* of Quincedo, and *Roderigo Henriques* of Colmenares, into Spaine, to make relation vnto king *Ferdinand* of that which they had done, and of the conqueſt of the South ſea, which they intended, and to beſeech him to ſend them 1000 Spaniards to that end. That yeare there went out of Spaine, with the kings leaue, and at his owne charge, *Iohn Dias de Solis*, pilot major to the king, who taking the courſe of Pinſons, paſt beyond S. *Auguſtines* cape fortie degrees vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto the great riuer of Parauaguaſu, which ſignifies in the Indian tongue, great water, the which was by *Iohn Dias* called the riuer of Plata, that is to ſay, of ſiluer, for that they found there ſome grains *Riuer of Plata found by Iohn Dias de Solis.*

E of that mettall: and hauing planted many croſſes there in ſigne of poſſeſsion, he returned into Spaine, laden with Braſil, where he gaue an account vnto the king of his nauigation.

THE

THE 26 BOOKE OF THE Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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26 *Algier taken by* Horuſco Barberouſſe, *and the vaine attempts of the Spaniards.*
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28 *Vniuſt proceedings againſt the accuſed by the Inquiſitors. Contention for the biſhopricke of Siguenſa.*

B

In this ſix and twentieth Booke are vnited the *Realmes of Caſtille, Arragon, and Nauarre, in*

D. Charles of Auſtria {
22 *in Caſtille* 1.
43 *in Leon* 1.
20 *in Arragon* 1.
C 36 *in Nauarre* 4.

1 THe realme of Nauarre being conquered with ſo great happineſſe and eaſe, was afterwards defended and kept with more difficultie. About the moneth of May the Engliſh armie landed in Guipuſcoa, being eight thouſand foot, moſt archers, and ſome other men of warre, whereof the lord marqueſſe *Dorſet* was Generall, who ſtayed ſome dayes vpon thoſe marches, attending the duke of Alua, who was buſie in ſubduing the vallies of Ameſcoa, Salazar, D and Roncal, with the helpe and diligence of colonell *Vilalua:* whoſe armie being fortified with new troups ſent from king *Ferdinand*, who was offended at the detention of his embaſſadour, the biſhop of Zamora, in Bearn, it was led to Saint Iohn du pied de Port, which place yeelded vnto him: From whence he ſent word vnto the marqueſſe, what he ſhould doe to come and beſiege Bayone. But the Engliſh generall thinking that the duke of Alua had cauſed him to ſtay there for the conqueſt of Nauarre, which concerned his maſter, after that he had burnt Saint Iohn de Lus, and done ſome other ſpoyles vpon the ſea coaſt, he imbarkt his men, and went home; ſaying, That he would returne another time: beſides, there was a brute of a great French armie which marcht through Guienne, to make head againſt theſe Spaniſh and Engliſh forces; by reaſon whereof the duke of E Alua hauing fortified the caſtle of Pied de Port, and raſed that of Montgelo, he returned into high Nauarre. The French armie whereof the brute was, was led by *Francis* of Valois, duke Angouleſme, who was afterwards French king, in the which there was king *Iohn* of Albret, *Charles* of Montpenſier, duke of Bourbon, *Odet* of Foix, vicont of Lautrec, the earles of Paliſſe and Longueuille, and others, making about fortie thouſand foot and foure thouſand horſe. About the end of the yeare 1512, the king of Nauarre aduanced with ſix thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, accompanied with the lords of Paliſſe and Longueuille, he entred into his countrey by the vallie of Roncal, where hee tooke Burgui, hauing cut the Spaniards in peeces which were in garriſon, with their commander *Valdes*, captaine of king *Ferdinands* gard. On the other ſide the duke of Angouleſme F cauſed the duke of Bourbon and the lord of Lautrec, to enter by Guipuſcoa, with ten thouſand foot, and foure hundred horſe, who ruined Yrum, Vranſu, Ojarcum, and the townes of Harnam and Renterie, and beſieged S. Sebaſtien, but they left it ſoone, the vicont of Lautrec going to joyne with king *Iohns* forces, who marcht towards Pampelone. At that time *Diego Lopes* of Ayala, lord of Ceuole, was gouernour of Fontarrabie, who cauſed the platforme called Diego Lopes to be built towards France. The marſhall

1512 *Nauarre.*

S. Iohn du pied de Port taken by the duke of Alua.

Armie of Frēch goes into Nauarre.

King Iohn of Albret goes into his realme of Nauarre with an armie.

1512 D. *Pedro* was in king *Johns* armie, with many of the faction of *Gramont*, whoſe partiſans being diſperſed throughout the realme, cauſed many places to reuolt to the king, as *John Ramires* of Baquedan, lord of Saint Martin, the towne of Eſtella, *Ladron* of Mauleon, that of Mirande, *Martin* of Gomi Tafalla, *Pedro de Rada*, that of Murillo, *Iaime Velez de Medran*, S. Care, with others by other men. The king thought that the citie of Pampelone would haue done as much, but he was deceiued. Hereupon D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, baſe ſonne to king *Ferdinand*, and Archbiſhop of Saragoſſe, ſent ſix hundred men from Teruel, Daroca, and Albarrazin, to enter into Pampelone; who paſſing within halfe a league of Saint Martin, they were charged by foureſcore and ten footmen of the vallie of Roncal, and fiue horſemen, who defeated them, ſtript them into their ſhirts, and ſent them home: their colonell came to Olite to demaund aid, but he was in danger to be hanged by the Archbiſhop. *Anthonie* of Fonſeca recouered ſome of theſe reuolted places, and brought the hoſtages to Pampelone, into the which he put himſelfe. D. *Franciſco* of Beaumont, the conſtables couſen, ſet vpon Eſtella, and tooke the towne, but not the caſtle, and recouered that of Bernette: and D. *Pedro* of Beaumont, the conſtables brother, the caſtle of Montjardin. The duke of Alua being in the meane time in a maner incloſed in betwixt the armies of the duke of Angouleſme, and the king of Nauarre: he deceiued them, eſcaping by vnknowne wayes, and came with his armie to Pampelone. And to the end the ſiege of Eſtelle ſhould not ſtay and diſturbe the forces of the king of Caſtille, *Diego Hernandes* of Cordoua, was ſent with a ſupplie to them that beſieged it: Wherefore *Iohn Ramires* of Baquedan being extreamely preſt, was forced to yeeld it, vpon condition, That they ſhould depart with their armes, baggage, and enſigns diſplayed, refuſing the great offers which king *Ferdinand* had made him, if he would come to his ſeruice: So this good knight came to the king of Nauarres campe. The towne of Larraga defended by a French captaine, was alſo yeelded by compoſition. The king of Nauarre tooke the caſtle of Tiebas by force, where was the ladie of Gurendayn, of the houſe of *Artieda*, whom he ſuffered to goe away freely: and hauing receiued a new ſupplie of two thouſand Germans, he beſieged Pampelone towards Saint *Nicholas* port, where there were many ſallies and skirmiſhes made, whereby the king of Nauarre vnderſtood, that the force of the beſieged was great. The duke of Alua put ſome of the faction of *Gramont*, whom he ſuſpected out of the towne, and hauing viſited thoſe parts of the towne which might be dangerous, ordering all things, and ramparing vp the breaches which the enemies made with their furious batterie, he prepared himſelfe to maintaine the Aſſault which was giuen on Saturday, the ſeuen and twentieth of September, from the which the aſſailants were repulſed with great loſſe. King *Ferdinand* being in the meane time at Logrogne, and aduertiſed of the eſtate of his affaires, hee had drawne together the forces of Alua, Biſcaie, Rioja, and part of Guipuſcoa, notwithſtanding that a good part of the French armie was yet in thoſe limits, being in all fifteene thouſand fighting men, aſſigning their rendez-vous at Pont de Royne, whither he ſent D. *Pedro Manriques*, duke of Nagera, ſurnamed the Strong, to be generall of this armie. At the brute whereof the king of Nauarre, being out of hope to take Pampelone, and in great neceſſitie of victuals, Winter alſo tyring his armie, he raiſed his ſiege the laſt day of Nouember, by the counſell and perſuaſion of the lord of Paliſſe, and other captaines of experience: And the next day the duke of Nagera arriued with his armie, whereof there was not any need, ſeeing that the ſiege was rayſed, who for that reaſon refuſed the battell which the French ſent to preſent vnto him, by a king at Armes. So king *Iohn* of Albret complaining his ill fortune, returned on this ſide the Pyrenees, in the ſtraits of which mountaines the reereward of the French armie was much troubled by the Guipuſcoans, and other mountainers, being forced to leaue in the mountaines of Velate, and Leyſondo, part of their artillerie, the which was drawne to Pampelone with great pompe, in the caſtle of which citie there are many peeces to bee ſeene at this day: By reaſon of which proweſſe and good ſeruice, the king, beſides many exemptions and priuiledges, added to the Armes of the prouince of Guipuſcoa, the twelue peeces of ordnance or in a field of azure, the which it carries at this day.

Places returne to the obedience of king Iohn.

Victorie of 90 men ouer 600 Arragonians.

Iohn Ramires of Bequadan faithfull to his prince.

Pampelone beſieged by king Iohn.

Aſſault maintained by the garriſon of Pampelone againſt the French.

Siege of Pampelone raiſed.

Armes of the prouince of Guipuſcoa.

The

A The duke of Nagera hauing brought his armie backe to Logrogne, the duke of Alua remained Viceroy of Nauarre, which realme he brought all vnder the obedience of king *Ferdinand*, except the caſtle of Moya, which held long for the kings of Nauarre, who were expelled vnder a pretext of ſchiſme, as we haue ſaid. 1512

Vpon the ſame occaſion D. *Bernardin* of Carnajal, cardinall of Saint Croix, and biſhop of Siguenſa, was depoſed by the Councell of Latran, from all Eccleſiaſticall dignitie; and to his biſhopricke D. *Frederic* of Portugal, biſhop of Segobia, was preferred; to Segobia D. *Diego* of Ribera, biſhop of Majorca; and to that doctor *Roderigo* of Mercado, Abbot of Saint Martha, borne at Ognate, who was afterwards biſhop of Auila, and *Caſtille.*

B Preſident of the Chauncerie of Granado.

2 During the warre of Nauarre king *Ferdinand* ſent a new ſupplie of men into Italie, with the commaunder *Solis*, and was in a maner reſolued to ſend the great captaine thither, had not the counſell of ſome enuious diuerted him. The French affaires declining there, the duke of Ferrara, who in all their actions had aſsiſted them, found himſelfe in great danger to be depriued of his eſtate, and expelled by the Pope, his deadly enemie: to preuent the which, and to purchaſe vnto himſelfe friends and fauour, he ſet *Fabricio Colonne*, his priſoner, at libertie, without ranſome; by whoſe meanes, with the embaſſador of Spaine and others, he obtained a ſafe conduct, with the which he went to Rome, to treat of his affaires: but he could not make his peace with the Pope, being obſtinately bent

C to diſpoſſeſſe him of Ferrara, and to vnite the citie to the eſtate of the Church, offering him in recompence the countie of Aſt, which he held not, but maintained that it was of the patrimonie of the Church: ſo as *Fabricio Colonne* and the reſt, who had aſſured his comming to Rome, were forced to put themſelues in armes, to warrant him, and to conduct him to a place of ſafetie; whereof there followed great hatred betwixt the Pope and the *Colonnois*. And king *Ferdinand* was no leſſe diſpleaſed at theſe violent proceedings of the Pope; for he had a particular affection vnto duke *Alphonſo*, his kinſman, borne of a daughter to king *Ferdinand* the firſt, of Naples. But to make an end of that which had beene concluded by the league: that is, to chaſe the French out of Italie, and out of the world, if they could, D. *Raymond* of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, who ſince *Pope Iuliors hatred to the duke of Ferrara.*

D the battell of Rauenna had beene in his gouernement, returned this yeare with his armie about Bolonia, to continue the warre: But the Pope and the Venetians finding themſelues ſeiſed of a good part of that which they pretended, refuſed to furniſh money for the entertainment of his armie, as had beene agreed by the treatie of the league: ſo as there grew a great mutinie in the campe among the ſouldiers, for want of pay, and the Viceroy was forced to retire, with great danger of his perſon, to Modena, where he found meanes to recouer ſome money, with the which he returned, and kept his ſouldiers together, who began to disband.

At that time there being a day appoynted at Mantoua, to conſult of the affaires of the warre, the Viceroy of Naples came thither, with deputies from the Pope, Emperor,

E Venetians, and Suiſſes. There it was concluded, That they ſhould put *Maximilian Sforce*, ſonne to *Lewis Sforce*, in poſſeſſion of the duchie of Milan: And moreouer it was propounded, to aſſaile the Florentines, who were friends and allied to the Crowne of France, as wel for this cauſe, as to reſtore the familie of *Medicis*, expelled out of that commonweale, to their goods and honours: the which the Pope did preſſe much, in fauour of cardinall *Iohn* of Medicis, his legate, and others of that familie. This was the Viceroyes firſt taske, after his returne to the armie, to lead it into the eſtate of Florence, from whom he tooke the town of Prato, where there were ſlain aboue two thouſand men of the Florentines part, and many taken. Whereat the citie of Florence being amazed, and their Councell vnprouided of forces and meanes to reſiſt, they yeelded to the reſtitu-

F tion of the *Medicis*, and to whatſoeuer the Viceroy would impoſe vpon them. For beſides the ſummes of money which they payed for the entertainment of the Spaniſh armie, and another ſumme vnto the Emperour, they made a league with king *Ferdinand*, promiſing to entertaine two hundred men at armes in the armie of the league, and yet the people were depriued of a good part of their libertie, by the cardinall of Medicis, who created magiſtrats and officers at his pleaſure. *Eſtate of Florence vexed by the Viceroy of Naples.*

1512 Theſe exploits being done in the Florentines countrey, the Viceroy led his armie to Breſſe, which the Venetians did beſiege, ſo as the lord of Aubigny was out of hope to be able to keepe it, this Spaniſh armie hauing ſo great a fame, for that it had humbled ſo powerfull a commonweale as that of Florence: and therefore he did capitulate with the Viceroy of Naples, although the Venetians had layed the ſiege, and yeelded it vpon condition to depart himſelfe and his men free, with their armes and baggage, their colours flying, and without artillerie. After the taking of Breſſe, the biſhop of Gurcenſis, embaſſadour for the Emperour, came to Rome, whereas he of Spaine laboured much to reconcile the Emperour and the Venetians, there remaining no difference but onely for the citie of Vincence. This embaſſadour did alſo ſeeke to reconcile the Pope with the *Colonnois*, with whom he was much diſpleaſed, for the duke of Ferraraes cauſe. Yet there was a new league made betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, againſt the Venetians, approued by the Councell of Latran, leauing a place for king *Ferdinand* to enter. The reaſon of this league was, for that the Venetians would not yeeld to certaine conditions which the Pope propounded vnto them. King *Ferdinands* doubt herein was, that the Venetians would joyne with the French king, if they were too much preſt: wherfore his embaſſadour fauoured them what he could. The comming of *Maximilian Sforce* to Verona, cauſed the biſhop of Gurcenſis to part from Rome, to eſtabliſh him in the Emperours name in the duchie of Milan, whither he conducted him, hauing found him at Cremona, with the Viceroy D. *Raymond* of Cardona. The duke much deſired by the Milanois, was receiued there with great joy. The cardinal of Sion preſented him the keies in the Suiſſes name, who would haue the honour of his reſtoring.

League made againſt the Venetians.

Notwithſtanding the league newly made againſt the Venetians, the Pope had a great deſire to ruine the duke of Ferrara: to preuent the which the embaſſadour of Spaine, by commaundement from his king, did all good offices, and vſed all the meanes he could: And this was one of the chiefe cauſes why king *Ferdinand* would not pleaſe the Pope, and enter into the league. Notwithſtanding the duke ſhewing himſelfe vngratefull (no man knowes vpon what reaſon) procured a ſcandalous and horrible attempt againſt him, as the Spaniards write, perſuading D. *Ferdinand* of Arragon, duke of Calabria, ſonne to king *Frederic*, and conſpiring with him, to depriue him of his life. There was a certaine monke who was meſſenger from the duke of Ferrara to him of Calabria, who had alſo for negotiator on his part, *Philip Copula*, ſonne to the earle of Sarno, whoſe head king *Ferdinand* of Naples had cauſed to be ſtriken off. This *Copula* had made ſome voyages into France, and treated with king *Lewis*, to giue a retreat and meanes in his realme to the duke of Calabria, being then in the Catholike kings Court at Logrogne, and ſhould haue ſaued himſelfe in the French armie, which was about Pampelone, hauing reſolued firſt to ſet fire on certaine powder that was hidden in the kings lodging: But God would not ſuffer ſo wicked a practiſe to take effect. The matter being diſcouered, *Copula* was quartered, and D. *Ferdinand* duke of Calabria was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Xatiua, neere vnto Valencia, where hee remained aboue ten yeares, vntill that the Emperour *Charles* pardoned him, and ſet him at libertie. Hereupon king *Ferdinand* conceiued ſo great a hatred againſt the duke of Ferrara, as hee commaunded the Viceroy of Naples to ayd the Pope with his armie, or any other thing hee had, without any reſpect to the pretended pay. The Venetians ſeeing the Pope and Emperour leagued together to annoy them, and that the Emperour would not giue eare to the Catholike kings embaſſadour, who did ſtill perſuade him to make a peace with their commonwealth, and to take a ſumme of money in the place of Vincence, they joyned with the French king (who had not wholly forgotten the affaires of Italie, and did ſtill hold the caſtles of Milan and Cremona) at the ſame time when as a truce was accorded betwixt king *Lewis* and king *Ferdinand*, for a yere, to the great diſcontent of the king of England, who was readie to enter into France, and attended to be aſſiſted by the Spaniſh armie: by reaſon whereof the French king did deferre the recouerie of the realme of Nauarre for a time, to the which he was greatly ſolicited by the diſpoſſeſſed kings, *John* and *Katherine*. Which truce the French king had much deſired, to aſſure his realme on that ſide, being aduertiſed that the king of England made great preparation to aſſaile him, be-

3 *Ingratitude of the duke of Ferrara pretended by the Spaniards.*

Conſpiracie againg king Ferdinand.

...ce betwixt ...rance and Spaine.

A being ſtill preſt thereunto by Pope *Iulio*, who conceiuing great and pernitious enterpri- 1513
ſes in his mind, died at Rome in Februarie, in the yeare 1513. By his death the duke of *Death of Pope Iulio.*
Ferrara was freed from great care and feare; who embracing the occaſion, recouered
ſome places in Romania, and had taken more if the Viceroyes armie had not ſtopt him,
being lodged betwixt Regio and Plaiſance, through the fauour whereof Parma and
Plaiſance came into the hands of *Maximilian Sforce*, the new duke of Milan. The cardi-
nals being aſſembled, they did chuſe *Iohn de Medicis*, cardinall of Sancta Maria in Domi- *Pope Leo choſen*
nica, for Pope, and called him *Leo* the tenth.

The Viceroy being aduertiſed of the truce betwixt Fraunce and Spaine, he began to
B reſolue vpon his retreat to Naples, ſending for the garriſons which were in Tortona
and Alexandria; and cauſing the armie to march towards the riuer of Trebia, hauing
with him twelue hundred men at armes, and eight thouſand foot, all choyce ſouldiers:
the which did much terrifie the Milanois and their duke, knowing that the French king
made great leuies of men to recouer that eſtate, and fearing that the Suiſſes, who were
all their hope, would not be able to defend them, if the French armie did preſſe them
on the one ſide, and the Venetians on the other: wherefore at their intreatie, and the
Popes interceſſion, the Viceroy and the Spaniſh armie ſtayed, and held the warre in
ſuſpence.

The truce which the two great kings had made, aſſured king *Ferdinands* conqueſt of *Nauarre.*
C Nauarre, the noblemen and Eſtates of which realme, after the retreat of the French from
before Pampelone, deputed the conſtable D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, earle of Lerin, to take
the oath of fealtie and homage, as to their king. And the duke of Alua being returned
into Caſtille, there remained Viceroy of Nauarre in his place D. *Diego Fernandes* of Cor- *Diego Fernandes of Cordoua, Viceroy of Nauarre.*
doua, marqueſſe of Comares.

4 The great proſperities of D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, Regent of Caſtille, *Caſtille.*
were accompanied with ſome griefe, for that he had no lawfull iſſue male: but queene
Germain his ſecond wife, by whom he had no children, was more perplexed, for her
owne intereſt, who by a womaniſh affection ſought curiouſly for all deuices to con-
ceiue, thinking by art and humane helpes to obtaine that which comes from the meere
D bountie and bleſſing of God: Wherefore it happened this yeare (it is not knowne by
whoſe aduice) that, with the kings conſent, the queene her ſelfe, D. *Maria* of Velaſco, *Drinke giuen to king Ferdinand by the L. his wife.*
wife to D. *Iohn* of Velaſco, ſuperintendent of the treaſure, and D. *Iſabella Faure*, made a
drinke, or broth, for the king, to giue him force and vigour: But he had no ſooner taken
it, but he found nature toucht with an incurable infirmitie, whereof he languiſhed conti-
nually, and in the end dyed. This was done at Carroncillo, whither the king was come
to deſport himſelfe with the ladies: And it is not credible that they did preſent him this
potion to any other end, but to quicken him in *Venus* ſports; for all the queenes hap-
pineſſe and greatneſſe depended vpon the kings life. Hee was like to haue dyed of
this drinke in the monaſterie of Mejorado; but beeing ſomewhat recouered by phy-
E ſicke, hee came to Vailledolit, to an aſſemblie of the Eſtates, where hee diſpatcht many
affaires.

5 The French king in the meane time had in a manner diſpoſſeſt *Maximilian Sforce* *Defeat of the French at Nouaro by the Suiſſes.*
of all his duchie of Milan, he had onely remaining Como and Nouara: Into the laſt he
had put himſelfe with many enſignes of Suiſſes, and was beſieged by the French, where
followed that memorable ſallie of colonell *Mottin* and his Suiſſes, and the defeat of the
French, with great ſlaughter, and the loſſe of their artillerie, as you may read at large in
that hiſtorie: whereupon the French repaſt the Alpes. And on the other ſide D. *Raymond*
of Cardone, Viceroy of Naples, being with his armie vpon the paſſage of the riuer of
Pau, oppoſite to the Venetian armie, led by *Bartholmew* of Aluiano, who hauing newes
F of this rout of the French, retired for feare to Ponte Vico, and from thence to Tom-
ba, neere to the riuer of Theſin. The Viceroy ſuffering them to paſſe, buſied himſelfe
about the reduction of Genoua, which the French had deliuered into the hands of *Ador-*
nes and their factions: ſending, at the inſtance of *Iohn* and *Octauia Fregoſe*, three thouſand
Spaniards thither, led by the marqueſſe of Peſcare, himſelfe following with the reſt of
the armie. Wherewith the French and the *Adornes* their partiſans, being amazed, they

1513 left the citie, and *Octauia Fregoſe* was made duke. In the meane time *Aluiano* tooke G
Lignago, by the means of *Iohn Paul Baillon*, who ſlue moſt of the Spaniards and Germans
that were there in garriſon. He alſo attempted Verona in vaine. All which did much in-
cenſe the Viceroy of Naples, who paſſing the Pau with his armie, did ſoone take Berga-
mo, Peſcare, and Breſſe, *Aluiano* flying before him, who hauing diuided his armie into gar-
riſons, put himſelfe into Padoua.

Pope *Leo* at his firſt aduancement trying by the beſt meanes he could to diſſolue the
Councell of Piſa, he then receiued into grace D. *Bernardin* of Caruajal, cardinall of
Saint Croix, and *Frederic* of Saint Seuerin, depoſed from their dignities of cardinalls,
and depriued of their reuenues and benefices by Pope *Iulio* and the Councell of Latran. H
Theſe two hauing ſtayed a while at Florence, by the Popes commaundement, like pri-
uat men, they came by his permiſsion to Rome, where they entred by night, and the next
day they preſented themſelues vnto the Conſiſtorie, in all humilitie, where, vpon their
Cardinals receiued into grace. knees, they acknowledged their faults, and demaunded pardon, the which they obtained,
approuing the decrees of the Councell of Latran, and the election of the preſent Pope,
and confeſsing their depoſition to haue beene juſt, and that the Councell of Piſa was falſe
and abhominable: whereupon they were abſolued, and went and embraced all the cardi-
nals in their rankes, who moued not from their places; after which they put on their car-
dinals weeds, and ſat in their vſuall places: and although they did not recouer their bene-
fices and reuenues, yet afterwards they had other things in recompence. I

Indies. 6 At the ſame time the South ſea at the Indies was diſcouered: For *Vaſco Nugnes* of
Balboa, jealous that any other ſhould obtain commiſsion from the king to that effect, and
depriue him of the honour of this diſcouerie, which he had now attempted, without at-
tending any anſwer from Spaine, nor the 1000 Spaniards which he had demaunded from
the king, parting from the Antique of Darien, in September this yeare 1513, with 190
Spaniards, in a galleon and ten barkes, he came to Carecta, where he landed his troupe,
and marcht into the countrey of the Cachico *Ponſa*, whom he forced to giue him gold,
and guides to conduct him to the mountaines, whereof notice had beene giuen him by
the Cachico D. *Charles Panquiaco*. With theſe guides they came into a countrey called
Quareca, and the Cachico *Torecha*, where they were forced to fight: They ſlue the lord K
and diſperſed his people, not accuſtomed to ſee ſuch great wounds as ſwords of yron
make, nor to heare the noyſe of harquebuſes, nor the biting of furious dogs, which the
Spaniards led to the warre with them, whom they cauſed to teare in peeces certaine In-
dian Sodomites, whom they found in that countrey. Paſsing on, *Vaſco Nugnes* went vp
certaine high mountains, with 67 of his ſouldiers, leauing the reſt to gard them that were
hurt and ſicke, in a burrough at the foot of the mountaine. Being neere vnto the top, he
cauſed his troupe to ſtay, and would himſelfe goe vp alone, where he diſcouered the wa-
South ſea diſcouered by Vaſco Nugnes of Balboa. ters of the South Ocean, for the which he was exceeding glad, and gaue God thanks, and
then he called all the ſouldiers to haue them ſee it. There they made mounts of ſtones, in
ſigne of poſſeſsion taken. Being come from the mountaine, they went to aſſaile a Cachi- L
co, called *Chiape*, who being obſtinat, they put to flight: yet being friendly inuited he re-
turned, and made himſelfe vaſsall to the king of Caſtille, accompanying him vnto the
South ſea ſhore, whereof they tooke poſſeſsion, and drew a writing on the 29 of Septem-
ber, being S. *Michaels* day 1515. By this ſeruice which *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa did then
vnto the king, he well deſerued his pardon, if he had offended in any thing. The company
which he had left at Quareca being joyned with him, he paſt a great riuer with 80 Spani-
ards leauing the reſt vpon the banke, and went and forced another Cachico, called *Coque-
ra*, who put himſelfe in defence, as *Chiape* had done, and brought him vnder his obedience.
Then thruſt on with a great courage, he would enter into that ſea, notwithſtanding that
Chiape did diſsuade him, ſaying, That the current was ſtrong & trobleſome: ſo as he was in M
daunger of drowning, ſeeking to recouer a neere iſland, where he arriued with much
paine and peril. There raigned there a Cachico called Tumaco, who made offer to
fight, but being aduertiſed by the Indians, guides to *Chiape*, that the Spainiards
were good men, this *Tumaco* ſent them a ſonne of his, to know what they deman-
ded: *Vaſco Nugnes* ſpake courteouſly vnto him, apparelled him, and gaue him looking glaſ-
ſes,

A ſes, with ſuch other toies, the which he carrying to his company, it moued them ſo, as *Tumaco* came himſelfe in perſon to the Spaniſh troope with ſhews of loue and friendſhip, of whome the Spaniards demanded perles, for they ſaw the Indians of his company weare ſome, whereof they did furniſh them with a good quantity, and aduertiſed them that there was a plaſh neere hand, where they did fiſh ſome as big as a mans eye, the which did pleaſe the couetous Spaniards and their Captaines: but for that they were few, and there were great difficulties and dangers, they deferred this prey vnto another voyage, wherfore they returned to their companions, & paſt into the country of the Cachico *Chiape*, where they refreſht themſelues, and reſted ſome daies. *Chiape* the Ca- 1513

Perles.

B chico did alſo fiſh vpon his ſhoare, and gaue them aboue foure charges of perles. *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa tooke his leaue of him, leauing ſome Spaniards with him, for he wept being much grieued at their departure, for the opinion he had of their wiſdom: then they paſt a riuer to come into the countrie of a Cachico called *Teoca*, wher the Spaniards were receiued with great ioy, and *Teoca* gaue them preſents of gold and perles. From thence they went through deſart and barren places, full of Tygres, and Lyons with hunger, thirſt, and extreame danger, into the lands of *Pacra*, a cruell tyrant, and a Sodomite, who purſued by the conſcience of his owne wickednes, thought to eſcape by flight, but he was brought backe, and after information made of his tyrannies, & diſhoneſty, *Vaſco Nugnes* cauſed him to be torne in peeces by his Maſtiues, with foure other lords, his confede-

C rates and miniſters of ſuch filthines, and then the peeces to bee burnt: Hee called the coūtrie of *Pacra*, All Saints. *Vaſco Nugnes* going from thence, he came to Buquebuca, the lord of which region, thinking that the Spaniards were diuine people, he was aſhamed to appeare before them, holding himſelfe vnworthy, but he ſent them ſome veſſels of gold well wrought, & craued pardon of them. Going on with more deſire to find victuals than gold, they ſaw certain Indians which croſt their way, who being brought back vnto them and demanded of what region they were, and where there was any victuals, they ſaid, that they were ſubiect vnto a king called *Corizo*, who deſired to know them, and to bee their friend, of whome afterwards they receiued thirty plates of golde, offering them all that was in his power, and intreating them to aide him againſt another Cachico his enemy, in

D whoſe countrie hee aſſured them they ſhould find great wealth: *Balboa* promiſed him friendſhip, aide and fauour, preſenting him with their hatchets and other iron works, and then he paſt into the land of Pecoroſa, where he found victuals, & receiued gold & ſlaues, & hauing left his ſick men there, he went on with ſixtie ſouldiers onely, vntill he came vnto the Cachico *Tumanama*, of whome D. *Charles Panquiaco* had ſpoken vnto him; whom he ſurpriſed in his lodging at night: And for that he was giuen to the brutiſh ſin againſt nature, *Balboa* was ready to haue him burnt, but thinking to draw from him ſome ſecret of his hidden treaſure, & of the qualitie of the countrie, he was content to reprehend him ſharply, and to keep him priſoner, giuing ſome ſatisfaction to his accuſers: and there *Balboa* remained the reſt of that yeare 1513.

Hope of gaine make vice remaine vnpuniſhed.

E 7 The Spaniards affaires proſpering after this manner at the Indies, the Armie which was in Italie againſt the Venetians, was no leſſe ſucceſſull. After the retreat of *Aluiano* the Venetian generall, the emperours lieutenant beſeeged Padoua in vaine. The viceroy of Naples being reſolued to put part of his armie into Breſſe, and part into Bargamo, & there to winter, he was importuned by his ſoldiers, to keep the field with the Germanes, hauing the Caualarie of Naples, and the Popes, with 4500 Spaniards; hauing ſent one thouſand Spaniards to aſſiſt the duke of Milan: The viceroy hauing with theſe forces ſackt Bouoelta, paſt the Brent, and marcht vnto the ſea, burning townes and villa-

Italy.

Cruell warre of the Spaniards againſt the Venetians.

ges, and all the houſes of the gentlemen of Venice, which were in that countrie: and the more to afflict & braue them, he cauſed ten peeces of his greateſt ordnance to be moun-

F ted at a place called Marguera, and ſhot againſt the city of Venice, whereof the bullets fel at S. *Seconds* church, with trouble and amazement to all the inhabitants, and the more, for that night comming, it did repreſent vnto them more plainely, the great fiers and ruines of their houſes of pleaſure in the countrey; the which they held to be the greateſt indignitie that euer the common wealth of Venice receiued: which thinking to reuenge they encreaſed their diſgrace: for *Aluiano* hauing aſſured the Senat, that the enemies

armie

1513 armie laden with ſpoiles in thoſe mooriſh places, and trenches of riuers, would find G
ſuch difficulties in their retreat, as it would bee eaſie to put them to rout, and therefore had gotten leaue to draw their forces to field after that hee had coaſted the enemies, ſeeking to ſtoppe their paſſage at the riuer of Brenta, being himſelfe deceiued and ſurpriſed, as hee thought to ſtop their paſſage going to Verona, whether they marcht onely with an intent to retyre, hee was fought with all, and vanquiſhed about Vincence, hauing loſt aboue fiue thouſand Venetians, and many Captaines ſlaine: vpon the place, with their Pouiidor *Andrew Lauredan*, who was ſlain by the contention of two ſouldiers, whoſe priſoner hee ſhould be, beſides many captaines and gentlemen of Venice, that were priſoners: which rout did much trouble the af- H
faires of that ſtate. What ſucceeded afterwards in that warre, I leaue to other Hiſtories whome it concernes more particularly.

Venetians defeated by the Spaniards

King *Ferdinand* being much impayred by his languiſhing infirmitie, growen by reaſon of the potion which had beene giuen him, attended as well as hee could the gouernment of his realmes: but hee had a good Councell, and faithfull miniſters, ſo as his affaires both of ſtate and iuſtice, were nothing impayred, neither were they in any ſort peruerted. This yeare there was a fort built at Oran, and another at a place called Pegnon, or the rocke of Alger in Afrike, whereas the crowne of Caſtille held Melille, Caſaſa, Oran, Maſalquiuer, Tripoli, and Bugie, and the two rockes or Pegnons of Alger, and of Velez, beſides the Princes and townes, that were Tributarie I
vnto it. And ſo ended that yeare 2513.

Forts built in Afrike.

1514 8 In the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and foureteené, *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa, ha-
uing ſtaied a good ſpace in the countrie of the Cachico *Tumanama* diſcouering the mines and treaſures of that region, he parted from thence, leading one of that princes ſons with him, to be inſtructed in the Romiſh religion, and came into the country of D. *Charles Panquiaco*, who receiued *Balboa* being ſicke verie courteouſly, with all his companions, giuing thē al the eaſe & commodities he could, and when they would depart, he preſented them with 20 pounds of gold. Being thus ſatisfied of him, they retyred to their fort of the Antique of Darien, the which they found much better peopled than they had left it: for vpon the brute of the great riches that were on the firme land, many were come from Hiſ- K
paniola, & the citie of S. Domingo to inhabit there. It is thought that *Balboa* brought beſide the contentment he had to haue diſcouered the ſouth ſea, the value of aboue 100000 Caſtillans in gold, beſides perles and other precious jewels in great aboundance, hauing made a long and dangerous voyage, gone through many barbarous natiōs & enemies, by deſart and vnknown places, hauing not only to incounter men, but Tygres and Lyons, hunger and thirſt, thick woods & craggy mountaines, and yet neuer was put to rout, neuer loſt a man, nor himſelfe wounded in any ſort. Of al their ſpoiles they laied to the value of 20000 ducats for the kings right; and then they diuided the reſt among them, euerie one receiuing according to his place, yea their maſtiues had pay aſwel as the men, for it is reported that a dog belonging vnto *Vaſco Nugnes*, called *Leoncillo*, had for his part 500 Ca- L
ſtillans, receiuing a greater pay than a harquebuſier. After that *Vaſco Nugnes* had ordered ſome things in the fort of Darien, he ſent a friend of his called *Arbolancha*, born at Bilbao, into Spain, to carry news vnto king *Ferdinand* of his voyages and diſcoueries, and the fift penny of what they had gotten.

Behauiour of Vaſco Nugnes of Balboa at the Indies.

Booty taken at the Indies.

Trauels endured with great patience and happines by the Spaniards.

Maſtiues receiued pay and a part of the ſpoile among the Spaniards.

At that time the French king did ſollicit both k. *Ferdinand* and the emperor *Maximilian* to conclude the marriage betwixt D. *Ferdinand* brother to prince *Charles* of Auſtria, and the lady *Renee*, the French kings ſecond daughter, for whoſe dowrie hee would quit his pretenſions to the duchie of Milan: but hauing made a peace with the king of England, by a marriage contracted betwixt him & *Marie* that kings ſiſter, he changed his o-
pinion, and gaue ouer that treatie for *Renee* and *Ferdinand*. The Pope hauing diuers de- M
ſignes to free Italie of ſtrangers, hauing no deſire to ſee the French king lord of Milan, yet he entertained him with this hope, to make vſe of him and his meanes, to get the realme of Naples from k. *Ferdinand*, to ſettle his brother *Iulian* of Medicis king there, & therof he had already had ſome practiſe with the Venetiās. To fauor the Popes deſignes, being profitable for the common-weale of Venice, *Andrew Gritti* was appointed by the Senat to be

Deſignes of Pope Leo to put ſtrangers out of Italy.

Pope ſeekes to get the realme of Naples.

generall

A generall of an army to inuade the banks of Apulia, thinking by that meanes to diuert the Spaniſh army out of Lombardie, & that they ſhould haue none but the Germanes to incounter. Hereupon *Bartholmew* of Aluiano hauing ſurpriſed certain Spaniards, he cauſed them to be hanged at Padoua, ſaying that they had been ſuborned by their cõmanders to kill him in treaſon: the which put the viceroy of Naples into ſuch a rage, as he made a miſerable ſpoile of the country about Padoua, & hauing chaſed *Bernardin Antinola*, nephew to *Aluiano*, he ſhut him into Citadelle, which place being battered, was taken partly by a breach, and partly by ſcalado. *Bernardin* of Antinola & his men were carried away priſoners, and the place ſackt. To recompence this loſſe, *Aluiano* defeated ſome troups of light B horſe nere to Eſte: the army which beſieged Creme, being hardly retained for want of pay was forced to retire. The armie of Spain after the taking of Citadelle, diuided it ſelfe into diuers lodgings, the viceroy to Verona, the Marques of Peſcara to Lendenara, with 3000 Spaniards: there came about 200 men at armes to Rouigo, of which D. *Garcia Manrique* was captain, who ſuffered themſelues to be ſurprized by *Aluiano*, who led both him and all his company away priſoners: ſome write they were 300 horſe, & 1000 Spaniſh foot. On the other ſide *Renzo de Cert*, being freed from the ſiege of Creme which hee had defended valiantly, being fortified with men, hee ſurpriſed Bergamo by intelligence of the inhabitants, but ſoon after the viceroy recouered it againe, hauing ioined his Spaniards with the forces of Milan, led by *Siluio Sauello*, *Renzo*, who was within it, yeelding it vpon honorable C conditions. The Bergamaſques were puniſhed for their rebellion by the purſe, redeeming the ſack of the town, & other puniſhments prepared for them, for great ſums of money: the which did much diſpleaſe the Spaniards, who were in hope that the ſpoile of this town ſhould haue been giuen to them. Winter approaching, the armies were lodged: and for that it was bruted that the Fench king prepared a great power to paſſe into Italy in the ſpring, D. *Raymond* of Cardone the viceroy, who had his Spaniſh army much diminiſhed, went to the emperor to Inſpruch, to take councel touching the affairs of the future warre. At Rome the embaſſadors for the emperor, King *Ferdinand*, and French king vſed, their art and skil to win the Popes fauor for their maſters: but he being cunning, politike, and enemy to them all, diſcouered not his conceits, but entertained them with vaine hopes.

1514

Spanniards ſurpriſed in their lodging

D 10 About the end of this yere, before that k. *Ferdinand* had any intelligence of the ſucceſſe of *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa, it was reſolued in councel, to ſend to the Antique of Darien, & into the region of Caſtille del or, a knight for gouernor, whoſe name was *Pedro Arias* of Auila, born at Segobia: which charge was demanded by many, *Arbolancha* whome *Vaſco Nugnes* had ſent into Spain, being not yet ariued, for otherwiſe without doubt that charge had bin giuen him in recompence of his labors & great ſeruice which he had done vnto the king in the diſcouery of ſo rich countries: yet he was made gouernor of the coaſt towards the South ſea: but D. *Iohn Rodrigo* of Fonſeca, biſhop of Burgos, who had the ſuperintendẽcy of the affaires of the Indies, & did much fauor *Pedro Arias*, protracted the time to make the diſpatch of his prouiſion, yet the ſentence giuen againſt him at the ſuit of E the bacheler *Enciſo* was cancelled and made voide. *Pedro Arias* then haning imbarked at Saint Lucar of Barrameda, with one thouſand fiue hundred men in 17 veſſels, the 14 of May, hauing in his company, frier *Iohn Cabedo* firſt biſhop of the Antique of Darien, & firſt Prelat of the firme land at the Indies, and for pilot *Iohn Veſpucio*, Florentin, he ſailed in 38 daies to the Antique, where he was receiued with great ioy, & *Vaſco Nugues* of Balboa lodged him in his own lodging, with al the honor he could deuiſe, & was informed by him of the whole eſtate of that country, & of the diſcouery which he had made of Caſtille delor, for ſo he had named it, by reaſon of the great riches thereof, and of the South Sea, and of pearles: wherewith *Pedro Arias de Auila* was verie much pleaſed, finding that there was worke done, and that there remained nothing but to people and husband it. He made the Licenciat *Gaſpar* of Eſpinoſe, borne at Medina del Campo, Alcayde maior, or preſident of his Iuſtice, and according to his charge, he beganne to diuide the prouinces to his people, ſending *Francis Bezerra* with 550 Spaniards towards the Riuer of Dabayba, who indured great miſeries there, and returned with notable loſſe. *Iohn* of Ayora with foure hundred men was directed into the countrie of the Cachico D. *Charles Panquiaco*, a moſt faithfull friend to the Spaniards, who

Pedro Arias of Auila made vicetoie of the firme land at the Indies

Iohn Cabedo firſt Biſhop of the Antique of Darien

1514 who notwithſtanding was ſo ingratefully intreated by them, and the Indians his ſubiects G
ſo cruelly and couetouſly vext, as they were forced to take armes, and to chaſe away *Ayora*, who returned flying from whence he parted. Captain *Valcio* being ſent towards Caribana, and *Barthelmew Hurtado* to Acla, they had no better ſucceſſe; nor others in other places: ſo as *Vaſco Nugnes*, was not ſo fortunate, but *Pedro Arias* and his company were as vnfortunate in all their enterpriſes. King *Ferdinand* toward the end of this yeare 1514 did ſo decay in his health, as there were apparent ſignes of a dropſie in him: One of the captaines which *Pedro Arias de Auila*, called *Gonſalo* of Badajos, had ſent to people in the maine land, tooke his courſe towards Nombre de Dios, in the beginning of the yeare
1515 1515, where hee found Indians that were ſtrange and vntractable, ſo as hauing increaſed H
his troupe, being about 80 Spaniards, by the arriuall of *Lewis* of Mercado, who brought 50 more, they went in company towards the ſouth Sea, and being come to a place called Coyba, they ſackt it, for that the lord of the country called *Tuana* flying the acquaintãce of theſe bearded men, had retired himſelfe into the woods: then they made prey of many things, and eſpecially of ſlaues. Paſſing on by a riuers ſide, on the 5 day they met with two Indians laden with bread, which a blind Cachico ſent vnto them, who brought them to the place where this Cachico dwelt, with whom they made good cheare, & receiued preſents of gold, with information of thoſe countries, which they ſought, and guides to conduct them. Continuing on their courſe they came wher there raigned a lord called *Taracura*, who alſo gaue thẽ a good quantity of gold: but yet they did not forbeare to fier a bo- I
rough belonging to a brother of his, for that he was not to be found at their arriual: then paſſing by the countries of the Cachicos *Cheru* and *Nathan* they receiued ſo much gold & other things, as the treaſure which they got in that voyage, amounted to aboue 80000 ducats, & at the leaſt 400 ſlaues. But, as proſperity makes people careles & ouerweening,

Spaniards defeated and ſlain by the Indians.

being come into the countrie of a mighty lord called *Partza*, holding no order nor diſcipline, thinking they ſhould find friendlie reception in all places, they were ſuddenly charged by a great number of Indians, who ſlue 80 of his Spaniards, put the reſt to flight, and got their gold and ſlaues, with all the booty which they had made in this voyage. The ſame yere *Gaſpar* of Morales being ſent by the ſame gouernour with 150 Spaniards towards S. Michaels gulph, he paſt, with the help of the Cachicos *Chiape* & *Tumaco*, into the iſlãd of K
Tarareque, leading 70 men only with him, being drawne on by the fame of perles and other riches which were there, and vpon that ſhoare: there he had three incounters, wheras the Indians ſhewed themſelues braue, ſeeking to repulſe the Spaniards, but at the fourth charge they were vanquiſhed, and the Cachico brought to obedience, by the meanes of ſome Indians that were friends, and did accompany the Spaniards, who did highly praiſe

Perles in aboundance.

them, and extol their inuincible power: Being friends, the Spaniards were well intreated by this lord, & receiued of him aboue 110 markes of perle, in recompence whereof they gaue him hatchets and other ſmal mercery wares, of the which he and his Indians made great eſteeme: and this Cachico grew ſo familiar, as he diſcouered vnto *Gaſpar* of Morales all the riches of thoſe iſlands, & moreouer made himſelfe vaſſall & tributarie to the king L
of Caſtille, promiſing to giue him yerely 100 markes of perle: he ſuffered himſelfe to be baptized, and was called *Pedro Arias*, by the gouernors name, and with this good ſucceſſe *Gaſpar* of Morales returned hauing ſped better than the reſt. The gouernor *Pedro Arias* in

Mutinies at the Indies through enuie.

the mean time being entred into a great quarrel againſt *Vaſco Nugnes* of Balboa (whether it were through enuy, for that the one had been more happy in diſcouering, then hee in gouerning of thoſe new found coũtries, or through the inſolencie of *Balboa*, who ſcoft at his enterpriſes, & the aduerſities of his captains:) it did much trouble his gouernment: to pacifie the which, & to reconcile them, frier *Iohn Caucdo*, the new biſhop, tried all the meanes he could, cauſing *Vaſco Nugnes* to marrie *Pedro Arias* daughter: but notwithſtanding this allyance, they fel againe to great diſcord, which proceeded ſo far, as *Vaſco Nugnes* being M
in his gouernment towards the ſouth ſea, where he had cauſed foure Carauels to be built to continue his conqueſts, the gouernour *Arias* cauſed him to be adiourned, and forced him to appeare in juſtice at the Antique of Darien, where being arriued, he was laied hold on, and the procurator fiſcall pleading againſt him, he accuſed him of mutinies and other inſolences committed, for the which he had beene abſolued; yet they condemned him to

loſe

A loſe his head, with fiue of his companions: the which did wonderfully incenſe all the Spaniards that were in that countrie, who lamented with teares the pittifull end of ſo braue a Captaine, vnder whoſe conduct and good fortune they did hope in ſhort time to be the richeſt men in Europe. 1515

Voſco Nugnes of Balboa beheaded at the Antique of Darien.

11 Whileſt theſe things paſt at the Indies, the councell of Spaine was in great difficulties for the affaires of Italie, by the death of *Lewis* 12. the French king, who dyed the firſt of Ianuarie, this yere 1515, to whom *Francis* duke of Angouleſme had ſucceeded, a young, braue, and valiant Prince, who at the firſt intituled himſelfe duke of Milan, with an intent to purſue the right of his predeceſſor and father in law: wherefore hauing con-

Francis the firſt 16th French king.

B firmed the peace made with the Engliſh, and vpon a hope of marriage betwixt the ladie *Renee*, yonger daughter to the deceaſed king, being then but nine yeres old, and prince *Charles*, who began to gouern his eſtates of the Netherlands, being aſſured of his friendſhip, he prepared himſelfe for the warre of Italie. It was contracted with the earle of Naſſau Prince *Charles* his embaſſador, that to the Princeſſe his future ſpouſe ſhould be giuen 600 thouſand crownes, and the duchie of Berry in dowrie, in regard whereof hee ſhould renounce al rights & pretenſions which ſhe might haue to her mothers or fathers goods, that is, to the duchies of Britaine and Milan, and moreouer, that prince *Charles* ſhould be a mediator to the king *D. Ferdinand* his grandfather, for the reſtoring of *Iohn* of Albret and *Catherine* his wife, to their realm of Nauarre: & on the other ſide that king *Francis* ſhould

Contract of marriage betwixt prince Charles of Auſtria and Renee of France.

C aid prince *Charles* with men & ſhipping, when as (after the death of king *Ferdinand*, which approached) it ſhould be fit for him to paſſe into Spaine, where hee feared ſome oppoſition, by his brother *D. Ferdinand*, who was bred vp and much beloued in Spain. King *Francis* ſought to prolong the truce made by king *Lewis* his predeceſſor with king *Ferdinand*; to win the Popes fauour, and to pacifie the Suiſſes: but hee found oppoſition in all theſe there: for theſe Potentates were directly contrarie to the deſign which he made vpon the duchie of Milan, and it was bruted that the Suiſſes prepared to inuade Burgongue, or Dauphine. Beſides, there was a ſtreit league made betwixt the emperour, king *Ferdinand*, and the duke of Milan, to force the French king to quit the title of duke Milan, and to renounce his pretended right to the duchie. And there was another league made be-

League againſt king Francis.

D twixt the French king and the Venetians in that reſpect.

At that time *Pedro Nauarro*, earle of Albeto, remained priſoner among the French, ſince the battell of Rauenna: for whoſe redemption king *Ferdinand* did not care, for that ſome noblemen Caſtillans, of leſſe merit than himſelfe, through emulation of his vertue, had imputed the loſſe of that battell vnto him: which this wiſe and iuditious captaine apprehended, and thinking his ſeruices were ill rewarded, hee agreed to ſerue the French king, quitting the countie of Albeto, and all that hee held in the king of Caſtilles dominions, making all acts and proteſtations in that caſe required: After which he began to leuie troups of foot in Gaſcoine, ſeeming that they with other forces ſhould ſerue for the recouerie of the realme of Nauarre: but the princes whome it concerned, knewe

Pedro Nauarro ſerues the French king.

E well that this great preparation was for the duchie of Milan, ſo as euerie one ſtood vpon his gard.

King *Ferdinand* being bound by the league to inuade France by Cattelonia, and Guipuſcoa, he approached neere to Burgos, where hauing beene verie ſicke ſome daies in the monaſterie of Mejorada, hee paſt at Aranda of Duero, from whence he ſent Queene *Germaine* his wife into Arragon, to aſſiſt at the Eſtates at Monſon, and to prouide for that which ſhould be neceſſarie, if the warre grew hot in France, to the end hee ſhould receiue no harm on that ſide, himſelfe taking the charge of Caſtille, and of the frontier of Guipuſcoa. Being come to Burgos, he called the eſtates, with whoſe aduice and aid he prouided for the ſea coaſt & the realme of Nauarre, the which at that time, as a conqueſt made with

Enterpriſes of king Ferdinand againſt the French king.

F the forces of Caſtille, he did ſolemnly incorporate for euer to that crown: And for that his charges would be verie great for the execution of thoſe enterpriſes which hee had in hand, namely for the conqueſt and defence of thoſe places which hee held in Afrike and at the Indies, and to free the ſeas from pyrats, the Pope gaue him leaue to raiſe certaine ſummes of money vpon the Clergie for two yeares. His infirmity increaſing, hee had ſuch continuall faintings, as on the ſeuen and twentieth of Iune, they thought hee would haue died:

Nauarre incorporated to the crowne of Caſtille.

1515 died: wherefore finding himſelfe neere his end, he deſired to make his will, and cauſed it G
Teſtament of king Ferdinand to be written, leauing his daughter Queene *Ioane* for his generall heire, and the infant D. *Ferdinand* his grand-child, gouernour of Caſtille; to whome he gaue for gouernour D. *Gonſal* of Guzman treaſorer of Calatraua, and for his Schoolemaſter D. *Aluaro Oſorio* biſhop of Aſtorga, hauing a great deſire to cauſe the three maſterſhips of Caſtille to fall into his hands after his death; whereupon he made orders which hee thought might take place, but afterwards he reuoked them. He had ſome amendment, and came to Aranda of Duero, whether *Anthony Auguſtine*, his Chancellor of Arragon came, whom he cauſed to be apprehended, and committed, being informed that he had preſumed to attempt againſt the honor of the queene, his wife: for ſeeing her too deſirous to haue children, and H
Chancellor of Arragon accuſed to haue ſought to diſhonor queen Germaine. the king her husband by reaſon of his age and infirmitie, too weake, he had offered her his ſeruice too familiarly. This Chancellor remained in priſon, till after the kings death, and then was ſet at liberty by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, who was gouernor of Spaine. The ſame yeare there hauing been an enteruiew at Vienne in Auſtria, betwixt the emperour *Maximilian*, and Ladiſlaus king of Hongarie, and Bohemia, the marriages were accorded of the infant *Ferdinand*, with *Anne* Daughter to the ſaid king of Hongarie, and of *Marie* ſiſter to prince *Charles* of Auſtria, Infanta of Caſtille, with *Lewis* ſonne and heir to the ſaid king Ladiſlaus.

13 King *Francis* paſt into Lombardy, with a great army: what ſucceeded in thoſe wars you may read at large in the French Hiſtorie. The Pope ſeeing all things proſper for the I
Enteruiew betwixt Pope Leo and king Francis. French, made an accord with the king: they had an enteruiew at Bolonia, with great ſhewes of friendſhip; there they confirmed their league, and conferred long of the conqueſt of Naples, for the French king: but they reſolued to deferre it till after the death of king *Ferdinand*, which they knew to be neere: the Pope hauing no deſire of it for the quiet of Italie, alleaging for excuſe, that the time of the league which hee had with the Catholike king, did not yet expire of ſixeteene months, yet in ſhew he ſeemed verie willing to countenance that conqueſt, ſo as the French king (who was well content to haue it deferred vntil another time, for that his treaſur was exhauſted) was verie wel ſatisfied. There
Pragmatike ſanction aboliſhed. the Pragmatike ſanction was aboliſhed, the Pope granting liberty to the king, to the preiudice of the clergy of France, to name & preſent men at his pleaſure, to eccleſiaſtical dig- K
nities and benefices being voide within his realme; a priuiledge which belonged to Chapters and Colledge: they made many other agreements to the contentment one of another.

In this eſtate ſtood the affaires of Italie, towards the end of king *Ferdinands* daies, whoſe diſeaſe did vndermine him by little & little yet he would needs part from Segobia, to goe into Arragon to the eſtates, whether he had ſent Queene *Germaine* his wife, tranſporting himſelfe to Calataiub: but he was forced to returne into Caſtille, as well for the affaires of the realme, as to giue order to prouide men for Italie in fauour of the emperor *Maximilian*, who made preparation to enter it in the Spring, and alſo to care for the defence of that which he held in Afrike. At that time was the marriage betwixt D. *Alfonſo* L
Peres of Guzman, or *Aluaro* duke of Medina Sydonia, and D. *Anna* of Arragon, daughter to D. *Alfonſo* of Arragon, the kings Neece: to whom one of his Councel comming from viſiting a certaine woman, whom they held for a Saint in Spaine, called the holie woman of Barca, reported from her, that hee ſhould bee of a good courage, for hee ſhould not die before he had conquered Ieruſalem: but this good woman was deceiued.

Death of D. Gonſalo Fernandes of Cordoua, called the great Captaine. This yeare dyed of a double quarten Ague, the great Captaine *Gonſalo Fernandes* of Cordoua duke of Seſſa, Terranoua, of Saint Ange, marqueſſe of Bitonto, Prince of Squilaci, and Conſtable of the realme of Naples. Among the other vertues of this famous man, hee is much commended for his great chaſtity, a rare thing in a Spaniard: his end was in the ſeuenty third yeare of his age, leauing by his wife D. *Maria Henrique*, one on- M
ly daughter and heire, named D. *Eluira* of Cordoua: his bodie lies in the monaſtery of Saint *Ieroſme*, in that citie. The king hearing of the death of this worthy man, ſent to comfort his widow and daughter.

1516 14 In the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixeteene, which was the laſt of king *Ferdinands* life, there arriued in Caſtille, at a place called the Sereine, doctor Schoole-

A *Adrian Florent* deane of Louuain, embaſsador for Prince *Charles* of Auſtria, and his Scholemaſter, who in time was made biſhop of Tortoſa, then Cardinall, and ſucceſſiuely Pope. His charge in ſhew, was for matters of gouernement, againſt the Lord of Cheures, who was the princes gouernour: but in effect he came into Spaine, to prie and looke into the ſtate of things, and to aduertiſe the prince: And the King dying, which was held to bee verie neere, hee had authoritie and commaundement to take poſſeſſion in his name of the gouernement of the realmes of Caſtille, Arragon, and the reſt. The king parted from Plaiſance, with an intent to goe to Guadalupe, there to performe a vow: paſſing from one place to an other, his infirmitie ſtill increaſing, hee ſtayed at Madrigalejo, a borough neere vnto Trugillo, where he had a kind of fluxe: B by reaſon whereof doctor *Adrian* (who was verie vnpleaſing vnto him) tranſported himſelfe thither; yet ſhewing him a good countenaunce, hee willed him to goe and attend him at Guadalupe: his ſickeneſſe encreaſing, they that were about him were conſtrayned to aduertiſe him that his end drew neere, the which did much diſcontent him: for hee thought hee had a longer time to liue; neyther did hee giue credit to all that his Confeſſor Frier *Thomas* of Matienſo ſaid vnto him: but when they had often reiterated this aduertiſement, that hee might diſpoſe himſelfe to die like a Chriſtian, he cauſed the Licenciat *Zapate* and doctor *Caruaial*, who were of his chamber, and of his Councell, to bee called vnto him, and with them the Licenciat *Vergas* his Treaſurer, who was alſo of his Councell, a man in whom hee had great confidence: whom he en- C ioyned and coniured to giue him good and faithfull councell, in that which hee ſhould demaund of them: hee told them that for the opinion hee had that prince *Charles* would not come in perſon to gouerne the realmes of Spaine, hee had appoynted the Infant D. *Ferdinand* gouernour of them for the Queene D. *Ioane* her daughter: whereupon hee deſired to know their opinions, if hee had not done well. Theſe three men zealous of the good of thoſe realmes told him freely, that in ſo doing he had not prouided for the peace and quiet of the realmes, wherefore he ſhould call backe that article, and name prince *Charles* gouernour of them, as Lawe and Iuſtice required, ſhewing him the great inconueniences which might happen, if haply the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, finding himſelfe ſeiſed of ſo great Eſtates, ſhould ſeeke to hold them; ſuch thoughts being eaſie to D breede in the hearts of princes. The king yeelded to this Councell, and reformed his Will in that point, in regard of Caſtille, and that which is incorporated vnto it: As for Arragon and Sicile hee left the gouernement to his baſe ſonne D. *Alphonſo* archbiſhop of Saragoſſe, and vntil that prince *Charles* came, he appointed gouernor in his abſence, by the aduice of this Councell, Cardinall *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros, ſaying, that he knew him to be an honeſt man, and wel affected, faſhioned and aduanced by him and by the Q. D. *Iſabella*; one who had no great aliances, & had alwayes ſhewed himſelfe a faithfull ſeruant. As for the realm of Naples, he confirmed the gouernment with the ſame condition to the viceroy D. *Raymond* of Cardone, & in Nauar there had bin viceroy D. *Frederic d'Acugna*, commãder of Montemolin, of the order of S. *Iames*, brother to the erle of Buendia.

Reformation of king Ferdinands teſtamẽt by the aduice of ſome of his councell.

E Some few dayes before he had obtayned from Pope *Leo*, a new prouiſion in his owne perſon, of the three maſterſhips of Caſtille, Saint *Iames*, Calatraua and Alcantara, the which he deſired to reſigne to the Infant D. *Ferdinand* whom hee loued deerely: but hee was in like manner perſuaded not to doe it, for hee ſhould remember of what importance in former times one of thoſe maſterſhips had bin, in the perſon of a priuat man, to trouble the realme: and therefore hee muſt thinke that if all theſe were ioyned in one, and he of the bloud royall, hee equalling (without doubt) the kings power might cauſe greater alterations: whereupon the king demaunding, What then ſhall the Infant do remayning ſo poore? It is, anſwered his Councellours, the beſt and goodlieſt inheri- F tance that you can leaue him: for finding himſelfe poore, it wil giue him occaſion to ſeek the loue of prince *Charles* his brother, who will aduaunce him. Theſe things pleaſed the king, who gaue vnto the Infant D. *Ferdinand* 50000 ducats of yerely rent vpon Brindes, Tarentum, and other places in Apulia in the realme of Naples, by the aduice of the ſame councellors Out of the reuenues of the realm of Sicile, he left vnto his wife Q. *Germaine*,

Infant D. Ferdinand ill appointed.

1516 thirtie thouſand florins of gold of yearely rent, the which was afterwards aſſigned in Caſtille, vpon the townes of Arcualo, Madrigal and Olmedo: hee left moreouer vnto her tenne thouſand ducats in the realme of Naples. Theſe Ordinaunces in forme of a teſtament were written by the hand of one of the aboue named Councellours, reuoking that which hee had made at Burgos; all beeing done in great ſecret, to the end that nothing might come to the knowledge of the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, who was then at Guadalupe, nor of his Gouernours and Miniſters, who did hope to mannage the realme after the Kings deceaſe. The will beeing written out faire, it was receiued by the Prothonotarie *Clement* of Velaſco. The Queene D. *Germaine* hauing notice of the extremitie of the Kings infirmitie at Calataiub, whereas the eſtates of Arragon were held, ſhee came with all ſpeed to Madrigalejo, and was at his death, which was on the three and twentieth of Ianuary one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixteene, being three ſcore and three yeares old, and hauing raigned one and forty yeeres, one moneth, and nine dayes, comprehending the time that king D. *Philip* of Auſtria raigned. The Kings Councell and the Noblemen beeing aſſembled, they reſolued to ſend to the embaſſadour *Adrian*, who attended the king at Guadalupe: wherefore Doctor Caruajal and the Licenciat *Vargas* were ſent vnto him, who brought him to Madrigalejo, where in his preſence the kings will was opened and read, whereof they gaue a copie to the embaſſador, at his requeſt. Afterwards by the aduice of them all, D. *Bernard* of Rojas, marqueſſe of Denia, and the licenciate *Ronquillo Alcaideor* prouoſt of the Court, did accompanie the Kings bodie to Granado, and the other Noblemen went to Infant D. *Ferdinand* at Guadalupe, where the funerall was made with royall pompe and ceremonies. The body paſſing by the citie of Cordoua, there ioyned with it D. *Martin* of Angulo biſhoppe of that citie, the marqueſſe of Priego, the earle of Cabra, with other Lords and Knights which did accompany it vnto Granado, where with the ſtate woorthy of ſuch a prince, hee was interred in the chappell of Kings, by Queene *Iſabell* his wife, whoſe bodie had beene left in the Alhambre of that citie.

Death of king Ferdinand king of Arragon.

Indies.

A little before the kings death, *Iohn Dyas* de Solis of Lebrixa, chiefe Pilot to the king, parted from the port of Lepe, with three ſhippes armed, to goe and diſcouer countries in the new world, vnder the equinoctial, where hee had already beene, and found out the great riuer of Panaraguaſa, which hee had named the riuer of Plata, or of Siluer, where beeing arriued and entred, hee landed with fiftie Spaniards, thinking to finde all things quiet, as hee had at the other time: but hee found himſelfe ſurprized, and charged by a multitude of Indians, who ſlew him and all them that had landed with him, and eate them: the reſt which kept the ſhippes being terrified, weighed anchor, and returned into Spaine, laden with breſill, and white anſine, which they vſe for dying.

Spaniards ſlain in the riuer of Plata by the Indians.

Portugall.

15 D. *Manuel* king of Portugall had alwayes continued his nauigations, and diſcoueries at the Eaſt with good ſucceſſe and profit, and imitating the example of the king of Caſtille, hee preſt the African Moores his neighbors vpon the weſterne ſhoare, from whom hee tooke the towne of Zaſin, by the meanes of *Nugno Fernandes* of Ataide, who was the firſt Gouernour, and afterwards hauing ſent *Iames* Duke of Bragance his nephew, with two thouſand horſe, and fifteene thouſand foote, who landing at Marzagan, did aſſaile and take the towne of Azamon, beeing abandoned by the Moores: and ſoone after Almedina yeelded, with other places of that territorie: in which expeditions the Duke of Bragance purchaſed ſo great fame, as at this day the name of Bragance is a terror to the Moores. To ſupply the charges of this war & conqueſts, the King D. *Manuel* hauing emptied his cofers, he obtained from Pope *Leo*, by his embaſſadours *Triſtan* of Acugna, and doctor *Diego Pacheco*, aid and ſubuention, out of the reuenews of the Clergie of his country: whereunto the Pope did the more willingly yeeld, hauing heard the great exploits which he had done, and the diſcoueries which hee had made; to whom the embaſſadours preſented in the name of the King their maſter a great elephant, a lioneſſe, and a biſhops mitre or tyare garniſhed with perles and precious ſtones, the richeſt that euer had beene ſeene at Rome. The Pope therefore to incorage and giue

Exploits of king Manuell in Afrike.

Bragance a terrour to the Moores.

meanes

A meanes vnto King *Manuel* to proceede in so commendable an action, hee graunted him the third part of the reuenewes and fruites of Spirituall Liuings, and moreouer to haue a Croisado preached, wherein the Kings deputies behaued themselues so insolently and couetously, as all men had occasion to complaine: whereupon the conuerts and new Christians tooke occasion to fall into many errors and peruerse opinions, touching our Religion. These things past about the yeeres one thousand fiue hundred and twelue, one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, and one thousand fiue hundred and foureteene. The yeere one thousand fiue hundred and fifteene being come, the king vndertooke to build the fort of Mandora in Afrike; but his prouisions and men were all dispersed and lost there, by the incursions of the Moores, so as few, and those verie poore, B returned into Portugall. This vnfortunate successe was imputed to the exactions which the kings Officers vsed vpon the clergie: being an opinion alreadie setled in the hearts of men: that those princes which touch the treasures of the Church, prosper not. 1516

Third part of spirituall liuings graunted to the king of Portugall in his countrey.

Opinion fauourable for the Clergie.

This yeare Queene *Mary* was deliuered in the city of Lisbone, of the Infant D. *Edward* future husband to D. *Isabella* daughter to D. *Iohn* duke of Bragance, from whom issued D. *Edward*, and D. *Catherina* duchesse of Bragance, wife in our dayes to the duke D. *Iohn* second sonne to duke *Theodosius*, and grandchilde to the first D. *Iohn*. Of D. *Edward* of Portugall, and D. *Isabella*, was also borne D. *Maria*, who was married to the prince of Parma, sonne to *Octauio Farnese*, and to *Marguerite* of Austria, base daughter to the emperour *Charles*. Soone after the death of D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, the king D. C *Manuel* was full of care, for the insolent behauiour of two of his vassalls, who fought to disquiet him in his nauigations and voyages to the Indies. These were *Ferdinand* of Magellanes and *Ruy Fallero*, who for some discontentment retired themselues into Castille, whereas the cardinall D. *Francis Ximenes* archbishoppe of Toledo gouerned, offering to discouer a short course or way, to go to the rich Ilands of the Moluques, whence the spices came, more profitable and commodious then that of Calicut and China. *Magellanes* gaue D. *Iohn Rodrigues* of Fonseca president of the royall councell of the Indies, and other councellors to vnderstand, that they might find a better and more short cut to goe to the Moluques by the coast of Brefill and the riuer of Plata, then by the cape of Bonne Esperance: and moreouer they told them, that the great Iland of Zamatra, and Malaca, were D comprehended in the streit and line of the nauigation of Castile: they did maintaine that the Ilands of the Moluques were not farre from Panama, and the gulph of saint Michael, and that in all those countries and regions they found aboundance of gold, pearles, pretious stones, spices and drugges: and to make these councellors more desirous, they told them many other wonders of vnknowne lands, which they offered to discouer. *Magellanes* saying, that he had a relation of *Lewis* of Vertheman of Bolonia, who had beene at Badan, Bornay, Bachian, Tidore, and other countries of spices, which are vnder the Equinoctiall, shewing many letters written from his friends to the Indians: And moreouer, hee had a slaue of the Iland of Zamatra, who vnderstood many languages of that Countrey, and an other slaue recouered in Malaca. By these reasons and persuasions, he induE ced them of the councell; and the Regent D. *Francis Ximenes* gaue good hope to *Magellanes*, to obtaine ships and meanes to make this voyage, at the comming of the prince D. *Charles*, who would not stay long before he parted from Flaunders, to come and take possession of his realmes of Castille and Arragon. The king D. *Manuell* made many complaints against these fugitiue subiects, by his Ambassadors, to the councell of Castille, and they against him, and the voyage was performed as wee will shew. About the spring one thousand fiue hundred and seuenteene, Queene *Marie* second wife to the king D. *Manuell*, died at Lisbone, lying in child-bed of the Infant D. *Anthonio*, who liued not long after his mother, which caused great heauinesse in the king: Shee lies in the monasterie F of the mother of God. Shee was then fiue and thirtie yeares old, and the king nine and fortie, who beleeuing what the prelates and clergie men of his realme had often preached vnto him, that his crosses and aduersities came for that he tooke the reuenews of the church, and imployed them for the affaires of his realme, he caused the collections & contributions to cease, promising to pay vnto the clergie 150000 ducats in 3 yeeres, at 3 payments. This king tooke to his third wife D. *Leonor* sister to prince *Charles* of Austria

Genealogie of Portugall.

Magellanes and Fallero Portugalls serue in Castile.

Death of Marie Queene of Portugall.

King conscientious.

1516 Infanta of Caſtille, neece to the two former queenes, being then 19. yeeres old, and the king 50. She was conducted into Portugall by *Caſtilhide*, in the yere 1518. a little before the arriuall of King *Charles* in Spaine: the marriage was celebrated at Crato, with great pompe and ſtate: of which marriage were borne the infants D. *Charles*, and D. *Marie*. G

D. Ioane Queene of Caſtille, Arragon, Nauarre, *Naples, Sicile, Sardinia &c. for whoſe incapacitie, the reigne of D. Charles her ſonne beganne, being the firſt of that name, and the two and twentieth king of Caſtille.*

Caſtille. 16 AFter the deceaſe of King *Ferdinand*, Queene *Ioane* his daughter ſucceeded in all his realmes, lands, and ſeigniories. *Charles* archduke of Auſtria, and erle of Flanders her eldeſt ſonne, who ſhould inherite all thoſe great eſtates after her, was then in Flaunders: for whoſe abſence, and for the Queenes incapacitie, Cardinall *Francis Ximenes* of Ciſneros, according to the teſtament of the deceaſed King, tooke vpon him the gouernement of Caſtille, with the conſent of all the Councell and Nobilitie of the realme: notwithſtanding that the gouernours and miniſters of the infant D. *Ferdinand*, would, by vertue of the firſt teſtament made at Burgos, haue him intrude himſelfe into the gouernment of affaires, as regent. He hauing written to them of the councel to come vnto him to Guadalupe, and vſing too high titles in his letters, one of the councell, ſaid freely vnto him that preſented the Infantaes letters, Tell him that wee will be ſhortly at Guadalupe, where knowing well our dueties, we will doe him the honour and reuerence that belongs vnto him, & that we haue no other king but *Ceſar*, The prince *Charles* was not yet choſen emperor: but that word was taken as a preſage of his future election. The firſt care of cardinall *Ximenes*, was to make an agreement with doctor *Adrian*, who had brought letters and authoritie from prince *Charles*, by the which he declared him his lieutenant, in caſe that the king D. *Ferdinand* ſhould die, during his legation in Spaine. The accord was thus made, that vntill they had other newes from prince *Charles*, they ſhould ioyntly ſigne all diſpatches. After which they were to pacifie a trouble that was of no ſmall conſequence; for D. *Pedro Portocarrero*, called the Deafe, brother to the duke of Eſcalona, the ſtemme of the Marqueſſe of Villeneuue at this day, had obtained after the deceaſe of the great captaine, who aſpired to the maſterſhip of S. Ieams, bulls and prouiſion from the pope, of that maſterſhip, & did ſollicite the commanders of the Order, to aſſemble togither to receiue him: but prince *Charles* during his grandfathers life, had alſo obtained a later prouiſion, by the means of D. *Bernardin* of Caruajal, of all theſe three maſterſhips, in his perſon, and it is moſt certaine that king *Ferdinand* was not priuie to it, ſeeing that he would haue giuen them to the infant D. *Ferdinand*. The cardinall being aduertiſed of theſe things, he ſent (with the aduiſe of doctor *Adrian*, and the Councel) *Villafanna*, one of the Alcaides of the court with letters & force, to ſuppreſſe *Portocarrero*, and to ſtay this aſſembly of the commaunders; whereunto they obeyed, euen *Portocarrero* himſelfe, who deſiſted from his enterpriſe. This Cardinall had a watchfull eie vpon the actions of the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, and of thoſe which did gouerne him, being alwayes neere vnto his perſon, for he feared leſt the noblemen of Caſtille, who deſired ſome alteration in the State, would corrupt him, and make vſe of his name. He prouided in ſuch ſort for queene *Germaine* in this beginning (to whom all things were difficule) that ſhee might not want money for the entertainement of her houſe and royall dignitie. The place of reſidence for the councel was choſen at Madrid, for that it was commodious for the cardinal, being not farre from his archbiſhopricke of Toledo, from whence they ſent *Peter* of Campreal, & *Rengifo* of Auila, to carrie newes vnto prince *Charles* of the death of the king his grandfather, and of all that paſt ſince. The prince was then at *Gand*, where he had bin borne & bred vp, and his brother D. *Ferdinand* in Spaine, the one inſtructed in the maners & faſhions of the Flemings, the other in thoſe of Spaine; which made the Spaniards to cheriſh the yonger more, and did much trouble the Cardinall *Ximenes*. The chiefe men which at that time did gouern the perſon of prince *Charles*, & his affairs, were *Iohn Sauage* preſident of

Cardinall Ximenes gouernor of Caſtille.

Accord for the gouernement of Spaine.

Contention for the maſterſhip of S. Ieams.

Prouidence of Cardinall Ximenes for the peace of Spaine.

H I K L M

A of Bourgondie, and afterwards Chauncellour, the Lord of Cheures, and *Laxaus*, Chamberlaines, *Laurence Gorrebot* great maſter, and *Charles* of Lannoy Maſter of the Horſe. Hee had a Phiſition of Milan, called *Peter Marlian*, a learned man and of great experience, who was the inuentor of that Mott *Plus vltra*, the which prince *Charles* vſed betwixt *Hercules* pillers, hee was afterwards biſhop of Tuy, but againſt the will of cardinall *Ximenes*. The lord of Cheures was of greateſt authority about the prince, hauing bred him vp: hee was ſo hated of King *Ferdinand* as a little before his death, in a certaine treaty made with doctour *Adrian*, hee would haue it expreſly reſerued that *Cheures* ſhould be chaſed away, the which did much diſcontent him, who for that cauſe conceiued a great hatred againſt doctor *Adrian*, but hee was forced to yeeld that to the B King, that hee might winne his loue to prince *Charles*, for hee ſawe his intent was to debaſe him, to aduaunce the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, if hee could. Of Spaniards D. *Iohn Manuel* was in ſome credite in the court of Flaunders, a flatterer and breeder of debate betwixt King *Ferdinand* and *Philip* of Auſtria his ſonne in lawe, for the which hee was put in priſon by the lady *Marguerite* gouerneſſe of Flaunders: but after the kings death hee was preſently ſet at libertie by prince *Charles*. D. *Antonio* of Eſtuniga brother to the duke of Bejar was alſo honoured in that Court, D. *Pedro Portocarrero* ſonne to him that was deafe, of whom wee haue ſpoken, D. *Lewis* of Cordoua, D. *Alphonſo Manriques*, the biſhop of Badajos, and *Pedro Mota* archbiſhoppe of Seuile, a famous preacher, and Secretary to the prince. Such was the eſtate of his Court, when hee re- C ceiued newes of the death of the king his grandfather, for the which hee ſhewed a griefe befitting nature, and the neereneſſe of bloud that was betwixt them: hee commended him for the election which hee had made of the cardinall *Francis Ximenes*, and did write vnto the Infant his brother, to the widow Queene, and to the councell, giuing them hope that hee would bee ſoone in Spaine. In his firſt letters to the Gouernours and the Councell hee did intitle himſelfe Prince: but ſome of the Councell of Flanders, ſeeing Queene *Ioane* weake of her ſences, and to bee but a vaine maske of royall dignitie, they were of opinion that hee ſhould take the title of King, the which hee did, for that ſaid hee, it was conformable to the cuſtome of the princes of Flaunders and Germanie, and that it was the aduice of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and of Pope *Leo*; the D which was not well liked of in Spaine: notwithſtanding ſeeing hee had once taken it, it would haue beene diſhonourable to haue left it, and therefore hee continued this title, the cardinall *Ximenes* cauſing the reſt to allow of it: and thereupon they did aduaunce the Standard and Armes of the new King *Charles*, in the towne of Madrid. The Arragonois (ſtrict defenders of their Lawes) would neuer allow of this title of King, during the life of Queene *Ioane*: of whom D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon, archbiſhoppe of Saragoſſe was gouernor.

1516

Cheures gouernour to prince Charles.

Title of King allowed in Caſtille to prince Charles during his mothers life, but not in Arragon.

18 Whileſt theſe things were done at Madrid by cardinall *Ximenes*, there grew new tumults, the which did firſt diſquiet Andaluſia, and afterwards all the Prouinces of Spaine. The chiefe of this tumult was D. *Pedro Giron*, eldeſt ſonne to the earle of Vre- E gna, who entred the countrey of the duke of *Medina Sidonia* with forces, and beſieged Luzero a ſea towne, with an intent to ſeaze vpon the whole Duchie, if hee could. And this was the cauſe of his enterpriſe: D. *Iohn* of Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia married two ſiſters ſucceſſiuely, one after an other, daughters to the Duke of Bejar; by the firſt hee had two children, D. *Henrie*, and D. *Mentia*; and by the ſecond one ſonne called D. *Aluaro*: D. *Mentia* was married to D. *Pedro Giron*: D. *Henrie* was vnapt for generation, and dyed without children: D. *Aluaro* borne of the ſecond venter, married, as we haue ſaid, with D. *Anne* of Arragon, daughter to D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon: which marriage was made by the King D. *Ferdinand*, in hope that D. *Al-* F *uaro* ſhould ſucceede in all the ſeigniories of Duke *Iohn* his father: who beeing dead, hee was put in poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Medina Sidonia, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of D. *Pedro Giron*, who ſaied, that D. *Aluaro* was a baſtard, borne in inceſt, not beeing tollerable neyther by Diuine nor Humane Lawes to marrie two ſiſters: and if Popes had at anie time ſuffered it, it was for ſome great good and benefite to the Common weale, which had no ſuch conſideration in the fact of

Quarrell betwixt Pedro Giron, and the duke of Medina Sidonia.

1516 the deceaſed duke D. *Iohn*: but for all his reaſons D. *Aluaro* enioyed the poſſeſſion, bee- G
ing fauoured and ſupported by king *Ferdinand* whileſt hee liued, but being dead D. *Pe-*
dro Giron thought, that prince *Charles* beeing abſent, and the gouernement in the hands
of a monke. Hauing therefore gathered together a good troupe of licentious fellowes
hee went to field, and firſt attempted the towne of Luzero, but D. *Pedro* of Arras had
preuented him, and put himſelfe into the place, to defend it; beſides, the caſtle was
held in the kings name, with a garriſon, by D. *Gomes* de Solis, as it is the manner of
Spaine in polices vpon the ſea, although they belong to priuate Lords. So as D. *Pedros*
attempt was vaine. In the meane time cardinall *Ximenes* being aduertiſed of this tumult,
hee had meanes to prouide for it, commaunding (by the aduice of the Councell) the
inhabitants of Seuile and Cordoua, to aſſiſt the duke of *Medina*, *Sidonia*, and captaine H
Solis with forces. Then D. *Anthony Fonſeca* was ſent with certaine enſignes of foot, and
with him an Alcade of the court, called *Corneille*, to diſperſe D. *Pedroes* troupes, and to
puniſh thoſe that ſhould be taken, as troublers of the publike peace, and guiltie of high
treaſon: wherewith D. *Pedro Giron* being terrified, hee retired for that time, but with-
in few dayes after hee incited the Conſtable D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco, his vncle by
the mothers ſide, who on the other ſide was no good friend to Cardinall *Ximenes*, draw-
ing many other noblemen to his deſignes and enterpriſes: paſſing by Madrid with a great
troupe, hee ſtayed there keeping himſelfe in his lodging, and would not vouchſafe to vi-
ſite the Cardinall, who was the kings lieuetenant, but as if hee would braue him, and
in a manner threaten him, to incenſe the noblemen of Caſtille againſt him, hee ſent him I
word that he was come to viſite his kinſemen and friends: whereunto the Cardinall (who
knew well to what end all his courſes tended) made no other anſwer, but that hee ſhould
goe on in a good houre, and continue his officious voyage. There were great ſignes of
a mutinous and rebellious heart in the anſwer which hee made to ſome of his friends, de-
maunding of him why hee vndertooke theſe things, without any reſpect or reuerence to
Arrogant anſwer of D. Pedro Giron. Cardinall *Ximenes*, who preſented there the kings perſon: And what thankes, ſaid hee,
will the king giue vs, if wee reſpect and honour his lieutenants as much as himſelfe? but
he was much miſtaken, for there was no compariſon betwixt his meanes, and of all thoſe
of his partie, and the power of Cardinall *Ximenes*, who beſides the authoritie which he
had as regent, was ſo rich, both in reuenues and treaſure which hee had gathered toge- K
ther, as hee was well able to entertaine an army, without any helpe of the kings money.
D. *Pedro Giron* in this frenzie went towards his vncle D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco, know-
ing that he hated the Cardinall, for that hee vnderſtood that hee had propounded to re-
tire all that which priuate noblemen did hold of the reuenues of the crowne, if they did
not ſhew good titles, and were grounded vpon lawfull cauſes: and therefore, fearing
hee ſhould be depriued of certaine impoſts hee drew from the ſea, hee deſired to ſee the
Cardinalls authority abated. There were meanes plotted betwixt the vncle and the ne-
phew, to attaine vnto that which they pretended: and to fortifie themſelues they did
write, or went in perſon to all them that they knew to bee anie way diſcontented with
Faction againſt the Cardinall Ximenes. Cardinall *Ximenes*: the duke of Benauent was one, whom they had forbidden to finiſh L
a fort which he had begunne to build at Cibales: the duke of Albuquerque, and the erle
of Medina Celi, for the affinity which they had with the earle of Vregna, offered them-
ſelues to be ready againſt all perſons that would offend him or his; and they did alſo hold
ſome of the kings rents. D. *Frederike* of Portugall biſhop of Siguenſa, fearing to be de-
priued of his biſhoprike, to giue it to doctor *Carualal*, ioyned with that faction. Aboue
all they deſired to draw vnto them the duke of the *Infantazgo*, the head of the familie of
Mendoza, whoſe power and riches they held a ſufficient counterpoize to ouerſway the
Cardinall their aduerſary. The duke offered himſelfe freely to be theirs in all enterpriſes,
ſo as it were not againſt the ſtate and the gouernment of the realme: for he meant not to
Inuective made by the Conſtable againſt the Cardinall. attempt any thing that ſhould contradict the will of the deceaſed king D. *Ferdinand*, nor M
the will of king *Charles*: wherefore all theſe noblemen went vnto him to Guadalajara,
whereas the Conſtable D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco, made a long inuectiue againſt the
Cardinall, whom he called raſh, inſupportable, an obſcure man, of an vnknowne begin-
ning, an enemy to nobilitie, vnworthy to commaund and goeuerne thoſe realmes, which
charge

A charge did belong more rightly to them, then to a monke, who abuſed the authoritie, 1516
to the diſhonour and ſcorne of the nobility. That if they ſaid, hee was appoynted to that
degree by the teſtament of the deceaſed king D. *Ferdinand*, let them remember that they
had endured indignities enow in his time, without fearing his vaine comaundements af-
ter his death: but let him ſhew his letters of power and authority from king *Charles*: elſe
for his part hee was not reſolued to obey him. The duke of the *Infantazgo*, the chiefe in
this aſſembly, ſeeing euery man moued at the Conſtables words, I haue, ſaid hee, ma- *Wiſe ſpeech of the duke of the Infantazgo.*
ny occaſions to complaine of cardinall *Ximenes*, euen in this, that contrarie to his faith
and promiſe hee hath hindered the marriage betwixt my nephew and his neece, and that »
B now he ſeeks to diminiſh my patrimonie what hee can: but theſe are but priuate wrongs, »
for the which I would not cauſe the leaſt alteration in the world, in our kings abſence: and »
I will ſay more vnto you, that I haue alwayes knowne this man to be ſo vpright, as the »
authoritie, power, nor credite of any man cannot moue him: you ſee what great reue- »
nues hee hath, and what lands and countries hee enioyes, whereunto the publique au- »
thority is now ioyned: Thinke you that in this action hee will ſhew himſelfe leſſe con- »
ſtant and reſolute than hee hath beene? No doubtleſſe, and hee will be very violent to »
moue the people againſt vs, of whom wee are already but too much hated: wherefore »
my friends, let vs attempt nothing againſt the commonweale, the which wee muſt of »
neceſſitie doe, if wee vndertake anie thing againſt cardinall *Ximenes*: let vs finde out »
C ſome other meanes to maintayne our dignities, which may be allowed of all men, and »
then eſteeme mee vnworthy the ranke which I hold, and the houſe from whence I am »
deſcended, if I be not the firſt to maintayne the honour of nobilitie, againſt the inſo- »
lencie of this man, and I will imploy all my forces and meanes, for the defence of you »
my kinſemen and alies. When the duke of the *Infantazgo* had thus ſpoken, the aſſiſtants »
conſidering the weight of his reaſons, were much cooled: wherefore it was concluded,
that they ſhould ſend vnto king *Charles*, D. *Aluaro Gomez*, the dukes ſonne in law, a wiſe
and an eloquent man, who in the name of theſe Lords, ſhould beſeech him to take from
cardinall *Ximenes* the authority and gouernement of the realmes, for the cauſes which
they gaue him by ample inſtructions. This done, the duke of the *Infantazgo* feaſted the
D whole aſſembly for certayne dayes with great ſports and ſtate; of all which the cardinall
was particularly aduertiſed, by his friends and ſpies, but not regarding it much, for hee
was priuie to their meanes and faculties, calling this nobilitie but ſhadowes and ſcarre-
crowes, who liued in continuall delight, and ſuperfluous expences wherewith they *Nobilitie that ſpends much, cannot maintaine an enterpriſe.*
were ſo conſumed and indebted, as moſt commonly they had nothing left them to main-
tayne their raſh enterpriſes, but their tongues, and a vaine pride without any power:
Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as theſe conuenticles and priuate aſſemblies could not but
breed troubles in the ſtate, hee did aduertiſe them by graue men to deſiſt for their owne
good, from ſuch practiſes and enterpriſes, the which hee would haue them know hee
had meanes to reſiſt, and to make them vaine, without imploying the kings treaſure,
E but with his owne eſtate; yea, were there queſtion to put an army to field, whereby they
ſhould ſoone finde their owne weakeneſſe: wherefore hee did admoniſh them, that ſee-
ing they muſt of force be the kings ſubiects, and obey his lawes, not to put themſelues
in daunger. Hereby this ſtirre ceaſed without any further bruite, and the aſſembly of
Guadalajara was diſperſed: ſo as many of them which had beene there, did ſoone after
practiſe by all meanes to inſinuate into the cardinalles fauour, namely the duke of the *In-*
fantazgo and the Conſtable. This wiſe and induſtrious man, knowing what croſſes hee *Wiſedome of Cardinall Ximenes to maintaine his authoritie.*
might haue daily in the gouernement of ſo great affaires, amongeſt a nobility which did
both hate and enuy him, hee knew well how to prouide for his dignity, the ſafety of his
perſon, and the peace of Spaine. He had D. *Diego Lopes* of Ayala a moſt faithfull ſollici-
F tor of his affaires in the court of king *Charles*, by whoſe ſollicitation and diligence, hee
deſired letters patents with full and royall authority in all things, and that namely hee
ſhould haue free liberty in matters of ſtate to doe that which he ſhould thinke profitable
for the ſafety of the kingdomes: the like authority ouer Iuſtice, to eſtabliſh, alter and
depoſe, as hee ſhould thinke fit, and in like manner ouer the treaſure, for hee was not
contented with the authoritie which was giuen him by the teſtament of the deceaſed

King

1516 King D. *Ferdinand* confirmed, by priuate letters and meſſages from the king, if hee had G not letters drawne in forme of a publique Decree, and the reſoulution of the princes Councell: Notwithſtanding, without attending them, hee put one thing in execution which had beene formerly proiected, and attempted by the deceaſed King D. *Ferdinand*, the execution whereof had beene hindered by the Kings infirmitie and death: That is, he ordayned for the defence of the realme in generall, as well againſt foreine enemies, as home-bred mutines, legions and bands of ordinarie ſouldiers, taken out of the citizens and burgeſſes of the good townes of Spaine, men of good fame, dwellers, and hauing as they ſay, fire and family, remembring that hee had heard the deceaſed King diſcourſe, That an army of ſuch men was more profitable, and of greater effect in any kinde, than that which was leuied of vagabond people, and ill liuers, whereof moſt companies that H are extraordinarily raiſed doe conſiſt, who haue no courage but to ſpoile, and are more hurtfull to friends then enemies; whereas the other louing their honour, their goods, wiues and children, are animated to fight more couragiouſly againſt an enemy, for their defence, and fearing the Lawes, for that they haue ſomething to looſe, they abſtaine from doing wrong vnto their friends: beſides, it is a ready force, and is ſodainely aſſembled, which keepes them in awe that would ſeeke to inuade and ſpoyle the realme, or moue ſeditions and tumults. This ordinance hauing beene concluded in the Councell at Madrid, contayned, That ſuch as ſhould bee fit to beare armes, ſhould giue in their names, and be inrolled by certaine Commiſſaries deputed, and that they ſhould enioy many exemptions of taxes, ſubſidies, lodgings and other charges accuſtomed to bee I impoſed, and leuied vpon the people, to whom ſhould be giuen captaines, officers, trumpets, drummes and fifes, payed with the kings money: They ſhould arme and be readie when they ſhould be commaunded, and ſhould come euery Sunday to be muſtered before the people. This Edict being proclaimed throughout the townes of Caſtille, was receiued and found good, with great ioy and contentment: ſo as in an inſtant there were aboue thirtie thouſand men inrolled, euery one thinking it was an eaſie way to attaine vnto a degree of gentrie: and in trueth they could not haue deſired a thing more profitable and more delightfull: for the youth which is corrupted through idleneſſe, and giuen to vice and damnable pleaſures; by this meanes they gaue themſelues to manage armes, to ride horſes, to leape, runne, ſwimme and other ſuch exerciſes, as were in- K ioyned them, and giuen them in diſcipline by old experimented captaynes, and it was a pleaſing ſight to behold their troupes well armed to march in good order. For the which cardinall *Ximenes* did purchaſe the reputation of a wiſe and prudent Gouernor, yea with foreine kings and princes, thinking, as it is true, that there is no force like vnto it, when it is moderated with good iuſtice, eſpecially in the beginning, by meanes whereof, we reade that great and populous nations haue been eaſily vanquiſhed by ſmall potentates. The ſeditious and men deſirous of innouations in Spaine, were ſo ſcandalized at this Edict, as there was nothing to be generally heard but murmuring, and ill words of the cardinall *Ximenes*: Whereto tend theſe militarie troupes? What new ſhew of armes doth this Cardinall bring vs? Did hee thinke that Spaine was too quiet? Did hee L enuy our peace? There needed nothing elſe in the kings abſence, but to arme the multitude, to make him more inſolent, and to authorize him to ruine the nobilitie: Let this wilfull man (who likes of no councell but his owne) be well aduiſed what hee doeth, and of what conſequence it is to put armes and force in the hands of a raſcall multitude, in ſo proud a nation, whereof hee will ſee ſo many troubles and miſeries to grow, as it will be impoſſible for him to preuent them. Moreouer they ſaid, that it was the very meanes to make good townes deſart and vnpeopled, and to draw away their Artizans and men of trade, who leauing their ſhoppes, would haue no care but to be gallants, and to walke like gentlemen, abandoning themſelues to all inſolencies and exceſſe, whereby it would M happen that townes vnfurniſhed of things neceſſarie for the life of man, ſhould by little and little be reduced to want and pouerty, which they could not in long time recouer, notwithſtanding any diligence whatſoeuer. By theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, the inhabitants of Leon, Burgos, Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Arenalo, Madrigal, Olmedo, and in a manner all the townes that were beyond the mountaines, beganne to oppoſe againſt

Legionary ſouldiers inſtituted by cardinall Ximenes.

Men that haue families fitter to make ſouldiers to defend a realme then vagabonds.

Murmuring of the Spaniards againſt the cardinall for the militarie order.

A gainſt the Edict, ſo as it could not bee put in execution in their iuriſdiction : but that which moſt contradicted the Cardinalls commaundement was the towne of Vailledolit, whereas the Commiſſaries that were ſent to make the enrollments, were outraged and put in priſon : and as one fault drawes on another, they tooke armes, and put themſelues in defence againſt Cardinall *Ximenes*, as againſt an enemie, ſhaking off the yoake of his commaundement, and reſiſting him as an oppreſſour of their libertie, and an inuentour and bringer in by force and violence, new and vnaccuſtomed things; whereof the cardinall was preſently aduertiſed, by ſuch as were of his partie in that towne, and for that cauſe ſuffered many indignities. The cauſe of theſe diſorders and rebellions was the bad intelligence which was betwixt the cardinal and D. *Antonie* of Rojas biſhop of Granado, B the chiefe of the roiall councell, and ſome other councellors, who did hate and enuy him, and did ſecretly giue it out, that thoſe ordinances were not allowed by the Councell, but meere inuentions proceeding onely from the Cardinalles braine : whoſe teſtimonie, as men which held a ranke in the affaires of the realme, was of great weight among the people, and was a great argument of the miſeries which diuiſion of Councellors brings vnto a State : whereunto we muſt adde the practiſes of the great men of that countrey, accuſtomed to play the Kings, the meanes whereof were taken away by this ordinance, to their great griefe. They that did moſt animate the inhabitants of Vailledolit to rebellion, were the admirall of Caſtille, and the biſhoppe of Aſturia : for the admirall hauing great C authoritie, and hereditary rights in the gouernement of the towne, deſcending from the *Henriques* his predeceſſors, although hee were a very deere friend to the Cardinall, yet when hee heard at Madrid, that they would put this Edict in practiſe at Vailledolit, hee ſaid openly that he would neuer ſuffer it : and making more eſteeme of his owne priuate intereſt, then of the Cardinalls friendſhip, he went to Vailledolit, where calling his brethren, kinſfolks and friends together, he procured euery one, by his credit to oppoſe himſelfe. The biſhop who had been Scholemaſter and Gouernor to the infant D. *Ferdinand*, ſeeing that by the Cardinalles diligence and care hee could not get any thing, hee grew diſcontented, and poured oyle into this fire, which ran through the cities of Burgos, Leon and others : wherewith Cardinall *Ximenes* was much troubled : for although that hee D had all the country on this ſide the mountaines, namely Andaluſia, Toledo, Murcia, and alſo beyond them the cities of Zamora, Toro, Auila and others that were obedient, yet hee thought it a hard matter to vſe force, doubting that the contumacie of them of Vailledolit and Burgos would keepe the reſt from perſeuering : wherefore hee proceeded againſt theſe froward people with all the mildneſſe hee could, admoniſhing them, that if they had any ancient priuiledges which did exempt them from ſuch charges, they ſhould produce them, and they ſhould haue iuſtice done them : but they beeing ſupported by the fauour of great men their neighbours, did not reſpect the Cardinalls friendlie admonition, but made anſwer, that whileſt they had breath and life, they would defend their liberties againſt his manifeſt tyrannie, vntill that their king D. *Charles* ſhould come into E Spaine. Theſe differences continued the following yeere : for the Cardinall would not proceed rigorouſly in this buſineſſe vntill that he had newes from the King, whom he did aduertiſe particularly of that which hee had done, and of the cauſes which had moued him to make theſe legionaries : ſoliciting D. *Diego Lopes* of Ajala his Agent in Court, that he ſhould purſue the letters patents, and the authority which he deſired to be confirmed vnto him : elſe it was neceſſary for his honour to giue ouer that charge, by reaſon of the great difficulties and oppoſitions which hee found. And for that hee knew that the rebells had ſent vnto the king, and to *Monſieur de Chevres*, meſſages, which did fill their eares with many ſlaunders, accuſing thoſe legions and companies ordayned by him, of infinit concuſſions and ſpoyles, and ſhewing that there was no charge more inF ſupportable nor leſſe neceſſary then that, he ſent him inſtructions to ſhew the contrarie, and that it was the onely meanes that kings his predeceſſors had obſerued to be obeyed, euer ſince the Gothes, vnto king *Henry* the fourth, who had alwayes a great gard of horſemen entertayned, the which after he had caſhiered, by the perſuaſion of ſome, or through negligence and indiſcretion, he found himſelfe afterwards ingaged in thoſe troubles and miſeries that hiſtories ſpeake of. Wherefore ſeeing that time and occaſion required the like

1516

Sedition of Vailledolit againſt Ximenes.

Diuiſion among Councellors in a State is dangerous.

Lets of the Cardinalls military Edict.

1516 like remedy, to force many great men to the obseruation of the Lawes, hee had reui- G
ued this most necessary remedie, with the which hee meant to preserue him the realme
of his predecessors, without any charge vnto his coffers. For this cause hee besought
the king not to giue eare vnto the slaunderous reports of his ill willers, who desired no-
thing but troubles, seeing hee had had so great proofes of his loyalty and affection: and
that it would please him to write sharpe letters to the townes that would not obey him,
that they might bee drawne to their dueties, a contempt or rebellion being of great
importance, the which can not be light, no not in light matters: And for that since
the warre of Granado Spaine was much vnfurnished of armes, that it was necessarie to
send out of Flaunders, and the neighbour countries, great store of corslets, harque-
Acts of Cardinall Ximenes approoued by the King. buzes, pikes and other armes: the which was faithfully sollicited by *Diego Lopes*, and H
fauourably graunted by the King; so as at the comming of those Letters into Spaine,
the inhabitants of Vailledolit and others, seeing that the Cardinalles councell was al-
lowed by the prince, submitted themselues, and gaue ouer their factions. There were
foure Sindics of the people appointed at Vailledolit, who should assist at the Councell,
and might oppose against all decrees and resolutions which should bee made to the pre-
iudice of the King, or commonweale, and if they would proceede, then to aduertise
Rebellions pacified in Castille. the King. This was thought verie fit and necessarie by the Vailledolitanes, the chiefe
whereof were too much obliged to the Admirall and Earle of Benauent. Thus ended
the rebellion of those townes against the Cardinall, who by meanes of these prouisi-
ons maintained himselfe in his charge and authoritie. These militarie Orders haue been I
in our time practised by King *Philip* the second, hauing appoynted bands and cap-
taines, and graunted immunities to the souldiers throughout all his townes. And for
that the Cardinall had prouided in vaine for all inconueniences which might happen at
land, if he should not in like maner assure the realme towards the Sea, he added to the old
gallies which hee found in Spaine, twentie new, which were built and rigged at the
Defeat of Turks at sea by the Spanish gallies. charge of the people, dwelling vpon the Sea coast, vnder colour to defend them from
the incursions and surprizes of the Moores, Turkes and pyrates: the which prooued
honourable for him, for soone after that they were readie, the Spanish armie tooke
six Turkish gallies with the slaughter of aboue six hundred Turks, and brought them to
Alicant. This Cardinall forgetting nothing that might serue for the publique good, K
hee repaired the forts and publique monuments which went to ruine, amongst which
was the Atarazana, or Arcenal of Seuile. His care and diligence extended to the I-
Orders for the Indies. lands and West Indies, where, by his pietie and wisedome, the Ilanders beganne to
taste some libertie. At that time there was resident in Madrid, D. *Diego Colombus* Ad-
mirall of the Indies, who had beene called home into Spaine by the deceased King D.
Ferdinand, by reason of some quarrelles betwixt him and some that had charge at the
Indies, and for many complaints and accusations framed against him by his enemies.
After the kings decease hee did sollicite Cardinall *Ximenes* the Regent to take know-
ledge of his affaires, and to suffer him to execute his charge: wherefore hee thought it
fitte to send some good and learned men to be informed of these quarrells at the Indies, L
and to that end hee made choise of two friers, of the Order of Saint *Ieroſme*, the one
was *Lewis* of Figuero prior of the monasterie of Mejorada of Olmedo, and the other
Cardinall Ximenes causeth information to be taken at the Indies of the Spaniards. *Alphonso* of Saint *Iohn* prior of Ortega of Burgos, to whom hee ioyned *Bernardin Man-
zanedo*, and gaue them charge to passe into the Iland of Saint Dominicke or Hispanio-
la, and there to take an exact information of the insolencies and abuses of euerie man,
and especially of the quarrells betwixt the Admirall and the Spaniards, and to inquire
of all things that were profitable or necessary for the publique gouernement, and espe-
cially for the quiet and good vsage of the naturall Indians, who at that time were oppres-
sed with cruell seruitude, recommending especially vnto them the instruction of those M
people in religion. Afterwards hee appoynted that *Alphonso Suares* should follow them
for President of the Iustice, a man learned in the Lawes, and vertuous. The friers be-
ing come into the Iland, beganne to execute their charge very diligently, and with dis-
cretion, and did order many things, whereof this is memorable. King *Ferdinand* decea-
sed, had distributed the Ilanders and Indians to certaine captaines, and other Spani-

ards,

A ards, who had employed themſelues in theſe diſcoueries and conqueſts, to haue the care and defence of them, as Lordes of their vaſſalls and ſubiects, and for this reaſon were called Commandataires, for that theſe poore Indians were recommended vnto them: many of theſe hauing left the Indies, were returned into Spaine; and there remayned: from whome the Fathers (diſannulling the king D. *Fernamands* Edict) tooke their vaſſalles and ſubiects, ſaying, that it was not reaſonable the abſent liuing in idleneſſe and delights, ſhould enioy the fruites due to their vertue, who ſayling ouer the ſpacious Ocean with ſo great daunger, did ſweate continually vnder their armes to extend the Empire of the Crowne of Spaine, and religion: wherefore the Ilanders were diuided by them to the olde inhabitants reſiding at the Indies, according to euerie B mans merite and dignitie. Then they thought that theſe miſerable Indians were ſlaues by the Lawes of armes; by reaſon whereof their maſters did intreate them cruelly, cauſing them to draw and to carrie burthens like horſes or aſſes, the which ſeemed verie inhumane to theſe fathers, and ſtrange from all Chriſtian pietie: wherefore ſomewhat to moderate that which they could not altogether helpe: they ordayned that this people liuing then in the fieldes and deſart places, of whom they made no more accompt then of beaſts, ſhould bee drawne into townes and villages, and liue vnder ſome forme of policie and municipall Lawe, taking from their maſters this great authoritie and power which they pretended of life and death, letting them know, that they C ſhould vſe them as vaſſalls, and not abuſe them as ſlaues. 1516

Thus the Fathers thought to prouide for the libertie of this people, againſt the tyrannie of the ſouldiers: where they found great difficulties and debates, the which is vſually ſeene when they ſeeke to aboliſh any peruerſe cuſtome; ſo as their holy diligence did afterwards cauſe a very bad effect, through the wickedneſſe of the Spaniards, who ſeeing the ſame order obſerued by the fathers in other Ilands, and places of thoſe regions, whereas the like diuiſions and diſtributions had beene aſſigned, as well by the Admirall *Colombus* and others, thinking that hereafter there would come others, ſo as in the end the Indians ſhould be ſet at full libertie, whereat the Spaniards were ſo mad, as ſurcharging their ſubiects and vaſſalls with inſupportable trauel they made them ſhrinke *Cruelty of the Spaniards to the Indians.* D vnder their burthens, and die. They ſaie, that by the induſtrie of theſe friers, the art of drawing and refining of ſugar was much bettered and augmented, and therefore they were much honoured in Spaine, as the authors and inuentors of many profitable things.

It happened at that time, that ſome without the priuitie of Cardinall *Ximenes*, had gotten leaue of King *Charles* in Flaunders, to carrie foure hundred Ethiopian Moores to the Ilands, ſuch as the Portugalles were accuſtomed to bring into Spaine, vnder colour that the art of drawing and trimming their ſugars required great and ſtrong labour, which the weake bodied Indians could not vndergoe: which the Cardinall vnderſtanding hee preſently aduertiſed the King of the daunger hee foreſawe therein; for E theſe Moores are more ſtrong and giuen to armes: wherefore hee beſought him to conſider what a ſubiect of ſedition thoſe men which had obtayned this leaue of him, carried to the Indians, a ſimple and rude people, who without doubt would learne of them to bee hardie and warrelike, and to rebell afterwards againſt the Spaniards. This councell was contemned by the king, or rather by *Monſieur de Cheures* who gouerned him, thinking that the Cardinall did not ſo much blame their trafficke of ſlaues for the good of the Common weale, as for that hee beeing Gouernour of Spaine, thought it ſhould not be allowed without his priuitie; but he found afterwards by the euent, how wiſe the Cardinalles aduice was. For in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and two and twentie, by the conſpiracie of fortie of theſe Moores, they did cauſe a ſeruile warre F in the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, the which was hardly quencht by the vertue and diligence of *Melchior de Caſtro*, and *Francis d'Auila* Inhabitants there. *Moores ſtrong and fit for the warre.*

Nauarre.

20 The gouernement of Caſtille was not yet aſſured from troubles, when as they had newes, that *Iohn* of Albret king of Nauarre came with a great armie of French, for the recouerie of his realme, wherewith the Cardinall was troubled, hauing not ſufficient

1516 ent forces to aſſure ſo many affaires : knowing well that D. *Frederic* of Acugna, vice- G
roy of Nauarre was not prouided as hee ought : wherefore by the aduice, and at the
requeſt of the chiefe noblemen, hee gaue the defence of the realme to D. *Antonio*
Manrique de Lara, ſonne to D. *Pedro* Duke of Nagera, who willingly offered himſelfe
D Antonio Manrique de Lara viceroy of Nauarre. to take that charge in ſo dangerous a time, hauing his lands neere vnto Nauarre, from
whence he might drawe ſpeedie ſuccours at all euents : and it is a bruite continued from
time to time that it was propounded in the councell of Caſtille, not onely to demant-
le all the Townes and places of ſtrength within the realme, by reaſon of the mutinies
which did riſe at that time in Nauarre, but alſo to leaue the land waſt to ſerue to feede
Councell barbarous to make the countrie of Nauarre deſart their troupes : the demantling did afterwards take place, but as for the deſolation of
the fields it was held too barbarous. D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco, Conſtable of Ca- H
ſtille, an inueterate enemie to the Duke of Nagera, ſought to diſappoint his ſonne of
his gouernement, pretending that hee had aliances, with the faction of *Gramont*,
and did ſtill feare the ruine of it : wherefore hee made proteſtations againſt this de-
cree made in Councell, whereby the neceſſarie prouiſions were ſo delayed in this ap-
parent daunger, as if the French had aduaunced with more ſpeede, they might eaſily
haue beene maſters of Pampelone, and of the whole realme.

Their armie entring ſlowly by the Pyrenees on the ſide of Moya and Iſana, it was
ſtayed in the valley of Roncal, and defeated by the diligence of colonell D. *Ferdinand*
Villalua of Plaiſance : The Marſhall D. *Pedro*, who was the Leader, and his brother
Diego Velez, with other Noblemen Nauarrois, were taken and ſent into Caſtille, to
diuers priſons, whileſt that king *Iohn* was at the ſiege of the Caſtle of Saint *Iohn*, at I
the foot of the Pyrenee mountaines, who hearing of the defeat of his men, returned
into Fraunce, out of all hope euer to recouer his realme. It was bruited, that there
were found in a coffer amongſt the Marſhalles baggage that was taken, certayne Let-
ters of D. *Lewis* of Beaumont Conſtable of Nauarre, and of other Noblemen
Nauarrois, who were grieued to ſee that auncient and noble Crowne reduced to a pro-
uince. Others ſay, that the counteſſe D. *Briande Manrique*, his wife, ſiſter to the
Duke of Nagera, choſen Viceroy of Nauarre, hauing diſcouered theſe practiſes, by
certayne papers which fell into their hands, ſhee aduertiſed Cardinall *Ximenes*, who
gaue commaundement vnto *Frederic d'Acugna* the Viceroy, to ſeaze vpon the Conſta- K
bles perſon, but as captaine *Picarro* would haue laied hands on him, hee eſcaped and
ſtoode vpon his gard, vntill the comming of the Duke of Nagera his brother in lawe,
to be Viceroy of the realme : for this cauſe the counteſſe his wife durſt neuer afterwards
come in his company.

Forts demanteled in Nauarre. The affaires of Nauarre beeing aſſured for Caſtille by the defeate of the French
armie, the Cardinall cauſed them to beginne to demantle the forts throughout the
realme, by the perſuaſion of colonell *Villalua*, or for that hee had formerly conceiued
it in his fantaſie, the which they that haue come after haue found profitable : for it is
certayne that the Nauarrois could not forget their proprietarie and lawfull kings; and
there is no doubt but if the forts had ſtoode ſtill, they would haue ſought meanes to re- L
bell : but ſeeing themſelues without anie retreats, they haue contayned themſelues :
beſides, in doing it, the Cardinall would ſpare a great expence, which hee muſt haue
imployed in the entertainement of ſo many garriſons, as was neceſſarie in a Realme
newly conquered : To conclude, all were demanteled and ruined, except the citie of
Pampelona, the Caſtle of Eſtella, and the townes of Lombier, and Pont de la Roine,
which the Conſtable D. *Lewis* of Beaumont obtayned for a time of his brother in law :
the Caſtle of Mazille a place ſtrong by ſcituation and art, vpon the riuer of Arragon,
eſcaped this furie by the vertue of D. *Anna* of Velaſco, Marqueſſe of Falſes, who
drew vp the bridge againſt the Commiſſaries deputed for theſe demolitions, ſaying, M
that ſhee would keepe the place well vntill the comming of King *Charles*, and ſo hin-
dered them.

Among other buildings which fell in this calamitie, the Conuent of Saint *Frauncis*
of Olita an auncient place, and reuerenced, was much lamented. The death of co-

lonell

A lonell *Villalua* followed ſoone after, ſuſpected to haue beene aduanced by the Conſtable *Lewis* of Beamont, who meeting him neere vnto his houſe of Lerin vpon the way to Eſtella, inuited him to ſup with him, where it was thought hee had poiſon giuen him, whereof hee dyed as ſoone as hee came to Eſtella: This was for the hatred which hee had pourchaſed among all the Nauarrois, for that hee had beene the inſtrument of the demanteling of the forts of Nauarre. 1517 *Death of Collonell Villalua*

King *Iohn* of Albret dyed alſo, this yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuenteene, of griefe, ſeeing his affaires deſperate; and his bodie was laied in the Cathedrall church of Leſcar in Bearn, for his will was to be interred in the great church of ſaint B *Marie* of Pampelona: His death happened fiue yeares nine moneths and twenty daies after that hee was diſpoſſeſt of his realme. The offices of colonell *Villalua* were confirmed to his ſonne, by the interceſſion of Cardinall *Ximenes*, who gaue this profitable councell vnto the king, to giue the ſuruiuancy of eſtates to their children that died in his ſeruice, as an incouragement to carrie themſelues well and faithfully in their charges: yet hee was not of opinion to giue him the place of Colonell which his father had, holding that this great power and commandement ouer many men, ſhould not bee ſuffered in armes, being the cauſe of confuſion and diſorder, being a naturall thing and moſt neceſſarie, ſaid hee, that all ſhould looke vnto one head. Colonell *Villalua* was a valiant man, ſoudaine and actiue, ſharpe witted, of a great courage, and C a good ſouldier in all occaſions: and as for his vertues they compared him to *Hanibal*, ſo the imperfection of his body did increaſe his fame, for he was blind of an eye, like vnto *Haniball*. Queene *Catherine* ſuruiued her husband about eight moneths, and ordained by her will that her body ſhould bee buried in the Cathedrall church of Saint *Marie* of Pampelone, to preſerue the right to the realme of Nauarre, leauing *Henry* of Albret her ſonne, heire thereof: She died at Mont de Marſan, being ſeuen and forty yeares olde: her body was left as it were in depoſito, at Leſcar in Bearn, by her husband. *Henrie* of Albret was then foureteene yeares old, and did intitle himſelfe king of Nauarre: the Viceroy of which realme at his entrie into his gouernment, aſſembled the eſtates at Pampelona, cauſing them to ſwear to king *Charles* of Auſtria, and to the queene D. *Ioane* his mother, D hee alſo ſwearing on their behalfes to obſerue the priuiledges of the countrie. And for that by reaſon of the faction, wherewith that realme had been in former times diuided, they had been accuſtomed to chuſe a councel or court of iuſtice of like number, of either part of *Gramont* and *Beaumont*, the preſident of which councell being choſen by lot out of one of the factions, did commonly oppreſſe the contrarie party, the Cardinall cauſed the order eſtabliſhed firſt by king *Iohn* of Albret, and continued by king *Ferdinand* to bee followed: which was to giue them a Preſident that was a ſtranger, notwithſtanding the Nauarrois did ſolicit in the kings court in Flanders, to haue the auncient cuſtome practiſed again. He alſo tooke the gouernment of Pampelone from an Arragonois, called *Ferrera*, and gaue it to a Caſtillan, letting the king vnderſtand that the Arragonois & Nauar- E rois did alwaies diſagree. He did alſo reſiſt the Cardinall of Albret, who throgh the popes fauour would enioy his biſhopricke of Pampelone, from whence hee had beene expelled. 1517 *Death of Iohn of Albret king of Nauarre.* *Qualities of Colonel Villalua.* *Death of queen Catherine of Nauarre.*

21 Nauarre being pacified, there grew troubles in the realme of Granado, by reaſon of the rights and iuſtice of the Admiraltie. It is an auncient order in Spaine, as in many other realmes, that the admirall hath charge of the Sea-coaſts, and of armes and warre at ſea, and of ciuill and criminall iuſtice ouer all ſea-faring men, as well Mariners, & paſſengers as Souldiers. And therefore in euery Prouince which lies vpon the ſea, where there are ports, ſhips, & any cõmerce he hath his Iudges, as at Seuile, Malaga, and ſuch like, & ſets vp gibbets and other ſuch markes of ſupreme iuſtice. They of Malaga F had often tryed in the time of king *Ferdinand* to free themſelues from this iuriſdiction, and to aboliſh it in their towne, ſaying, that it did but hinder iuſtice, and giue way to ill liuers, to auoid deſerued puniſhment: for in Sea-townes whither men come from diuers places, and many times vnciuil, if any one bee called in queſtion for any crime, he requires to be ſent vnto the admiraltie, and moſt commonly by theſe declinatories eſcapes the puniſhment that ſhould be inflicted vpon him by the royal Iudges. In like maner the garri- *Caſtille.* *Admiralty in Caſtille and the Iuriſdiction.*

1517 ſons which were vpon the Sea-coaſts did abuſe theſe things, appealing ſometime from G
the kings juſtice, ſometimes from the admiraltie. Being not able to obtain any prouiſion
therein from king *Ferdinand*, at ſuch time as the Cardinal gouerned, they ſent into Flan-
ders, to get an abolition of this juſtice from king *Charles* of Auſtria. But, as a multitude
hauing once a deſire, hath no patience, order nor mean, thoſe of Malaga, without ex-
Tumult at Malaga. pecting of any anſwer, did tumultuouſly chaſe away the judges and beat down the gib-
bets, and all other markes of the Admiralty in their towne and iuriſdiction: whereof
the high admirall complained to Cardinall *Ximenes*, who was Regent, and to the coun-
cell, who thinking by admonitions and threats to ſuppreſſe the heat of this people, they
receiued anſwere, that they would not ſubmit themſelues to any judgement touching H
the differences betwixt them and the admiral, vntil that king *Charles* their ſoueraigne lord
were arriued in Spaine: and meaning to maintaine themſelues in this opinion againſt any
force that ſhould be offered them, they took armes, and planted all the artillerie they had
vpon their towers & wals, making one peece of admirable greatnes, by a generall contri-
bution of the people, whereon they did graue theſe words in latin, *Malacitanæ libertatis Aſ-
ſertores, F.C.* that is to ſay, the defenders of the *Malaquins* libertie haue cauſed it to bee
made. The multitude was entertained in this rebellion for a time, by ſome of their citi-
zens, to whome the Flemiſh lords that were neere vnto the kings perſon, did write let-
ters, and promiſe fauor: but the Cardinal after that he had vſed al mild remedies, ſent an
Malaquins ſuppreſt. army of the legionaries, according to his inſtitution, in the which were 6000 foot and 400 I
horſe, led by D. *Anthonio de la Cueua*: whereupon the Malaquins fainting, when as the ar-
my came but to Antequera, they ſent word that they were ready to obey the Cardinals
commandements, ſending two deputies vnto him, who in the cities name beſought him to
take them to mercy, and to abſtaine from bloud. D *Anthony* hauing aduertiſed the Car-
dinall of the Malaquins ſubmiſſion, hee had commandement to end matters with mild-
nes and clemency, and to yeeld all hee might vnto them, preſeruing the kings honour
and dignitie. There were fiue of the chiefe authors of the ſedition hanged, & the reſt were
pardoned. Of which things the Cardinall did aduertiſe the king, letting him vnderſtand
how preiudiciall it would be to the common-weale, if his councel of Flanders did ſo eaſi-
ly vndo that which had bin concluded with mature deliberation in the councell of Spain; K
Gouernors ſhould be maintained in their reputation. beſeeching him therein to haue a care of his authority, the which was ioyned to the royal
authoritie, holding, that the chiefeſt foundation of the publike peace, did conſiſt in the re-
putation of the gouernour.

22 In Caſtille *Iohn Velaſques* of Cuellar, ſuperintendent of the treaſure, ſon to doctor
Guttiere Velaſques, ſought to keepe the caſtle of Areualo by force, which place the queen
D. *Iſabella*, wife to king *Iohn* the ſecond, had had for her dwelling, and had beene commit-
Contention for the towne of Areualo. ted, as alſo the affaires of the widow queene, to the cuſtodie of doctor *Guttiere*, & then to
his ſonne after his death: but the Cardinal had newly, by the aduice of king *Charles*, giuen
that place, with Olmedo, Madrigal, and Sancta Maria de Nieua, with their reuenues, vnto
queen *Germaine*, widow to king *Ferdinand*, in exchange of 30000 ducats of rent which the L
king her husband had left her by his wil, to be taken out of the reuenues of Naples: wher-
upon *Velaſques* ſeeing himſelf put from the poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of Areualo, which he
did think ſhould haue bin perpetual, he durſt preſume to hold it by force, being preſt ther-
unto by D. *Maria* of Velaſco his wife, who was at that time as much hated of Q. *Germaine*,
as ſhee had beene formerly beloued: and fauoured by her; beſides that many no-
blemen deſiring to ſee *Velaſques* aduanced, either for loue, or for aliance that was betwixt
them, & not greatly affecting queen *Germaine*; they incouraged him to commit this inſo-
lency, promiſing him aide at all euents: but ſuch promiſes are moſt commonly vaine & de-
fectiue, when as the ſoueraigne magiſtrate purſues his right, euery man fearing when it
comes to a matter of fact, to incur the puniſhment of a rebell. Againſt this purpoſe of *Ve-* M
laſques, the Cardinal, after his accuſtomed maner, vſed al mild courſes, cauſing the king to
write kind letters vnto him, and this preuailing little, he afterwards added threats: but he
gaue more credit to his wife, & to the perſuaſions of the admirall, the conſtable, the earle
of Benauent, the duke of the Infantazgo & others, who enuied the cardinal, of which the
admirall ſhewed letters ſigned by them al, promiſing that if the Cardinall attempted any
thing

A thing againſt the town of Areualo, they would ſend him ſuccours, & therfore the Inhabitants ſhould take courage to maintein themſelues vnder the juriſdiction of the crown, rather than to receiue a woman for their lady & miſtreſſe, being aſſured that k. *Charles*, being in the countrey, he would like of their conſtancy, and diſpoſe otherwiſe of their affaires. The inhabitants of Areualo being animated heereby, they reiected all good Councell: wherfore the Cardinal ſent an Alcaide of the court thither, with ſome ſouldiers, to reduce them to their duties, who ſummoned them by a trompet to obey the kings commandement, elſe he would proceed againſt them with al rigour, as rebels, & would make *Velaſcos* proceſſe condemning him as a traitor, which note ſhold paſſe to all his poſterity; & would confiſcate his goods. Theſe ſommations being reiterated according to the forme of Iu- 1517
B ſtice, & with ſolemnities and ceremonies, *Velaſco* ſeeing that neither the admirall nor the other noblemen, which had promiſed him ſo much aſſiſtance, did not make any offer to defend him, he thought it better for him to yeeld vnto the Alcaide, thē to attend the rigor of armes, or the proceeding of juſtice, wherfore hee diſmiſt the ſouldiers which were in garriſon in the Caſtle; the which with the towne were deliuered vp vnto Alcaide. Some daies after *Velaſques* went to court, & ſubmitted himſelfe & his affaires to the Cardinals pleaſure, who receiued him courteouſly, promiſing him al aſſiſtance & fauor to the king, & did comfort him for the great afflictions which he had ſuffered, eſpecially for the late death of his eldeſt ſon, which grief did ſoon bring him to his end at Madrid, although ſome did ſay that he was poiſoned.

C Theſe things done in fauour of the royall authority, by Cardinall *Ximenes*, he found meanes to maintaine them of Areualo & Olmedo in their priuiledges and liberties, & to keep them from comming into the power of Q. *Germaine*, whom he did not loue, for that he ſaw himſelf contemned by her, & that ſhe did incline to the party of the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, & of his gouernors, who were oppoſite vnto him: wherupon he did write vnto king *Charles* in Flanders, ſhewing him by old & new examples how much it did import for the ſafety of Caſtille, that Areualo & Olmedo places of ſtrength and fit to trouble the realm ſhould remain vnited to the crown, & not be in the poſſeſſion of any priuat lord, obiecting that which *D. Iohn* king of Nauarre & Arragō, had attempted, by the opportunity of thoſe two places, againſt D. *Iohn* 2 king of Caſtille: ſaying moreouer, that Q. *Germain* had cauſe
D content her ſelf with the large reuenues of Madrigal alone, wherwith ſhe had bin ſatisfied before the troubles of Areualo: That if he had ſuppreſt the inhabitants & *Velaſques*, it was more to teach them to obey the kings commandement, than for that he thought it expedient that place ſhould bee giuen to the queene, to whom he had granted it, before hee was truely aduertiſed of the eſtate of her affaires; adding to his letters a copy of the priuiledges granted by auncient kings to the townes of Areualo and Olmedo: wherfore hee did eaſily obtaine from the kings, that which hee pretended; at the leaſt hee kept theſe townes in their liberty, and cauſed the matter to be deferred vntill his comming.

E 23 The pitiful eſtate of D. *Ioane* queen of Caſtille, did much trouble the Cardinall *Ximenes*, being afflicted with a miſerable infirmity; for this princeſſe was poſſeſt with a cruell melācholike humor, ſo as ſhe led a moſt lamentable life in the caſtle of Tordeſillas, wheras k. *Ferdinand* her father had lodged her, a pleaſant & commodious place. *Lewis Ferrier* of Valencia had charge of her, being alſo captain of the caſtle of Tordeſillas, but he was vnfit for ſuch a buſines; for whether by his ſlownes, growing by reaſon of his age, or throgh ignorance, he could neuer get her to lodge in any pleaſant and well ayred chamber of the caſtle, but would alwaies lurke in darke and obſcure places neere the ground, fit to entertain and augment her malancholike humor: ſhe did abhorre ſoft and delicate beds, and
F would lie vpon the ground, and if ſhe did lay herſelfe vpon a board couered with a Carpet, it was by great importunity: it was not poſſible to make her weare a furred gowne in winter, nor any thing that was rich: She was often three daies together without eating; neither could the prayers nor perſuaſions of her Seruants preuaile any thing with her: ſhe often complained that ſhe was kept like a priſoner, and that they with-held her from the gouernment of affaiers, like a priuat perſon.

Eſtate of queen Ioan of Caſtille, mother to king Charles.

Ambition raigning in Queene Ioane.

The Cardinall was much grieued for theſe things; & ſomewhat to remedie it, holding

1517 for certaine that the negligence of *Lewis Ferrier* did feed the malice of her infirmity, hee G diſmiſt him by reaſon of his great age, putting in his place *Ferdinand Duca* called *Strat*, of Talauera, a man of a Noble family, wiſe and well aduiſed, who carried himſelfe ſo diſcreetly in his charge, as in a ſhort time hee did moderate this violent humour in the Queene, and got her to bee content to haue her chamber made cleane, and many earthen diſhes wherein they did commonly ſerue her to bee carried away: for ſhee had an humor to make them leaue the diſhes full of meat in her chamber, not ſuffering them to carrie any one away, ſo as the meat corrupting, made a ſtinking ſauour: then by little and little he procured her to lie in a bed; hee perſuaded her to goe abroad to church, and made her to haue ſome feeling and apprehenſion that ſhee was a H Queene, and ſo acknowledged: and ſo by little and little made her familiar, & brought her to a more milde and humane kinde of life: the which did much pleaſe king *Charles* her ſonne, who thanked Cardinall *Ximenes* by his letters.

The diſpleaſure which *Lewis Ferrier* had conceiued for his diſplacing, was augmented by the diſmiſſion of his ſonne, from the gouernement of Toledo, for his miſdemeanors and negligence, which cauſed infinite confuſions; in whoſe place the earle of Palma, of the family of *Portocarrero* was made gouernour, a man worthy of great honour, who was receiued notwithſtanding the oppoſitions of the faction of *Ayala*: for the citie of Toledo, hath beene long diuided into two factions of *Sylua* and of *Ayala*. This was pacified by the diligence of the earle of Fuenſalida, who was one of the I heads of it, a deare friend to Cardinall *Ximenes*. Doctor *Gallego* being ſent to Toledo to informe of the life and behauiour of the gouernour of *Ferrier*, diſplaced by the Cardinall and the kings councell, by a memorable example, and ſhewing his auncient ſeueritie, hee cauſed ſome officers and miniſters of juſtice to be publikely whipt, being conuicted of corruption and other crimes, and would haue puniſhed *Arroios* treaſurer of the Calatraua more grieuouſly, if hee had not fled away, being accuſed of infinite villanies, rapes, & violences committed about his commandery of Zoria; whereof being depriued by ſentence, the Cardinal gaue it vnto *Sancho Cabrera*. By theſe offices of piety and juſtice, the Cardinall made himſelfe to be obeied, feared, beloued and reuerenced in Caſtille, keeping the realme in peace, and prouiding in the meane time for thoſe K things which might ſerue for future and vnexpected accidents. Hee appointed arcenals or ſtorehouſes for artillerie, engines, and all munition of warre, in three places of Spain: At Medina del Campo, beyond the mountaines, in Caſtille the old: in the realm of Toledo, at Alcala of Henares; and at Malaga in Granado, that when any tumult or ſedition ſhould ariſe, they might haue ſpeedy meanes to ſuppreſſe it: As for that of Medina del Campo, it is moſt certaine that it was then made. He had an humour to haue coyned a peece of money, on the which ſhould be grauen the Image of Saint *Francis*, but the kings councell holding it to be ſomewhat ambitious in the Cardinall, who was a frier, oppoſed themſelues. He began a commendable and moſt profitable thing in all great eſtates, that is, hee obtained a decree from king *Charles*, by the which there was commandement giuen to bring in all ſort of regiſters, accomps, memorials, inſtructions, & ſuch like writings, concerning the publike affaires, of the realm, or the ſtate of the kings houſe, which might be in the hãds of the counſellers and ſoueraign Iudges, or of thoſe which had beene imployed in embaſſages to foreine Princes and common-weales, and other perſons whatſoeuer, to be kept in certaine places, to be vſed when time and neceſſity ſhould require: the which if it had been executed, poſteritie had beene better ſatisfied of that which had paſt in precedent times, and better informed of that which was to be done. By ſome little which was done according to this decree, the Cardinal came to the knowledge of many things, eſpecially of that which concerned the militarie orders of Spaine, as the reuenues & ancient rights of the maſters, & of their tables, of the common money of com- M manderies, & the duties of commanders & their juſtice and Chapters; which things were vnknowne to the kings officers, the maſterſhips hauing beene retained and held by kings, and then annexed to the crowne: ſo as there were infinite fraudes and abuſes committed, which gaue occaſion to the great commanders of thoſe orders, to make oppoſitions, and to ſeeke to exempt themſelues out of the Cardinalls power, yea

Miniſters of iuſtice puniſhed exemplary.

Storehouſes for munition in Spaine.

Search of auncient writings by Cardinall Ximenes.

A yea of the king himſelfe: the prouiſion of Conanderies, was one of the quarrels which they debated, ſaying, that it ſhould bee Canonically done, according vnto the orders which they held, and not giuen to any, but to them of their orders, reſpectiuely: but it is hard to kicke againſt the power of kings: wherefore all that the commanders could alleage was eaſily refelled by the Cardinall, who could giue good interpretations to their Papall Bulles, and other inſtructions which they produced. Through the Cardinalls diligence, by the reuiſion of the ancient accompts, hee found that there had been imbezeled from the king aboue forty Millions of Marauidis euerie yeare, the fraud conſiſting chiefly in that the commanders were in old B time to aſſiſt their maſters in the warres againſt the moores, with a certaine number of Souldiers entertained at their charges, the which they concealed, and freed themſelues, leauing the care and charge to the king. Finding that ſome townes belonging to theſe maſterſhips had beene vſurped, hee reſtored them to the kings reuenues, wherein he did chiefly make vſe of the labour and diligence of *Touilla* and *Cabrera*, commanders of the orders of Calatraua. He made inquirie of the manners and carriage of the iudges of thoſe orders, and cenſured them, diſplacing ſome, and inſtituting others: Hee had reſolued to doe the like to them of the Chanceries and great councells, as wel following the court, as of Vailledolit, Granado, Galicia, and others, with ſpeciall commandement from the king, which hee had procured to that end: hee did with great diligence and ſe- C ueritie cut off many gifts, fees and entertainments, which were not greatly neceſſarie; the which did much eaſe the kings cofers, not fearing to offend his greateſt and deareſt friends, for the profit of his Prince, wherby he purchaſed many enemies: finally, imitating the emperor *Seuerus*, a moſt worthy Prince, he wold not haue any one receiue wages from the king, nor to haue an office in the ſtate, that were not profitable and neceſſarie for the common-weale; and he diſapointed all thoſe rats, which did but deuour, retaining onely in court, the Iudges or Councellors of the great Chancelie, the officers and ordinarie miniſters of the roiall Pallace, the garriſons of the frontiers, the foure prouoſts of juſtice, whome they call Alcaydes, and their archers, the marſhall of the lodgings, and harbingers, gards of the body, and ſuch like. But it is doubtfull touching the taking away of of- D ficers fees, whether he did it of his owne motion, or by the kings commandement: for hee complained by ſome letters to the king, for that they gaue him alwaies an odious charge to take away, and neuer to giue any thing. But howſoeuer, he was of opinion that ſparing was moſt neceſſarie and commendable in a prince, who muſt conſider that all that hee ſpends comes out of the bowels of his people, complaining greatly that in leſſe than foure months that he had begunne to gouerne the realm, king *Charles* had giuen away aboue eighteene millions of Marauidis. Aboue all things, he held that a multitude of Collectors and receiuers, and a great number of treaſurers were verie pernitious and hurtfull to a ſtate: wherefore he deſired that ſome man of a noble houſe, diligent and expert, were made ſuperintendent of all the kings money, whoſe charge ſhould be to diſtribute the or- E dinarie expenſes, as need ſhould require, and to reſerue the remainder, to bee imployed in vnexpected affaires, and in liberalities well imployed by king; and vnder him ſuch a number of deputies as ſhould be neceſſarie: He held, that it was a great confuſion in the managing of the treaſure, to inuert and imploy one kind of money to another vſe than it had beene aſſigned: of which rules he did continually aduertiſe the king his maſter by his letters, and gaue an accompt of his gouernment, ſhewing with how little charge, in a ſmall time that he had been his lieutenant in Caſtille, he had effected great matters; Hee had pacified the tumults in Andaluſia, repulſt the French in Nauarre, ſuppreſt the contempt and rebellion of the Malaquins, held the frontiers wel manned, clenſed the ſea from pyrats, and aſſured the coaſt, made an enterprize againſt Alger, freed Bugia, Pegnon and F Melille from feare and the aſſaults of *Horuſco Barberouſſe*, ſuccoured Argille for the king of Portugal, and with all diſcharged great debts, which D. *Ferdinand* his grandfather did owe. That if he with a limited authority, and for another, amideſt the enuy and croſſes of his ill willers, could effect ſuch great matters, by the means of ſparing & good huſbandrie, much more might he doe it, who was a king, and whoſe greatnes was without the touch of enuie.

1517

Husbandrie of Cardinall Ximenes.

Multitude of officers in the treaſorie hurtfull to the realm

1517 *Alger held by Horuſco Barberouſſe.*

26 As for the expedition of Alger, whereof hee makes mention in his letters, it had not been verie happy: it was after this maner. Alger a ſea towne which ſome hold to bee Cirte, the chiefe of the realme of Iuba and Siphax, but they are deceiued: Others ſay it was the Colonie of Salde in Mauritania Ceſarienſis: it was then in a maner tributarie to the Spaniards, but it was much afflicted by the diſſenſion of two brethren Moores, who contended for the Seigneurie. The inhabitants deſirous to ſhake off this yoake, had called *Horuſco Barberouſſe* to defend their liberties, who running along the coaſt of Afrike, with his younger bother *Haredin*, had beene lately repulſt from Bugia, a Spaniſh towne, with the loſſe of an army, about the death of king *Ferdinand*. This famous Pyrat hauing thus ſeaſed vpon that citie, cõmodious for theft & Pyracies, he made himſelf king of Alger, hauing ſlaine Celim the lawfull prince, and then hee began to ſpoile vpon the coaſt of Spaine, and did not onely moleſt the Chriſtians, but he did tyrannize ouer the pety kings of Afrike of his owne ſect: ſo as hee vndertooke to piſpoſſeſſe *Albuzeuen* king of Tunis, whome hauing ſlaine, hee purſued *Iahia* his ſonne ſo neere, as hee forced him to leaue the countrie, and to flie into Spaine, where addreſſing himſelfe vnto Cardinall *Ximenes*, and relating his miſerie vnto him, he beſought him that hee might recouer his aunceſtors realme. The Cardinall hauing giuen him good hope, cauſed men to bee leuied in Spaine, and galleys and ſhips to bee made ready to paſſe into Afrike, againſt this Pyrat *Barberouſſe*: the charge of which army hee gaue to *Diego Vera*, maſter of the ordnance, a raſh and indiſcreet man, but it was firſt refuſed by *Ferdinand Andrado*, who excuſed himſelfe, holding it perilous to lead new men and vnexperienced (ſuch as the Cardinall ment to ſend to the warre.) The army of *Diego Vera*, being about eight thouſand men, hauing weighed anchor they came neere vnto Alger in October: The Moores being long before aduertiſed of this preparation which was made againſt them, were ready to ſtop their landing, and at all euents had manned the towne of Alger with good ſouldiers, both of horſe and foot, among the which there were ſixe hundred Turkiſh archers, verie good ſouldiers, whome *Horuſco* had brought out of Aſia for his ordinarie gard. *Diego Vera* approaching neere the towne, he diuided his armie into foure parts, againſt the aduice of other Captaines, the which was verie hurtful vnto him, for the Barbarians were in all places ſtronger than the Aſſayants, either in aſſault, ſallie or skirmiſh: ſo as the Chriſtian army was chaſed and diſpearſt with a horrible ſlaughter, *Diego Vera* hauing abandoned all, and hiding himſelfe with his ſonne a good part of the day among the rocks, hee ſaued himſelfe in the firſt veſſell that he found at anchor: and being returned into Spaine he was receiued of all men with taunts and ſcoffes, the children ſinging ſongs in the ſtreets, to his diſhonour and diſgrace, ſaying, that *Diego Vera* was to weake to wreſtle againſt *Horuſco*, who had but one arme, with ſuch like. After which the Spaniards were neuer ſucceſful in any enterpriſe againſt *Alger*.

The newes of this rout was brought to Cardinall *Ximenes*, when as hee was diſputing in an aſſembly of Diuines: and they ſay, that hauing read the letters, hee ſhewed no ſigne of heauines, but ſaid onely, that the Spaniſh army had beene defeated in Afrike, but God be thanked, the loſſe was not great: for Spaine by this meanes ſhould bee purged of a great number of lewd inſolent companions, whom hee had ſent in this expedition, remembring what king *Ferdinand* was wont to ſay, that it was neceſſary after a time to ſend men out of the countrie to ſome foreine warre: for it was like a potion of Rubarbe to a mans body, which carried away all ſharpe and cholericke humors hindering the ſweet harmony of the whole conſtitution: ſo did *Pericles* that famous captaine of the Athenians vſe to doe, and other men of worth: hee made the loſſe leſſe in certaine letters writen vnto the king, ſaying, that there were but a thouand of the whole army ſlaine and taken priſoners, laying the whole blame vpon *Diego Vera*.

Edict againſt the Genouois traffiking into Spaine.

27 About that time and not farre from the warre of Alger, there was a cruell edict made againſt the Genouois trafiquing in the towns and ports of Spain, by the which they were commanded to void the country within a ſhort ſpace, vpon pain of confiſcation of their goods & loſſe of their liues: the cauſe was the error & indiſcretion of ſome, aſwell Spaniards, as Genouois, but the fault was chiefly in D. *Berenguelo*, lord of Muſcot a Cattellan,

A Cattellan commaunder of the Spanish gallies. And thus it was, there was a captaine of 1517
a brigantine or foist, named *Iohn Riue*, borne at Toledo, who being not imployed in the *Cause of the Edict against the Genouois.*
kings seruice, did steale at sea both from friend and enemie; so as meeting on a time cer-
taine marchants ships of Genoua, hauing an aduantage ouer them in a calme, he had
put them to ransome: for the which the Genouois hauing made their complaints, being
friends to Spaine, they attended but an occasion to make *Iohn Riue* repaire this injurie,
and to punish him as he deserued. It happened that three great ships of Genoua, being
in the port of Carthagena, to carrie away wools, at the same time the commonweale of
Genoua had sent forth three gallies well furnished with men and ordnance, as well for
B the safetie of those marchants ships, as to seeke out the pyrat *Iohn Riue*, who had spoyled
their companions: and as by chance all these vessels of Genoua were at Carthagena, be-
hold the Spanish armie arriues, being commaunded by D. *Berenguelo*, with whom *Iohn*
Riue was, who was presently knowne by the Genouois, and therefore they addrest them-
selues to D. *Berenguelo*, intreating him to deliuer him vnto them, who had ransomed and
spoyled them, to the end they might represent him to the Iustice, or punish him them-
selues, according to the league betwixt the deceased kings of Arragon and the common-
weale of Genoua. Whereof D. *Berenguelo*, through his arrogancie, and also for that he
was a Cattelan, and by consequence an enemie to the Genouois, made no reckoning. *Refusall of iustice cause of a great tumult in Spaine.*
Wherewith the Genouois being incensed, following after the foist of *Iohn Riue*, they did
C so plie her with their canon, as they had almost sunke her. D. *Berenguelo* growing in a
rage for this fact, leauing the Genouois gallies which were armed, and had committed
the fault, he went against the Genouois ships which lay in the port, to assayle them, who
presently put their boats downe into the water with certaine peeces of ordnance, and
put themselues in defence. D. *Berenguelo*, when he saw them in fight, left them, and went
to land. There was a furious incounter betwixt the Genouois and the gallies of Spaine,
wanting their head; two of them were so ill handled with their great shot, as the one
sunke, and the other, being all broken, ran on ground, and was also lost. The towne (be-
ing moued at this noyse, and solicited by the cries of D. *Berenguelo*, saying, That they
must not in any sort suffer so great an outrage, which was against the Maiestie of the king,
D that strangers should presume to assaile his gallies in the port of Carthagena) was pre-
sently all in armes: the fight grew so hot, as the towne against the Genouois gallies and
ships, and they against the towne, shot continually one at another, making a pitifull ru-
ine of buildings, and killing of men, vntill that night parted them. The cardinall tooke
this fact of the Genouois verie ill, as contemners of him and of the king his master; be-
ing also displeased with D. *Berenguelo*, whereupon followed that edict. He also sought
by all meanes vnto the king, to haue D. *Berenguelo* depriued of the charge of the gallies,
shewing his vnworthinesse of such a commaunder, and the great fault which he had com-
mitted: and also that the truce of an hundred yeares, concluded betwixt the kings of Ar-
ragon, and the commonwele of Genoua being expired, it seemed they would reuiue with
E great hatred, the old quarell for the island of Sardinia. D. *Berenguelo*, besides that hee
had friends and fauourers in the Court of Flanders, hee made the cardinals pursuit in
vaine, by a victorie which he got soone after against foure Turkish gallies, the fight con- *Victorie of D. Berenguelo against the Turks*
tinuing almost a whole day, which was the onely remarkable thing hee did in six yeares
space, that he had beene generall of the gallies. The commonweale of Genoua sent em-
bassadours into Flanders, to king *Charles*, excusing themselues of this fact, and saying,
That it was the fault of priuat men, and not of the citie, against whom they had proceed-
ded by way of iustice, condemning the commaunders and captaines to loose their liues,
and the souldiers and mariners to other punishments, according to their merits, as soone
as they should be returned home: But God preuented the execution of their decrees, for
F these vessels being retired to the port of Villefranche neere to Nice, they had by a sud-
den whirlewind beene swallowed vp in the sea, with the losse of aboue three hundred
men. Wherefore they besought the king, seeing that these wicked breakers of the pub-
like league, were diuinely punished, that he would be pleased to grant a restitution of
their goods which had beene seised on in Spaine, and disannull that rigorous Edict. King
Charles pacified by this embassage, pardoned the offence, and reuoked the Edict, against
the

1517 the cardinals will, who was verie obſtinate in that which he had once conceiued, and did G
Cardinal Ximenes an enemie to the Genouois. ſtill ſolicite the king to breed jealouſies in his head againſt that commonweale, and to bring them into diſgrace with him; ſaying, that they had intelligence with the French: giuing infinit croſſes to theſe poore Genouois. Yet in the end, by their diligence and perſeuerance, they juſtified themſelues, and obtained reſtitution, and an abolition of the Edict, the cardinall, their aduerſarie (being ſomewhat pacified) conſenting thereunto. He
Edict againſt the Genouois reuoked. oppoſed himſelfe with great vehemencie, againſt the purſuits of the new Chriſtians (as they call them) in Court, that the judgements of the Inquiſition might bee executed againſt them, touching that which concernes witneſſes, according to the forme of other criminall cauſes; for the accuſed were not allowed to except againſt the witneſſes, which H
Proceeding vniuſt againſt the accuſed by the Inquiſition. were not confronted againſt them, nor yet named: which gaue occaſion and boldneſſe vnto judges, which were greedie of the bloud and wealth of theſe poore men, to commit many cruelties and abuſes in their charges. Finally, this cardinall did ſo labour with the king and Pope, whereas they of Arragon were alſo ſutors, as the lawes of the tribunall of the Inquiſition, practiſed in the time of king *Ferdinand*, remained firme.

Contention for the biſhoprick of Siguenſa. 29 About that time there fell out a great debate in the citie of Siguenſa, for the reſtitution of the cardinall D. *Bernardin* of Caruajal, ſometimes biſhop of that ſea, whereof he had beene depriued by Pope *Iulio*, by reaſon of the Councell of Piſa. Cardinall *Ximenes* fauouring his reintegration to his dignitie, goods, and honours, made by Pope *Leo*, he had for oppoſite D. *Frederic* of Portugall, ſubrogated into that biſhopricke, after the I
depoſition of D. *Bernardin*, who would not leaue it: So as ſome holding with cardinall *Carnaial*, and others with D. *Frederic*, the dioceſſe was diuided, & their contentions came to armes. The place where the greateſt exceſſe was committed, was Almazan, a towne of the earle of Montagus juriſdiction, whither they were reſolued to ſend an Alcayde of the Court, to ſuppreſſe this tumult. This Alcaide called *Ferdinand Calderon*, ſhewed himſelf ſo cruell in his proceedings againſt this poore people, as the earle their lord telling him, that his too great ſeueritie ſhould rather be called outrage then juſtice: and hauing by ſundrie meſſages aduertiſed the kings Councell, and beſought them, to commaund *Calderon* to retire: but ſeeing that they made no account of it, he came himſelfe well accompanied to Almazan, and forced him to leaue the towne. Wherewith the Councell, eſpecially K
doctor *Adrian*, who was now a cardinall, and companion to cardinall *Ximenes* in the gouernement of Caſtille, being incenſed, ſent a perſonall adjournement for the earle of Montagu, and meant to make his proceſſe, as hauing offended the kings Majeſtie. But cardinall *Ximenes* oppoſed himſelfe, ſhewing that he might lawfully doe that which he had done, ſeeing that vpon his many complaints made vnto the Councell, againſt the exceſſe of *Ferdinand Calderon* there was no order taken: and ſo he cauſed this purſuit to ceaſe. The difference for the biſhopricke of Siguenſa, ended in like maner, by the death of D. *Guttiere* of Toledo, biſhop of Plaiſance: which place was giuen to the cardinall of Caruajal, and D. *Frederic* left in the poſſeſſion of Siguenſa. And for that the gouernements of cities and prouinces of Spaine, had beene for a long time diſtributed confuſedly, & with- L
Nobilitie inſtituted to commaund. out diſtinction of perſons, whether noble or vnnoble, it was concluded to reſtore the ancient cuſtome, and conformable to nature, that nobilitie inſtituted to commaund, and to exerciſe honourable charges, ſhould be imployed: wherefore there were many changes of old gouernours throughout all Spaine. True it is, that the Biſcanes and they of Palence had no gentlemen at that time, but two famous Lawyers for their gouernours, that is, *Leon* and *Gallego*. In ſome places cardinall *Ximenes* was preuented by ſuch as obtained them by the kings fauour, and of the Flemiſh courteors; wherewith he was much diſcontented, eſpecially for the gouernement of Burgos, the which was giuen without his priuitie to D. *Pedro* of Caſtille, who deliuered the fort of Lara into the hands of the Sherifes and Comminaltie of the towne, and they gaue the gard thereof to *Ieffrey* of Conde, a Fle- M
ming, who had beene marſhall of the lodging to the deceaſed king *Philip*, an inconſtant man, and a prater, and therefore much hated by cardinall *Ximenes*. Of this and of many
Cardinal Ximenes impatient of iniuries, by reaſon of his ambition. other things done by D. *Pedro*, he made ſundrie complaints vnto the king. So impatient he was of any injurie, as he thought that whatſoeuer king *Charles* ordained, touching the affaires of Spaine, if it came not from him, and his aduertiſements and counſels, it was done

done in contempt of him, condemning it as pernitious, and as ſubiects of ſeditions; accuſing the noblemen and counſellors of Flanders of raſhneſſe, who being ignorant of the lawes and maners of the Spaniards, medled with the diſpoſition of the gouernments of Spaine, the which did wholly depend of the Viceroyes authoritie and reputation, and of the kings councell which was in the countrey. He did honour and cheriſh doctor *Adrian Florent* verie much, for that he yeelded vnto him: He procured him the biſhopricke of Tortoſa, the which made his way to a cardinals hat, and afterwards to the Papacie. He ſought alſo by all meanes to procure him the dignitie of Inquiſitor generall of Arragon, as he himſelfe had that of Caſtille; but he could not. The ſecretarie *Mote* of Burgos, a diuine, was verie deere vnto him, whom he made biſhop of Badajos, and would haue made him cardinall, and Archbiſhop of Toledo, had not the cardinall died ſo ſoone, which hindered him from enjoying of thoſe dignities whereof he held himſelfe ſure, but he was deceiued. *Mote* had beene preacher to king *Philip*, after whoſe deceaſe he would haue retired into Flanders, for that in hatred of the king D. *Ferdinand*, he and all the ſeruants of the deceaſed, ſought to draw the Emperour *Maximilian* into Spaine, to contend for the gouernement of thoſe realmes, for prince *Charles* his grand child. To haue the better acceſſe vnto the young princes court, he begged letters of fauour almoſt from all the chiefe noblemen of Spaine. King *Ferdinand* knowing that this preacher was full of ſpleene againſt him, yet would he not hinder his voyage for Flanders, ſhewing therein a generous mind: but he gaue order, that when he ſhould be readie to depart, all his letters of recommendation ſhould be ſtolne from him; the which was cunningly performed by the care of D. *Bernardin* of Velaſco, the kings ſonne in law, who had great meanes in that citie to doe it. *Mote* not diſcouering what was done, goes on his way, and being arriued in Flanders, where they were alreadie aduertiſed that he ſhould come, accompanied with many letters of fauour, when he opened his male he found not any, whereat he was much abaſhed, and therefore for a time was held of all thoſe courteors for a man of a ſhallow braine. Notwithſtanding his vertue and eloquence made him a way to king *Charles* his fauour, and aduanced him to honour, by the meanes of cardinall *Ximenes*: who alſo procured honours and titles to many others, whoſe qualities and behauiour were pleaſing vnto him, as to D. *Iohn Pacheco*, ſonne to the earle of Eſcalona, the title of earle of Saint *Stephen*; to D. *William Peres* of Ajala, that of earle of Gomera, which is one of the iſlands of the Canaries, which he obtained of the king for him. Such was the gouernement and carriage of cardinall *Ximenes*, who was feared and reſpected both of great and ſmall in Caſtille.

1517

THE

THE 27 BOOKE OF THE Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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For the continuance of the royall lines of Spaine *in this ſeuen and twentieth Booke, mention is made for*

CASTILLE, of LEON, ARRAGON, NAVARRE.
23 D. *Charles* 1.—44 *the ſame* 1.—21 *the ſame* 1.—37 *the ſame* 4.

C THe ſeueritie and integritie of cardinall *Ximenes*, in the gouernement of affaires, could not be long ſupportable to the Spaniards, who are hautie and proud, and accuſtomed to ſerue their kings being preſent; and much leſſe to the Flemings, who were neere vnto king *Charles*, who deſirous to make vſe of their credit and authoritie, did ſtill buſie themſelues with the great affaires of Spaine, and made their profit, to the cardinals great griefe, he oppoſing himſelf againſt them in all he could: ſo as all things tended to confuſion, as well among the Spaniards, who deſired the comming of their prince into the countrey, the which might quench 1517
D many quarels, and content thoſe that did enuie the cardinals greatneſſe, as with the noblemen Flemings, who entertained the king in Flanders, vpon diuers colours, thinking it a fit meanes to compaſſe their deſignes, if he did not vndertake this voyage; and in truth theſe had the aduantage, the king being in their power. And to take ſome courſe for the miſchiefes which he feared might happen in Spaine, by reaſon of the kings abſence, it was concluded to ſend the lord of Chaux thither, who had beene much fauoured by king *Philip*, and was chamberlaine to *Charles* his ſonne; a man fitter to entertaine a prince with pleaſant diſcourſe, and to keep him companie, than to manage the great affaires of a kingdome. To him was giuen the third place in the gouernement of Caſtille, with cardinall *Ximenes*, and doctor *Adrian*, who had procured the comming of this third,
E writing into Flanders, That he was not ſufficient to reſiſt cardinall *Ximenes*, a hautie man, who (not able to endure a companion) did manage all things at his pleaſure. The comming of *Chaux* was verie pleaſing to the noblemen, and to the people of Spaine, who were diſcontented with the cardinall, and he was receiued with all royall honours, againſt the which the cardinall did not in any ſort oppoſe himſelfe, ſhewing therein, as in all other things, a great magnanimitie and conſtancie, although he knew that he was ſent to check his authoritie and greatneſſe. All the great noblemen of Spaine, without attending any commaundement from cardinall *Ximenes* the Viceroy, went to meet him, being accompanied with great numbers of their friends and vaſſals: and comming neere to Madrid, there went forth to incounter him, doctor *Adrian*, accompanied with two of the Popes
F Nonces, the biſhop of Burgos, D. *Anthonie Fonſeca*, his brother, and by the commanders of the militarie orders, hauing with them a great traine of commaunders of euerie order, the Rector or gouernour of the towne, the Sheriſes and moſt apparent burgeſſes, the embaſſadours or deputies of Arragon, the royall Councell, the Inquiſition, the chamber of accounts, and other officers of the kings houſe, euerie one going in his ranke and order, with whom there joyned the biſhop of Auila, with the cardinals traine: And of noblemen,

The lord of Chaux third gouernor in Spain by the procurement of doctor Adrian.

1517 blemen, the marqueſſe of Villena, the earle of Vregna, the marqueſſe of Comares and G
Aguilar, D. *Bertrand de la Cueua*, eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Albuquerque, the earle of
Orepeſa, and others. Such as were not there were kept backe by a diſeaſe which did run
generally ouer all Spaine. Cardinall *Ximenes*, in regard of his place of Viceroy, ſtayed in
the palace, and receiued monſieur *de Chaux*, at the entrie of the great chamber of the lod-
ging, which was prepared for him, and that night he feaſted him with great ſtate, and en-
tertained him with much pleaſant diſcourſe, lodging him for that time in the chamber
where the biſhop of Auila was accuſtomed to lodge, for that the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, the
widow queene *Germaine*, and the cardinall, were commonly lodged in the caſtle, and
held a great part of it. Thus was this nobleman receiued and honoured, being the firſt H
that was ſent into Spaine with authoritie, ſince that *Charles* of Auſtria tooke vpon him
the title of king. The great lords of Spaine came to viſit monſieur *de Chaux*, and cour-
ted him: but the cardinall had no great care to impart the affaires vnto him, nor to call
him, vnleſſe he came of himſelfe, yet holding ſtill the firſt place in all expeditions, the
which he made knowne to him and doctor *Adrian*; who hauing on a time ſigned ſome
Cardinall Ximenes maintaines his authoritie reſolutely. diſpatches, leauing a place for the cardinall to ſigne vnder them, being preſented vnto
him thus ſigned, he tare them in peeces, and cauſed others to be made, and ſigned them
aboue, the which were of as great effect: And thus he continued vntill the kings com-
ming, although before he would haue doctor *Adrian* ſigne all things with him.

1 The Flemiſh nobilitie being aduertiſed of this harſh proceeding, it made them I
thinke, that this cardinall would one day trouble both them and the king: wherefore to
abate (as they thought) his greatneſſe, they procured to haue a fourth ſent into Spaine,
vnder colour of ſome priuat buſineſſe, with equall authoritie to the reſt. This was *Ar-
maſtof*, a man that was ſomewhat graue: yet they might ſay, that of all that companie
the cardinall was moſt judicious, and continued his accuſtomed courſe, notwithſtanding
any thing that they could doe. But they ſtayed not here, for they often reſolued in Flan-
ders, to ſend ſome great prince to gouerne Spaine, to whom the cardinall ſhould be for-
ced to yeeld; or ſome other of iudgement and vnderſtanding, to oppoſe him againſt this
great ſpirit. Some were of opinion to intreat the Emperour *Maximilian* to take vpon
him this charge; others, *Lewis*, cont Palatin, allied to the king; and ſome, to giue the au- K
thoritie to the Infant D. *Ferdinand*: many gaue their voyces to the Chancellor *Saunage*.
As for *Maximilian*, he was ingaged in the warres of Italie: to aduance *Ferdinand*, that was
not ſafe nor conuenient, and it had beene alwayes their care, which loued the peace and
vnion of theſe two brethren, that the Infant ſhould be neerely lookt vnto, leaſt that mu-
tines ſhould make him their ſhield. The cont Palatin was held fit, yea to take charge of
the Infant, the which did not altogether diſpleaſe the cardinall; for he had deſired euer
ſince the death of the Catholike king, to remoue ſuch from about him, as, in his opinion,
had bred him vp ill, yet he deſired rather not to obey any one; to which end he writ to
Cardinall Ximenes cannot endure a companiõ in the gouernment of Caſtille. the king, beſeeching him, not to ſend any into Spaine, with whom he muſt alwayes qua-
rell, but rather to giue him leaue to retire to his dioceſſe, where hee would looke to his L
owne priuat affaires, and liue religiouſly in reſt: for he did foreſee, that the enuie of ſome,
and the couetouſneſſe of many, would alwayes ſeeke to croſſe his good deſignes and re-
ſolutions to ſerue the commonweale, they tending to no other end, but to cauſe ſome
great tumult in Spaine, wherein he deſired not to be ingaged, but rather to looke on a
farre off: aduertiſing him, that the onely remedie of theſe inconueniences was, to com-
mit the affaires to his tried faith, and to relie onely vpon him, not ſuffering any Fleming,
nor any of his Councell a farre off (no not himſelfe vntill he were at age) to meddle in
Spaine with the prouiſion of Eſtates, and order of juſtice, with gouernments of prouin-
ces, leuying of the kings money, nor with garriſons of frontires, and their commaunders:
but onely retaine vnto himſelfe the diſpoſition of biſhoprickes being void, commaunde- M
ries, and benefices of knights of militarie orders, and to vſe his royall bountie with good
Cardinall Ximenes will diuide the royall authoritie betwixt the king and himſelfe. meaſure: his cardinall diuiding betwixt the king and him the royall ſoueraignte, the
which euerie man of judgement thought expedient, conſidering his conſtant reſolution
to maintaine juſtice and right in all things; adding ſtill this concluding reaſon. For that,
ſaid he, the Flemings vnderſtand nothing in our affaires in Spaine, and that the king by
reaſon

A reaſon of his tender age, cannot vndergoe ſo great a burthen, full of care and trouble: By reaſon whereof he cauſed himſelfe to be ſo hated, as many Councels were held againſt him, and without doubt his dayes were ſhortened. The courteors diſſembled, expecting but an opportunitie to tumble him from this high degree, in the which hee maintained himſelfe inuincible, againſt their wills, who writ vnto him, That hee ſhould continue to doe well, aſſuring him that they would aſſiſt him with all their meanes, and ſolicite the kings paſſage into Spaine; aduiſing him, for the effecting thereof, to ſend a good armie of ſhips well furniſhed into Flanders. 1517

This voyage was much preſt by the Emperour *Maximilian*, as moſt neceſſarie, and
B therefore he came to Bruſſels to ſee the king, and to conferre with him, fearing leaſt his long ſtay there would cauſe ſome alteration in the State; comparing thoſe people, being moued, to a colt, which being ſtung with a hornet, kickes at euerie one, ſparing not his owne damme. This conference put the cardinall into a jealouſie, writing to monſieur *de Cheures*, That the enteruiew of great men, did neuer bring profit neither to themſelues, nor to their affaires, prouing it by many examples and great reaſons. The Spaniards ſeeing that the time paſt away in vaine hopes of their princes comming, they began to make conuenticles, and to runne into the courſe (but by another way) of former ſeditions: For, ſayed they, the Flemings not able to forbeare to meddle with the affayres of Spaine, whereof they had made ſhew not to care, they leaue vs not 2
C any eſtate, charge, nor benefice, but it is ſold to them that will giue moſt, and prophaned by vnworthie men: The great treaſures of the realme gathered together, and religiouſly preſerued by cardinall *Ximenes*, for the kings comming, are ſpoyled by ſtrangers, and tranſported out of Spaine, the which is not tollerable to a free nation, well affected to the honour and greatneſſe of their prince, and to the publicke good. They of Burgos, Leon, Vailledolit, and all that countrey of Spaine, being incenſed with theſe complaints and quarels, they appointed a day to reſolue on ſome remedies for theſe great diſorders, or how they might withſtand the greedineſſe of the Flemiſh courteors. Many thought it fit to perſuade the king to chaſe all Flemings from abont him, and to take Spaniards in their places, ſuch as were vnderſtanding men, to counſell him. Others
D ſayed, That beſides the difficultie to obtaine it, it was to bee feared that Spaine would in ſhort time be as corrupt as the reſt, and more cunning in their villanies; holding, that the beſt courſe to reſtraine the couetouſneſſe of courteors, by a publike decree, by the which power ſhould be taken from the king, to giue the eſtates, offices, or benefices of Spaine to ſtrangers. That there ſhould be no readie money carried out of the countrey without great cauſe, and that no neceſſarie money for the kings houſe, ſhould be ſent by cardinall *Ximenes*, without conſent of the townes. Many other things of this kind were then propounded, profitable, in truth, for the publike, but derogating ſomewhat from the authoritie and Maieſtie royall: for thereby they did open a gate vnto the people to commit great inſolencies, the which they found by experience, after the death of cardinal
E *Ximenes*, who moderating what he could the peoples heat, could not preuent the decrees of theſe aſſemblies for the publike good, ſome gouernors conſenting thereunto, and ſigning them, as D. *Pedro* of Caſtille, at Burgos, and others: yet the Leonnois could neuer induce D. *Frederic* of Zamora, their gouernour, to conſent vnto ſuch decrees, whereof the towne and Comminalties did afterwards aduertiſe the cardinall and the kings Councell, ſending deputies to treat with them of the affaires of the commonweale afflicted, and to intreat them to appoint a place and time for a generall aſſemblie to that end. The cardinall and the Councell knew well, that the deſire of the townes was juſt, yet they ſought to moderate them, fearing ſome popular tumults, perſuading them to forbeare
F an aſſemblie, vntill they had more certaine newes of the kings comming, who they vnderſtood made preparation to imbarke ſpeedily. In the meane time they did aduertiſe the king of all that had paſt, excuſing the Spaniards, for that they did not in any ſort doubt of the kings good will, and judgement to know, that all the admonitions & counſels which they gaue him, were holy and juſt, but they complained of the Flemings that were about his perſon, who could make their diligences vaine, and get vnto themſelues, both before the kings comming and after, the riches of Spaine without meaſure: ſo as it

Greedineſſe of the Flemings gouerning king Charles.

Demaunds of the townes of Spaine.

Cardinall and Councell fauour the Spaniards demaunds againſt the Flemings.

1517 was thought the Chancellor *Sauuage* had gotten for his part in leſſe than foure moneths, G
Rapacity of the Flemings. aboue fiue hundred thouſand crownes: and if we will conjecture how monſieur *de Cheures* and the reſt profited, we cannot imagine what great ſummes theſe theſts amounted vnto. The Spaniards ſeeing the kings comming to be daily delayed, the cardinall and
Spaniards demaund the Eſtates. the Councell were againe importuned for a generall aſſemblie of the Eſtates, where they promiſed not to treat of any thing, but to ſolicite the king to come into Spaine, to maintaine the lawes and rights of the countrey; to ſuppreſſe the couetouſneſſe of courteors, and the ambition of ſuters for eſtates and offices: elſe, the people did proteſt, that they would ſend embaſſadours vnto the king, and prouide that the commonweale ſhould take no harme, by ſuch meanes as God ſhould put into their hands. The H
cardinall not able with reaſon to denie their juſt demaund, he appointed an aſſemblie in the next moneth of September 1517, protracting it of purpoſe to Autumne, beleeuing that about that time the king might arriue in Spaine; and in the meane time he prepared a fleet of ſhips for his voyage, the which he ſent him, poſts running continually from Spaine to Flanders, and back againe, to aduance this comming, without the which they ſaw no meanes to maintaine the realme in peace: the cardinall holding (and rightly) it to be a pernitious thing, when as the people, hauing cauſe of grieuance, preſumes to complaine publikely: for when as they haue once loſt the reuerence which they owe vnto the ſuperiour, there is no more any reſtraint; and popular complaints and quarels are eaſily receiued and beleeued, by ſuch as haue a deſire to trouble the State, I
whereof the number is alwayes great in great realmes. The place aſſigned for the aſſemblie, was at Madrid, the Viceroyes and the Councels place of reſidence. Many ſlanderous libels were at that time caſt abroad, euerie man cenſuring the cardinals actions ac-
Libels caſt abroad. cording to his owne conceits: and ſeeing it was now a time of back-biting, and that ſome one had begun, doctor *Adrian*, monſieur *de Cheures*, *Francis Ruis*, monſieur *de Chaux*, and others, were not ſpared. But cardinall *Ximenes* contemned theſe things, with a manly courage; ſaying, That they muſt leaue this ſolace to the multitude, to moderate their afflictions, which they could not otherwiſe reuenge; whereas the Flemings, who were not accuſtomed to this ſtinging, ſeemed to be much diſcontented: ſo as it is no wonder if *Adrian* comming to bee Pope, cauſed the ſtatues of *Marforio* K
and *Paſquil* to be caſt into the riuer of Tiber, whom they made to carrie the libels that were ſet vp in Rome: whereupon, they ſay, that the Spaniſh embaſſadour which was then in Rome, ſaid vnto him, That it was to be feared, by this drowning the frogs would preſently learne to ſing bad ſongs.

3 The cardinall being come to Toledo, to viſit (attending the kings comming) his dioceſſe, and the monaſteries of Nunnes which he cauſed to be built, as well in that citie as at Illeſca, being accompanied by doctor *Adrian*, he heard the complaints of the Clergie, for that Pope *Leo*, by vertue of the laſt decree of the Councell of Latran, demaunded the tenth of the reuenues of all their benefices, vpon colour to de-
fend the Chriſtian religion againſt Infidels; for that *Selim* Emperour of the Turkes, L
Exactions of Pope Leo hindered by cardinall Ximenes. hauing vanquiſhed the Sultan of Ægypt, did threaten Chriſtendome, and namely Italie: Wherefore he not onely ſent this yeare into Spaine, but into all others regions of Europe, whereas the Popes name and authoritie was reuerenced, to exact this money for three yeares, with many Indulgences and pardons to them that ſhould contribute money willingly, and extraordinarily, whereof there followed great troubles in Chriſtendome, yet with a lightning of the Goſpell.

Cardinall *Ximenes*, whoſe authoritie was great with the Pope, was ſolicited not onely by the Clergie of Caſtille, but alſo by that of Arragon (where they doe all by an auncient right enjoy great priuiledges and liberties) to take this cauſe in hand, and to bee a mediator vnto the Pope, that the Clergie of Spaine might not bee M
made tributarie. The cardinall did willingly offer to take vpon him the protection of this order, but hee did admoniſh them, not to make any aſſemblies to that end,
Clergie of Spain free from the exaction of the tenth penie of their benefices. but when hee ſhould commaund them. In the meane time hee did manage this buſineſſe ſo politikely at Rome, by the miniſterie of *Artega*, his Agent, as hee kept Spaine free from this exaction, but in caſe of great neceſſitie: and hauing

after

A after the manner of auncient kings, called the deputies of the Clergie to the Court at Madrid, he gaue them this good newes, and attended willingly their reſolution, which was, not to contribute any thing. They ſay, that this tenth penie for three yeres, was duly leuied in Italie, in the territories of the Church, and no where elſe, but his Bulls of Indulgences, and the preaching of the Croiſado, was generall. 1517

4 There were many great ſuits in Spaine, which through the fraud and tergiuerſation of parties, and their counſels, were delayed and drawne into length, the which the cardinall deſired to haue determined before the kings comming, but he was ſuſpected: Wherfore three of the greateſt noblemen of Spaine, in a manner at one inſtant, as it were con-
B ſpiring together, did greatly croſſe him, that is, the duke of the Infantazgo, chiefe of the houſe of *Mendoſa*, D. *Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alua, and the earle of Vregna, *Giron*. The duke of the Infantazgo remembred how that the cardinall had hindered the mariage betwixt D. *Pedro Gonſales* of Mendoſa, his nephew, and D. *Ioane* of Ciſneros, the cardinals neece: wherefore being incenſed againſt him, he thought there was ſome indirect dealing with his aduerſe partie, the earle of Caſtro, againſt whom hee had his ſuit, for the place of Belenna, neere vnto Guadalajara; by reaſon whereof he deſired to prolong the cauſe vntill the kings comming, of whom hauing obtained letters for his part, and the cardinall alſo for his part others of a contrarie tenour, to haue the cauſe judged by the kings councell; in the end the cardinall obtained that which he pretended,
C and a ſentence was giuen in fauour of the earle: about which time there comming a promoter from Alcala of Henares, for the cardinall, touching ſome proceedings at Guadalajara, the duke of the Infantazgo cauſed him to be chaſed away with cudgels, threatening to hang this poore petie-fogger, if he returned any more; ſaying, That he did incroach vpon the juriſdiction of his brother D. *Bernardin*, archdeacon of Guadalajara. For which exceſſe the cardinall gaue it out, that he would be reuenged of the duke, and that he would call him in queſtion, for that religion was violated, in that they had wronged an officer which did belong vnto the Church, and alſo for that the fact was againſt the publike peace, and that he would abate his greatneſſe. The duke being incenſed, and deſirous to braue the cardinall, he ſent a chaplaine of his vnto him, to deliuer him a
D meſſage full of diſgrace and threatning. This poore prieſt being forced to goe to Alcala of Henares, whereas the cardinall was, hee fell on his knees before him, and craued leaue to doe his meſſage. They were nothing but reproaches of his baſe condition, growne proud to ſee himſelfe ſo highly aduanced, adding ſome vaine threats, the which did little moue the cardinall, who hauing heard all that hee would ſay with a conſtant countenance, he anſwered him quietly: Goe backe vnto thy maſter, whom thou ſhalt find repenting the fooliſh words which thou haſt deliuered me: and in truth before the prieſt returned, the dukes choler being paſt, he would haue giuen much that he had not ſent him, blaming all his familiar friends and houſhold ſeruants, that they had not pacified his rage, yea hee was diſpleaſed with the chaplaine, for that hee was ſo readie to
E obey him. This queſtion, and all the ſpleene which the cardinall had againſt the duke, was afterwards pacified by the conſtable D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco, who made them dine together at Fontcarillo, whereas the duke made ſo many excuſes vnto the cardinall, as he remained ſatisfied. They ſay, that after the ceremonie of their reconciliation was ended, the lodging wherein they were was preſently enuironed by *Iohn de Spinoſa*, captaine of the Viceroyes gard, with his archers and light horſe, the which did amaze the noblemen that were there aſſembled, thinking that it was a plot layed by the cardinall, but hee aſſured them that it was the importune diligence of *Spinoſa*, who was come thither without any commiſſion, for the which, he ſaid, hee was much offended with him.

Exceſſe committed by the duke of Infantazgo.

Magnanimitie of cardinall Ximenes

Reconciliation of cardinall Ximenes and the duke of Infantazgo.

Policie of cardinall Ximenes to keepe the noblemen in feare.

F The earle of Vregnaes quarell was more daungerous, and harder to be reconciled, the which did produce many violent effects. This earle ſoone after the deceaſe of king *Ferdinand*, had alſo ſhewed himſelfe oppoſite to cardinall *Ximenes*, and had aſſiſted D. *Pedro* his ſonne in the tumult of *Medina Sidonia*, whom he ſhould rather haue admoniſhed to proceed by way of juſtice. Certaine officers comming to execute a ſentence of the Chancerie of Granado, & to recouer certaine of the kings cuſtomes of Oſona, he had ſent them

1517 away beaten and wounded, notwithſtanding that they ſhewed him letters from cardinall G
Outrage committed by the earle of Vregna *Ximenes*, who being buſied in other affairs, diſſembled theſe things, vntil ſome fitter opportunitie, the which was offered, when as the cardinall, according to his reſolution to end all old ſuits, would haue the cauſe judged, which depended betwixt the earle of Vregna and D. *Guttiere* of Quixada, in the court of Chancerie at Vailledolit, for the towne of Villefratre neere vnto Vailledolit, whereof the earle kept forcible poſſeſſion, *Quixada* purſuing the reſtitution, the which he obtained, whereat the earle being incenſed, he complained, that the ſentence was vniuſt. By vertue whereof an vſher and other miniſters of juſtice comming to Villefratre, to put *Quixada* in poſſeſſion, they were outragiouſly intreated, and beaten by D. *Roderigo Giron*, the earles ſonne, D. *Bernardin* of Velaſco, the con- H
Court of parliament violated. ſtables ſonne, D. *Bertrand de la Cueua*, ſon to the duke of Albuquerque, D. *Ferdinand Henriques*, ſonne to the Admirall, and other young and ill aduiſed noblemen, who were there preſent: Whereof complaint being made vnto the Court, the Preſident D. *Diego Ramires* of Villaſcuſan, biſhop of Malaga, notwithſtanding that he was a verie mild man, yet moued with the foulenеſſe of the fact, he commaunded ſome legionarie ſouldiers in Vailledolit, and the neighbour places, to arme, to aſſiſt juſtice, to execute the ſentence of the court, and to puniſh thoſe rebels, going himſelfe in perſon towards Villefratre. The conſtable, who was wiſe, knowing the danger into the which theſe young men did runne, poſted thither, before that the Preſident went to field, and made them abandon the place, and giue way to the execution of the ſentence of the court: whereupon the biſhop I
of Malaga diſmiſt his ſouldiers, and thanked the conſtable for this good office, and ſo remained ſatisfied without any further proceeding. But the cardinall, who was not of ſo tractable a nature, was much offended at this fact, adding this to other quarels he had a-
Purſuits of the cardinall againſt them that had violated Iuſtice. gainſt the earle of Vregna and his houſe; wherefore he ſent out warrant to apprehend them that had reſiſted the juſtice, and *Sarmiento* the Prouoſt of the court, to ruine Villefratre, and to make the proceſſe of ſuch as had committed this contempt. The young noblemen, who had left the place by the conſtables perſuaſion, ſeeing that they proceeded criminally againſt them, they returned vnto their old frenzie, and put themſelues againe into Villefratre, with ſome troupes of ſouldiers raiſed at Villapando, a place belonging to the conſtable, being reſolued to keepe it in deſpight of cardinall *Ximenes*. This K
buſineſſe tended to ſedition and great trouble, and many there were which did much blame the cardinals ſeueritie and obſtinacie, to haue purſued theſe noblemen, after ſo good an office done by the conſtable, and their obedience, yea he might aſſure himſelfe that the dukes of the Infantazgo and Alba, would bandie themſelues againſt him, whereby the whole realme, by reaſon of their great alliances and power, would bee drawne into confuſion: But the cardinall was well pleaſed to oppoſe himſelfe againſt great men, ſearching ſuch occaſions ambitiouſly, to ſhew his magnanimitie, dexteritie, and conſtancie to maintaine juſtice. Finally, they proceeded by the courſe of juſtice againſt the aboue named, whoſe names were proclaimed, and they ſummoned to appeare at Madrid and at Vailledolit, and giue an account for violating the lawes L
and offending the Majeſtie: and there were declarations ſet vp, according to the ſolemnities of juſtice, obſerued in Spaine in ſuch affaires, vpon paine to bee held conuicted of thoſe crimes, condemned and puniſhed according vnto law: The which did much grieue the fathers of theſe young noblemen, who aſſembled at Tudela, to conſult what was to be done, or, as ſome write, at Portillo; namely, the earle of Benauent, the conſtable, the dukes of Alba and Albuquerque, and a deputie for the duke of the Infantazgo, who knowing the cardinals power, and auſtere diſpoſition, reſolued to proceed in this buſineſſe with all quiet and peaceable meanes: wherefore they ſent vnto him, to deſire him to haue regard vnto the youth of their children; but on the other M
ſide they did write vnto the king, complaining of the cardinals ſowre diſpoſition, whereby Spaine was oppreſt, and filled full of troubles. The cardinall in like maner did not faile to aduertiſe the king of what had paſt at Villefratre, and of the raſhneſſe, diſobedience, and contempt of theſe noblemen, omitting nothing of the rigor of juſtice in this action: wherfore there was apparence of ſome great tumult, for theſe noblemē made many aſſemblies, and the biſhop of Zamora was already come to Vailledolit (who was afterwards ſtrangled

in

A in the caſtle of Aquila) and the earle of Alba de Liſta, with troupes of men, in fauour of the earle of Vregna, who notwithſtanding were forced to depart the towne, by the aduice of them of the Chauncerie, for that they did ſolicite the people to ſedition. They did alſo ſurpriſe a packet of the conſtables, directed to the earle of Vregna, to whom he promiſed to rayſe all the countrey of Burgos, and that of the mountaines: whereby it appeared, that the demonſtrations he made to pacifie things, and to bee a neuter in this buſineſſe, were but fained. On the other ſide, the duke of Alba, a ſecret enemie to the cardinall, by reaſon of the commiſſion which he, in his opinion, had purchaſed, to depriue his ſonne of the priorie of Saint *Iohn*, he offered all his power and meanes to the B duke of Albuquerque, againſt the cardinall. In the meane time the Alcayde proceeded againſt them that were within Villefratre, who to omit nothing that might make their cauſe odious, had made an image attired like a cardinall, the which they cauſed to be dragd vp and downe the towne, in deriſion of cardinall *Ximenes:* but in the end theſe vaine young lords finding that their forces might not equall the Viceroyes power, they diſlodged by night, and left the place. Then *Sarmiento* proceeding in the proceſſe, pronounced ſentence, by the which the towne of Villefratre was condemned to be burnt to aſhes, and the ground of it to be ſowne with ſalt, and neuer more to be built, for that the miniſters of royall juſtice had beene outraged there, and the decrees of the court of Vailledolit contemned: the earle of Vregna, *Rodrigo* his ſonne, and their other C confederats and adherents, conuicted of high treaſon, and condemned to *Guttiere* of Quixade, in his charges, dammage, and intereſt. This ſentence was preſently put in execution, the towne was reduced to powder, firſt with the canon, and then with fire: ſeuen of the inhabitants which had outraged the vſher, when they did beat him, and cried out, That they knew no other lord but the earle of Vregna, were publikely whipt: a ſeruant of the Admirals being accuſed to haue leuied men ſecretly in fauour of the rebels, was alſo condemned by *Sarmiento* to be whipt. This ſentence was executed vpon a feſtiuall day, againſt cuſtome and al example. Which rigorous acts did much afflict all the great noblemen of Spaine, among the which the duke of Eſcalona, who was then at Madrid, kept his chamber ſix dayes for griefe, and would not ſpeake to any man; and then being viſited by D. *Francis Ruis*, biſhop of Auila, he complained much of the cardinals rough and inexorable ſeueritie, a man without friendſhip or humanitie, to haue ſo vilely intreated the earle of Vregna, his kinſman, whereby he would tread vnder his feet the dignitie of great and famous houſes of Spaine, and ſhew himſelfe an enemie to nobilitie. The conſtable, with the duke of the Infantazgo, and other noblemen, gaue the cardinall to vnderſtand, That ſeeing he had proceeded ſo furiouſly againſt Villefratre, to the great contempt and prejudice of the earle of Vregna, he ſhould doe well to ſatisfie himſelfe, and not purſue the houſe of *Giron* any farther. But the Admirall *Henriques*, who had neuer ſhewed himſelfe an open enemie to the cardinall, being come to Madrid, ſpake vnto him with great mildneſſe and modeſtie, ſhewing him the wrong he did vnto himſelfe, as well as to the whole E realme (holding the ranke of Archbiſhop of Toledo, and primat) ſo to blemiſh the honor of the great houſes of Spaine, ſo well deſeruing of their kings, not onely in theſe publike executions, but by accuſations and reports written vnto the king, whereof they were well aduertiſed, and other bad offices. Wherefore he admoniſhed him, That if he loued the quiet of the realme, and deſired to doe the king ſeruice, he ſhould moderate his auſtere behauiour, and intreat men and their affaires with more equitie, and leſſe choler. Whereunto the cardinall, with a ſetled ſpirit, anſwered, That he intreated him to thinke, that he was neuer any of thoſe, which ſought to win the fauour of kings, or to maintaine their reputation in the world by crueltie, or doing injurie to any other: but he had endeuoured to acquit himſelfe duly of that great charge which had bin committed vnto him, F to gouerne the realm. And if they would inquire of that which he had written, and of the offices which he had done with the king, they ſhould find he had not bin ſo inciuile as they thought, & as euery one did publiſh, according to his paſſions. As for the proceſſe of *Giron*, matters were proceeded ſo far, as the king himſelfe did ſet down an order. Thus matters remained in ſuſpence, vntil the king had ſignified his pleaſure, who did approue al the cardinal & juſtice had done, referring the reſt to his judgemẽt: the which the duke of Eſca-

1517

Sentence againſt the town of Villefratre, and the execution thereof.

Complaints againſt cardinall Ximenes.

Admonition of the Admirall of Caſtille to cardinall Ximenes.

Anſwer of cardinall Ximenes to the Admirall of Caſtille.

Proceedings of the cardinall allowed by the king.

1517 lona, with the other friends, kinſmen, and allies of the earle of Vregna, ſeeing they knew G
not what to reſolue, but to pacifie the cardinall, ſeeking by all meanes to haue his fauour:
by which meanes they obtained, that the earle repreſenting himſelfe in juſtice, & ſubmit-
ting himſelfe thereunto, all offences were pardoned, D. *Francis Ruis*, biſhop of Auila, pre-
ſiding in counſell, and pronouncing the ſentence.

Cauſes of the duke of Albaes diſcontentment.

The diſcontentment which D. *Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alba, had againſt the cardi-
nall, grew for the priorie of S. *Iohn* of Ieruſalem, of the knights of Rhodes, the which D.
Diego his third ſon held then, & had enioyed it ſix yeres. This dignitie is eſteemed among
the greateſt of Spaine, whereof the prior *Valenzuela* had beene depriued in the life of king
Ferdinand, for his ill deſeruings, and D. *Aluaro* of Eſtuniga canonically aduanced, who H
had reſigned it vnto his nephew D. *Anthonie* of Eſtuniga, with the conſent of king *Philip*,
and confirmation of Pope *Leo*: but king *Ferdinand*, after the death of *Philip*, returning to
the gouernment of Caſtille, & deſirous to gratifie the duke of Alba, from whom he had
drawne many good ſeruices, he tooke this priorie from D. *Anthonie*, and did inueſt the a-
boue named D. *Diego* of Toledo, againſt the auncient order, and againſt the lawes and
cuſtomes of Spaine, begging therein the authoritie of the great maſter of Rhodes, who
was diſcontented that the Pope ſhould take vpon him to conferre that priorie to D. *An-
thonie* of Eſtuniga, cauſing the grant of the order to be brought expreſly from Rhodes to
that end, D. *Anthonie* complaining in vaine to the Pope, both of the king and great
maſter, who for his laſt refuge retired into Flanders, to king *Charles*, beſeeching him to I
confirme and maintaine that which his father *Philip* had done: the which hee obtained,
when as he was aduertiſed of the death of king *Ferdinand*; for king *Charles* did write in
his fauour vnto the Pope. And ſo D. *Diego* of Toledo, and D. *Anthonie* of Eſtuniga, be-
gan to fall to ſuit for this priorie, at Rome, where D. *Anthonie* did win his cauſe, and got
letters of execution from the Pope, with the which, and the Popes fauourable letters, he
came vnto king *Charles*, who ſent him into Spaine to cardinall *Ximenes*, whom he com-
maunded to take into his hands all the places of the priorie, admoniſhing the duke of Al-
ba and his ſon, to retire their men, and to referre the controuerſie to him to compromiſe:
and if the duke of Alba ſhould refuſe, he ſhould then cauſe the kings letters and ſentence
to be executed, forcing them to obey that ſhould oppoſe themſelues, notwithſtanding a- K
ny oppoſitions. The duke of Bejar, with his brother D. *Anthonie* of Eſtuniga, preſented
theſe letters and commaundement from the king to the cardinall: the which the duke of
Alba vnderſtanding, being out of hope to procure any delay from the cardinall (for hee
was well acquainted with the nature of the man, and knew well that he deſired to ſee this
proceſſe, in the which there had paſt many threats and injurious words, ended) hee
reſolued to oppoſe himſelfe, and to croſſe his proceedings by force. He had of his part the
duke of Eſcalona, and many other noblemen, the which did trouble his aduerſe partie. At
that time the cardinall was troubled with a tertian ague, the which did animate the duke
of Alba and his partie, and gaue them hope to prolong the proceſſe, and to keepe the poſ-
ſeſſion vntill that the king (ſaid they) were better informed. But being ſomewhat recoue- L
red of his ſickneſſe, he called both parties, and enioyned them to lay aſide armes, vntill he
were better informed of the right. The cardinall would haue the places ſequeſtred, accor-
ding to the kings letters, wherin ſeeing great difficultie by the practiſes and force vſed on
the duke of Albaes part, in the end he propounded to execute the kings letters, brought
by D. *Anthonie* of Eſtuniga: wherein there was a diuiſion among the counſellors, ſome
holding that the duke of Albaes cauſe was more juſt; and for that, ſaid they, there was
ſome obſcuritie in the letters, not being certaine, whether the duke of Alba referring the
matter to the kings arbitrement, might ſtill hold the poſſeſſion, as depoſitarie, vntill the
cauſe were ended, or elſe vntil the king ſhold name another depoſitarie, into whoſe hands
the places & the priorie ſhould be deliuered, they thought it therefore neceſſarie to haue M
another warrant, of which aduice were doctor *Adrian* & the ſeignior of Chaux. The cardi-
nall banding himſelf againſt all theſe difficulties, he brought all the councel to that point,
as they concluded the kings letters ſhould be executed. The duke of Alba forgetting no-
thing that might helpe his cauſe, imploied in his fauor queene *Germaine*, the French king,
and the king of England, by whoſe meanes king *Charles* was not ſo reſolute to reſtore
D. *An-*

A D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga to his Priory: whereof the Cardinall being aduertised, hee wrote letters of complaint vnto the king, to the Lord of Cheures, and to the whole councell of Flanders, shewing them how necessarie constancie and perseuerance were in such like ordinances and decrees: then hee thought it good to call the duke of Alba vnto him, to whome in the presence of the councell, and the earle of Osorno, hee said friendly, that he should temper the heat which hee saw in him in the pursuite of his rights, and that there would be meanes, if he himself did not hinder it, to reconcile all things without tumult or armes: wherefore he did aduise him to put the priory into the kings hands, to dispose according vnto right and justice, assuring him that if hee did it willingly, hee would B mitigate much of the rigour of the commandement which hee had receiued from the king, and that hee would deliuer the Priorie into the hands of D. *Pedro Bazan*, who hee knew was much affected to his house, and hee should keepe it vntill the kings comming: promising moreouer that he would then cause the deliuerie of it to D. *Anthonie* to bee staied for three moneths, that in the meane time hee might worke his best meanes. These conditions were contemned by the Duke of Alba, who departed, saying, that the Cardinall might doe better if hee list, and not derogate any thing from the kings authority: and going from Madrid with this discontent, hee went to his kinsmen and friends, to conferre with them of the enterprize which hee had in his braine, all dissuading him, from opposing himselfe against the Cardinall, witnes C the calamity of them of Villefratre and of the earle of Vregna, for the which they gaue him such reasons, as at that time hee yeelded to their counsels. But falling afterwards into furie, the Cardinal was forced to come to the last remedy, calling together his Legionary companies, both horse and foot, as well to gard and fortifie the councell and justice, as to suppresse the mutines, and keepe them from ioyning together: which forces did incounter and put to rout about a thousand foote and some horse of the duke of Albas, and stript them in the dioceese of Toledo. After which rout the duke comming to himselfe, hee imployed the fauour of Queene *Germaine* and doctor *Adrian*, and came to Madrid, where hee was so tractable, as hee yeelded the Priorie at the Cardinals discretion, for hee shewed him with what vprightnesse he pro- D ceeded in this businesse, and let him read the orignall letters hee had receiued of the kings commandement, to the end hee might know it was no cause that hee did affect and seeke, adding that hee should consider with himselfe wherein hee might assist him preseruing his honour, and the king his masters seruice, assuring him that hee would not faile him: to whome the duke made answere, that hee would not intreat any other thing of him, but after that his sonne should be depriued of the priory, the king would remember that their house had alwaies been affectionat to the crowne, and haue regard vnto it: and for that hee had vnderstood that he would leaue the priory in deposito in the hands of D. *Ferdinand Andrada* who had married D. *Francis* of Estuniga, kinswoman to his aduerse party, he desired it might be giuen to some other, to the end that E his enemies might haue no subiect to scorne at his calamity. The Cardinall who was alwaies vanquished by them that yeelded vnto, him said, that it was reasonable, ordaining that the Priory should be deliuered into the hands of D. *Ferdinand Andrada*, & he should instantly redeliuer it to D. *Anthonie* of Cordoua, brother to the earle of Cabra. These things concluded at Madrid, the duke sent letters to D. *Diego* his son, to leaue the priory, & by the Cardinal to D. *Ferdinand* of Andrada, to cease from all acts of hostilitie. Thus the quarrel for the priorie of S. *Iohn* was ended, the which notwithstāding after the death of Cardinal *Ximenes*, D. *Diego* recouered, and enioyed partly with the consent, and partly against the wil of k. *Charles* himselfe, who decreed that D. *Diego* of Toledo, and D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga, should enioy it in common: but D. *Anthonie* dying at Perpignan, he left the F whole possession to his competitor. 1517

Speech of Cardinall Ximenes to the duke of Alba.

Defeat of the duke of Albas men by the Cardinals companies.

Duke of Alba submits himself to Cardinall Ximenes.

There remained another cause to determine, which the Cardinal did affect: it was the processe of the earle of Ribadeo in Gallicia, of a small circuit, but good, fertile and pleasant; The earle of which place hath this priuiledge, that on twelfe day he dines at the king of Castilles table, & hath the roabe that he weares that day. This earledome had been held by D. *Rodrigo* of Villandradra, who hauing married two lawfull wiues, and those put away

Controuersie for the earledome of Ribadeo.

1517 away for barrenneſſe, had in the end taken to wife a ſlaue of his made free, called *Leonora*, by whom he had D. *Roderigo* his ſonne and only preſumtiue heire, to whom the admiral had giuen a baſe daughter of his to wife. Againſt this D. *Roderigo*, there contented for the ſucceſſion, D. *Maria* of Vlloa, maried to the earle of Salines, who was neece to the old earle of Villindrada, daughter to his ſiſter, ſaying, that D. *Roderigo* was not lawfull; which ſute had beene commenced long before the death of king *Ferdinand*. Cardinall *Ximenes* fauoured D. *Roderigos* cauſe: but as many of the Councell inclined more to the reaſons of D. *Maria*, the cauſe was ſent to the Chancerie of Vailledolit: yea, D. *Maria* had ſuch fauour in court, as the title and right was granted vnto her ſonne by the kings letters, the which did much trouble the Cardinall, ſeeing himſelfe vanquiſhed by a woman; he that had gouerned the greateſt Lords of Spaine at his pleaſure.

Authority of Cardinall Ximenes vanquiſhed by a womã

5 This yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuenteene, Pope *Leo* created one and thirty Cardinals, among which Doctor *Adrian Florent* was one, for the which he was much blamed, againſt the which Cardinall de Monte, vncle to Pope *Iulio* the third, and others, oppoſed themſelues, ſaying, that to make ſo many at one time, was to profane that ſacred order. He had almoſt made *Raphael* of Vrbin, an excellent painter, Cardinal, to free himſelfe by a hat of a great ſum of money which he ought him for pictures; with which hope being fed, he deferred to marrie with the Neece of the Cardinall of Bibiena, which was offred him, but his ſodaine death depriued the painter both of the one and other.

Profanation of the Cardinals order by Pope Leo.

Cardinall *Ximenes* being ſolicited by the king and the Flemiſh Lords, to ſend a fleet into Flanders, to conduct him, he rigged out a good number of ſhips, where *Gomes* of Buytron was admirall, cauſing the ports of Biſcay, Aſturia, and Galicia, to be viſited, for that it was bruted the plague was in many places, appointing victuals and other neceſſaries to be carried to refreſh and eaſe the court, whereſoeuer the fleet ſhould arriue: himſelfe in the meane time leauing Madrid, went towards Aranda of Duero, where hee reſolued to attend the kings comming, that aboade ſeeming vnto him verie healthfull and pleaſant, and by reaſon of the conuent of Franciſcane friers, ſituated in the next village of Aguilera: in paſſing hee made his laſt viſit of Tordelaguna, the place of his birth.

Nauie ſent into Flanders for K. Charles.

6 There were in his company, the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, doctor *Adrian* now made Cardinall, and *Armaſtof*: from Tordelaguna he came to Bozeguillas, a borough in the mountaine, where dyning they did verily beleeue that hee was poiſoned, which made him fall into a lingring conſumption, till hee dyed of it: for hauing dyned hee found himſelfe verie ill, after which there came bloud out at his eares, and at the ioyning of his nayles, the ſuſpition of poiſon was augmented by a certaine horſeman vnknowen, who that morning hauing met neere vnto Bozeguillas the Prouinciall *Marquine*, with other monkes that went vnto the Cardinall, hee willed them to make haſt to be there before he ſat downe to dinner: and to aduiſe him not to eate of a great trout which ſhould bee ſet before him, for without doubt it was poiſoned: If you arriue ſaid hee, too late, care then for the health of his ſoule, for his body will bee paſt helpe. This ſpeech was deliuered by *Marquine*, but late vnto the Cardinall, who gaue little credit, ſaying, that if his infirmitie came of poiſon, hee thought it came from Flaunders, and that hee had beene infected at Madrid, by the eyes, in reading of a letter which was brought out of that countrey, ſince which time hee had not beene well; whatſoeuer it were, hee was ready to goe when God ſhould call him, who ſends infirmities, and takes them away at his pleaſure.

Cardinall Ximenes poiſoned.

They obſerue that hee ſaid often to the Phiſitians, that hee ſhould die by the treachery and wickednes of traitors; and it was commonly reported that *Francis Carillo*, who was ſewer to the Cardinall, hauing eaten of this trout, was verie ſick; and they did vndoubtedly beleeue that the Flemings ſought his death: for they had diſcouered by his letters, that his intent was to procure the king to diſmiſſe them all, and ſend them home to their houſes, and to be ſerued by Spaniards in their places. The blame of this vild act was laid vpon *Baracaldo*, one of his ſecretaries, who had done other treacheries to the Cardinall his maſter; yet the Cardinall did ſtill vſe his ſeruice vnto his dying day: which breeds ſome doubt whether it were he or ſome other that committed this crime, whereof there were many

A many contrarie arguments. Cardinall *Ximenes* cauſed himſelfe to bee carried to Aranda, whereas whilſt he ſtriues againſt his infirmitie, the towne of Vailledolit fell into new tumults, vpon a conceit the people had, that the brute of the kings comming was but counterfeit, and that this great preparation was to ſend the infant D. *Ferdinand* into Flanders: So as Spaine remaining deſtitute of her princes, being in the hands of an old Monke, halfe rotten, and neere his end, muſt of neceſſity bee ruined by inteſtine ſeditions, or be a prey to forein nations. To pacifie this mutiny, and to certifie them of the truth of the kings comming, the Cardinall ſent vnto them, and ſatisfied them. 1517 *Tumult of Vailledolit.*

7 Hee had yet one exploit to doe which hee thought expedient and neceſſarie, B yet full of enuie, which was to reforme the Infant D. *Ferdinands* houſe, and to take from him thoſe that had bred him vp and ſerued him, eſpecially D. *Pedro Nugnes*, of Guzman treaſurer of the Calatraua, his gouernor, and D. *Aluaro Oſorio*, a Iacobin, biſhop of Aſtorga his ſchoolemaſter: D. *Pedro* had neuer beene allowed by the Cardinall, in that charge, and he had often ſought to croſſe him, whereupon there grew great hatred betwixt them, the which *Oſorio* had entertained and increaſed, as well for ſome ambition, wherein hee ſaw himſelfe hindered by the Cardinall, as through emulation which hath beene long betwixt thoſe two orders, the biſhop being a Iacobin, and the Cardinall a Franciſcaine. It was commonly bruted, and euery man did beleeue it; that *Oſorio* had beene the cauſe and breeder of ſeditions at Vailledolit, and Cardinall *Ximenes* knewe that C hee did continually maligne him to the Flemiſh lords: that hee ſought to inſinuate himſelfe into the fauour of the emperour *Maximilian*, and that hee had treated of a marriage betwixt the emperour and Queene *Germaine*: And many held opinion that D. *Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, had had a conceit to carrie the Infant D. *Ferdinand* into Arragon, with an intent and hope to make him king of that country, whereunto the people would eaſily haue conſented for the memorie and name of their deceaceaſed king D. *Ferdinand*, who had loued the Infant dearely, and other things (ſome true, ſome falſe) which were ſpoken in Spaine: whatſoeuer was the cauſe D. *Pedro Nugnes* and the biſhop of Aſtorga were in no grace with the Cardinall; wherefore hee did write often to the king, and cauſed the lords of the councell to be delt with- D all, to haue them diſcharged: ſo as a little before king *Charles* his comming into Spaine, there was a diſpatch ſent by the king, by the which the Cardinall was commanded to diſcharge D. *Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman gouernour, D. *Aluaro Oſorio* Schoole-maſter; D. *Gonſalo* of Guzman, Chamberlaine, and *Sancho de Paredes*, ſteward to the Infant, and ſend them home to their houſes, letting them know that the king was verie well ſatisfied with their good ſeruices, but their ages did now require reſt, and that hee would haue regard vnto their merits, and remember them: as for the reſt of the Infants houſe, hee left it to the Cardinall, to diſpoſe as he ſhould think fit. This packet by the Poſt-maſters fault came not to the Cardinals hands before all the contents were diuulged, which cauſed the more difficultie in the execution of the E kings will, for the Poſt-maſter thinking it to be newes how that the king was imbarkt to come into Spaine, he kept the packet fiue daies, before he deliuered it to the Cardinall, to whome it was directed, and in the meane time ſent this good news to the noblemen, to draw preſents from them: then Cardinall *Ximenes* being ill diſpoſed of his perſon in the conuent of Aguilera, this Poſt-maſter thought it indifferent to giue the packet to Cardinall *Adrian* or to him, the which he did: *Adrian*, whether through curioſitie or otherwiſe, opened it, & finding letters directed to the Infant, hee gaue him them, without any further apprehenſion, who by this meanes vnderſtood what was ordained of him, and of his ſeruants, & of the change of his houſe, whereof hee did preſently aduertiſe them, before the Cardinal had ſeen the kings letters: wherwith they being wonderfully diſcontented, and ſeeing no other remedy they implored the Infants aide, which was of no great F moment, beſeeching him to remember their fidelity and good ſeruices, letting him vnderſtand that all this was done to debaſe him, and keep him vnder, at the Cardinals pleaſure, who had procured and practiſed this alteration.

Reformation of the Infant D. Ferdinands houſe by the Cardinall.

Franciſcans and Iacobins inueterate enemies.

Secrets of Cardinall Ximenes diſcouered.

The Infant beeing perſuaded by his Maſters, came the next day in great choler to the Conuent of Aguilera, hauing in his companye the Biſhoppe *Oſorio*,

1517 *Oſorio* (for D. *Pero Nugnes* was ſick:) & doctor *Adrian* by reaſon of the error which he had committed in opening the pacquet, and giuing the letters to the Infant, before he had imparted them to Cardinall *Ximenes*, durſt not ſhew himſelfe. G

Intreaty of the infant D. Ferdinand to the Cardinall.

Being come vnto the Cardinall, he complained greatly (and with teares in his eyes) of the wrong he did him, in ſeeking to depriue him without any lawfull cauſe, of ſo good & faithfull ſeruants, the which he would neuer haue beleeued of him, whome hee held to be his deare friend: and thereupon he intreated him, and coniured him by the memorie of Queene *Iſabell*, and the great aduancement hee had receiued from her, not to ſuffer this indignity to be done vnto him, to take from him ſo worthy a perſon as his gouernour, ſo fit a Schoole-maſter as the biſhop *Oſorio*, ſo many ſeruants which had attended him faithfully, and with whome hee had beene nouriſhed and bred vp with great content; and that hee would not ſuffer him to receiue that diſpleaſure, to ſee them ignominiouſly and wrongfully diſgraced. The Cardinall ſought by mild words to pacifie the incenſed courage of this Prince, laying before him the king his brothers pleaſure, aſſuring him that all thoſe things tended to his aduancement, ſo as hee would ſhew himſelfe obedient and tractable. As for the iniurie whereof hee complained, hee intreated him to thinke it was otherwiſe, and to beleeue that hee was a man of yeares and experience, and that hee loued him dearely; hee confeſſed that hee ought to haue a care of the honour and good of his ſeruants, but hee muſt withall thinke that the king his brother was dearer vnto him: And therefore hee exhorted him that leauing theſe paſſions which his ſeruants had bred in him, he ſhould wholy adhere to him; who was the greateſt king in Chriſtendome againſt whoſe will it were neither ſafe nor conuenient for him to oppoſe himſelfe; and if hee did perſiſt to complaine, and to ſhew a diſcontentment for that which the king commanded to bee done, hee ſhould bee aſſured that hee would bring himſelfe, his affaires, and his ſeruants into great danger. For all this the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, (being young and incenſed) was not ſatisfied, but anſwering the Cardinall, I haue, ſaid hee, taſted of your friendſhip in many occaſions, but now it failes mee at my greateſt need, neither doe I know which way it is fled: but ſeeing that I find that you are reſolued to ruine mee and mine, whome you may eaſe and comfort much with a ſmall delay, I muſt of neceſſitie find meanes to defend and preſerue our ſelues. H I K

Cardinall Ximenes inexorable.

Speech of Cardinall Ximenes to the Infant D. Ferdinand.

At theſe words the Cardinall finding himſelfe toucht, Do (ſaid he) what you pleaſe, but I ſweare vnto you by the life of king *Charles* your brother, that to morrow ſhall not paſſe before his commandements bee executed, the which it behooues you to obey before all others, yea though all Spaine had conſpired to hinder it. This made the Infant take vnto him a manly courage, and to lay aſide or diſſemble his childiſh affections: wherefore hee departed from the Cardinall with a ſetled countenance, & without any ſhew of perturbation, and ſo returned to Aranda, where before his arriuall, hee found himſelfe garded, with the towne and all the approaches, by the ſouldiers of *Cabanille*, and *Eſpinola*, captaines of the guard, who were ſent and inſtructed by the Cardinall, who knew how to execute their charge, and keepe the Infant or any of his houſe from attempting any thing. All that night was ſpent in complaints in the Infants lodging, who ſlept not; hee would ſay often that hee would bee reuenged of the Cardinall, and when they asked him what hee would doe againſt a man ſo well garded, and who had all the forces of Spaine at his command: well, I will make ſhew to goe and viſit my mother, and then will I goe where I pleaſe, and the firſt that ſhall offer to hinder mee, let him aſſure himſelfe I will kill him, with other ſuch ſpeeches of a yong man.

Diligence of Cardinall Ximenes to execute his deſires.

L

Day being come, the Infant by the aduice of his ſeruants, ſent to intreat the kings councell, and the Popes two Noncios to come vnto him, to whome hee ſaid: That the king his brother had ſent commandement to take his ſeruants from him, the which was grieuous vnto him, but hee would obey, yet hee intreated them to doe one good Office for an Infant of the houſe of Caſtille, to complaine vnto the king by their letters, of the great wrong was done him, ſeeing they knewe well that they had bred him vp, ſerued and accompained him faithfully and honeſtly: the which M

they

A they promiſed to doe. Cardinall *Ximenes* by the meanes of Cardinall *Adrian*, drew D. *Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, D. *Aluaro Oſorio*, and *Gonſall de Guzman*, to come vnto him vnto the Conuent of Aguilera, to heare the reaſons why they were diſcharged, and to anſwere the complaints they made of him, who hauing heard what hee would ſay vnto them, anſwered and replyed, in the end they ſaide that they were ready to doe that which hee ſhould commaund them; but they intreated him to perſuade the king, (with whome they knew hee had grace and credit) to haue regard vnto their honors and intereſts, and they did wiſely to anſwere ſo, and ſhew themſelues obedient: for if they had done otherwiſe, hee would not haue ſuffe- B red them to returne to Aranda, but would haue ſtayed them priſoners vntill the kings comming; attending the which the charge of the Infant D. *Ferdinand* was giuen to the Marqueſſe of Aguilar, in the abſence of D. *Alfonſo Telles*, whome the king had appointed to that place. There were eight and twentie of the Infants ſeruants diſcharged, in whoſe places there were ſubrogated men of baſe condition, and obſcure families, to cut off all occaſions to vndertake great enterpriſes, and this Cardinall was ſo ſeuere as hee would not ſuffer the Infant to haue the young Vicont of Altamire, whome he loued dearely for his dexterity and good faſhion, for that hee was nephew to D. *Aluaro Oſorio*: There remained onely of all the old Seruants of that houſe *Alfonſo Caſtilege*, for that being giuen to muſicke and poetrie, hee ſeemed to bee C free from ambition, or any deſire of alteration. Theſe things thus done, being vnderſtood at Court, the lords of the Councell ſent letters from the king to the Cardinall for the Marqueſſe of Aſtorga, and the earle of Lemos, kinſman to D. *Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, and to D. *Aluaro Oſorio*, admoniſhing them not to oppoſe themſelues to any act done by him, but hee did not vouchſafe to giue them theſe letters; ſo confident hee was in the authority which hee held, repreſenting the kings perſon, and ſo hee had often done, not caring much for that which the Spaniards ſuſpected or feared.

1517

Seuerity of Cardinall Ximenes.

The Marqueſſe of Aguilar gouerned himſelfe ſo well with his maſter, as hee himſelfe did write vnto the king his brother, and beſought him not to giue that charge D vnto any other: the which had beene appointed for D. *Alfonſo Telles*.

Marques of Aguilar gouernour to the Infant D. Ferdinand.

There was a brute throughout Spaine, that the Cardinals infirmity had ſo weakened him, as leauing all affaires, hee liued retyred in his Conuent of friers, not ſeeing any man, and in effect the bloud came more aboundantly out at his eares than before, and hee was much tormented in his body, and as in old men all remedies are difficult and of ſmall effect, they knew not what to hope of him: wherefore D. *Pedro Giron* watching for all occaſions to mutine, went to Armes, to inuade the countrie of Medina Sidonia, and the Moores alſo hearing theſe newes, did moleſt the coaſt of Granado, making ſpoile of all they incountred, for the which the Cardinall prouided notwithſtanding his infirmitie, for againſt D. *Pedro* hee oppoſed the E earle of Luna, who kept him in awe, being aſſiſted by D. *Anna* of Arragon, wife to the duke of Medina, who gaue him her iewels for the charges of the warre. The earle of Vregna his father, remembring the error committed at Villefratre, which was not yet forgotten, hee beſought the Cardinall, not to impute theſe new broiles to him, promiſing that hee would cauſe his ſonne D. *Pedro* to lay aſide armes, and ſo hee did: yet the Cardinall did write letters vnto the king full of accuſations againſt theſe Girons, perſuading him ſo to puniſh them once for all, as they ſhould haue no more deſire to fall into ſuch errors, and others might take example by them.

D. Pedro Giron cauſeth new troubles.

About that time the Turkes who had newly ſeazed vpon Alger, vnder *Horuſco Barberouſſe*, meant to make an enterpriſe vpon Oran, which was the Cardinalls conqueſt, and therefore hee did much affect it, and the king being then at Sea, had news F of it, the which did trouble them much, holding it a great loſſe if this landing place in Afrik were taken from the Chriſtians. But God prouided for it, for the Mores and Arabian Africans iealous that the Turkes ſhould ſettle themſelues in their countrie, aſſembled in great multitudes, and incountred them, which came againſt Oran, and defeated them, freeing the Spaniards, who attended a ſiege, from that paine and care.

King

1517 *Ariuall of king Charles at the Aſturies.*

8 King *Charles* hauing taken ſhip in Flanders about the beginning of September, G hee came in the end of that month to the moſt vneaſie coaſt of all the Aſturies, about Tazane, a place full of rocks, and not frequented by ſeafaring men, not farre from Villeuicieuſe. The mountaine people of that countrie not knowing what they were which landed vpon their coaſt, hauing put their wiues and children into the moſt inacceſſible places of the mountaines, they betooke them to armes, and ranne in troups to the Sea ſhoare, thinking they had beene French-men or ſome other enemies, which came to ſpoyle the countrie: the which they perceiuing which were yet at ſea, and the king himſelfe, hee commanded to diſplay the royall ſtandard, that hee might bee knowne. The Aſturians diſcouering the Lions and Caſtles, knew that it was their king, and laying H downe their armes, they came to ſalute him vpon their knees, accompaning him to Villeuicieuſe, the which by a good equiuocation they called Villadichoſa, which ſignifies a happy Towne, which ſight was moſt pleaſing vnto the king: there hee reſted himſelfe after his ſea trauell, being accompained by his ſiſter D. *Leonora* then Queene of Portugall.

There were with him the lord of Cheures, the Chancellor *Saunage*, *Charles* of Lanoy, & other Flemiſh lords: and in a ſhort time there came many noblemen of Spaine vnto him, among which were D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco the Conſtable, a man of great poſſeſſions, in that barren countrey, being accompained with 700 horſe, all his kinſmen, friends, and vaſſals, who had giuen order that ſtore of victuals ſhould be broght vnto them as they I paſt: there came other noblemen to kiſſe their princes hand, and then they returned preſently, that they might not incõmodate his houſhold and train in the ſtreits of the mountaines, vntill that he were come into a more open country, and better prouided. The Cardinal who lay in his Conuent, ſcarce able to breath, was ſo glad at the news of the kings ariuall, as he left his bed, ſung maſſe, and eat in the Refectorie among the friers, the which did much diſcontent the Flemiſh Courtiers, who deſired that hee had beene dead before that the king ſhould conferre with him; for they were well aduertiſed that hee ſought to chaſe them from the councell, and from all affaires, whereof hee had often treated by his letters and agents with the king wherfore they informed themſelues curiouſly of his phiſitions, how long he would liue, thinking that his death was neer, & therefore they ſtaied K

Practiſes of the Flemiſh courtiers to keepe the king from ſeeing of the Cardinall

the king as long as they could vpon the way, deſiring much that he were dead before the king ſhould ſee him. Some councelled the king to goe firſt and viſit the realme of Arragon, before he ſtaied in Caſtille, the which the Cardinall hindred all he could, informing him of many inconueniences which would happen by that councell: and beſeeching him moſt humbly not to determine any thing touching his publike or priuate affaires, before hee had giuen him a full information of the eſtate of his realme: hee did alſo councel him to ſend the infant D. *Ferdinand* his brother, as ſoone as might bee into Germany, to the emperour his grandfather, thinking that hee could not take a better reſolution, neither for his owne affaires, nor for the good of the Infant, then to ſend him thither, and to bee a meanes that all, or a good part of *Maximilians* ſucceſſion might L come vnto him, ſeeing that by the grace of God, he was king and lord of ſo many realmes and rich eſtates.

This councell was followed after the Cardinals death, not at the Flemings ſute, who it may bee had other deſignes, for the lord of Cheures deſired to keep him vnder, & ſoon after would haue had him giue water vnto the king his brother: who, being diſcontented to ſee his brother ſo abaſe himſelf, ſaid, that *Ximenes* councel was better. Wherupon he ordained that the Infant ſhold be conducted into Germany. The king being come to Saint Vincent of Barquera, D. *Anthony* of Rojas, Biſhop of Granado, Preſident of the Councell royall (who had beene alwaies oppoſit to the Cardinall) went from Aranda with all the Councell, not making him acquainted therewith, to go and meet with the king; and the M better to excuſe their fact, they would haue carried with them the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, if the Marqueſſe of Aguilar had not hindred it. The Cardinall finding himſelfe wronged herewith, ſent two of the kings letters to the Preſident, by the which hee and the whole councell were commanded not to depart without him; but they ſtaied not for all that, thinking that the Cardinals authority was much decaied: but hee mooued with this contempt,

A contempt, ſent to the king, complaining of D. *Antonio de Roias*, and of the councells departure, in contempt of his letters, terming thē forſakers of the commonweale, & of the affaires of eſtate, proteſting, that if before his comming they had preſumed to doe ſuch a thing, he would haue puniſhed them in ſuch ſort, as within 3 dayes both the preſident & the councell had bin renued, and had depriued thē of their dignities with diſgrace: wherfore he beſought him to obſerue the honor and dignity of his councel of Spain, & to cauſe them to returne, to the end they might all togither go to meet him, as it was fit: the which was done to the preſidents great diſcontent and ſhame, who returned with al his train to Aranda. The maſters of accounts did not abandon the cardinall: to whom the admirall *Henriques* an dother noblemen, who were ready to go & meet the K. offred to go in his company: but he thinking that 1517

B there were other conſiderations in theſe noblemen than in the Senat he gaue them thanks, intreating them to goe before and without him. Winter which comes ſooner, and is more ſharp in the region beyond the mountains, than in other parts of Spaine, preſt the cardinall to leaue the conuent of Aguilera which place was too moiſt for his health: wherfore he remoued to Roa a towne in the county of Siruelas, where he had learned his firſt letters in his infancie, cauſing himſelfe to be caried thither in a cloſe litter, and clad in furs: carrying with him the infant D. *Ferdinand*. Roa is 16 leagues neerer to Vailledolit than Aranda, and it is a cōmodious place to take the way to Vailedolit or to Segobia, as if it had bin don of purpoſe. For his part hee deſired the court ſhould rather go to Segobia than to Vailledolit, whereas the K. might conſult of his affairs, & aſſemble the ſtates, the which he diſſuaded much at this

C his firſt ariual, ſaying, that their ſpirits were yet inflamed with the forepaſſed mutinies, doubting not but there would be many raſh and impertinent articles preferred, wherefore it was expediēt to deferre it for a time, & to ſuffer thoſe humors to ſettle: being of great importāce, that the people ſhould meet and ſee their prince at the firſt with all humility, obedience and feare, which aduice was contemned, to the great preiudice and danger of the realme.

Aſſembly of the Eſtates diſliked by the cardinal Ximenes at the kings ariuall.

In the mean time there came deputies from Toledo to the king, beſeeching him to chuſe that citie, which was great, ſpacious and healthfull, and ſituated in a fertile countrey, for his firſt abode, the which would haue bin very pleaſing to the cardinall who was archbiſhop of Toledo: but the Flemiſh courtiers took no delight to be ſo far from the ſea: wherefore the king hauing giuen good reception to the deputies, he ſent them back, making choice rather

D of the towne of Vailledolit; but before his comming thither, he would go viſite his mother D. *Ioane* at Tordeſillas, writing the cauſes vnto the Cardinall, and to his brother D. *Ferdinand*, which had moued him thereunto: his reſolution ſeemed full of pietie, but conſidering the indiſpoſition of this princeſſe, it was not needfull to conferre ſo long with her of affaires, as he did. During the Kings abode at Tordeſillas, the lodgings were made at Vailledolit, where the Cardinall beganne to find that the Flemings could doe more than he in Spaine, for his ſeruants demanding the lodging of doctor *Bernardin* for him, being in a wholeſome place, and fit for his infirmity, the harbenger *Terremonde* refuſed it him, hauing marked it for Queene *Germaine*, wherein the Cardinall had infinite troubleſome difficulties, being not accuſtomed to intreate, although he obtained it: (it was knowen afterwards, that the duke

E of Alba had beene the motiue of this vnworthy vſage of a man of ſo great authority:) but as for his traine it was lodged in a village without the towne: and yet he muſt haue patience, it auailed him nothing to complayne of this contempt and diſgrace, which he had neuer tried being in a meaner eſtate, no not when the kings D. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Philippe* were togeſther in that towne, with a great traine of noblemen and knights, and all their ordinary gards, ſaying, that it was a poore recompence, after ſo much toyle and ſweat, to receiue a wrong in the place of a reward, whereof he blamed the K. officers who were ſtrangers & ignorant of the cuſtoms of Spaine. But the worſt was, when he receiued letters from the K. by the which he was commanded to attend him at Mojados vpon the way to Tordeſillas, where he deſi-

Interuiew betwixt K. Charles and his mother vnneceſſary.

Signe of the Cardinalls diſgrace.

Letter of diſcharge from the Cardinal to the King.

red to confer with him, and to haue his councell in affaires both of his realme and houſe, to

F thend he might diſcharge him of ſo great a burthen, & ſuffer him to retire to his own houſe, to liue in reſt, where God would cōfort & recompence him, for ſo many good offices which he had done for the realm, ſeeing he thought it was not in the power of any man to do it, & that for his part hee would euer remember it, and honour and reuerence him as his father. Theſe letters were written at the perſuaſion of *Mote* Biſh. of Badajos, an affectionat ſeruant

1517 to the L. of Cheures, & yet much bound to the Cardinall, who hauing receiued them, conceiued ſo great a griefe to ſee himſelfe put backe, as within few hours after he died, his feuer encreaſing which he had gotten the day before theſe ſtrange news: feeling his end to draw neer, he had ſome little cõference with ſome of his people of the mercy of God, & of the vanity of this world, & forgetting no ceremonies which his order & profeſſion required, he recõmended his ſoul to God & to al the Saints, namely, to the virgin *Mary*, to S. *Peter*, S *Paul*, S. *Iaques*, and S. *Michael*, but eſpecially to S. *Francis*, vnder whoſe rule he had liued, and to the protectors and patrons of his church of Toledo, S. *Eugenius*, and *Idelfonſe* or *Alphonſo*. Being thus prouided, & with the praiers & ſuffrages of ſome prieſts which aſſiſted him, he ended his dais, leauing a great griefe to many, but it may be the number of thoſe that were glad of it exceeded. He was no ſooner dead, but 2 Spaniſh captaines *Vadillo* & *Collozo*, going out of the Antichamber into the chamber where he died, began to lay hand vpon ſome plate and other things, thinking that all was to be ſackt, but they were balmed by the colonel *Spinoſa*, D. *Alphonſo* of Areillan erle of Aguilar, & other noblemen, who were better taught. His body was imbalmed, and being attired in his pontificall robes, he was laid for a time bare faced vpon a rich bed, whereas euery man came and kiſt his hands, being inuited thereunto by the ſound of a trumpet, with promiſe of pardon for their ſins: Then according to his wil, he was carried to Alcala of Henares, where he was founder of that goodly Vniuerſitie, and there with great honour and funerall pomp, he was interred in the church of S. *Idelfonſe*, as he had ordained, where his tombe is to be ſeene of white marble, with his Image in his archbiſhops weed, excellently well cut, enuironed with a grate of yron, whereas are 16 ſpaces, repreſenting the deeds of this Prelate, artificially grauen. The people of Alcala ſhewed him ſmall reuerence, for preſently after his funerall they went and beat downe and raſed the houſes and farmes, which he had cauſed to be built without the towne for *Benedict* his nephew: and they of the vniuerſity and colledge of S. *Idelfonſe* diſannulled many things which he had brought in, and chaſed away the chanon *Cardegna*, who was treaſurer and ſuperintendent of that colledge. Such was the end of this cardinall, a famous man for his great wiſdome & iudgement in the gouernment of the affaires of ſtate, conſtancie in his reſolutions, and magnanimitie in the execution of his enterpriſes, ſeuere, rigorous, and inexorable: a terror to great men, not yielding to force nor flattery, being exceeding ambitious & deſirous of honor, the which he ſhewed in his ſower diſpoſition, fit for them that gouerne great Eſtates. His conſtitution of body did repreſent the qualities of his mind, for he was of a great ſtature, ſtrong & luſtie: his pace was graue, his voice ſtrong & firm, his face long and drie, a large forehead without any wrinckles, reaſonable big eies, hollow, but quicke ſighted, and alwayes moiſt, long noſed & crooked like an Egle; his great teeth ſtucke out, ſo as ſome called him Elephant, & thick lipt. His skull being found in the yere 1565 in the vault where it had bin laied, ſeemed to be all of one peece without any ſeame: he deliuered his conceptions in few words, & neuer ſtraid frõ the purpoſe, no not in his greateſt choler: if he promiſed to do any man good, he always performed more than he ſpake: he did ſeldome vſe to ieſt, yet he took delight to heare them that were quick conceited, & would laugh at them that were pleſant in their ſpeeches: he kept a mad man, who ſomtimes had bin learned & a diuine, & was delighted to heare him reherſe many paſſages which he had retained, the which he repeated without any reaſon, & yet ſomtimes not ill applied: he would be pleaſant with a Spaniſh captaine called *Maderol*, who had made many promiſes, but done little good in all his life, counſelling him to become a monk to do penance for his ſins: & in theſe things he recreated his ſpirits, being charged with great affairs. Finally, he loued learning, & to heare the diſputations of learned men, & oftentimes of yong ſcholers. This prelat being well informed of the great profit which the world might draw from the knowledge of tongs he did intertain men that were learned in them: & to imploy thẽ in matters fit for his religious profeſſion, & to the end the ſtudious of the holy ſcripture might taſt the word of God frõ the original ſprings, he cauſed the bible to be printed in many tongs: that is, the book of the old teſtament diſtinguiſhed into 3 parts, whereof the firſt contained the Hebrue text, the ſecond the cõmon tranſlation into Latin which we vſe: & the third the Greeke of the 70 Interpretors, with his tranſlation in Latin. As for the new Teſtament it contained the Greek text, & the common tranſlation in Latin, very well corrected: and in the end of the volume, a dictionary of Hebrew words interpreted, very ample & copious; a

Death of the Cardinall frier Francis Ximenes of Ciſneros.

Cardinall Ximenes little reſpected by the people and vniuerſitie of Alcala.

9 *Diſpoſition of Cardinall Ximenes.*

Bible printed in many tongues.

A a worke of great labour, sumptuous and stately, witnessing the greatnes of this cardinalls courage, who was not danted with any difficulty. Herein he vsed the care, learning, and iudgement of *Demetrius Candiot*, *John* of Vergara, *Anthony Nebritencis*, *Lopes* of Estuniga, *Fernand* of Vailledolit, worthy professors in the Greek and Latin tongs; *Alphonso* of Alcala a philition, *Paul Cornel*, and *Alphanso Zamora*, learned men in the Hebrew tong. These men were very careful to examine the old volumes that were most correct and approued of both testaments, wherein they had no small help and ease by the library of the Vatican at Rome, through the bounty of Pope *Leo*, who refused not any thing to cardinall *Ximenes*. The Latin explication of the translation of the 70 Interpreters, was the worke of *Demetrius*, of *Fernand* of Vailledolit, and of *Alphonso* of Estuniga, assisted by some of their B disciples learned men, *Iohn Vergara* was also inuited and called by them to take part of this charge, who interpreted some of those bookes which he was wont to call *Sapientiales*: as Ecclesiasticus, the which he could not finish as he desired, by reason of his indispositiō; for hee had an intent to make large Annotations. The Bible was begun by these men in the yeare 1502, who spent 15 whole yeares, with great care and toile to turne ouer infinite volumes and copies, gathered together from many parts of the world, with wonderful charge, for proofe wherof *Gometius* saies, that he had often heard *Alphonso Zamora*, professor in the Hebrew tongue, affirme, that for 7 Hebrew copies which are kept in the Vniuersitie of Alcala of Henares, were payed 4000 crownes of gold. Being ended by *Iohn Brocario* of Alcala, it was dedicated to pope *Leo*, whereof the world hath receiued C great profit. This Cardinall hauing his mind continually attentiue to great matters, was somtimes oppresst with melancholy, which made him to vndertake things rather through furie than councell, but very seldome, as the conuersion of the Moores of Granado, and the enterprises of Afrike, attepted with too great affection & zeale without any ground. The quarrels which he had with great mē with such obstinatiō as we haue said, proceeded frō the loue of Iustice, magnanimity & vertue: for he would teach them to liue according to equity. The chanons of Toledo were his chiefe councellors, without whose aduice he would neuer attempt any thing of importāce: he would, as it was fit, that whatsoeuer had bin decreed after mature deliberation, should be instantly put in execution: he censured of mens errors, not by the effect, but by the intent. Although in publike affaires, he were D impatient of al reply, & bold speech, yet in that which concerned himselfe, he often indured the liberty of another mans tong: the which he shewed to *Contrera* the preacher, who blaming him one day in his presence, for that he being a frier did often weare sables & other rich furres, he was inuited to dine with him, where he commended his preaching, but he excused that which he did reprehend in him, saying, that men aduanced to dignity and great charges, had need of precious ornaments, and rich attire, as well on their persons as in their houses, for that doth breed maiesty in him, and causeth reuerence in subiects. They write that these ornaments were vsed superficially by the Cardinal, for, as for his vnder habit and his sleeping, he alwayes carried himselfe according to the Order of Saint *Francis*: he daily said his prayers, either alone, or accompanied, the doore being shut, that E he might not be diuerted. He had great compassion of great persons vnworthily afflicted, and did releeue them with mony, as to D. *Guiomar* of Castro ducheesse of Nagera, being chased from her house by her husband, whom he did nourish and comfort in the city of Toledo with as great honor, as the duke himselfe could haue done her, blaming his churlishnes the more, for that he had bin made duke by king *Henry* the fourth in fauor of this woman, with whom, as we haue said, he seemed to be in loue.

When there was any great benefice void in the church of Toledo, hee gaue it either to the sonne of some prince or great nobleman, or to some one of the learnedest men of Spaine; saying, That nobility gaue fauour, and learning authority to the clergie: fF nally, hee was liberall, and very charitable to the poore, and careful of his household seruants. He spent a good part of his reuenues in religious buildings, which preserue his memorie: as at Tordelaguna, where hee was borne the conuent of Franciscan friers, intitled of the virgine *Mary*, a goodly and stately worke: at Toledo the conuent of Saint *Iohn* penitent: and one of the like title at Alcala of Henares; two Conuents, one of Franciscans, and the other of Iacobins, in the city of Oran: but aboue all, the building

Men imployed to peruse the Bible.

Cardinall Ximenes oppresst with melancholy

A louer of iustice.

Execution must be speedie after mature deliberation.

Cardinall Ximenes, though a frier, yet he wēt richly apparelled.

Discretion in giuing of benefices.

Buildings made at the charge of Cardinall Ximenes.

1518 of the colledge of Saint *Idelfonſe* or *Alphonſo*, in the vniuerſitie of Alcala of Henares is G
moſt famous, and the inſtitution of the company, which ſhould be all Diuines. This man
was ſo ſeuere, as he had attempted to reduce all the Orders of monkes to their ancient and
firſt ſimplicitie and puritie. After this prelats death, D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon archbiſh-
of Saragoſſe, baſe ſonne to the deceaſed king D. *Ferdinand*, came to Tordeſillas, to ſa-
lute the king his nephew, and alſo to get the archbiſhopricke of Toledo, if he might;
but the lord of Cheures, who would haue it for *William* of Crouy his nephew, ſtayed his
comming, ſo as this prince was forced to go to Vailledolit, there to attend the King, who
hauing ſeen him, and complayning to all the noblemen of Spaine, of the wrong the lord
of Cheures had done him, he returnd into Arragon, fruſtrate of that which he pretended.

12 The king hauing cauſed the Eſtates of Caſtille to aſſemble at Vailledolit, in Sep- H
tember 1518, he was declared king of Caſtille, Toledo, Granado, and other dependan-
ces in Spaine; hee receiued and tooke the othe after the accuſtomed manner: wherein
Coronation of King Charles the firſt of that name. there was ſome difficultie made by ſome great noblemen, for that Queene *Ioane* his mo-
ther did yet liue; notwithſtanding it paſt: and hauing there ordayned many things tou-
ching the gouernement of Caſtille, he paſt into Arragon, to haue alike aſſembly and ſo-
lemnity, in regard of thoſe realmes and the lands depending. Being in Arragon he was
ſolicited to ſend embaſſadors to Mompellier, to conferre with the deputies of the French
king, and of *Henrie* of Albret, touching the rights of the realme of Nauarre, held and en-
ioyed by him, in the name of D. *Ioane* his mother, and his owne, by hereditary title, where-
of there had bin another parliament held at Noion: whither were ſent the lord of Cheu- I
Conference of deputies touching the realme of Nauarre. res, the chancellor *Iohn Sauuage*, who was of Bruges, D. *Ant.* of Eſtuniga one of the pri-
ors of S Iohn, the great commander of Caſtille, doctor *Carualal*, with other knights and
learned men: but all this conference was to no effect, for he that was in poſſeſſion, would
hold it: beſides *Arthur Goiffier*, L. of Boiſſi dying, was a hinderance to it. At that time D.
Ant. Manriques duke of Nagera was viceroy of Nauarre, hauing for aſſiſtant D. *Roderigo* of
Mercado biſhop of Auila, at which time the new king *Charles* had cauſed the marſhall D.
Pedro of Nauarre to be deliuered out of priſon, being in the caſtle of Atienſa, & preſt him
much to take the othe, & to do him homage, as to his king; but he who bare an affection
to his maſter, refuſed it: by reaſon whereof he ended his dais in the priſon of Simancas. The
K. being at Barcelone he had news of his election to the empire of Germany: wherefore K
he went towards Vailledolit, to make preparation for his iorny, & order for the affaires of
Caſtille, which were very confuſed. But hee was forced to make haſt, and to leaue many
13 things vndecided, being aduertiſed of the conſpiracies & leagues betwixt the towns and
Charles choſen emperour of Germany. great lords of the realme, for the defence of the priuiledges and liberties of the countrey,
againſt the greedines & vſurpations of the Flemiſh councelors, who gouerned this yong
prince: among the which the chiefe was, as we haue ſaid, the L. of Cheurs. The K. for that
he would not be ingaged in theſe Spaniſh mutinies, with whoſe humours he was not ac-
quainted, he parted as it were flying away, & imbarked at the Groin, a famous port in Ga-
licia, leauing for gouernors cardinal *Adrian*, & the conſtable. D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſ- L
co, to whom he afterwards ioyned D. *Frederic Henriques*, great admirall of Caſtille. Being
landed in the low countries, he went preſently to Aix la Chapelle, where he receiued the
Departure of the emperour Charles out of Caſtille forced. imperiall crowne, in the yere 1520, being 20 yeres old. The firſt Acts of his gouernment,
were to ſuppres by mild & quiet means the doctrine preached by *Luther*, which increaſed
much in Germany. To this end, & for ſome other matters of importance concerning the
empire, he cauſed the princes and eſtates to aſſemble at Worms, wheras *Luther* appeared
hauing a paſport, and was heard diſputing againſt doctor *Eckius* & others, but there came
no fruits of it. But in Spaine there grew great ſeditions and tumults, in the towns and pro-
uinces of Caſtille, many townes & noblemen complaining of the breach of the lawes and
14 priuiledges of the realme, and of the bad gouernment of the Flemiſh lords, who by their M
Ciuile warre in Caſtille. great couetouſnes, had drawne vnto them great ſums of mony, vnder the kings authority,
vſurped the eſtates, offices, & benefices of the realme, & cauſed a profanation in a manner
of all things, as if they had bin in a country of conqueſt: ſo as the people being moued
vpon ſo apparent occaſions, the exceſſe and troubles which ciuile diſſentions are accuſto-
med to produce, followed ſoone after.

Cardinall

1519

A Cardinall *Adrian* & the conſtable thinking to ſuppreſſe this miſchiefe in the breeding, made the fire greater; for hauing ſent againſt thē of Segobia, *Ronquillo* Alcaide or prouoſt of the court, a man of a ſower diſpoſition, rigorous in his executions, & proud and inſolēt in his threats, hauing made the ſummations & ſolemnities required in Iuſtice, he began to burne, ruine, cut & pul vp, take & kil al that he found about Segobia: whereat the inhabitants of Toledo being incenſed, they took armes and went to field chaſing away this prouoſt. They being once armed in one place, the ſedition grew generall: Burgos, Vailledolit, Salamāca, Auila, Zamora, Leon, Toro, and other chiefe places rebelled openly, & had many noblemen & knights of their faction, yet they were more led by their owne priuate intereſts then the publike good. The deputies of all theſe cities thus mutined came to A-

B uila, where they made a league with the noblemen, the principall whereof were D. *Iohn de Padilla* of Toledo, D. *Anthony d'Acugna* biſhop of Zamora, D. *Pedro Giron*, of whom mention hath bin often made. Cardinall *Adrian* had bin already forced to flie from Vailledolit, by the help of a prieſt, who conueied him away by night, breaking a piece of the towne wall, notwithſtanding that D. *Pedro Giron* & D. *Iohn de Padilla* had aſſured him that there was nothing intended againſt him, & that his innocencie was well knowen. The preſident and councellors of the Audience and Chancery were in like maner fled, of the which doctor *Vargas* eſcaped by a ſinke. The people being maſters in all the towns made choice of captains of their owne ſort, ſmiths, belfounders, skinners, tailers and ſuch like, who forgat nothing to make them deteſtable, in all couetouſneſſe, cruelty, and other wicked actions.

C At Segobia they did hang the rector betwixt 2 ſergeants, thinking to aduiſe them ſomething for the good of the publike peace: they of Auila did raſe the houſe of *Pedro Ponce*, for that he would not ſigne the league with the reſt. The conſtable was chaſed from Burgos, who with the earle of *Alua de Liſta* and others were purſued by the conſpirators with publike Edicts, who had ſommoned with ſolemnities and order of iuſtice, all the princes and great noblemen of the realme to ioyne with them, for the defence, ſaid they, of the lawes & liberties of Spaine: in default wherof to proceed againſt them as traitors to their country. The gouernors ſeeing this great reuolt, furniſhed themſelues with armes & all other means to defend themſelues & to ſuppreſſe the rebells. *Anthony Fonſeca* being ſent Medina del Campo, with a good number of horſe, to bring the artilery which was kept in

D the ſtorehouſe of that town, he found ſuch reſiſtance, as he was forced, partly through choler, & partly by a ſtratagem of war, to ſet fire in diuers parts of the town, to the end he might draw the people (who were earneſt to defend the artillery) to go & ſaue their houſes which were on fire: but their obſtinacie was ſuch as they had rather ſuffer their goods to be burnt, then abādon the artillery to *Fonſeca*, who was forced to returne without it: ſo vpon this occaſion they of Medina ioyned with the league: In which towne there was great ſtore of merchādiſe of all ſorts, mouables & other riches of ineſtimable value burnt. The conſpirators hauing put their army to field ſeiſed vpon *Tordeſillas*, where Q. *Ioane* (being diſtract) kept, her they ſaluted for their Q. & gaue her a gard of 300 prieſts, leuied by the Biſh. of Zamora in his dioces, whom he commanded to ſweare and renounce God, &

E to looke like ſouldiers: and if hee did ſee any one that did handle his portaiſe, hee would beate him with a cudgell. The emperor being aduertiſed of all theſe miſeries, hee wrote vnto the Admirall D. *Frederic Henriques*, which was then in Cattelogne, to take the charge of gouernor with the reſt, & to ſeek by all means to pacifie thoſe troubles. D *Frederic* ioyned with the gouernors with equall authority & did what he could to pacifie al, notwithſtanding that the Confederats had taken and ſpoiled Vruegna, Tordehumes, and Villabraſſica, lands belonging vnto him, & had ſackt his brothers palace, & committed other indignities in contempt of him, and to his preiudice, yet notwithſtanding hee went and ſent diuers times to the rebells: but the diſeaſe required a ſharper remedy: for

F in trueth there was no more any queſtion to reforme abuſes, and correct the faults of the common weale: all were now growen into a furie to ouerthrow the eſtate. As for the noblemen and knights their owne greedy deſires had thruſt them into armes. D. *Pedro Giron* would be duke of Medina Sidonia, and win his cauſe by the ſword, D. *Iohn de Padilla* promiſed to himſelfe the maſterſhip of S. Iaques, others hauing priuat quarrelles, would bereuenged and ſpoyle their enemies: and as for the Townes, if their firſt motion had

Exceſſe of Ronquillo prouoſt of the court.

Townes conſpired.

Inſolencie againſt the Cardinall's and the Kings officers.

Tordeſillas taken by the conſpirators.

1520 ſome lawfull cauſe, their manner of proceeding, and their forme of demaunding, had G
ſpoyled all, and made them and their cauſe odious: wherefore the war beganne to grow
hote: *Iohn de Padilla*, and *Iohn Brauo* being come to Villapanda, with part of the forces of
the League, it ſeemed to the emperors captaines that an opportunitie was offered, to re-
couer Todeſillas, and to deliuer Queene *Ioane*, who was held as a priſoner by the rebels:
Tordeſillas recouered. the which ſucceeded well without anie great loſſe or difficultie, for the place was not
ſtrong: There were many of the ſeditious taken there: Tordeſillas was ſackt, yea the
Queene and her ſeruants lodgings, yet all was reſtored vnto them againe. It is written,
that when they battred the towne, a prieſt of the biſhop of Zamoras being behind a loop
hole ſlew 11 men with his peece; and to diſcharge himſelfe ſomewhat of this guilt, or to
giue ſome eaſe to his ſoule at whom he aimd, at euery ſhot he made a croſſe with his har- H
quebuze: In the end this prieſt was ſlaine with an arrow. After this prize the Conſtable
and the Admirall who were commaunders for the emperour, marched againſt the ene-
mies, who went towards Toro, with an intent to ioyne with their other confederats, who
Battell of Villa Lara, and defeat of the rebells. had gathered togither a rable of 8000 raſcalls out of the townes and dioceſſe of Zamora,
but they were ouertaken neere vnto Villa Lara, and fought with: where notwithſtand-
ing that they had great numbers of men, and that *Padilla* and *Brauo* performed the parts
of valiant and hardy captaines, yet they were defeated and taken. This defeat pacified
all tumults, and made them all more quiet. The confederate cities laboured euery one
apart to returne into fauour, and did eaſily obtayne pardon, yea the city of Burgos before
this rout had left the ſocietie of the reſt. The biſhop of Zamora hearing of the defeat of I
Puniſhment of rebells. his companions, thought to eſcape, but he was ſtaied in Nauarre, and afterwards ſtran-
gled. D. *Iohn* of Padilla and *Iohn Brauo* were condemned to looſe their heads: D. *Maria*
wife to *Iohn* of Padilla, fell into the like miſerie, a woman of a great courage, but decei-
ued by the falſe predictions of diuines and ſorcerers, whom ſhe beleeued: their palace at
Toledo, by the ſame ſentence was ruined, and the ſoyle ſowen with ſalt, and therein a
pillar erected, for a perpetuall memorie of their rebellion: D. *Pedro Giron* who had left
the other conſpirators, by the perſuaſion of his friends and kinſmen (whereof the Con-
ſtable was the chiefe) was confined to Oran, with many other knights. Many men of
leſſe note felt the rigor of Iuſtice; and many alſo were pardoned. Thus ended the ciuile
warre and ſedition in Spaine, which grew by reaſon of the exceſſe and violent gouerne- K
ment of the Flemings, who ſuffered the Spaniards to end it, whileſt that they were Iud-
ges of their puniſhments and rewardes, for that the emperour was gouerned by their
councell.

Nauarre. 15 Whenas this rebellion in Caſtille happened, the gouernours finding themſelues
weake and ill prouided of many things, they were forced to vſe the ſouldiers which were
in the garriſons of Nauarre, and to draw many peeces of ordonance, out of Pampelone,
and places of that realme, which gaue occaſion to ſome well affected to the houſe of
Albret and Foix, and to *Henry* of Albret the true heire of that realme, to haue ſecret in-
telligences, in Bearn and in Fraunce, in whoſe fauour king *Francis* ſent *Andrew* of Foix, L
Lord of Aſperraut, or Eſparre yonger brother to *Odet* of Foix Lord of Lautrech, who
being receiued by them of the faction of *Gramont* tooke the caſtle of Saint *Iohn de Pied de*
Pampelone abandoned by the Caſtillans. *Port*: wherefore D. *Anthonie Manrique* Duke of Nagera finding himſelfe ſurprized, the
city of Pampelone beginning alſo to mutine, he left it, and returned into Caſtille, aban-
doning his houſe to the ſacke of the people.

16 At that time there was in Nauarre following armes, *Inigo* of Loyola, the firſt au-
thor of the Ieſuits, an obſtinate enemy to the houſe of Albret, who whenas the viceroy
Beginning of the Ieſuites. *Manrique* diſlodged, remained in the caſtle of Pampelone in garriſon, with the other
ſouldiers of the emperour. It hapned that this caſtle being aſſailed by the people, there
was a canon ſhot made by them of the towne, at a certaine place, whereas this man had M
both his feet ſo bruiſed with ſtones which the bullet had ſcattred, as hee fell from the top
of the caſtle to the bottome, but being ordained for an inſtrument to this new kinde of
plant in the church, he was taken vp, and his life preſerued. He was ſonne to *Bertrand* of
Inigo of Loyola and his familie. Loyola and Ognez in the prouince of Guipuſcoa, in the iuriſdiction of Aſpeytia, which
in old time was called Miranda of Yraurgui. After this miſchance he was carried to his fa-

thers

A thers houſe at Loyola, which is in the middeſt of the prouince of Guipuſcoa, where ſeeing himſelfe maimed and vnable euer after to beare armes, he changed his mind and profeſſion, and quitting the world, he gaue himſelfe to ſpirituall things, following the direction which he had, according to the religion which was then eſteemed amongſt men: His firſt religious exploit was to goe and viſit the place of *Monſerrat*, where hee ſpent nine days; then he gaue all his goods vnto the poore, and retired himſelfe into the mountaines of Manreſa, where hee began to lead a ſolitarie life, for the ſpace of ſeuen months. Afterwards he went to Barcelona, from whence he paſt by ſea to Venice, and finding the pilgrims ſhip ready to depart, he put himſelfe into it, & went to Paleſtina to ſeek the places of that land whereof mention is made in the holy Scripture: but the father gardian of
B the Franciſcans of mount Sion forced him to returne: and for that hee was but ignorant, he began to ſtudy his Grammar at Barcelona, after which he frequented the vniuerſitie of Alcala of Henares, going always bare footed, although he were lame, which maner of liuing many did interpret to be very ſuperſtition: wherefore he was apprehended, and let goe againe by the iudgement of doctor *Iohn* of Figueroa, with charge that he ſhould goe no more bare footed: this made him leaue Alcala and goe to Salamanca, where he was more derided: wherfore ſeeing himſelfe croſt in his ſtudies by theſe perſecutions, he left Spaine and came to Paris, where he heard maſter *Peter Faber*, and there he remained not long, being vext by ſome and ſupported by others, in the end allowed by maſter *Ori*, they
C held an opinion that he was a holy man, and of a ſcholer he became a maſter, hauing for his followers his maſter *Peter Faber*, *Diego Laynes*, *Iohn Coduri*, *Claude Gay*, *Paſqual Brouet*, *Francis Xauierre*, *Alphonſo Sameron*, *Simon Rodrigues*, and *Nicholas* of Bouadilla, ſtudents in diuinitie, all which ſubmitted themſelues to an Order ſet downe by *Inigo*, and did vow perpetuall pouertie & chaſtitie. Hauing wrought this in France, he returned into Spaine, honored with the degree of Maſter in the vniuerſitie of Paris, and retired himſelfe to the place of his birth, not to his fathers houſe of Loyola, but to the hoſpitall of Aſpeytia, and would not be knowne: there he began to preach, as well in the church of Saint Sebaſtian of Soreaſu, as in other places of that countrey, with ſo great a concourſe and repution, as it was (ſaid they) wonderfull, ſo as in the end being diſcouered by a clerke of
D Nauarre, who had ſtudied at Paris, he was made knowne vnto his parents, who ſought by all means poſſible to retire him from that begging kind of life, but in vaine. Hee had concluded with his companions abouenamed, to make a voyage with them to the holie Land, wherefore he went to meet them at Venice where the Rendez-vous was: from whence they went to Rome, and ſtayed there all Lent in the yeare 1537, and obtayned leaue of pope *Paul* the third to performe their pilgrimage: whereupon they returned to Venice, but finding that the paſſage was ſtopt by reaſon of the warre betwixt that commonweale and the Turke, they were forced to ſtay there, and by that means the Ieſuits were firſt knowne in Italie, not without great croſſes, from the which they were delinered by the iudgement of *Gaſpar* of Ottis, who diſputed in their cauſe. Deſirous to be of
E greater fame, they got leaue to heare in Confeſſion, and ſome of them receiued Orders to ſay maſſe; then they diſperſed themſelues in the Venetians terriorie, preaching and doing other workes of their profeſſion, purchaſing great fame, eſpecially with the ignorant, ſo as in the yeare 1538 they came all to Rome, whereas they obtayned from pope *Paul* confirmation & approbation of their maner of liuing, and of the ſtatutes and orders of their ſect, by the aid and fauor of cardinall *Contareno*, and they were receiued vnder the protection of the ſea of Rome, but only *viuæ vocis oraculo*, referring them for the expedition of the perpetuation of their ſect, to cardinall *Guidiccion* of Luca, the which was effected with the more eaſe, foraſmuch as there were at that time in Rome, doctor *Iohn* of Figueroa, maſter *Ori*, and *Gaſpar* of Ottis, who gaue ample information of the life, man-
F ners and intention of *Inigo* of Loyola, whom they had knowne at Alcala, Paris and Venice. Cardinall *Guidiccion*, notwithſtanding that hee had a little before ſet forth a booke *De non multiplicandis religionibus*, not only imbraced and allowed them, but became their ſolicitor: wherefore they were confirmed and allowed by letters and bulles, the firſt of October 1540, giuen at Tiuoli, vnder the name and title of the company of *Ieſus*, with liberty to receiue into their company, being then but tenne, to the number of threeſcore;

1521

Studies of Inigo of Loyola.

Firſt Ieſuits.

Sect of Ieſuits confirmed at Rome.

Cardinall Guidiccion firſt patron to the Ieſuits.

by

1521 by prouiſion. The eleuenth which was retayned into this Order was called *Anthony* of Araos, borne at Vergara in Guipuſcoa. D. *Iohn* the third king of Portugall, being aduertiſed of this new brood, by his embaſſador D. *Pedro Mazcaneras*, deſired to haue ſome into his countrey: wherefore he cauſed ſuit to bee made vnto the Pope, to ſend ſome vnto him: For this cauſe there were ſent into Portugall, *Francis Xauierre* a Nauarrois, and *Simon Rodrigues* a Portugall, brothers of this Company of Ieſus: *Simon Rodrigues* remained in Portugall, *Xauierre* paſt to the Eaſt Indies to preach, and there died. In the yeare 1543 they had leaue from pope *Paul* to increaſe their number as much as they would, and to receiue all that would enter into the Order: and then in the yeare 1545 hee graunted them all the priuiledges, faculties and graces which they now enioy. Afterwards *Peter Fabri* and *Anthony* of Araos came into Caſtille, and conſequently the reſt, ſo as Spaine hath neuer wanted of this brood. After the death of *Paul* the third, pope *Iulio de Monte* his ſucceſſor, did in a manner beginne the firſt Acts of his papacie, by a confirmation of this Order in the yeare 1550. By the conuerſation of doctor *Anthony* of Araos, D. *Franciſco Borgia* and of Arragon, Duke of Gandie and Marqueſſe of Lombay, conceiued a great loue to this ſect, in the which he was the more confirmed by the perſuaſion of his wife D. *Leonora de Caſtro*, a Portugall, much deuoted to the Ieſuits: ſo as D. *Franciſco* went out of Spaine with this doctor, who was the firſt Prouinciall of Caſtille, towards Rome, where he reſolued to make himſelfe a Ieſuite, and to leaue his temporall eſtates, whereunto he was admitted by father *Inigo* of Loyola, author of that Order. The duke and doctor *Anthonie* being returned into Spaine, the duke made renunciation of the duchie of Gandie, and of his other lands, vnto his ſonne D. *Charles Borgia* and of Arragon, in the Ieſuits Colledge of Ognate, where he tooke the habite, and receiued all the Orders: and ſoone after he would that his ſecond ſonne D. *Iohn Borgia* and of Arragon, ſhould marry D. *Laurence* of Loyola and Ognez, daughter to D. *Bertrand* of Loyola nephew to father *Inigo*, who with the aid and fauour of cardinall *Iohn Mouron*, did build the Germane colledge at Rome, to inſtruct the youth of that nation againſt *Luthers* doctrine: Before his death he ſaw ſixteene Prouincialls of his Inſtitution and Order, and aboue a hundred and ſeuentie colledges, the which ſince haue multiplied ſtrangely. He died at Rome in the yeare 1556 being threeſcore and one yeeres old, hee was buried in the chiefe houſe, and head of that Order, called Sancta Maria de la Strada. We haue ſeen the abouenamed D. *Franciſco Borgia d'Arragon* generall of this Order in our time. There are three ſorts of religious in it, one of profeſt who can hold no goods, the other probationers, and the third collegialls, and it is lawfull for theſe two to poſſeſſe what they will. The Ieſuits are not Theatins: for they whom they called Theatins, had an other beginning, and another kind of life; they were certaine gentlemen and others moued with deuotion, who gaue themſelues to prayers, ſinging, and other ſuch works, and were firſt called of the company of the loue of God, to whom there being ioyned *Iohn Peter Carrafa* a Neapolitane, biſhop of Chieti, and being reputed as a worthy man, the head of thoſe religious, they began to call them Chietins, and then corrupting the word Theatins. Theſe Chietins were in credit in the time of pope *Clement* the ſeuenth, who by reaſon of the ſacke of Rome, being retired to Oſtia, and there finding certaine Venetian gallies, they paſt to Venice, and there made their abode eleuen yeares, before that *Inigo* of Loyola and his companions came there. The Ieſuits comming afterwards from Venice to Rome, for that they could not performe their voyage to the holy Land, the people thought that they were the Chietins or Theatins which were returned, and confounded theſe two Orders through ignorance, whereof there is great difference. This *Iohn Peter Carrafa* came afterwards to be pope, and was called *Paul* the fourth. Of the Theatins there are not many other colledges or houſes to be found, but at Venice, Rome, Naples, and Pauia. The Ieſuits are alſo called in Arragon Iniguiſts, of the name of their author, and in Portugall Apoſtles, but in all other places Ieſuits, according to the Popes Bulles and Brieſes. This we find in the Spaniſh Hiſtories of the Inſtitution of the Ieſuits, inſerted here of purpoſe, at the time of the reuolt of Pampelone, in the yeare 1521 where *Inigo* of Loyola their firſt Inſtitutor was. There was at that time an ample ſubiect prepared for theſe Ieſuites to practiſe their charities, and, withall, a fit and pleaſing abode for them,

Duke of Gandie becomes a Ieſuite.

17 *Sect of Theatins differs from the Ieſuites.*

A them, and other religious Spaniards, at the weſt Indies by *Fernand Cortes*, who hauing runne along the coaſts of the firme land at this new world, going vp Northward, and there by ſundry conqueſts hauing drawne vnto him many of thoſe Indian people he entred into the country, and aſſailed the city of Mexico, took it, and conquered that realme with an incredible facilitie. It is at this preſent called Noua Hiſpania. This great citie which was one of the wonders of the world, by reaſon of the ſituation was taken in Auguſt this yeare 1521, where the king *Motezuma* was ſlaine, and aboue a hundred thouſand of his ſubiects. 1521

Mexico at the Indies taken by the Chriſtians.

Returning now to the hiſtorie of Nauarre, we ſay, that as ſoone as the duke of Nagera was retired, they of Pampelone did chooſe the ſignior of Oſoien for their captaine, who B had ſerued the catholike king, *Monſieur Aſperault* purſuing his conqueſts was met in the Pyrenee mountaines by ſome deputies of the valley of Roncal, who yeelded him obedience, and gaue him aduertiſement of the eſtate of the couutrie, with whom hee paſt to Pampelone, and made himſelfe maſter thereof in the name of king *Henrie*. D. *Lewis* of Beaumout earle of Lerin deſired to come to him, but they refuſed him a ſafeconduct for his returne. The lord of Aſperaut finding no reſiſtance in the whole realme, he reduced it in few days vnder the obedience of its naturall king: and making vſe of the ciuile wars of Caſtille, hauing good intelligence with the comminalties, he paſt the riuer of Ebro, and laid ſiege to Logrogne, through a raſh and ill digeſted councell. D. *Pedro Velez* of Gue- C uare had put himſelfe into the place, with ſome ſouldiers, who reſiſted the French armie vertuouſly, they being much fauored by the victorie of Villa Laria, which the viceroys of Caſtille had woon againſt the commons: by reaſon whereof the Victors aduanced with the Duke of Nagera, who had leuied men from Burgos vnto the ſea, making his ſonne D. *Iohn Manrique de Lara* colonell of the Guipuſcoans, a yong Lord but fifteene yeares old: and of the Biſcains *Gomes Gonſales de Butron*, Lord of Muxica and of Butron: which forces being great, forced the French to raiſe their ſiege, and repaſſing the riuer, to returne into Nauarre, the Caſtillan army following them ſo neere, as whereas the French ſupt, the Caſtillans dined the next day. The armies beeing come neere vnto Pampelone, the Lord of Aſperraut being accompanied by many Nauarrois, was of opinion to turne D head, and to hazard a battell, but very inconſideratly: for at that time he was not ſtrong enough to incounter the power which came againſt him, neyther had he the patience to attend ſome of his forces which were at Tafalla, with the ſeignior of Ollaoqui, and at Pampelone, and a new leuie of ſixe thouſand Nauarrois, which might haue ioyned with him the next day, or the day after, wherefore being neere one vnto another, after that the artillery had played, when they came to ioyne, the French horſemen behaued themſelues woorthily: but the footemen, who were moſt part Gaſcoins, could not indure the force of the Caſtillans, but were preſently put to rout, which made them to giue the field, and to leaue the victory vnto the viceroyes. In this battell which was gi- uen neere vnto the borough of Noayn, and the port of Reniega, there died of French E and Nauarrois neere fiue thouſand, and amongſt them D. *Charles* of Mauleon, and D. *Iohn* of Saraza, captaine *Martin*, and *Charles* of Nauaſques, or of Nouailles: the generall alſo of the French armie being hurt by a man at armes of the company of the Earle of Alba de Liſta, yeelded to D. *Francis* of Beaumont: the Lord of Turnon was alſo taken, D. *Pedro* of Nauarre ſonne to the Marſhall D. *Pedro* priſoner at Simanca, ſaued himſelfe in France, with D. *Arnold* of Gramont, D. *Frederic* of Nauarre, and others in great numbers. Through the fauour of this victorie Pampelone was recouered without anie difficultie, by the Caſtillans: and after their example all the other places of the realme yeelded, except ſome ſtrong caſtles in the mountaynes. The Lord of Aſperaut was blamed to haue hazarded a battell, being weake and within the realme, without anie con- F ſtraint, but hee excuſed himſelfe, for that hee had diſcouered a great diſorder amongſt the enemies, which promiſed him an aſſured victory, but he was deceiued: it had beene more ſafe for him to haue ſtood vpon his gard, contenting himſelfe with that which hee had wonne in ſo ſhort a time, without ſtriking ſtroake, and not to haue inuaded the lands of Caſtille: a while after hee was ſet at libertie, paying tenne thouſand crownes raunſome, by D. *Francis* of Beaumont, againſt the willes of the Viceroys of Caſtille, who

The lord of Aſperaut makes himſelfe maſter of Pampelone.

Logrogne beſieged by the French.

French retire from Logrogne.

Rout of the lord of Aſperaut and the French army at Noayn.

Pampelone recouered by the Caſtillans.

1521 who made D. *Franciſco* of Eſtuniga and Auillaneda earle of Miranda, viceroy of Nauarre, in the place of the duke of Nagera. This yeare the biſhopricke of Pampelone was voide, by the death of Cardinall *Amand* of Albret, and Cardinall *Alexander Ceſarin Ramain* was aduanced to that place.

D. Francis of Eſtuniga earle of Miranda viceroy of Nauarre.

19 King *Francis* diſcontented with the bad ſucceſſe of the Lord of Aſperauts armie, hee reſolued to inuade Spaine with a greater power by *Guipuſcoa*, whither hee ſent the Lord of Boniuet, Admirall of Ftaunce, who at his firſt entrance tooke the Caſtle of Beoyuia, into the which he put captayne *Beaufils* in garriſon: then leading his army againſt Fontarrabie, he beſieged it, and planted his battery in the moſt conuenient places: *Diego de Vera* was gouernour within it, who either through negligence, or want of means, had ill furniſhed it with victualles, ſo as the third day of the ſiege they beganne to want; yet notwithſtanding he made ſome reſiſtance, and endured an aſſault: but ſeeing there was no meanes to holde it, hee yeelded the place vpon compoſition, the ſouldiers departing with their armes, and their colours flying. This yeelding fell out verie happily for the French armie: for had it beene delayed but two dayes, they had beene forced to diſlodge, for that there fell ſuch aboundaunce of raine, as the brookes beeing ſwelled in thoſe vallies, would haue carried away both men and baggage. The Admirall *Boniuet* put a garriſon of three thouſand Gaſcoines into Fontarrabie, vnder the commaund of the Lord of Lude, hauing rampared vp the breaches, and furniſhed it well with victualls. There was ſent out of Spaine vnto that frontire, to make head againſt the French D. *Bertrand de la Cueua*, ſonne to the duke of Albuquerque, who prouided for the towne of Saint Sebaſtian and other forts of that countrey. About that time the emperour ſent a commaundement from Bruſſells, to the earle of Miranda viceroy of Nauarre, to ruine all the walles and forts of Nauarre to preuent another rebellion; all which was executed, but at Pampelone, Lombier, Pont de la Roine, and at the caſtle of Eſtella. It was reſolued to fortifie Pampelone, and therefore the monaſteries neere adioyning were ruined, and the monks drawne into the towne.

Admirall of Boniuet enters Guipuſcoa.

Fontarraby beſieged and take by the French.

Demolitions in Nauarre.

20 Pope *Leo* dying this yeare 1521, cardinal *Adrian* biſhop of Tortoſa, who was then gouernor in Spaine, with the abouenamed viceroies, was choſen pope in the 62 yeare of his age: and retayning his name, he was called *Adrian* the ſixt. The newes of his election was brought him to Victoria, where the viceroys were, full of care for the loſſe of Fontarraby: paſſing from thence towards Arragon & Cattelogne, he imbarked, and left Spaine to go to Rome to receiue the pontificall crowne, the which he enioyed but few daies.

Adrian choſen Pope.

1522 The yeare following 1522 was taken the fort of Maja, not far from Baione, by the diligence of the earle of Miranda, viceroy, and D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, earle of Lerin, the which was defended by *Iames Velez* of Matran a Nauarrois, with others of the faction of *Gramont*, a place held impregnable for the ſituation, the which notwithſtanding being extraordinarily preſt, was yeelded by the ſaid Madran, who was led with his ſonne priſoner to Pampelone, where they died both within 14 dayes. By this priſe king *Henry* was quite ſpoyled of all that did belong to the realme of Nauarre towards Spaine.

Maja an vnpregnable fort.

The garriſon of Gaſcoins which were within Fontarraby, was held very ſhort, by them that were at Yrum, Vranſu in the valley of Ojarcum, in the Renterie, and other neighbour places. There was within the towne a captaine called *Iohn* of Æſe, who was newly fled out of Spaine vpon a quarrel which he had with *Pedro* of Vrdaniuia, ſeignior of the houſe of Aranzate: This captaine being deſirous to be reuenged of his enemie, vndertooke to ſurpriſe him in his houſe, which he knew verie well, beeing of the countrey, where hee had inioyed the ſeigniory of Ibarolle: wherefore going one night out of Fontarraby with about ſix hundred men, he marched with great ſilence vnto a houſe called Vreder, where the dogges hearing the noyſe of them that paſt, beganne to bay, ſo as the maſter of the houſe who was a farmer, comming forth in his ſhirt to ſee what it was, was taken, bound, and carried ſo farre as Ojarcum, where before all things the ſouldiers tooke away the clappers of the belles, leſt being diſcouered they ſhould giue an alarme. Then going to the houſe of *Pedro* of Vrdaniuia, they did inueſt it and ſeeke to force it: but hee who was valiant and reſolute, and knowing the paſſages to ſaue himſelfe, eſcaped. Captaine *Iohn* of Æſe and his ſouldiers ſeeing themſelues fruſtrate of their pray, reſolued before the alarme

A larme were giuen in the Countrey, to returne as ſpeedily as they might, and they had beene wiſe if they could haue effected it: but beeing deſirous of ſpoyle, they lingered there about certayne packes of merchandize which were come thither from Lyon for *Medina del Campo*, with a paſport, ſo as the people of thoſe vallies beeing ſolicited by the Lord *Aranzate*, with cries, and other ſuch ſignes and aduertiſements as hee could giue them, aſſembled to the number of three hundred, whereof ſome following the French behind, and ſome getting before them by vnknowne wayes, and cutting off their paſſage, they fought with them in ſuch ſort as they put them to rout and ſlew aboue halfe of them, and tooke many priſoners, they looſing but one man, and ſome hurt. 1522

B *Iohn* of Æſe eſcaped by the mountaine of Iazquiuell, with few men, and got into Fontarrabie: whoſe goods were confiſcate by the Emperour, and giuen to captayne *Ambulodi*. The Caſtle of Beoyuia, was of verie great importance for the French, that would make warre in Spaine, for it is the onely paſſage by the which they may bring artillerie into Guipuſcoa; notwithſtanding beeing very ill aduiſed, they reſolued for the ſparing of men and money, to ruine it, which captaine *Beaufils* hauing begunne, by the commaundement of the Earle of Lude, in few dayes hee ſapt and vndermined the walles at the foote, the which hee vnderpropt with piles, which were made hollow and filled with poulder, with an intent to giue fire to it, and to ouerthrow all: the which he hauing done very ſecretly, as he thought, it was notwithſtanding diſcouered by one of his

C owne gunners, called great *Iohn* of Liborne, who for ſome queſtion hee had had with a ſouldier, was retired to the Spaniards, and had reuealed this buſineſſe to D. *Lewis de la Cuena*, brother to the generall D. *Bertrand*: wherefore a great number of men of thoſe vallies, being all ſouldiers, did preſently aſſemble, and were ſodainly led by the ſaid commaunder againſt this caſtle, euen as the French, hauing drawne forth their Artillerie, and all that was within it, did abandon it, and hauing already kindled certayne matches to conduct the fire to the poulder and pillars which ſupported the walles, which the Spaniards preuented with great diligence, quenching theſe matches, and ſo preſerued the Caſtle, whoſe walles they did repaire, rampire vp, and fortifie againe, and as a matter of great moment could keepe it well. *Ochua* of Aſua was made captayne of that Ca-

Beoyuia a caſtle of great importance abandoned by the French.

D ſtle with an hundred ſouldiers. The French finding their owne errour, ſought afterwards to recouer it, there beeing an enterpriſe made by ſome gentlemen of the Countrey of Labbord, amongſt which were the Lords of Ortubia and Semper, who hauing leuied about a thouſand men of that Countrey, and ioyned vnto them a regiment of Germans old ſouldiers, which were in that frontire in the Kings pay, they led them to the paſſage of the riuer of Bidaſo, which diuides Fraunce and Spaine, where they were ſtaied by the reſiſtaunce which they of the Caſtle made with their artillerie, and the Commons of the Countrie: whereupon ſeeking an other foard, and other wayes by the mountaines, thinking to ſurprize the garriſon, they found ſuch reſiſtance of all the Spaniſh forces, which had beene drawne thither, as they were defeated, and in a maner all

E ſlaine. This was called the rout of Saint *Martial*, for that it was giuen on Saint *Martialls* dav, the laſt of Iune, this yeare 1522. In the which the emperour *Charles* returned into Spaine and landed at Saint Ander the fiue and twentieth of Iuly, from whence hee paſſed to Vailledolit, where hee heard the embaſſadors of many princes, and alſo the deputies of the realme of Valencia, who came to craue pardon, for that they had ioyned in vnion with the rebells of Spaine, and were the laſt which ſubmitted, whereof they excuſed themſelues vpon the hard vſage of their viceroy D. *Iaques* of Mendoſa, whom hauing fauourably heard, he comprehended them in the generall pardon, which he cauſed to be publiſhed, himſelfe being preſent, and ſitting in his royall throne in view of all the world: he depriued *Mendoſa* of the gouernement of Valence, by meanes whereof all the

Rout of Saint Martiall.

Returne of the emperour into Spaine.

F ſtrong places and caſtles of the realme, were yeelded vnto him. In that of Xatiua there had beene till that time detained D. *Ferdinand* of Arragon duke of Calabria, ſonne to D. *Frederic* the diſpoſſeſſed king of Naples, who died afterwards in France: him he deliuered, and kept him neere him, with honour and fit entertainment: commending him that hauing bin ſolicited by the rebells to be their head, he had refuſed it: and in time he cauſed him to marry Queene *Germaine* (who had beene wife to king *Ferdinand* his grandfather,

and

1522 and was then married againe to the Marqueſſe of Brandeburgh, who died ſoone after) to which Queene *Germaine* he gaue at that time the gouernement of Valencia. G

Rebellion in Maiorca.

Seeing the troubls ended vpon the firm land of Spain, he had news that the city of Maiorca, & the whole Iland were reuolted, at the inſtigation of a poore Artiſan called *Calon*, wherupon he ſpeedily diſpatcht the viceroy with ſome gallies: who thinking to reclaime them by mildnes, was beaten back by them with their artillery, & forced to go out of the hauen with his gallies, being incenſed the more for that he had refuſed to ſhew them the letters of pardon, which he ſaid he brought them from the emperour, before they had laid downe armes, and deliuered him the towne. And in this fury they began to fall vpon them which aduiſed them to acknowledge their prince, and to yeelde vnto his mercie. The Viceroy being fortified with more ſhipping, went to an other part of the Iland, H where hee landed his men: there many of the Ilanders came vnto him, and offered him ſeruice: hauing muſtered his armie, he found that he had aboue tenne thouſand fighting men, with the which ſeeking to inueſt and beſiege the citie, the rebelles ſallied couragiouſly forth, and came twice to handy ſtroakes, and were twice repulſed within their walles, the which cauſed great trouble within the towne: for many fainting would haue the gates opened, and make triall of the Emperours clemencie: but the greateſt and ſtrongeſt part, being obſtinately deſperate, reiected this wholeſome councell with outrages, hanging and cruelly murthering thoſe that were of this aduice, if they could get them, ſetting their heads vpon the publique places and towers of the towne, a grieuous and fearefull ſpectacle: And then they diſcharged their rage vpon the wiues, chil- I dren, goods and houſes of them that were abſent with all barbarous cruelty. Wherefore they were beſieged and battered both by ſea and land: ſo as ſeeing themſelues forced, not able long to hold out, and without hope of any ſuccours, or meanes to eſcape after that they had indured ſome aſſaults, and ſhewed that they had courage, they yeelded, vpon condition that the people ſhould be pardoned, yet there were twelue reſerued at the Viceroyes diſcretion, the which were deliuered vnto him: among them was *Calon* the

Maiorquins vanquiſhed and puniſhed.

Author of the rebellion, found in a priuie where hee was hidden, who being led ſo defiled to his puniſhment vpon an Aſſe, and his companions following him on foot, they were all pincht with hot yrons and quartered, and their heads ſet vpon the towers and gates of the citie, which payed a certaine ſumme of money in conſideration of a fine, K and for the charges of the warre. Theſe troubles being thus ſuppreſt, the Emperour ſpent ſome dayes in ſports, and would himſelfe runne at the tilt, to the great contentment of the Spaniſh nobilitie, with whom hee got the reputation to bee a good man at armes.

Combat betwixt two Arragonois

During the Emperours abode at Vailledolit, he granted the combat to two gentlemen of Arragon, and did ſee them fight with thoſe ceremonies which were then vſed in combats, both in Spaine and elſewhere: the report whereof it may be will not be vnpleaſing vnto the Reader; for that now they are left off, and they proceed after another maner.

Peter Toreilla and *Ieronme Anca* (for ſo the contendants were named) both borne at Sa- L ragoſſe, great friends before and alied, yong and fierie, neither of them being yet fiue and twenty yeares old: falling out at play, they had beene already in field, vnaccompanied with their rapiers and cloakes, where it happened that after many thruſts and blows, and neither hurt, either of them hauing very good knowledge in his weapon, *Anca* with an ouerthwart blow ſtrucke his aduerſaries weapon out of his hand, who ſeeing himſelfe diſarmed, confeſſed generouſly that he was vanquiſhed. But he intreated *Anca* to do him this curteſie, to reſt ſatisfied with the victorie, and not to tell any one that they had bin in field, as their quarrell was alſo ſecret, and no man had beene acquainted therewith, the which he hauing promiſed they imbraced each other, and returned good friends to their lodgings, thinking that not any one had ſeene them fight. Two or three dayes after *To-* M *reilla* vnderſtood that all the court talked of this fact, whereat beeing much grieued, hee blamed *Ieroſme Anca*, ſaying, that hee had fayled of his promiſe, and that through vanitie, and to diſhonour him, he had publiſhed that which had paſſed betwixt them. *Anca* proteſted that hee had neuer ſpoken of it, but one had told him that a Curate of the

next

A next village, walking at the time of their fighting about a troup of his that was feeding, had ſeen them fight, & had told it, for the which hee was ſorry. The Curate being demanded touching this matter, anſwered doubtfully & ſeemed to ſpeake all in fauour of *Ieroſim Anca*, which did confirme the other in his opinion, that he had broken his faith: ſo as hee told him reſolutely, that he had done at act vnworthie of a knight of honour, and that he muſt do him reaſon by arms: who admitting no excuſe, he made his petition to the emperour, that he would be pleaſed to graunt him the combate againſt his enemy, to make it knowne that hee was a traitor, diſloyall and vnworthy to beare the name of a gentleman, and withall hee ſent him a challenge. The emperour referred this difference to the iudge- 1522
B ment of his Conſtable D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaſco, who did what hee could to reconcile thē, but ſeeing there was no means, he put them into the field, with the formalties vſed in thoſe times. In the publike place at Vailledolit there was a plot meaſured out, which was 50 paces long, & 36 broad, & railed roūd about. On either ſide lōg waies without the liſts was a ſcaffold ſet vp, one on the one ſide for the emperor, & the other for the Conſtable, either of them being couered with rich tapeſtrie, & in them chaires couered with cloth of gold. At the other two ends were two other ſcaffolds built lower for the kinſmen and friends of the cōbatants, and ioyning to either of them was a pauilion in which the chāpi-ons ſhold take their armes: the place had bin made very euen and couered with ſand, that they ſhould not ſlip. About 11 of the clock the emperour came accompained with a great
C nobility, the marſhals of the field and his gards both of horſe & foot. Being ſet in his ſeat vnder a cloth of eſtate, they deliuered a golden rod into his hand, the which being caſt by him ſhould part the combat. Soon after came the Conſtable with a graue & ſetled countenance, being aboue 60 yeres old, he did weare a long roabe of cloth of golde, and was mounted vpon a Genet of Spaine, richly furniſhed, hauing alighted from his horſe, hee came and paſt before the emperour, to whom he made a low obeyſance, there marching before him forty gentlemen & a Squire carrying the royall ſword ſhethed as his Maieſties li'utenant, and after him another Squire carrying the Conſtables armes and his coat of armes. After whome came other gentlemen pages, or young Squires richly apparreiled in blew ſatten imbrodered with gold and ſiluer. Hauing in this pompe gone about the
D campe and viewed it, he went vnto his ſeat which was right againſt the emperour, whoſe gards did preſently compaſſe in the field without the liſts. Then *Toreilla* the challenger preſented himſelfe being accompained by his godfather, the duke of Beiar & Albuquerque, the admirall of Caſtille, and many other noblemen and gentlemen: hee was attyred in a ſhort Iuppe of ſilke, imbrodered with gold, & furred with ſables, before whom there was carried a battle axe and a ſword, a ſcutcheon with his armes, & a caſſacke to weare vpon his armes. Hauing preſented himſelfe in this manner before the emperour, hee made him a low obeyſance, and hauing done the like vnto the Conſtable, hee went to the pauilion which was prepared for him. On the other ſide *Ierome Anca* entred the liſts, accompa-ned after the ſame maner, and with the like furniture, except his Iuppe, which was furred
E with ermines; the Marqueſſe of Brandeburge was his godfather, and hee was followed by the dukes of Nagera, of Alua, and of Benanent, the Marqueſſe of Aguilar, and of other noblemen and knights, who hauing made the like ſubmiſſions to the emperor and Conſtable, hee went to the pauillion which was prepared for him; and the ſcut-cheons and coates of armes of both combatants were carried and planted before the Conſtables ſcaffold. During theſe ſhewes, the ayre did eccho againe with the ſound of drummes and trumpets, the which being commanded to ceaſe, the two knights were brought by their Godfathers before the Conſtable, where a booke of the Goſpell and a Crucifix being preſented vnto them, they putting their hands into a prieſts hands did ſweare that they came to this triall of armes, with an intent to defend
F a iuſt quarrell, wherein they would behaue themſelues like loyall knights, without fraud, charms, or any inchanted ſword, or without vſing the naturall vertue of any herbes, ſtones, or any other thing, proteſting to imploy only the force and dexterity of body and mind, truſting only in God, S. *George* & the virgin *Mary*, and with the aduice & councell of their godfathers, who cauſed a cofer to be broght before the cōſtable, in the which were the armes, wherwith the champions ſhould fight, and be couered, the which were weigh-

1522 ed in his preſence,according to the laws & cuſtoms of combats,by the which the weight G
was limited to 90 pounds of the country,at the leaſt.This done,they were choſen & car-
ried to either Pauillion,where the champions did arm themſelues in the preſence of ſome
that were appointed by the Conſtable,to witnes that there was no fraud ; whileſt they
were arming,the trumpets and drums ſounding againe. The conſtable went from his ſeat,
to diſpoſe of that which was fit within the liſts,the which he did with great grauitie & ce-
remonies:Then he wēt & ſat him down at one of the corners of the field, accōpained with
12 knights,ſending the like number to the other oppoſit corner, commanding them that
they ſhold not remoue frō thence before the end of the combat.To either of the other two
corners,he ſent 3 noblemen of quality inſtructed in like maner.Then hauing commanded H
ſilence,one of the marſhals of the field cried out with a loud voice in the emperours name
going to euery one of the 4 corners,that it was forbidden vpon pain of death for any one
to make a noiſe whileſt the champions did fight,nor to make any ſigne by deed, voice or
word,neither in ſpitting,coffing,blowing of the noſe,neezing or whiſtling,nor by beating
of hands or feet, lifting vp of the hands ,nor by ſhaking of the head,or any motion of the
bodie to giue them aduertiſement , courage , feare or amazement , nor otherwiſe to in-
ſtruct them in what they haue to do,except their godfathers in their charge & duty: And
then the two kinghts entred the field in compleat armor,holding in their hands their bat-
tel axes,& their ſwords by their ſides: *Peter Toreilla* the firſt,(for that he was challenger)
accompained with his godfather,preſented himſelf before the conſtable, who demanded I
of him what he was,& for what cauſe he was entred ſo armed?hauing receiued his anſwer
he cauſed him to put off his head peece to know him,& then he cauſed him to put it on a-
gaine, & ſent him to one of the corners of the camp,where he was receiued by the three
noblemen,that were plaſt there. Then he paſt to the other corner oppoſit,& being ſet in
the mideſt of the 12 knights that were left there by him,he made the like demands & ce-
remonies to *Ierom Anca*,who was alſo preſented vnto him by his godfather, & from thēce
ſent to the other corner right againſt his aduerſary,wher he was in like maner receiued by
3 noblemen. After al this the conſtable went to his firſt ſeat,& then the trūpets did ſound
again,which hauing done,the knights which ſhold fight,& their godfathers fel vpō their
knees & praied, which done,either of the godfathers hauing imbraced his chāpion,& ex- K
horted him to fight valiantly,he bad him farewel,& then they rerired into their Pauilliōs.
After which,one cried out that they ſhold let the good champions go.Then they came &
affronted one another couragiouſly,fighting a long time with their battel axes, ſomtimes
one reeling,ſomtimes another,vntil they had broken them in peeces.Being thus vnarmed
they had no leaſure to draw their ſwords,they were ſo neere one vnto another ,ſo as they
fell to handy gripes,one ſeeking to ouerthrow another: But the emperor who would not
loſe thē,caſt his rod,in ſign that they ſhold part them, ſaying that they had done enough,
and that he held them both for good knights,wherupon all they that were ſet at the foure
corners,being 30 in al,ran,but they had great difficulty to part them,they wer ſo incenſed
one againſt another, crying & contendiug for honor and victorie,whereas either of them L
thought he had the aduantage.In the end the reſpect of the emperour made them retire,
yet wold they not be friends,but threatned one another bitterly, contemning the conſta-
bles perſuaſions,who told them that they ſhold reſt ſatisfied & reuerence the emperours
teſtimony,who had pronounced with his own mouth,that either of thē had behaued him
ſelf valiantly,& had done his duty,ſo as their honors were vntoucht.The emperor was cō-
ſtrained throgh their obſtinacy to ſend them both to priſon, frō whence they parted not,
vntil they were reōciled,at the leaſt in ſhew,for they were neuer perfect friends. If of two
bad things we muſt chuſe the one,as ſome think it neceſſary,the maner of cōbats practiſed
in the time of our predeceſſors , wold ſeem more tollerable then that which is vſed at this
day;for in that they made a certain kind of trial of doubtful things.The princes leue,or of M
his lieutenants was required, who firſt of al took knowledge whether the cauſe did merit,
that two men of quality and honor ſhold hazard their liues who might ſerue the publike
in better affaies , or their Soueraigne , or their owne families. If after mature deli-
beration they held it fit to grant the combate,they came vnto it with great ceremonies,
as we haue ſhewed,witneſſing that in thoſe times they made no little eſteem of the life of
men.

men. They did carefully procure a certain equality, preuenting surprises, by any aduãtage, in armes, strength and dexterity of horse or otherwise. They made them sweare that there was no slander in them, but that they came to fight for a iust quarel, & to defend their honors. The point wherin it did consist in those daies, was to reuerence God, their princes, & the lords of the fee, & to be loyal & true to al men, curteous, quiet & modest amõg friends & valiant & couragious against their enemies in war. If it were known that in this point of honor, any one were falsly blamed, or wronged by deed, with aduantage of time, place, or company, with vnequall and extraordinary armes, or that hee had otherwise iust cause to complaine, they caused speedy reparation to be done of the wrong, as the cause required, either by the lawe, or militarie customes, which did neuer allow the combate when there was any other remedy. Much lesse did they suffer a gentlemã of honor to come to the vncertain triall of armes, with one that was conuicted of rashnes or manifest slander. He that was vanquished in the combat was held guilty of that wherof he was accused, or a slanderer & a lyar, & if he did liue he was punished ignominiously by degradation, & sometimes by death. The combat was most cõmonly continued or staied according to the pleasure of the prince, or of iudges that were appointed, who most commonly did part the champions before they came to the extremity, declaring them both vpon the place to be good & hardie knights, which did also shew a wise affection to preserue the nobility to better vses. If any were found so froward & disobedient, as, not able to get leaue to fight in the countrie of their natural prince, should go vnto some other soueraign, neere or far off, to grant them a place of combat; hauing fought, they were not to return into their country, for they were held for mutins, yea felons, & guilty of high treason, & there was great difficulty to obtain letters of abolitiõ for such offẽces. But in our daies al this is out of vse, & their proceedings in combats is very different. For if it happen that any man offend another without cause or reason, the point of honor is, that he must maintaine his deed, & not giue any excuse, nor confesse that he hath erred, for that were a signe of base cowardise: It were better (saith the point of honour) to be insolent and rash, than to subiect himselfe to that modestie which wold be taken for weaknes in a man that maketh profession of armes. An other that hath taken iest for iniury, or is offended at a free word spoken by his friend, the which in effect is not iniurious, will take it in soil maner as he will admit of no excuse nor reparation: what? must he so little esteem honor? It were better (saith the point of honor) to be quarrelous, froward & vnsociable, than to vse such facilitie, & base courtesie derogating from cheualry: there is no friendship that binds, he must needs fight. If the prince or some great officer wil heare, and end their quarell: they fear those Iudgements more than lightning, they fly, they wilbe followed, & they fight in corners, whether it be that they are ashamed to discouer the ground of their quarrell, which is most cõmonly so fooliish & impertinent, as they would blush to speake of it; or that they are possest with a thirstlesse desire to shed mãs bloud, & with an appetite of reuenge, accompaned with pride & vanitie. It were better (saith the point of honor) to be rebellious & vnciuil, then to submit himself to that discipline; for they would say it were want of courage, & that he wold fly the lists. And thereupon they conclude, according to the point of honor, that it is not in the king to rule it, according to the limitations of his justice; & that gentlemen doe not know any other justice or equity, than the custom of duels receiued among gentlemen, which giues this prerogatiue, priuiledge & authority, to do all, & not to suffer any thing, & to maintein themselues by the sword in this possession, although it be vniust, and vsurped but of late. Thus they are easily drawen to the combat a this day, and they must not seeme to drawe backe vpon any pretext whatsoeuer, neither of God, the king, nor his edicts: he must goe being called, else he shalbe held base & ignoble, & thenceforth shalbe exposed to the outrages of him that did challenge him with such aduantage as he shal please: for it were better (saith the point of honor) to be a murtherer, than to go to field with one that had refused a challenge. Be they ready to fight; either wil make prouision of a long rapier, of an excellent horse, with other such helps which shal be neither visited nor measured: for there are neither godfathers nor witnesses in their combats. Euery one must looke to himselfe (saith the point of honor) & it were better to exceed sõmething in that respect, than to be short; although we may iustly say afterwards, that the honor of the victiory belõgs rather to the armes & horse than to the knight. Yet they goe in their shirts, & the point of honor

Point of honour of the ancients.

Moderne combats and the Maximes of the point of honor at this day.

1522 wel obſerued require, that they run one another throgh like boars, rather thã to ſlip a ſide, G
when the thruſt comes, or to ſeeke to auoid it by fenſing, & it were better to die (ſaith the
point of honor) then to ſeem by any geſture or countenãce to fear death. It is then a won-
der that theſe men ordained for murther & ſlaughter, who thinke they are not come into
the world but to kil or be killed, ſhould vouchſafe to arm themſelues, when they go to the
war, & they ſhold not impute it to want of corage to couer themſelues with harneſſe, like
vnto the Cimbrians and ancient gaules, for there is in a maner the like reaſon. But behold
the moſt ſubtill and very quinteſſence of the point of honour: It is lawful for them that
go to fight in duel, to inuite a ſecond & a third if they wil, the which ſhalbe bound to fight
againſt the like number choſen by the other part, & kil them with whom they neuer had a- H
ny quarrel, yea, their deare friends, at it often happens: It is the law of duels; It were better
(ſaith the point of honor) to be a murtherer of his own ſoul, than to refuſe a knight which
doth him the honor to intreate him to ſecond him in his quarrel, bee it iuſt or vniuſt. If it
happen that the ſecond kils him againſt whom he fights, he muſt come & ſuccor his part-
ner, and help him to kill his enemy, although it ſeeme outrageous to fall two vpon one,
who it may be is alſo ſore wounded. Theſe are tollerated murthers; and it were better
(ſaith the point of honor) ſo to kill him who thou thinkeſt hath wronged thee, than to
leaue him his life, vnleſſe he demand it of thee: For it is the fruit of duels, either to kil his
aduerſarie, or to brag that he hath giuen him his life. Being returned from fighting, much
contented when they haue vanquiſhed, they wil tel wonders of courteſies, done vnto him I
whom they haue thus ſlaine: He is dead (wil they ſay) through his own folly, by his ouer-
weening, by his oſtinacie, wherein they cannot be gainſaied, for that they flie all witneſſes
and ludges.

If he that ſuruiues be wounded and dies ſoone after; he comforts himſelf in that point
of honor, that he hath done himſelf right by his ſword, and that he hath cauſed his aduer-
ſarie to die firſt. But for the health of their ſoules, they think they haue prouided ſufficient-
ly, if going to the combat with an heart vlcered with a deadly hatred againſt their neigh-
bour, poſſeſt with a ſpirit of reuenge, and a vaine opinion of their excellency, dignitie, and
valour, they fall vpon their kneos, entring into ſome Church or Chappell, and pray vnto
God heartily that hee will giue them the grace to kill their enemie, or to force him K
to acknowledge his life from them. They will confeſſe themſelues to a prieſt or ſome reli-
gious man, they wil demaund abſolution of the ſinne which they are going to do, & will
giue money to haue maſſes ſaid for him or them that ſhall die in this fight. Yet it is the
leaſt of their cares: for if they meet with any church man that hath wit and conſcience,
who ſeeks by holy admonitions to diuert them from this bad reſolution, and refuſeth to
abſolue them, they will ſay that hee vnderſtands not the point of honor, and will goe from
him in a rage or will mocke at him. It is not from God that theſe duelliſts haue learned or
wil learne that which doth truely honour Nobility: But they doe rather ſeeke to inſtruct
themſelues in their falſe point of honor, by the precepts and ſuggeſtions of the enemy
of mankind, who was a murtherer from the beginning, and who is alwaies delighted in L
murther & bloud. By the inſtigation & conduct of this godfather, we ſee them go cheere-
fully to yeeld vp their curſed ſoules, moſt of this humor liuing without god, without king,
without law, without friendſhip, & without knowledge of ciuil vertues, hauing for their
ſole vertue, a violence which they call courage, the which they haue common with brute
beaſts. If there were euer barbariſm like vnto this ſince the foundatiõ of the world was laid
they may iudge which be mẽ, hauing retained ſome light of reaſon, & may conclude perti-
nently, that there is not any thing among human actiõs in this miſerable age, that is more
repugnãt to the law of god, more abſurd in nature, more preiudicial to good gouernmẽt,
more in contẽpt of kings & magiſtrats, & to conclude more offenſiue before God & man,
than theſe modern duels. Not that we ſhould allow or giue place to the ancient maner of M
cõbats, wheras there is a king, or ſome other ſoueraign power, who ought not to grãt nor
ſuffer them according to the rules of juſtice wel adminiſtred: & without the authoritie of
which ſoueraigne power, it is not lawful for any whatſoeuer to draw his ſword, according
to the laws of Chriſtendome. Being moſt certain that combats, in the beſt form that they
were euer practiſed (if it be not againſt an enemy that prouokes in opẽ war) are the inuen-
tions of cruel & barbarous nations which are ignorant of piety, juſtice, and gouernment.

Returning

A Returning to our Hiſtorie, wee find this yere 1522, *Iames* of Aillon, earle of Lude, gouernor of Fontarraby, being ſo long diſquieted by the enemy, & wanting things neceſſary for the defence of a town of war, which attended a ſiege hourly, he aduertiſed the French king his maſter of his eſtate, intreating him to releeue him, & to ſend another gouernor: the which the king performed aſwel as he could, for he was otherwiſe buſied, the war being hot both in Italy, & Picardy, betwixt him & the emperor: The marſhall of Chaſtillon was ſent thither, who dying at Dax, his charge was giuē to the marſhal *Chabanes*, who victualled Fontarrabie, in view of the enemy, & changed the garriſon, drawing forth the earle of Lude, and making captain *Frauget* gouernor in his place, who had alwaies had the B reputation of a good ſoldier, but he loſt it in this charge. They of Fontarrabie hauing a little before made a ſally vpō the enemy which lay at Yrun, it had ſucceeded ill, in the which they had loſt the ſignior of Chanfarron, & many good ſoldiers; and after the comming of captain *Frauget*, they made many skirmiſhes, moſt of them preiudiciall to the French. 1522

Frauget gouernour of Fontarrabie.

In the yere 1523, the marſhall D. *Pedro* of Nauarre a priſoner in the fort of Symanca died, whoſe death was diuerſly publiſhed: it is moſt certain that it was violently, & by the ſword; the Spaniards impute the fault to himſelf, ſaying, that being too much affected to K. *Henry* of Albret his naturall Prince, & ſeeing himſelf ſo long detained in priſon, for that he would not ſwear to another, he fel into ſuch deſpaire, as hee ſlue himſelfe: hee left one ſon of the ſame name, who did then ſerue the Frēch k. in Fōtarrabie. At Rome Pope *Adrian* alſo dyed, the 20 month of his raigne, in whoſe place *Iulio de Medicis* was choſen, & was C named *Clement* 7. The ſame yere the emperor entred into Pampelone, where prouiding for the defence of his coūtrie of Guipuſcoa, he ſent the conſtable D. *Inigo Fernādes* of Velaſco, with the prince of Orang, who led an army of about 24000 mē, by the pace of Beoyuia into Bearn, & camped before Saluaterra, the which yeelded, where ſtaying, they made ſhew that they would conquer the country of Bearn, or attempt Bayone, and ſo they held the minds of men in ſuſpēce. The lord of Lautrec, gouernor of Guienne, gaue good order both for Bayone & Fontarrabie, being doubtful what deſigne the enemy had, who hauing remained 4 daies at Saluaterra, returned into Guipuſcoa, hauing done nothing memorable in that voyage, but taken the Caſtle of Vidaxone, belonging to the lord of Gramont: D a great part of this army died of cold and want in this voyage. 1523

Death of the Marſhall D. Pedro of Nauarre.

Emperors [illegible] into Pampelon.

Exploits of the Spaniſh army in Bearn.

21 In the beginning of the yere 1524, the emperour leauing Nauarre, retyred to Victoria, where he reſolued of the ſiege of Fontarrabie, which was begun in the beginning of February, the Conſtable of Caſtille being generall of the army, aſſiſted by the prince of Orange, and many other noblemen and knights of name, among which was *William* of Roccandolphe Colonel of 3000 Germans: the batterie was planted towards Miranda, againſt the queens baſtion, & it was furious & continuall, yet they gaue not any aſſault, for the Spaniards deſired to take it by famin & without the loſſe of their men: the place was reaſonably wel furniſhed to endure a long ſiege, yet captain *Frauget* yeelded it vpon compoſition, to depart with their armes & baggage ſaued, & their colours flying, as the Spa- E niards had done, *Frauget* excuſed himſelfe, vpon the intelligences which D. *Pedro* of Nauarre had with the enemies: notwithſtanding he was degraded of his nobilitie, vpon a ſcaffold in the citie of Lion. D. *Pedro* of Nauarre was ſonne to the Marſhall D. *Pedro*, who died a priſoner in the Caſtle of Symanca, and was nephew to the Conſtable of Caſtille, by whome being ſolicited, he went to emperors ſeruice. The place was found well furniſhed of all things, whereunto hauing added other prouiſions, the gard and defence thereof was giuen to *Sancho Martines de Leyua*, brother to *Anthony de Lyna*, who was then reputed a wiſe and diſcreet Captaine in the warres of Italie. Beſides the gouernment of that towne, *Sancho Martines* was corrector of the Prouince of Guipuſcoa, the which hath not hapned to any one, to haue had the charge of warre and of Iuſtice. Thoſe which haue go- F uerned in Fontarrabie, ſucceſſiuely vnto our time, after *Sancho Martines*; were D. *Sancho de Leyua* his ſon; then D. *Diego* of Caruajal lord of Xodar, & in our time D. *Iohn d' Acugna*. 1524

Siege laid by the Spaniards to Fontarrabie.

Fontarrabie yeelded to the emperour.

Puniſhment of Captaine Frauget for the yeelding of Fontarrabie.

In Nauarre the king appointed D. *Diego* of Auellaneda, biſhop of Tuy, to bee Viceroy, gouernor & reformer of the Iuſtice. And then the knights of the faction of Gramōt, which had followed the kings of the houſe of Albret, returned into their country, & to the emperors ſeruice, to whom they did ſweare, as to their king, namely D. *Pedro* of Na-

Diego d' Auellaneda viceroy of Nauarre.

1524 uarre, who obtained the dignity of Marſhall, which his father had held, and the Mar- G
Gramontoies returne into Nauarre to the emperours ſeruice. quiſate of Cortes, Hee was deſcended from D. *Lionell*, ſonne to king *Charles*, the ſecond of that name. As for the earle of Saint *Stephens*, when as he came to the emperors ſeruice he had the title of Marqueſſe of Falſes giuen him, and the office of high chamberlaine of Nauarre, with other fauors; ſince which time that realme hath beene held by the houſe of Caſtille, in peace, and without troubles.

Francis the French king taken at Pauia. 22 On Saint *Mathias* day, being the 24 day of Februarie that yeare 1524, the computation of the yeare beginning at our Lady day, was that memorable battaile of Pauia, where the French were defeated, and king *Francis* taken priſoner by the imperials, whereof the chiefe were Cont *Charles* of Launoy, viceroy of Naples. *Ferdinand d' Aualos* Mar- H
queſſe of Peſcaire, and *Charles* duke of Bourbon, who for ſome diſcontentment had left France, and followed the emperours party. What were the cauſes of this great ouerthrow, and what ſucceeded after, ye may read at large in the Hiſtory of France, whereunto I referre the Reader, to auoid needleſſe repetitions. The emperor was aduertiſed of this defeat and priſion the tenth of March; the news were pleaſing vnto him, as wee may conieƈture, yet he ſhewed himſelf verie modeſt, ſhewing no tokens of pride for this great
Worthy Councel of the biſhop of Oſma. ſucceſſe. There were two opinions debated in his councel, the biſhop of Oſma was author of the one, to ſuffer this great priſoner to depart freely, & to bind him vnto him by a frank and brotherly deliuerance; the other was to keep him ſtill, and to draw from him all the profit and aduantages that might be. This laſt aduice proceeded from D. *Frederic* of Tole- I
do duke of Alua, & was followed by the emperor, wherefore there were certaine articles drawn and ſent with al ſpeed vnto the king, by the lord of Reux, who reieƈted them, as vnreaſonable.

Hereupon the Viceroy of Naples perſuaded the king not to take it in ill part, if he were
1525 led into Spain, to treat himſelf with the emperour touching his libertie, aſſuring him that he deſired it, ſhewing him letters from his friends in court. But his intention was in the meane time to lead him to the caſtle of Naples, and there to attend the opportunitie of a paſſage, for they were not ſtrong enough at ſea for the French, who had *Andrew Dorias* Galleys at their deuotion; Neither did hee much truſt his armie at land, which wanting pay, hee feared would mutine; Beſides, he was iealous of the Pope, Venetians and other K
Potentates of Italie, who were diſcontented at the proſperitie of the emperour his maiſter, wherefore being thus reſolued, he conduƈted the king to Genoa, and from thence to Porto Fino: whereas the marſhall of Montmorency comming vnto him with ſixe French galleys, without any ſouldiers, by the commandement of the Queene Regent, the kings
Paſſage of king Francis being Priſoner into Spaine. mother, he changed his aduice, & hauing furniſhed thoſe galleys with Spaniſh ſouldiers, and ioyning them to thoſe which he had, thinking that he might eaſily paſſe, whileſt that the French expeƈted his going to Naples, he ſuddenly bent his courſe for Spain; & lāded the priſoner at Barcelona, before that it was known, or that he had aduertiſed the emperor and from thence hee conduƈted him to Valencia: But paſſing by Tortoſa, the king was in great danger among the mutyned Spaniards, who purſued the Viceroy tumultuoſly for L
their pay, forcing him with their ſhot to eſcape ouer the top of his lodging, the bullets flying nere vnto the kings perſon. The emperor hearing of his arriual, cōmanded he ſhold be put into the caſtle of Xatiua, a place ordained in old time to be a priſon for great men: but the viceroy obtained that he might liue in certain houſes of pleaſure, about Valencia vntil that he had commandement to conduƈt him to Madrid. The emperor was reſolued not to ſee him before thee had concluded for his liberty, for the treating whereof, beſides the archbiſhop of Ambrun, who was afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and *Selua* the firſt Preſident of Paris, he gaue a ſafe cōduƈt to *Marguerite* of France, duches of Alanſon, who arriued at Barcelona in September, & paſſing from thence by Saragoſſe ſhee came to Ma- M
drid, whether ſhe found the emperor was come to viſit the king, who had bin brought almoſt to deaths doore with a violent feuer.

This had a ſhew of charity, to comfort him, giuing hope that he ſhould be ſoone ſet at liberty, but it was rather a curioſity, that he might viſibly ſee in what eſtate he was, fearing to loſe the fruits of his prize if he ſhould die. It is ſaid, that being in conſultation whether hee ſhould ſee him or not, hee was diſſuaded by his Chauncellour, who told him, that

if

A if he ſaw him, and did not ſet him freely at libertie, the world would thinke that hee had been brought thither by couetouſneſſe, thruſt on with a mercinarie charitie, and a ſeruile feare, to looſe by the priſoners death the price of his ranſome: a noble aduice, and worthie to be obſerued. But the ducheſſe of Alanſons preſence was the beſt remedie to recouer the king, where ſhe remained almoſt three monethes: what ſhe effected, and vpon what tearmes the king was deliuered, you may read in its proper hiſtorie. 1526 *Gouernours counſell.*

23 Theſe things paſt in the yeare 1526, in the which the Emperour *Charles* maried D. *Iſabella* of Portugal, daughter to the king D. *Manuel*. D. *Alphonſo Fonſeca*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, and primat of Spaine, with D. *Ferdinand* of Arragon, duke of Cala- *Mariage of the Emperor Charls*
B bria, were ſent to receiue this princeſſe, who conducted her with great ſtate to Seuile, where the mariage was celebrated. Of this mariage was borne, the one and twentieth day of May, in the yeare 1527, D. *Philip*, who ſucceeded in all the realmes, lands, and 1527
ſeigniories of the Emperour, as well hereditarie as conquered. A memorable yeare, for that by the Emperours armie, conſiſting for the moſt part of Spaniards, whereof *Charles* 24
duke of Bourbon was generall, the citie of Rome was taken and ſackt, and Pope *Clement*, with many cardinals, ranſomed, and hardly intreated; the greedie and inſolent ſouldiers not ſparing the cardinals of their owne nation, prophaning by all acts of crueltie *Rome taken & ſackt.*
and exceſſe, in their diſordered appetites, the places and perſons dedicated and vowed to religion, notwithſtanding that the prince, for whom they made warre, heire of the realms
C of Spaine, carried the title of Catholike, purchaſed by his predeceſſors, for the good offices they had done to Popes and to the ſea of Rome. The ſame yeare king *Francis* being 25
returned into his realme, he cauſed the mariage to be accompliſhed betwixt D. *Henrie* of *Mariage of king Henry of Albret*
Albret, and *Marguerite* of France, widow to the duke of Alanſon, father and mother to queene *Ioane*, heire to the realme of Nauarre.

King *Francis* being come from his impriſonment diſcontented, he entred willingly into league with the Pope, the king of England, the Venetians and Florentines, for the li- *League againſt the Emperor.*
bertie of Italie: But when as he vnderſtood the cruelties vſed by the Imperiall armie at Rome, he allied himſelfe more ſtrictly with the king of England, vnder colour to free the Pope and the territories of the Church; whereupon the lord of Lautrec was appointed
D to lead an armie into Italie, at their common charge.

The Emperour being aduertiſed, that king *Francis* not onely refuſed to performe his promiſe, but had alſo declared himſelfe his enemie, he cauſed monſieur *de Gramont*, his embaſſadour in Spaine, to be put in gard, and the French king did the like to *Nicholas Perenot* of Granuelle. Theſe kings ſent two kings at Armes into Spaine, namely, *Guienne* and *Clarencious*, to proclaime war againſt the Emperour, but before their arriuall the embaſſadors were releaſed. They proclaiming war againſt the emperour, and complaining of the Popes impriſonment, receiued this anſwer, as ſome write.

That he might not proclaime warre againſt him, being by right his priſoner, although *Anſwer made by the Emperor to the French king.*
he were at libertie, hauing giuen his ſonnes for hoſtages, that not obſeruing his promiſe,
E which he had ſolemnly ſworne, for that he was hindered by his ſubiects, he ſhould return againe to priſon, for that he could not by the law of nations, being not yet freed from his oath, proteſt warre againſt him. But if he did repent him of this accord, he ſhould returne into his power, and breaking the firſt contract, the French ſhould recouer that which they had held. That he did wonder at the complaints of thoſe kings touching the Popes affliction, as if they were ignorant, that all had beene done without his priuitie, and that he had long ſince giuen commaundement the Pope ſhould bee ſet at libertie. *Du Bellaie* writes, That king *Francis* talking to *Perrenot*, touching the Emperours ſpeech, anſwered, *Speech of king Francis touching his promiſe to the Emperor.*
That he was not *Charles* his priſoner, neither had he euer giuen his faith, but had made a promiſe by force, being depriued of his libertie: but being now free in his kingdome, he
F did not know any man that could force him to keepe that promiſe, neither was he voluntarily bound to obſerue that which conſtraint and impriſonment had made him to promiſe.

In Spaine the Infant D. *Philip*, being a yeare old, was ſworne and declared Prince of *Genealogie of Caſtille.*
the Aſturies, and heire of the realmes of Caſtille, and the dependances, with the lands annexed, in the towne of Vailledolit: after which the Emperour *Charles* and D. *Iſabella* had

1528 had another ſonne named D. *Ferdinand*, who liued little, and two daughters, D. *Maria*, who was maried to *Maximilian* of Auſtria, her couſen german, ſonne to *Ferdinand*, and D. *Ioane*, maried to D. *Iohn* of Portugall, grand child to the king D. *Manuel*: Wherefore I haue thought it fit to returne vnto his actions, during the three yeares which hee liued after his third mariage, which was in the yeare 1518, who begat of his wife D. *Leonora* the Infant D. *Charles*, and D. *Maria* an after birth. G

Genealogie of Portugal.

Portugal.

26 In the diſcourſe of the raigne of D. *Manuel*, we made mention of two of his diſcontented ſubiects, D. *Ferdinand* of Magellanes, and *Ruis Fallero*, who had addreſt themſelues vnto the Councell of the Indies in Caſtille, and demaunded leaue and meanes to diſcouer the rich iſlands of the Molucques, the which they obtained at the comming of K. *Charls*, who being at Barcelona, ſent them with letters & neceſſarie prouiſions, to Seuille, there to prepare themſelues for ſo long and ſo important a voyage. *Ferdinand Magellanes* maried in Seuille, with the the daughter of *Edward Baruoſa*, captaine of the arcenall of that citie; and for that *Ruis Fallero*, his companion, fell madde, he was forced to make his preparation without him, hauing fiue ſhips, that is, the Victorie (the pilot whereof was *Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano*, borne at Guetaria in Guipuſcoa, he that in the ſame voyage went about the world) S. *Anthonie*, S. *Iames*, the Conception, and the Trinitie, in which ſhips were two hundred thirtie ſeuen men, ſouldiers and mariners, with the which he parted in the yeare 1519, from the port of S. Lucar, and paſſing by the iſlands of the Canaries, and Cape Verd, he ſailed toward Saint *Auguſtines* cape, betwixt the South and the West, vntill that he came three and twentie degrees beyond the Equinoctiall, where he found a land whoſe inhabitants were wild Giants, & of ſo great a ſtature, as ſome were eleuen, twelue, and thirteene ſpannes high: which countrey he called The land of Giants. He ſtayed in it May, Iune, Iulie, and Auguſt, which is the Winter in thoſe quarters. The king D. *Manuel* was much diſcontented, that king *Charles*, his brother in law, had imployed theſe Portugals, and attempted this voyage, to his great prejudice; yet he did comfort himſelfe with a conceit, that *Magellanes* could not performe what he had promiſed. This voyage of *Magellanes* was verie difficult and full of lets, by reaſon of the diſcord betwixt him and his companions; ſo as one of his ſhips, called S. *Anthonie*, returned into Spaine, leauing the reſt as farre as the ſtrait or cape, called Eleuen thouſand Virgines, fiftie three degrees beyond the Equinoctiall, whereas the nights haue but ſix houres in the end of October. And they ſo called this cape, for that they toucht there on Saint *Vrſulaes* day, which is the one and twentieth of October. The fame of the iſlands of the Molucques, and others which were rich in ſpices, was ſo great, and of the profit which might be made there, if they could find meanes to ſhorten their voyage, as not onely the Spa- Spaniards, but other nations, ſought out wayes for this traffique and negotiation. *Paul Centurion*, a marchant of Genoua, going for this cauſe into Muſcouie, gaue *Baſilius*, prince of that countrey, to vnderſtand, that there was meanes to bring the ſpices into his countrey, by diuers riuers which he declared vnto him; ſaying, That thoſe which the Portugals brought into Europe, were for the moſt part corrupted and falſified. The way which he meant, was, to bring the marchandiſe vp the riuer of Indus, vnto Bater, from whence they muſt carrie them by land to the riuer of Camu, and from thence by Citraca, and the Caſpian ſea, to bring them into the riuers of Volga, Oeca, and Moſque. But this paſſage had beene with greater charge, paine, and danger, than *Centurion* did conceiue, yea to diſtribute them after they were come into Muſcouie, by Liuonia, Polonia, Pruſſia, Saxonie, and other parts of Germanie. H I K L

Voyage of Ferdinand Magellanes.

Land of Giants who haue Winter when we haue Summer.

Ferdinand Magellanes, beſides the ſhip which returned into Spaine, loſt another in a ſtorme: with the three others he paſt the ſtrait which was called by him Magellan, the which is aboue ſixſcore leagues long, and ſcarce two leagues broad, the entries of the which from the North to the South ſeas, are about two and fiftie degrees from the Equinoctiall: the waters are verie deepe, the ſhore full of high rockes, and barren, couered continually with ſnow. In this paſſage, & for a great ſpace in the South ſeas, they thought to die of hunger: in the end they came to the iſland of Inuagaua, repaſſing the line eleuen degrees, which they called Good ſigne, where they found wherewithall to ſatisfie their hunger; and from thence they came to the iſland of Sebut, where they paſt the feaſt of M

Straits of Magellan.

A of Eaſter, in the yeare 1521, and perſuaded the king of that countrey, called *Hamabar*, to become a Chriſtian, receiuing victuals and preſents from him, with information of the Molucques. In the ſame iſland there was another king, enemie to *Hamabar*, called *Calpulapo*, lord of Mautan, againſt whom *Ferdinand Magellanes* going to fight, was ſlaine there in battell, the 27 of Aprill 1521. *Iohn Serran*, who was chiefe pilot of the armie, remaining the chiefe, was ſoone after taken by king *Hamabar*, who had been called *Charles* at his baptiſme, and put to death with ſeuentie other Spaniards. Wherefore the three ſhips parted from thence, hauing but an hundred and fifteene men remaining, and came to Cohol, where they burnt one of their ſhips: there they trimmed vp the two others, and then went B to Bornoy, where they were courteouſly intreated by the king *Sirapida*, a great and mightie lord, who releeued them with all neceſſaries: in which countrey they ſaw great riches and deuiſes of gold and ſiluer. Then paſſing by the iſland of Cinbubon, they came to the iſland of Tidore, which is one of the fiue of the Molucques, whereof the other foure are, Terrenate, where, ſeuen monethes before this arriuall, died *Francis Serran*, a Portugal, kinſman to *Magellanes*, who gaue him firſt knowledge of theſe iſlands, & incouraged him to go thither, Mate, Matille, and Machian, which lye vnder the Equinoctiall, or thereabouts, verie ſmall, but abounding in riches, being diſtant from Spaine aboue an hundred and ſeuentie degrees. The king of Tidore, called *Almanſor*, although he were a Mahumetiſt, ſuffered theſe Spaniards to traffique freely, and was pleaſed with their arriuall, and C with the friendſhip of the king of Caſtille. The diſcouerie of theſe iſlands in the time of the king D. *Manuel*, did cauſe great controuerſies betwixt Caſtille and Portugal, the Portugals pretending that they were thereby intereſſed, and hindered in their courſe aſſigned for their nauigation: Yet the king D. *Manuel* moued no debate, for before that the newes of this diſcouerie was knowne in Spaine, he ended his dayes, towards the end whereof there happened a great plague, and famine, in Portugal. During which afflictions the mariage was concluded betwixt the Infanta D. *Beatrix*, ſecond daughter to the king D. *Manuel*, and *Charles* duke of Sauoy, to whom ſhe was ſent this yeare 1521, with a fleet of three and twentie ſaile, of the which D. *Martin* of Caſtilblanc, earle of Villanoua, was generall, being accompanied by D. *Martin* of Acoſta, biſhop of Lisbone, with D other noblemen, and by D. *Leonora de Sylua*, and a daughter of the earle of Faro, with many waiting women. The Infanta was then ſixteene yeares old and ſeuen monethes. After the returne of this fleet, about the end of the yeare, the king D. *Manuel* died, little lamented by the Clergie of his countrey, of whom he had leuied new and vnaccuſtomed ſubſidies, hauing raigned ſix and twentie yeares and three monethes, in the three and fiftieth yeare of his age. He was buried in the monaſterie of Belem, which he himſelfe had cauſed to be built.

1528

Death of Ferdinand Magellanes.

Fiue iſlands of Molucques.

27

Mariage betwixt the duke of Sauoy and D. Beatrix of Portugal.

Death of the king D. Manuel

D. Iohn, third of that name, fifteenth King of Portugall.

E

28 HIs ſonne D. *Iohn* ſucceeded him, the third of that name, at the ſolemnitie of whoſe reception there were preſent ſome of the Infants his brethren, D. *Iago* duke of Bragance, the maſter of S. *Iames*, the earle of Tentugal, the earle of Taroca, D. *Iohn de Meneſes*, prior of Saint *Iohn*, the great maſter, the marqueſſe of Tournouo, and Villa Real, with other noblemen and gentlemen of the realme, and the cardinall D. *Alphonſo* his brother, in whoſe hands the oath was taken. This prince was fat and vnweldie, verie religious, and a louer of learned and valiant men. He was founder of the Vniuerſitie of Co- *Vniuerſitie of Coimbra erected.* F imbra, and of the royall colledge of Saint *Paul*, the which he endowed with great reuenues, and large ſtipends, for the Regents and Doctors: wherein hee was followed and aſſiſted by the cardinall D. *Henrie*, his brother, who built in the citie of Ebora the colledge of Ieſuites, with profeſſors in the tongues and ſciences, both ſacred and prophane. *Colledge of Ieſuites built at Ebora.* The queene D. *Leonora*, widow to king *Manuel*, was in the yeare 1522, deliuered of an after birth, named D. *Maria*, which was not maried.

This

1528 This new king continued the nauigations begun by his predeceſſors with great affecti- G
on, and had great contention with the Emperour *Charles*, in regard of the Molucques, whereas the ſhips of Caſtille had beene well entertained, as we haue ſaid, by *Almanſor*, king of the iſland of Tidore, whereas the Caſtillans ſtayed fiue whole monethes, and made a kind of bargaine, by the which king *Almanſor* promiſed to giue ſo many cloues for a certaine meaſure of red cloth, blew cloth, or linnen, and ſo proportionably of other ſpices. The two ſhips of Caſtille remaining of *Ferdinand Magellanes* armie, that is, the Victorie and the Trinitie, diuided themſelues, and diſpoſed of their returne, ſo as the Trinitie ſhould shape his courſe to Panama, vpon the coaſt of new Spaine, which they held
29 to be but a ſhort voyage; and *Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano*, with the Victorie following the Por- H
Voyage of Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano. tugals voyage, ſhould returne into Spaine, by the cap Bon Eſperance. The Victorie then parting from Tidore in the moneth of Aprill 1522, with fortie ſeuen Spaniards, and thirteene men of the iſland of Tidore, they came to Zumatra, in old time called Taprobana, and then repaſſing vnder the Equinoctiall, and the Winter Tropike, they doubled the cap of Bon Eſperance, and arriued in the port of S. Lucar of Barameda, in September, hauing beene about three yeares in this long and dangerous voyage, in the which it is thought that this *Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano*, made aboue foureteene thouſand leagues at ſea. The other ſhip, called the Trinitie, commaunded by a captaine called *Spinoſa*, ſayling towards new Spaine, was put back by contrarie winds, to Tidore, whither *Anthonio Brito*, a captain for the king D. *Iohn*, was come with fiue ſhips of Portugal, by whom the Caſtil- I
lans were taken and ſpoyled, and carried, being fortie eight, to Malaca; ſo as of fiue ſhips which parted with *Fernando Magellanes*, the Victorie onely returned into Spaine, beſides that of S. *Anthonie* which would not follow him.

The voyage of the Eaſt Indies hath alwayes beene more ſucceſſull for the Portugals than Caſtillans: and at that time the king D *Iohn* intreated the Emperour *Charles*, not to ſuffer his ſubiects to goe to the Molucques, to auoid the ruine of armies, which are ſent to diſcouer thoſe countries: whereunto he yeelded (not knowing what *Anthonio Brito* had done to the Caſtillans that were in the Trinitie at Tidore) vntill that expert men in the
Conference for the limits of the Nauigation betwixt Caſtille and Portugal. Mathematikes and Nauigation, had decided it. This cauſe was debated in the yere 1524, at Yelbes, whither came, for the king of Portugal, the Licentiate *Anthonie* of Azeuedo, K
Cotigno, *Diego Lopes* of Sequeira, *Pero Alphonſo* of Aguiar, *Franciſco de Melo*, *Simon* of Tabira, and others: and at Badajos, the Licentiats, *Acugna*, *Barrientos*, and *Pedro Manuel*, D. *Ferdinand Colombus*, ſon to the Admirall *Chriſtopher Colombus*, *Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano*, *Pero Ruis* of Burgos, & others, for the Emperor. Theſe deputies of either part hauing conferred many dayes vpon a bridge on the riuer of Caja, which diuides Portugal from Caſtille, they parted in greater diſorder and confuſion than before, the Caſtillans maintaining, That the Molucques, yea, and the iſlands of Zumatra and Malaca, with a good part of China, fell in their ſtrait and Nauigation, according to the line drawne by Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, and the accord made betwixt king *Iohn* the ſecond, and king *Ferdinand* the fift, in the towne of Tordeſillas: The Portugals affirming the contrarie, with their L
reaſons.

In the yeare 1525 died queene *Leonora*, widow to king *Iohn* the ſecond, who was called The mother of the poore, for her great charitie. She had the hoſpitall of las Caldas,
Mariage of D. Iohn king of Portugal, and the Emperors ſiſter. and the monaſterie of the mother of God, to be built. In which yeare king *Iohn* the third then raigning, being two and twentie yeares old, maried D. *Catherina*, daughter to king *Philip* of Auſtria, and ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles*, being then eighteene yeares old: which mariage was ſolemnized at Ebora. Of this mariage were borne the Infants following, D. *Alphonſo*, who liued little, D. *Maria*, borne at Coimbra, in the yeare 1526, ſhe was princeſſe of Caſtille, D. *Catherina*, who liued but a while, nor her ſiſter D. *Beatrix*, D. *Manuel*, who in like maner died ſoone, D. *Philip*, and D. *Iohn*, who were borne at Ebora, and M
D. *Anthonie* at Lisbone.

Caſtille. Vnfortunat voiage of the Caſtillans to the Molucques. 31 The Emperour *Charles*, perſuaded by them that had beene at Caja, betwixt Badajos and Yelbes, rigged out ſeuen ſhips of Biſcaie at the Groine, to ſeeke a paſſage to the Molucques, by the land of Bacalaos and Labrador towards the North, if they might find any, meaning to make a ſtorehouſe for ſpices at the Groine, from whence they might be

A diſtributed into Spaine, France, Flanders, Germanie, England, and other regions: from the which D. *Iohn* king of Portugal ſought to diuert him by intreaties and reaſons, offering to pay the charges of the armie, and to giue him many other gifts, which the Emperour refuſed, perſiſting ſtill in his reſolution: Wherefore theſe ſeuen ſhips parted from the Groine, being commaunded by *Garci Geoffrey* of Loayſa, borne at Cité Real, a knight of S. *Iohn*, who had *Iohn Sebaſtian del Cano* for his lieutenant, who were all loſt, or went aſtray, except the Admirall, which came to Tidore, without her generall *Garci Geoffrey*, who died at ſea. D. *Garcia Henrtques* of Ebora, was then generall for the king of Portugal at the Molucques. In the yeare 1528 *Fernando Cortez*, gouernour and conqueror of 1528
B new Spaine, ſent from the countries conquered by him, two ſhips, by the kings commandement, wherof *Aluaro* of Sahauedra Ceron, was captaine, to ſeeke out the Molucques, but he was as vnfortunat as the reſt: which made the Emperour to yeeld more eaſily to an agreement with king *Iohn*, his brother in law, being preſt by other weightie affaires, which called him into Italie, for the Crowne of the Empire, which hee ſhould receiue from the hands of Pope *Clement*; for which voyage the king of Portugal lent him three hundred and fiftie thouſand ducats, in conſideration whereof the Emperour engaged, or ſuſpended the controuerſie for the Molucques; wherein the Licentiat, *Anthonie* of Azeuedo, deputed by the king of Portugal, hauing negligently negotiated, and left the buſineſſe almoſt in the ſame tearmes as it was at the conference of Badajos and Yelbes, was
C puniſhed: whereby, in time, the quarell was reuiued betwixt the Portugals and Caſtillans.

In the yeare 1529 *Lewis* of Beaumont, earle of Lerin, and conſtable of Nauarre, died there, whom his ſon ſucceeded in all his lands and dignities, bearing the ſame name. The Emperour *Charles* did alwayes honour him much, acknowledging him for his kinſman, for that he was deſcended, by the mothers ſide, from D. *Iohn* king of Nauarre and Arragon. 1529

32 The treatie of Cambray was concluded the yeare following 1530, in the which *Louyſe* of Sauoy, mother to the French king, and *Marguerite* of Auſtria, the Emperours aunt, had long laboured to reconcile theſe two princes: By the which the Infants of 1530 *Treatie of Cambray.*
D France were deliuered, in regard of two millions and fiue hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes, payable at ſeuerall paiments, as well readie as otherwiſe, in diſcharge of the Emperour to the king of England: and it was ſaid, that the king ſhould renounce the ſoueraigntie of Flanders and Artois, and his pretenſions to the duchie of Milan, and realme of Naples. That he ſhould marie the queene D. *Leonora*, and if there came a ſonne of this mariage, he ſhould be duke of Bourgondie, with many other conditions, which are to be ſeene in the ſaid treatie, and here omitted, for that they did not hold. The articles of this treatie being performed, as farre as might be at that time, the Emperour came to Barcelone, from whence he paſt to Genoua, in *Andrew Dorias* gallies, who hauing a little before left the French kings ſeruice, was come vnto the Emperours. From Genoua he went to 33
E Bolonia la Graſſe, whereas Pope *Clement* attended him, and there he receiued the Imperiall Crownes, one of yron, which the Emperours haue beene accuſtomed to receiue at Milan, and one of gold, which he ſhould take at Rome; but the Romans had not yet forgotten the ſacke and ſpoyle which the Spaniards had made. This coronation, which was performed on Saint *Mathias* day, verie happily for the Emperour, had beene purchaſed of the Pope, with the price of the Florentines libertie, and the change of their commonweale into a principalitie. After this ſolemnitie the Emperour hauing heard certaine princes, and the embaſſadours of many Eſtates in Italie, he tooke his way to Trent, and paſt into Germanie. Whileſt that they were making preparation for the Emperours coronation in Bolonia, he receiued aduertiſement, That D. *Iſabella*, his wife, was deliuered *Coronation of the Emperour at Bolonia.*
F of another ſonne, whom he would haue called *Ferdinand*, by his grandfathers name. There was great joy and triumph for this birth both in Spaine and Italie, and eſpecially in Bolonia; but this joy was of ſmall continuance, for he died within few monethes after his birth. *Ferdinand Infant of Spaine borne.*

At the Emperours paſſage into Italie, to his coronation, hee had beene attended on by the gallies of Spaine, of the which *Roderigo Portundo* was generall, who in his returne backe, *Roderigo Portundo defeated and ſlaine by pirats.*

1530 backe, hearing that there were certain pyrats of Barbarie in thoſe ſeas, the chiefe of which G
was *Haydin Rays* of Smirna, called Chaſe-diuell, which ſpoyled all men, he reſolued to de-
feat them: wherefore hauing well furniſhed eight of his gallies, both with ſouldiers and
ſlaues, and leauing the other ſeuen in the iſland of Yuiſa, he directed his courſe towards
Formentana, where he vnderſtood the pyrats lay with certaine galliots and foiſts, but he
knew not their number. But as he was of an vndaunted courage, and diſcourſed with rea-
ſon, that thoſe ſmall barkes of the Barbarians, commaunded by diuers men, and for their
owne priuat intereſts, would rather flie than fight, he did not reſpect the number of his
enemies, but, after the Spartane maner, ſought where they were. All which, it may be,
had ſucceeded happily, if he had not aduanced too haſtily with his Admirall, the which H
was boorded, and he ſlaine by the pirats, before the other gallies could ſuccour him, the
which, as they aduanced one after another without any order, they were enuironed, and
fought withall by the enemies: ſo as of the eight gallies onely one eſcaped by flight, the
reſt were taken, and all the Chriſtians ſlaine, or made ſlaues. *Iohn* the ſonne of the generall
Portundo, was taken priſoner. With this noble ſpoyle *Haydin Rays* preſented himſelfe to
Haradin Barberouſſe, who by the death of *Horuſco* his brother, remained king of Alger,
and head of all the pyrats of Barbarie: ſo as growne confident (being ſo fortified with
gallies and ſlaues) to be able to attempt ſome matter of importance; whereon whileſt he
did meditate, he drew into his companie *Sinan Ceſut* of Smirna, who was called the Iew,
a famous pyrat, who retired with his veſſels to Gerbe. He called alſo another deſperat pi- I
rat, called *Alicotto* of Caramania, who ſcoured the ſeas with foure foiſts, and two gallies,
the which he had taken when Florence was beſieged, at Montargentaro, where they had
laden certaine munition, conducted from Naples, for that enterpriſe. *Barberouſſe* hauing
at the leaſt 60 veſſels of warre, great and ſmall, had reſolued to ſurpriſe Cales in Spaine,
and to get a rich bootie, by reaſon of a Faire that was kept there. Whileſt that he prepa-
red all things which he held neceſſarie, he commaunded *Alicotto* to goe and conduct biſ-
ket, artillerie, and other neceſſaries, to the armie lying at Alger. During this preparation
in Africke, *Andrew Doria* went to ſea with a great armie, deſirous to purge that ſea of py-
rats, and to reuenge the wrong and great loſſe which the Emperour had ſuſtained by the
raſhneſſe of *Portundo*. Being therefore aduertiſed, that the Barbarians armie was diuided, K
and where it lay, he went towards Cercelli, whereas *Alicotto* remained with 17 veſſels;
where he arriued ſo ſuddenly, as the pyrat had not any time but to vnfurniſh his veſſels, to
chaſe the Chriſtian ſlaues into a caue, or ſecret priſon vnder ground, and to retire himſelfe
with his men into the caſtle, ſending meſſengers with all ſpeed vnto the Moores of the
Andrew Doria takes many gallies of pyrats. neighbour mountaines, to come and ſuccour him. *Doria* being arriued, he became maſter
of the town without any difficultie, and of the port, where he tooke two gallies, and ſeuen
galliots, and burnt the reſt. He cauſed a diligent ſearch to be made for the ſlaues, and find-
ing them, he ſet aboue 1000 free. Notwithſtanding he loſt about 400 ſouldiers, who go-
ing raſhly to ſpoile the towne, were cut in peeces by the Moores which came, and by the
Turkes which ſallied out of the caſtle with *Alicotto*, or elſe forced to run into the ſea, *Doria* L
hauing cauſed his gallies to go from the ſhore, to the end he might fight for his own ſafe-
tie, there were ſixtie taken & made ſlaues, with *George Palauicino*, an Enſign. And this loſſe
which *Alicotto* made of gallies and galliots, was the ſafetie of Cales.

1531 The yeare 1531 was memorable for the earthquake and inundations at ſea, which hap-
Inundations. pened as well in Spaine as in Africk and Flanders, whereas many towns & buildings were
ruined, and much land drowned, and infinit numbers of ſhips ſwallowed vp by the won-
derfull ſpring tides, with the loſſe of a great number of men. This was at ſuch time as the
Ferdinand choſen king of Romans. Infant D. *Ferdinand* was choſen king of Romans at Coullen, & that Germanie was threa-
tened extraordinarily by *Solyman* the Turke, who hauing raiſed a huge armie, entred ſoon
after into Hungarie, with an intent to beſiege Vienna, the chiefe citie of Auſtria, and the M
rampar of Chriſtendome on that ſide: to withſtand whoſe power the Emperor, being aſ-
ſiſted by the princes of Germanie, went thither in perſon, which diſappointed the deſigns
of that great enemie. He being retired, the Emperor returned into Italie, whereas Pope
1532 *Clement* & he had an enteruiew at Bolonia, in ſhew to treat of a general Councell, which
League betwixt the Pope and Emperour. was not verie pleaſing vnto the Pope, although he made ſhew to inuite all princes: but
the

A the chiefe end of this enteruiew, was, to make a league betwixt them, and the other Potentates of of Italie, for the assurance of their estates against the enterprises of the French: Which done, the king returned to Genoua, where he imbarked in Februarie, in the yeare 1533, and past into Spaine. 1533

34 During these affaires the Castillans continued with great vehemencie, their discouerie of new lands, whereas *Francis Picarro*, borne at Trugillo, who had liued long at the Indies, discouered the countrey of Peru, from whence such aboundance of treasure hath come: by reason whereof the Emperour made him marqueſſe of Atauilles. He had some time before discouered an iſland, and in it a towne, which he called Saint Iago. Continuing his course, he coasted along the firme land of Peru, and there planted a colonie, which he named Saint Michael: then entring farre into the countrey, he found a fit opportunitie to doe his businesse, in a warre which fell out betwixt two brethren, contending for the realme of Cusco; whereof the one was called *Guascar*, and the other *Atabalipa*. *Guascar* finding himselfe the weaker, had recourse vnto *Picarro* and the Spaniards, who promised to succour him; but it was with an intent to ruine them both. *Ferdinand Picarro* was happily come to the Indies at that time, with new forces from Spain, who hauing joined with the forces of his brother *Francis*, and the Indians of *Guascar*, they made a strong armie, sufficient to assaile *Atabalipa*. He for his part attentiue to all occasions of warre, did not stay vntill the enemie came vnto him, but went to meet them, hauing in his armie aboue sixscore thousand Indians, and gaue them battell about the towne of Caxamalcan, yet (as some write) within the circuit of the same towne, which was verie great, into the which *Picarro* had put himselfe, finding it without dwellers, and was there entertained at that time by the Barbarian king, vnder colour of treating friendship with him; but they could not agree. The Spanish captaine had caused *Atabalipa* to be summoned, and solicited, That he should not disdaine to submit himselfe to the Emperour *Charles*, as his vassall, and to pay him tribute; and moreouer, to make himselfe a Christian; else they threatened him, that the Pope would depriue him of his realme, and would giue it wholly vnto the Emperour: the which he might well doe (sayed they) for hee was Gods lieutenant on earth, of God, who had made all the world of nothing, and who, to deliuer and saue men from the slaueric of the euill spirit, had made himselfe man, had died vpon the crosse, and was called Christ Iesus. Father *Vincent*, a Iacobine Monke, was messenger of this summons. To whom *Atabalipa* answered, That hee did much esteeme and desire the Emperours friendship, and would send him presents, as to his friend; but to pay him tribute, he would not doe it, the kings of Cusco being accustomed to make others tributarie. That as for the Pope, whose power hee did alledge, hee held him for some madde man, seeing he presumed to giue vnto another that which was not in his power, and where he had no right. And in regard of Iesus Christ, and of his seruice, he saied, that he had no knowledge of it, and therefore he would not leaue the auncient gods of Cusco, and especially for that he vnderstood by him, that Christ was alreadie dead. He would therefore adhere rather to the Sonne and the Moone, which died not. And touching that which he did assure him, that the Christians God had made heauen and earth of nothing, and finally all the world, he demaunded of him where he had learned it; for he thought that the world had euer beene, or at the least many thousands of yeares: wondering much, that the Monke, who was not yet much aduanced in the first hundred of the course of his life, did speake so confidently of such ancient things. Frier *Vincent* replied, That the Emperour *Charles* was a great Monarch, whom many kings, as mightie as the king of Cusco, obeyed, and therefore he should not make triall of his force, nor compare himselfe vnto him: and holding in the one hand a Crucifix, and in the other a Bible, he told *Atabalipa*, that that Image had instructed him what the creation of the world had beene, and the booke contained the certaine historie. The king taking this booke in his hand, opened it, and turned it ouer, he smelt to it, and layed his eare to it, hearkening if it spake any thing vnto him; but seeing there was no feeling in it, and that it spake not any thing, he cast it to the ground, saying, That both the booke and Monke mockt him. Wherefore Frier *Vincent* hauing taken vp his booke, returned to *Picarro*, to whom hauing related all, he persuaded him to take some cruell reuenge of the impietie

Peru discouered.

Colonie of S. Michael.

1533 pietie of that Infidell king. The two armies therefore being ſo neere, as one might ſay, G
they were mingled within the circuit of the great citie of Caxamalcan, the Spaniards ran
vpon the Indians with a great thunder of muskets and artillerie, and the ſound of drums
and trumpets: wherewith the Indians being not acquainted, were daunted and confoun-
ded: *Atabalipa* himſelfe was ſo amazed, as forgetting the duetie of a generall, not gi-
uing them any ſigne, nor commaunding to fight, he ſaw them ſlaine by heapes, neere vn-
to the place where he was ſet vpon an high ſeat of gold, carried on his gards ſhoulders,
Atabalipa de-feated & taken who ſought to retire him out of the preaſe, and to flie away with him; but they were ſtai-
ed, and their king ouerthrowne and taken, being abandoned by all his people, moſt of
them eſcaping by flight. H

By this victorie, and the taking of the king of Cuſco, the Spaniards made themſelues,
eaſily, maſters of all the townes of that great and rich kingdome, and the ſouldiers were
inſtantly made rich with the ſpoyle of the kings mouables, and of the noblemen of his
traine, with a wonderfull quantitie of gold, ſiluer, and ſlaues, among the which there
were found fiue hundred maids and wiues, which did ſerue king *Atabalipa*, who for
a time was honourably garded, in hope to be ſet at libertie, for the which he promiſed
to glut the couetouſneſſe of the Spaniards, whom he ſaw to be verie greedie after gold
and ſiluer; yea he offered to goe into Spaine, or whereas the Emperour ſhould be, and
was perſuaded to be baptiſed. But notwithſtanding all this, they ſtrangled him cruelly,
and hauing halfe burnt him, they cauſed his bodie to be laid in a chappell built to that end I
in the market place of Caximalcan, for that they would haue all men honor his funerall,
excuſing themſelues of the execution, vnder colour of juſtice; for that (ſaid they) hee had
treacherouſly made ſecret leuies of ſouldiers in the realme of Quito, to ſurpriſe the Spa-
niards, and to free himſelfe by force out of their hands: and alſo, for that he had put his
brother *Guaſcar* to death, after the ſame maner, being their allie. The which he diſſembled
not, for that (ſaid he) he had attempted to take away his life, to raigne. In the place of him
that was dead, there was ſet vp by *Francis Picarro* the gouernor, for a ſhew, another bro-
ther of his, called *Mangan* (others name him alſo *Atabalipa*) who diſcouered vnto them
part of the treaſures: ſo as the preſent fruits of this victorie amounted to many millions,
drawne as well out of the kings houſes, as out of the Indians tombes, being accuſtomed K
to burie with the dead bodie, the moſt precious things they had: and in like maner from
their temples in the towne of Pauca Canu, & in that of Cuſco, which is the chiefe of the
realme. This great citie of Cuſco is ſituated 17 degrees beyond the Equinoctiall line, to-
wards the South ſea, in a temperat region, yet their Winters are ſomewhat ſharp in their
ſeaſon, that is, when we haue Summer, for thoſe people are almoſt Antipodes to vs, & the
cold continues, and is the greater, for that the high mountaines of that countrey, are moſt
part of the yeare couered with ſnow. Soone after this conqueſt of *Picarro*, *Iames* of Alma-
gra, who had a good ſhare in the honor thereof, went and inuaded the region of Chile, or
Chiliane, but he found more difficultie than he expected: for beſides that his men were
in daunger of death through cold, hee found ſtronger reſiſtance, the people being L
Diſcipline of them of Peru at the warre. more warlike than they of Cuſco; whom notwithſtanding the Spaniards do not repreſent
vnto vs, without dexteritie, or martial diſcipline: for they witnes, that in their armies they
did obſerue a foreward, a battel, & a rereward; that they had ſcours, and forlorne hopes,
which were excellent caſters in ſlings, as in old time they of Majorca were, who furiouſly
began the fight, caſting a ſhowre of hard poliſhed ſtones, as big as an egge, & carrying a
a targuet on the left arme. Their chiefe battalion where their king was, did conſiſt of men
richly armed, with cueraſſes quilted with cotton, & bonets of the ſame, reaſonably ſtrong
to reſiſt a handie ſtroke, enriched with plates and threds of gold and ſiluer: and for offen-
ſiue armes, ſome had clubs about foure foot long, and the heads as big as two fiſts, hauing
fiue or ſix ſharpe pikes of mettall; others carried hatchets like vnto our halbeards, which M
they could handle well. As for their rereward or ſubſidiarie ſquadrons, to releue the reſt,
they were all pikes, whoſe heads were better armed than ours bee. *Frauncis Picar-
ro* found the Indians of Peru in this equipage to reſiſt him, it may bee (ſay they
that haue written of his enterpriſes) to make his conqueſts more admirable vnto
vs: For not confeſſing that either he or any one of his captaines made any account
of

A of the Indians of the countrey, whom they had drawne vnto their partie, and joyned with them in the aboue mentioned combat of *Caxamalcan* and others, they vaunt, that this great king *Atabalipa*, was vanquiſhed with all that great multitude of men of war which did accompanie him, by leſſe than fiue hundred foot, and an hundred and twentie horſe of the Spaniſh nation, whereof moſt of the footmen were croſſebowes, hauing few harquebuſes: yet they confeſſe that they had ſome peeces of ordnance, whereunto they attribute ſome part of their victories, ſaying, That the Indians were almoſt dead for feare, ſeeing theſe engines ſpit fire, and hearing the noyſe thereof, wherewith they had neuer been acquainted; the which hath ſome likelyhood. 1533

B *Atabalipa* was ſonne to a warlike and valiant prince, called *Cuſco*, who comming out of the prouince of Quito, which is directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, towards the South ſea, had conquered by armes from many other kings and lords, thoſe ample regions whereof his ſonne was in an inſtant diſpoſſeſt, at the comming of theſe Spaniards: and hauing there built the citie of Cuſco, had called it by his owne name, and made it the ſeat of his empire, which was aboue three hundred leagues long and broad, ſtretching from the South to the Weſt. At his death he left an hundred children, males and females, moſt of which liued when *Atabalipa* was defeated and taken. To *Gueſcar* (whom ſome alſo cal *Cuſco*) he had left the greateſt part of his conquered countries, and had giuen to *Atabalipa* the realme of Quito, where he was borne. But *Gueſcar*, not ſatisfied vnleſſe he might haue all, *Beginning of Atabalipa.*

C did firſt moue war to diſpoſſeſſe his brother, wherein he was vnfortunat: for after many vnhappie incounters, he was quite defeated, and taken, by *Chilicuchima*, lieutenant to *Atabalipa*, by whoſe commandement, although he were a priſoner in the Spaniards hands, he was ſtrangled: the which did ſo diſpleaſe the gouernor *Francis Picarro*, as he conceiued a mortall hatred againſt the king and his lieutenant, not ceaſing vntill he had put them to death; yet after that he had diſcouered, by their meanes, the treaſures of the realme, had ſeiſed of a good part of them, and was aſſured the reſt could not eſcape him. In the diſtribution of which treaſure he did afterwards ſhew himſelfe verie vniuſt and falſe, as well towards his ſouldiers, as to the Emperor his maſter, whom he did fruſtrate of a good part of his right of the fifts. It ſeemed that God, by this ſudden & eaſie conqueſt, had prepared

D a fit ſubiect for the Emperor *Charles* to ſettle a perfect eſtate at Peru; but his miniſters did corrupt it. All things were there according to a mans deſire, to execute a great and memorable deſigne: the which had bin admirable to poſteritie, were it in regard of the glorie of God, or temporall commodities, in regard of the riches, and all ſorts of bleſſings, the which heauen and all the elements doe powre downe aboundantly vpon that region, but eſpecially for the aptneſſe of the people, who were found ciuile and capable of reaſon, much more than they that had bin firſt diſcouered at the iſlands, or vpon the continent of thoſe Weſterne Indies towards the North ſea. They did not find them naked, and without ſhame, but apparelled, both men and women, handſome in their garments, induſtrious in their buildings, and in all other arts and workes; tillers of the ground, feeders of *Maners of the people of Peru.*

E paſtures, marchants, ſociable and courteous, as wel among themſelues as to ſtrangers, and religious alſo, although it were after the Pagan maner: whoſe imperfections ſhould not be cenſured with rigor, but excuſed, with an intention to reforme them in time, by good examples of pietie and charitie, and by juſtice well and duely miniſtred: conſidering that in their religion and maners, they were not more ſauage and barbarous than the firſt auncient Spaniards, before they were ciuilized and inſtructed, of whom we haue made mention in the beginning of this hiſtorie. They did beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoule, & the reſurrection of the body, and therfore they buried their dead with honour, and did graue markes vpon their tombs, which did ſhew the forepaſſed life of the deceaſed: into whoſe tombs they did caſt precious jewels, and brought meat and drinke thither, and many

F times their wiues and ſeruants did ſhut them in there, & did willingly ſtarue themſelues. They did puniſh adulterie with death, and did put out the eyes of theeues. Their childrens children, or ſome other of their bloud, did inherit their goods, and not their owne children, except thoſe of kings. Men might take as many wiues as they would, and did often marie their owne ſiſters. Thus among the ſeedes of pietie, humanitie, and policie, they had errours and blemiſhes, like ſenſuall people, which knew not

1533 the true God nor his juſtice. The which they did not meaſure by the perfect rule of nature, but according to their corrupt imaginations and their breeding, deſtitute of light and good gouernement. Through this defect they did worſhip the ſtarres as gods, and eſpecially an Idoll, which had its temple in the citie of Pancacami, who ſpake Oracles vnto them, and from whom they attended all their proſperities. It is the vſuall courſe of the Gentiles, to whom the myſteries of ſaluation are not reuealed, which are ſpeciall graces. And had not theſe poore Peruſians, vices in that regard, which were common with the auncient Ægyptians, Grecians, Romans, and other ſuch famous nations, who haue beene happily drawne from Paganiſme to Chriſtianitie, among whom the world hath ſeene ſo many goodly Churches to flouriſh, by the bountie of kings and Emperours, and by the doctrine, diligence, and exemplarie life of good biſhops? But the Spaniards nor their commaunders had no ſuch intent, as their actions written doe witneſſe. G H

It was ſufficient for them to commaund theſe ignorant people proudly, to make profeſſion of Chriſtians, in aſſiſting at the ceremonies, vpon paine of death, or ſeruitude. And it fell out often, I know not through what charitie, that many which for feare had cauſed themſelues to be baptiſed, were by them inſtantly ſlaine, that they might haue no leaſure to denie it: And thus, they ſayed, they procured their ſoules health. Theſe courſes, which could not bee pleaſing vnto God, drew his warth vpon the heads of the *Picarres*, and their companions, who made miſerable ends: for it was not long before *Francis Picarro*, and *Iames* of Almagra, fell into a great quarell for the gouernement of Peru, and ſo to ciuile warre, whereof followed their puniſhment and ruine: A worthie reward for their cruelties and rapes, as wee will hereafter ſhew. Theſe two men haue beene the chiefe leaders and conducters of the enterpriſe of Peru, both ſouldiers, but of obſcure and baſe families: for *Francis Picarro* was a baſtard, borne of an vnchaſt woman, who had left him at the doore of a church at Trugillo, from whence a captaine, called *Gonſal* of Nauarre, cauſed him to be taken, and to be bred vp at a farme of his in the countrey, like a clowne: But being growne great, he ran away to Seuile, and ſo paſt to the Indies, where he got reputation: and being held for the ſonne of the foreſayd captaine, there came vnto him three of his brethren, by the fathers ſide, *Ferdinand Gonſaluo*, and *Iohn Picarro*, and a brother by the mothers ſide, called *Francis Martin* of Alcantara. As for *Iames* of Almagra, he was borne at Almagra, but of ſo obſcure a father, as no man euer could learne his name. He was in like manner valiant, but hee and *Picarro* were both groſſe witted, and ſo ignorant, as they could neither read nor write; fit men to conquer and deſtroy, but not to edifie and preſerue, ambitious, and without gouernement, as they did teſtifie by their actions. *Simon* of Alcaſaua, a fugitiue of Portugal, was alſo ſent to the Molucques by the Caſtillans; but through his owne importunities hee was ſlaine by his men, before hee came to the ſtrait of Magellan. I K

Beginning of Francis Picarro and Iames of Almagra.

1534 35 The Emperour being in Spaine, he was ſolicited by *Muley Haſcen*, king of Tunes, who had beene diſpoſſeſt by *Haradin Barberouſſe*, to reſtore him to his realme, promiſing to hold it of the Crowne of Spaine. This occaſion was willingly imbraced, as neceſſarie for the good of Chriſtendome, and verie honourable for the Emperour in particular: for *Haradin* hauing ſucceeded his brother *Horuſco* in the realme of Alger, he was growne into great fauour with *Solyman* the great Turke, who had made him generall of his gallies, and with whoſe forces he had ſeiſed vpon Tunes, threatning all the Princes and Potentates about the Mediterranean ſea, both Chriſtians and Mahometiſts. Although we haue formerly made ſome mention of theſe two famous pyrats, yet, in my opinion, it will not be impertinent, if we relate more particularly what they were, and by what meanes they came to that greatneſſe wherein our fathers haue ſeene them: reporting, vpon this occaſion, ſome of their deſperate enterpriſes, vpon the coaſt of Africke, where they began firſt to appeare; to the end that by this notable example they which haue fame for their onely object, may know, that neither the nobilitie of the race, nor the vertue of predeceſſors, nor wealth, nor the ſeruices of Court, can bring men to great and eminent honours, but their owne induſtrie and valour. *Horuſco* then, and *Haradin*, brethren, ſurnamed *Barberouſſe*, were borne in the countrey of Turkie, or Turcomania, which the L M

Muley Haſcen king of Tunes diſpoſſeſt by Barberouſſe, & reſtored by the Emperour.

Vertue fitteſt to aduance a man.

Barberouſſes brethren.

A auncients called Cilicia, or Tarſis: Some ſay, they were borne in the towne of Metelin, in the iſland of Lesbos, whoſe father was a Chriſtian, but he did not continue in it; a poore pyrat, or theefe robbing at ſea: Their mother was a Spaniard, of the towne of Marchena, taken by this pyrat at ſea, who held her for his lawfull wife. Their firſt inſtitution and breeding was in their fathers trade, vnder a pyrat called *Camal*, and afterwards they put themſelues in pay with the Emperour of the Turkes, which was *Selim*, father to great *Solyman*. Being ſent for a conuoy to a Treaſurer, who went to pay the garriſons of Coron and Modon, townes of Morea, they ſtript him, and fled with the money: with which money hauing armed out a foiſt, or brigantine, they joyned with *Crocut*, being B then purſued by *Selim* his brother. He being dead, they fled for feare of puniſhment, and went to ſea: Their firſt prey was of two marchants ſhips of Siracuſa in Sicile; with which bootie hauing furniſhed themſelues better, it happened, that theeuing with too great aſſurance, they were taken by *Peter Victorie*, captaine of the Popes gallies; but through bad gard, this taker was himſelfe taken, and loſt two gallies. Being thus fortified, and growne more cunning, they got ſuch reputation, as in a ſhort time *Horuſco*, who was the elder, was acknowledged for head and conducter of all the pyrats vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, hauing for his lieutenants *Haradin*, his younger brother, and *Scanderraiz*, their brother in law. In this fauour hee preſumed to ſurpriſe the citie of Bugia, one of the beſt peopled in Africke, the which was then vnder the protection of the kings D. C *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabella*, of Caſtille, and garded by a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards: but his enterpriſe ſucceeded not; for being maſter of one of the three caſtles, or towers, which are in that citie, as he fought for the reſt, he was repulſt, and forced to leaue his prey, with the loſſe of an arme, ſo as euer after he wore one of ſiluer. Hauing fayled in this enterpriſe, he retired to Alger, the lord whereof was called *Celim Beni Tumi*, whom he ſuccoured, in ſhew, againſt a brother of his, who made warre againſt him, and then hee ſlue him in treaſon, vnder colour of friendſhip, making himſelfe Lord of the towne. 1534

This was no act of vertue, but of hardineſſe and policie, the which is much eſteemed in this later age. Hauing gotten Alger, he ſeiſed vpon the towne of Circele, by the D like meanes, the which is the auncient Carcena. Into this he put *Scanderraiz* for gouernour, and left the gard of Alger to *Haradin* his brother, and continuing to moleſt the world, he did alſo ſeiſe vpon the rich towne of Tunes, ſituated betwixt Alger and Oran, the lord whereof hauing fled into Spaine, hee had perſuaded cardinall *Ximenes* to ſend armie of Spaniards into Africke, againſt this theefe, vnder *Diego de Vera*, who was defeated there, and loſt about eight thouſand men, as we haue noted in the precedent booke.

Horuſco being puft vp with theſe good haps, he aſpired to greater matters, and to make himſelfe king of Tremeſſen, a great and mightie citie, and the chiefe in all Mauritania, ſometimes called Ceſarienſis. To attaine vnto the which, he thought to helpe himſelfe *Moores ſuperſtitious.* E with ſuperſtition, to the which the Moores and Arabians are more giuen than all the people of the earth, procuring certaine Morabites (which are religious hermits of *Mahomets* ſect) who (to bring the king of Tremeſſen in hatred of his ſubiects) gaue them to vnderſtand, That he had ſecret acquaintance with the Chriſtians, and that they *Religion a cloke for tyrats.* ſhould be all damned if they did not chaſe him away: the which they did, with the helpe which *Horuſco Barberouſſe* gaue them. To couer his deſigne, which was, to ſubdue them, he counſelled them to draw a nephew of the kings (whom they had chaſed away) out of priſon, hauing beene long kept in yrons by him, and to make him king; the which they had a will to effect: But this tyrant, ſeeing them to proceed ſlowly, and hee impatient and blinded with ambition, ſlue this young prince, and ſought to F ſeiſe vpon the citie, in deſpight of the inhabitants, whereof he ſlue many of the principals, which was his ruine: for the diſpoſſeſſed king was called home, and had meanes to recouer his kingdome, with the forces of Spaine, which he obtained eaſily. He purſued his aduerſarie ſo, as he forced him to flie into the mountaine of Abez, vpon the confines of Bugia, & to ſhut himſelfe in a caſtle, where being beſieged, neceſſitie forced him forth to fight, where he was vanquiſhed & ſlain, and his head caried to Tremeſſen & frō thence

1534 into Spaine to the great contentment of the Moores and Spaniards, for he was a ſubtile G
and dangerous enemie: Pride growing through proſperitie ruined him: But *Haradin* go-
uerned himſelfe more diſcreetly, and did manage his fortune with more honour. Thus
we ſee, that thoſe which hazard themſelues in daungerous enterpriſes, doe moſt com-
monly miſcarrie, and make ſuch as follow after them wiſe by their raſhneſſe, to whom
they haue made the way.

Haradin, by the death of his brother, remaining lord of Alger, one of the beſt ports
of all Africke, he was no more held a pyrat, but a prince, and withall a great captaine at
ſea: ſo as Sultan *Solyman*, Emperour of Conſtantinople, made his Baſſa and his Admi-
rall, with whoſe incomparable forces he made himſelfe a terrour to all the countries of H
Europe, Aſia, and Africke, which lay vpon the ſea; where hauing taken infinit booties,
and ſpoyled many townes, in the end he made himſelfe maſter of the citie and realme
of Tunes, in the yeare 1535, by this occaſion.

Abdul Hedi ſtemme of the laſt king of Tunes.

A little before there had raigned in Tunes *Mahomet*, deſcended from *Abdul Hedi*,
who was a Moore of Andaluzia, borne at Seuile; he was wiſe and diſcreet: and being
made by the king of Marroc gouernour of the citie of Tunes, which had rebelled, and had
beene taken againe and puniſhed, he following the example of many others, had made
himſelfe lord of his gouernement, when as after the battell of Muradat in Spaine, woon
by the Chriſtians, there was a generall reuolt in Africke, againſt the Almohades, Empe-
rours, and great Miralmumins of the Moores, and Alarabes at Marroc. This *Mahomet*, I
iſſued from this race, had had many children by many wiues, who ſeeing himſelfe old,
and deſirous to prouide a ſucceſſor to his realme after his owne humor, for certaine con-
ſiderations, he made choyce of the youngeſt of all, called *Haſcen*, whom hee had by an
Arabian woman, called *Gezia*, and would haue him ſucceed him to the Crowne. It
is this *Muley Haſcen* for whoſe reſtitution the Emperour was perſuaded to lead an ar-
mie into Africke. This jealous prince was no ſooner ſeated in the royall throne, but
he put *Mamon*, his elder brother, to death, and after diſpatcht all his other brethren
and kinſmen: (theſe be the fruits of *Polygamie*, in the followers of *Mahomet* their Pro-
phet) *Arraxide* onely eſcaped, and fled to Bixacara, a towne of Numidia, where, with
the aid of certaine Xecques, or lords Numidians, hee gathered ſome forces together, K
to inuade *Muley Haſcen*; but it was in vaine: wherefore he had recourſe to *Haradin
Barberouſſe*, king of Alger, who hauing receiued him courteouſly, aduiſed him to go
with him to Conſtantinople, to informe the great Turke of his misfortunes; promi-
ſing to preſent him vnto him, and to doe him all fauour and good offices. Being
come to *Solymans* Court, *Barberouſſe* was preſently diſpatcht with a good number
of gallies, well furniſhed with ſouldiers, to come to Tunes, giuing it out, that hee
carried backe *Arraxide*, to make him king, who notwithſtanding was ſtayed at Con-
ſtantinople.

Muley Haſcen, a paracide, couetous, voluptuous, iniurious, and a coward, amazed at
this great preparation of armes, which came to aſſayle him, ſtaied not, but fled to his kinſ- L
men by the mothers ſide, *Iſmael* and *Dorar Alarabas*, of the linage of *Vled Aixa*, which are
a member of *Vled Yahaya*, of thoſe which led a vagabond life in the plaines and deſarts of
Africke and Numidia: a mightie people, but diſloyall, and of no friendſhip. Finding not
ſuch ſuccours there as he expected, he followed the aduice of a Genouois renegado, cal-
led *Ximaa*, which was, to implore ayd of the Emperor *Charles:* and this Genouois was he
which made a voyage into Spaine, who could ſo perſuade the Emperour, and ſeaſon his
requeſt with liuelie reaſons, and infinit promiſes, as he obtained that which he pretended,
which was, To perſuade the Emperor and his counſel, that it was both profitable and ne-
ceſſarie for him to reſtore *Muley Haſcen* to his realm: Euery one weighing the importance
of this buſineſſe, and foreſeeing how it might prejudice Italie and Spaine, if the Turkes, M
which did alreadie hold many ports vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, ſhould ſet footing into
Tunes, a great and mightie citie, fit for the ſituation (which is neere vnto the ruines of
old Carthage, ſometimes concurring in power with the Romans) to make ordinarie
and prejudiciall impreſſions in that State. *Barberouſſe*, who had found the place void
of ſouldiers, or Commander, did eaſily ſeiſe vpon the towne, caſtle, and fort of Goulette,
which

A which ſtands on the entrie of the lake which the Sea makes there. But hee did not thinke the Chriſtians had taken this ſo ill, as hee found by experience, and therefore hee was not ſo carefull to prouide all things neceſſarie to preſerue ſuch a conqueſt, againſt the power which the emperor brought: who as ſoone as this honorable enterpriſe was concluded, hee did aduertiſe all Chriſtian princes, and inuited them to contribute men, money, and ſhips to this warre, whether hee would goe in perſon. The rendes-vous was appointed at the port of Cailleri in Sardynia, whether the emperour came with the gal- leys of Spain, thoſe of Genoua, and the particular galleys of *Andrew Doria*. D. *Iohn* king of Portugal ſent him twenty galleys, and one great gallion, vnder the command of D. *Lewis* B his Brother. 1535

Forces of the Emperour at his going to Tunes.

The Pope armed nine galleys at Genoua, at his owne charge, of the which *Paul Iuſtinian* had the command, and *Virgilio Vrſino*, earle of Anguilare had the leading of the ſoldiers that were in them: And hee ſuffered him to leuie the tenths of the Clergie of Spaine. The knights of Malta ſent foure galleys. All which ioyned at Cailleri, where (before the emperors comming) there arriued the royall galleys of Naples and Sicile, with many galliots and foiſts, armed by the noblemen of Naples and Sicile, at their owne charge, in which the Marques of Guaſt was trãſported with the old Spaniſh ſouldiers which he had drawne out of the garriſons of Italie. Thither alſo came many round and flat bottomed veſſels, carrying victuals, munition, artillerie, horſe, and a good number of foot, newly le- C uied to that end in Spaine, Italy & Germany, ſo as there was found when this army weigh- ed anchor, three hundred and ſixtie ſaile, carrying beſides the Court, the traine of noble- men, and many voluntaries, ſeuen hundred men at armes, two thouſand light horſe, and 12 thouſand biſoques or new ſouldiers, fiue thouſand old ſouldiers, Spaniards, and ſixe thou- ſand Italian foot, & ſeuen thouſand Lanſquenets, men of experience. Theſe forces being not leſſe than forty thouſand men, parted with a proſperous wind from the Iſlãd of Sardi- nia, and came to land the fiue and twentieth of Iune, this yere 1535 at a place called Por- to Farina, neere to the ruines of old Vtica, about ſixe leagues diſtant from Tunes. There order was giuen by the emperour, for the landing of his men; the firſt were the old Spa- niſh arquebuzies and the Italians, that they might keepe off the Moores, who had ſhewed D themſelues both horſe and foot, to diſturbe their landing, wherin the Marqueſſe of Guaſt who was general of the foot, ſhewed great iudgement, for he wold not ſuffer the ſouldiers to leaue their ſtandings and to purſue the enemy, vntill the army were landed with the victuals and munition, and the quarters made and fortified with a Trench: in the which they found great difficulty for that the ſand was looſe & not fit for that purpoſe, neither had they any bauines or other matter to binde it with all. The army being lodged, the em- perour called a Councel, where it was propounded, whether they ſhold firſt aſſault Gou- lette, or goe directly to fight with the enemy in Tunes, which was much more eaſie than that of Goulette: whereas attempting that fort firſt, being ſtrong by ſituation, defended by valiant men, commanded by iudicious captaines, and hauing great ſtore of artillery, and E which did moſt import, not being able to take their ſuccours from them, neither by the lake, nor by land on the eaſt part, either the action would proue deſperate, and they ſhold conſume their forces there in vaine, or at the leaſt they ſhould ſpend ſo much time there, as not onely *Baberouſſe* would grow ſtronger in men, & be of greater reputation; but the Chriſtians campe being wonderfully afflicted with the violent heat of the Sunne in that region, and vnder that clymat, and, which did more import, the waters which they dranke being halfe ſalt, in ſhort time being corrupted, would breed a great mortalitie, ſo as they ſhould be forced rather to ſeeke to ſaue the relikes of their army, than to attempt any new enterpriſe. But the moſt judicious ſhewing how dangerous it was to leaue ſuch a fort as Goulette, with a great garriſon, and ſo neere vnto Tunis behind, that the army aduancing, F they ſhould be in extreame want of victuals, the which not being able to bee conducted but from the army, the enemies horſe being many and venturous, ſcouring the fields con- tinually, would at the leaſt force the Chriſtians to keep the greateſt part of their horſe and of their beſt foot, to gard their victuals which were ingaged. It was therefore reſolued firſt to attempt Goulette: which fort *Barberouſſe* had furniſhed with great care: it is a great ſquare Tower, with large rampers and flankers, and is ſet vpon the mouth or entrie of

Councell held by the emperour for the beſee- ging of Goulett.

Goulette the fort.

1535 of the Lake, which extends from it vnto the Citie, and is foure leagues broad: G
(*Campana* writes that it is twelue miles long, and fiue miles broad.) The Citie of
Tunes was great and well peopled, but at that time the walles were weake and low,
hauing three ſuburbs open, greater and farre better peopled than the towne, in the
which there dwelt many kindes of Merchants, ſome of the moſt induſtrious Artiſans,
and among them ſome other rich people, who were delicate and idle. For the gard of
theſe places, *Barberouſſe* had about eight thouſand good ſouldiers, whereof he had put a
Forces of Barberouſſe in Tunes. good part into the fort of Goulette (ſome write they were three thouſand men) commanded by *Sinan Cefutt* of Smirna, called the Iew, and *Naid*, ſurnamed *Chaſediuels*. The reſt
were with *Barberouſſe*, who had alſo leuied great numbers of Moores and Alarabes, both H
horſe and foot, whome hee ſent, or led himſelfe continually to the warre, and made
continuall skirmiſhes to moleſt the emperours campe, to hinder the approaches, and
the batterie which was planted againſt this fort, the which they muſt force and take
before they came vnto the citie, vnleſſe they would bee betwixt two enemies, ſubiect
to the great and ordinarie ſallies of either of them, eſpecially of the Moores, who ouerrunning the countrie, which was well knowne to them, might hinder the victuals,
ſurpriſe them that went to forrage, ſeeking aboue all things water, which is rare in
that countrie, and take from them the commoditie of the ſea, if they had gone farre,
and left this fort ſtanding, and ſo had ruined the imperiall armie. Whileſt they are buſie
at this worke, and about fiue weekes after the emperours arriuall, *Muley Haſcen* I
creepes out of his holes, and comes vnto the campe (hauing had a good conuoye
ſent vnto him) with two hundred horſe, or there abouts, Moores, ill attyred and ragged, mounted vpon geldings or mares, peaſantlie clownes. Hauing ſaluted the emperour, and kindly receiued by him, they conferred long together by truchmen, but
they ſoone diſcouered that this Prince had neither friends nor meanes, although hee
vaunted that hee had left, not farre from thence, ſixteene thouſand horſe Alarabes,
and eight hundred camels laden with victuals and refreſhings, of the which they neuer ſaw head nor taile, aſſuring impudently that hee had great intelligences within the
Towne, with the chiefe inhabitants, who notwithſtanding neuer made any ſigne that
they would fauour him. K

Thus the winde carried away all the goodly promiſes, which his embaſſador had made
in Spaine to the emperour, for he kept not any one, were it through inconſtancy or impoſſibilitie. Notwithſtanding the emperor continued conſtant in his reſolulion, to chaſe away
Barberouſſe, and to reſtore this exiled king, to the poſſeſſion of his realme, for he had made
no accompt to be aſſiſted by the Moores, and had beene drawne vnto this enterpriſe more
for his owne priuate intereſt, then for any other conſideration, and therefore he was come
well prouided. Notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Barbarians, Goulette was battered by land with forty peeces of ordnance planted in two batteries, and by ſea with aboue
200, for the galleys being put into ſquadrons, whileſt that one approached to diſcharge,
the other retired to charge their peeces, and ſo they continued from the break of day vntill L
noone, whileſt that the two batteries at land thundred continually. The which did ſo ruine the tower, as the greateſt part of it falling, it couered or made moſt of the ordnance,
within it vnprofitable: The ruines of the tower had made the way eaſie for an aſſault, ſo
as the Spaniards, Italians, and Germanes being put in order, one nation after another,
at their time appointed they preſented themſelues with ladders to the aſſault with ſo
great reſolution, as al the defence of the moors & Turkes was in vain, ſo as a great part of
them were ſlaine or wounded fighting, neither was the ſlaughter leſſe of them that
fled along the lake, or that ſought to eſcape by ſwimming, for they were ſlain by the ſhot,
or thruſt throgh by the Germans pikes, if they came neere the ſhore, ſo as it was reported
there died aboue 1500, and not without the loſſe of ſome men of worth among the Chri- M
ſtians, yet *Campana* writes there were not aboue thirty ſlaine. Goulette being taken it was
Goulette taken by the emperour bruted that they had taken 300 peeces of ordinance, & all *Barberouſſes* fleet which was in
the chanel of the lake; the number whereof is diuerſly reported, ſome write 20 gallies, 20
galliots, and fiue foyſts, others ſeuentie & two, and ſome affirme they were 107. Three
daies after the taking of this fort *Fernād Gonſago* came vnto the camp, who hauing certain
veſſels

A veſſels appointed him by the viceroy of Sicile, brought many refreſhings, for the which but eſpecially for his owne valour, hee was ioyfully receiued by the emperour, and by the whole army. There grew now ſome diuerſitie of opinions touching the continuance of the warre, ſome cold flegmatike complections, were of opiuion the emperor ſhold reſt ſatisfied with the taking of Goulette, which was held impregnable, the which hee ſhould fortifie and furniſh with a great garriſon, and good prouiſion of victuals to liue and defend it, with a deſigne to returne the next yere to beſiege Tunes, Alger, and the other townes vpon that coaſt of Afrike. Their reaſons were grounded vpon the great difficulties which the army did then ſuffer, in their drink, wheras the ſcorching ſun did cauſe great thirſt, and
B did force the poore ſouldiers to drink the pit water which was verie ſalt, which bred many infirmities, & many died of it, wherfore ſeeing the army much diminiſhed by the former enterpriſes, and hearing that the enemy grew daily ſtronger, & that he did ſhortly expect a great number of Arabiãs, which he had hired, they perſuaded the emperor that he might with his honor return into Europe, & prepare, as we haue ſaid, for the next yere. But this was contrarie to the greatnes of *Cæſars* minde, who diſcouered with better reaſons the weakenes of his enemy hauing loſt Gouletta; the little confidence the Turkes had in the Arabians & Moors, & the good diſpoſition of the Chriſtian army, eſpecially after ſo great a victory, the which althogh it were diminiſhed in numbers, yet it was increaſed incourage and reſolution, ſo as *Barberouſſe* ſhould haue means to furniſh himſelf better for the next
C yere, & to obtaine greater forces from the Turk, to defend his poſſeſſion in Afrike, the cõqueſt wherof (which was not now vneaſie, hauing found the enemy in a maner vnprouided) would afterwards proue vnpoſſible, beſides it was not for the dignitie of ſo great an army, honoured with the preſence of the Chriſtian Emperour, to goe away contented with the taking of a Tower. The captaines of greateſt reſolution and experience were of the ſame opinion, the which was mainteined by *Muley Haſcen* with great reaſons, who diſcourſed particularly of the nature of that nation, of the deſignes of *Barberouſſe*, and of remedies for the thirſt, perſuading them to the enterpriſe of Tunes, and of the eaſineſſe to take it; affirming that the enemie would neuer be drawne to a battell, neither had he meanes to keepe the citie many daies: His reaſons were beleeued, and although his
D deſire to returne into his realme, with the hazard of another, made him to be the leſſe credited, yet the authoritie and will of the emperor, who was the authour of this councell, did confirme it. *Barberouſſe* on the other ſide was wonderfully grieued for the loſſe of Gouletta, ſo as hee could not forbeare to complaine of *Sinan* the Iew, who might haue eſcaped, flying away with his men, from ſo great a daunger, in the which hee had loſt many Ianiſaries, and other good ſouldiers. It is written that *Barberouſſe* was once in an humour to haue ſlain all the Chriſtian ſlaues that were found there, the which for his better ſecuritie, being diuers thouſands, he had already impriſoned in the caſtle: and that *Sinan* the Iew, and others of authority had diuerted him from that wicked and cruell reſolution, ſhewing him, that ſo foule and brutiſh a fact, would not onely bee a perpetuall
E blemiſh to his name, but alſo bring him into diſgrace with *Solyman*, who was a generous Prince, and hated all ſuch baſe and wicked actions, as that would be, to kil people who being in a ſtrait priſon, neither had nor could offend him. Being then diſſuaded from theſe cruel imaginations which rage & greefe for his former loſſe did ſuggeſt, he began to prouide for the reſt, taking councell of ſuch as were about him what was to be done for their common health, with this reſolution ſtill, to keepe himſelfe cloſe, and to defend the citie, and not to come to battell with the enemy, hoping that in Autumne they ſhould be forced to leaue that coaſt, & it might be their fleet would be beaten, & diſperſt with ſtormes. The emperour being not freed from that feare, was carefull to haue the ruines of the fort of Goulette repaired, whereof he gaue the charge to *Andrew Doria*, with his ſea-forces,
F who cauſed it to hee clenſed from the infection of dead bodies, which were found there, both men and beaſts, and the breaches to be raiſed: Hee tooke an Inuentorie of all the goods that were in it, where were found (as we haue ſaid) three hundred peeces of ordnance, great and ſmall; great ſtore of armes of all ſorts, with an incredible quantitie of victualls, powder, and all other munition, Engines, and implements neceſſarie for the defence of places.

1535

Ferdinand Gonzaga comes to Goulette to the emperour.

Councell of the Imperialiſts to continue the warre of Naples.

The

1535 The emperour ſeing all things in a readineſſe, hee commanded euerie ſouldier ſhold carrie a bottle, full of water taken out of the prouiſion of the nauie, hee marcht that way the twentieth of Iuly. Comming within fiue miles of the citie, they found certaine welles of freſh water, which bred great diſorder among the ſouldiers, who were verie greedy to drinke, ſo as the emperour was forced to come thither in perſon, to ſtay the ſouldiers greedy rage, who deſired rather to drink and die preſently, as many did, for that the enemy had poiſoned the waters, than to ſuffer a little, & to preſerue themſelues, at the leaſt to die fighting. Hauing paſt this danger with no ſmal difficulty, they diſcouered *Barberouſſes* armie, who was come forth of the citie, in ſhew to giue the emperour battel. The number of his army is diuerſly ſet downe: *Vlloa* writes that he had 70000 moors and Arabians, and 7000 Turkes, whereof two thouſand ſerued on horſebacke, and *Guazzo* affirms that he had twelue peeces of ordinance in front: others write that by the report of ſome Chriſtian ſlaues, who had ſeene him take view of his men two daies before, he had 20000 horſe, and aboue 100000 foot, moors and Arabians, beſides his Turks, vpon whome hee did chiefly relie. The two armies being in ſight one of another, and it being generally beleeued by the Chriſtians that they ſhould fight, their captains ſought to incourage them with good words, notwithſtanding that they were all verie ready and willing: the prince of Salerne made a ſpeech vnto the Italians, *Alarcon* to the Spaniards, and *Eberſtin* to the Germanes, and to all the nations the emperor himſelfe, who going among them all, promiſed them a certain victorie, and filled them all with an aſſured hope, & importunate deſire to charge the enemie, who ſtretching themſelues out in length, thoght to terrifie, diſorder and put the Chriſtians to flight. *Barberouſſe* had ſtaied within three miles of Tunes, who began as ſoone as euer the imperiall armie approched to diſcharge his artillerie, but without any great effect: On the other ſide D. *Fernand Gonzaga*, who ſerued that day without any charge, but being among the formoſt, charged the enemies, and ſlue a Captaine of the Moores with his lance, making ſuch a ſlaughter of the enemies, as hee was that day noted aboue the reſt: Hee was nobly followed by others, and the Spaniſh Harquebuziers did ſo gall the Barbarians with their ſhot, as hauing ſcarce begun to fight they baſely fled: neither did *Barberouſſe* ſhew any courage that day, who had no intent to hazard his life and ſtate vpon a battell, but to flie ſpeedily into the Citie.

Forces of Barberouſſe in Tunes.

Battell betwixt the Chriſtians & Barberouſſe in Afrike.

There was no great ſlaughter of the enemy in this action, for that they fled preſently, beſides the Chriſtians horſemen could not purſue them being but weake, and much leſſe might the foot men do it, being tyred with their march in the ſand, and with the extreme heat: wherefore the emperour lodged his army that night vpon the place whereas *Barberouſſe* had ſtood in battel, fortifying it with the carts of his baggage, yet ſtanding alwaies ready in armes being ſo neere his enemy. *Barberouſſe* being returned into Tunes, full of diſdaine for this diſgrace, being a proud man, he conſulted what was to be done, ſeeming verie confident to be able to defend the citie: and then he entred againe into a reſolution to murther the Chriſtian ſlaues, and he was againe diſſuaded by his own people; God diſappointing ſo wicked a councel, to make the Chriſtiãs victorie more eaſie; for this pretended crueltie of *Barberouſſe* being bruted abroad, it did moue two renegados to compaſſion, *Giaffer Aga*, and *Meni*, the firſt was borne in Cataro, and was called *Vinſenzo*, the ſecond a Spaniard, whoſe name was *Franciſco*, who was much fauored by *Barberouſſe*. They opening the priſon doores to theſe wretches, who ſome write were ſixe thouſand, ſome ten thouſand, and they hauing broken their chaines, wherewith they were bound, got ſtaues and ſuch other weapons, & became maſters of the Caſtle, driuing away thoſe few Turkes that were left there in gard, and with all they ſeazed vpon the treaſure, victuals, & armes, which *Barberouſſe* had left there: who being aduertiſed thereof, poſted preſently thither, ſeeking firſt by good words, and then by threats to be let in, but it was in vaine, they chaſing him away with reproches, and the hazard of his life, if he had ſtaied.

Barberouſſe flies into Tunes.

Chriſtian ſlaues ſeaze vpon the Caſtle of Tunes.

All this hapned the day after the Battell, the emperour preparing to drawe neere the towne, when as thoſe ſlaues ſought to make ſignes vnto him to approach, but the diſtance would not ſuffer them to be ſeene, and yet the emperour finding that there was ſome alteration, he ſent two companies of horſe to diſcouer it. In the meane time *Barberouſſe* finding himſelfe in bad termes, and fearing the inconſtancie of the Moores, hee reſolued

A ſolued to leaue the citie, by the gate next the mountaine, and went towards Bona, being followed by ſeuen thouſand Turkes whome hee had preſerued to ſerue him at need: The Chriſtian army marching towards Tunes, they were met vpon the way by the Embaſſadors of the citie, who offered to yeeld vnto the emperour, and to receiue what conditions he ſhould impoſe, ſo as he would ſecure them from ſacke, wherein ſome write that *Muley Haſcen* intreated the emperor: ſo as at the emperours firſt entrance into Tunes, the ſouldiers carried themſelues mildly; But ſoone after as ſome affirme, at the inſtigation of *Muley Haſcen*, who deſired to be reuenged of the inhabitants, which did not ſeeme to fauour him during the ſiege, the Spaniards fell to the ſpoile, vſing all kinde of exceſſe and 1535

Retreat of Barberouſſe from Tunes.

B acts of hoſtilitie, as if they had beene in a towne taken by force, and aſſault. The Germanes alſo ſlue many Moores, and fell to their feeding, being ſorrie they found no wine in their ſellers, for thoſe people drunke not any.

The ſacke continued foure and twentie houres, ſome write three daies, together, with great ſlaughter, and then it ceaſed, the emperour commanding euerie man vpon greeuous paines, to retire vnto his quarter. They ſay that this ſacke was not much leſſe than that of Rome, and that euerie ſouldier was rich. The Marqueſſe of Guaſt guided by a ſlaue, found thirty thouſand ducats, buried in a caue of the caſtle, wherewith acquainting the emperour, he gaue him them. The emperour lodged within the Caſtle which was reaſonably well built, and newly accommodated by *Barberouſſe*. There were great

C numbers of ſlaues found, wherof there were eightie and one Frenchmen, all which were ſet at libertie, apparelled and ſent home vpon the retreat of the army. There was found in

Tunes taken by the emperour.

it much ancient armor guilt & grauen, which ſome thoght were the ſpoiles of the French armie, which Saint *Lewis* had ſometime led into that countrie, where hee dyed, and many of his armie, of the bloudy-flix. The emperour hauing remained ſome daies within the citie, and conferred diuers times with king *Muley Haſcen*, touching his future gouernment and agreed vpon conditions, according to the which theſe two princes and their ſubiects ſhould liue, traffike, and conuerſe together, hee returned to the campe, making the more haſt to depart, to the end that ſuch as were fled into the mountaines might retum without feare to their houſes. The armie was lodged cloſe about a village called Lu-

D de, two miles from Goulette, where there paſt a little brooke of freſh water, whereof the countrie was much deſtitute, which was the greateſt diſcommoditie they had in all this warre: from thence they went to the firſt lodging they had made before the taking of that fort, neere vnto a Tower which they called of waters, which was the common watering place of the countrie. Thither came *Muley Haſcen* to the emperour to confirm and ſweare the articles, which were theſe.

Articles of Accord betwixt the emperour & king of Tunes.

1 That king *Muley Haſcen* did confeſſe and would acknowledge, for him & his ſucceſſors kings of Tunes, that hauing beene chaſed out of his eſtate, he had recouered it by the grace of God, and by the arms and vertue of the emperor *Charles* king of Spaine, who had taken Goulette, an impregnable fort, and chaſed away his enemy *Haradin Barberouſſe*.

E 2 That in regard of ſo great a fauour, he ſhold ſet at libertie, all the Chriſtians of what age, ſexe, or condition ſoeuer, that were detained priſoners within his realme, what offences ſoeuer they had committed, without puniſhment, price or ranſome; and that from thenceforth there ſhould not any of the emperors ſubiects, nor of his brothers D. *Ferdinands* king of Romans, be made ſlaues within the realme of Tunes.

3 That it ſhould be lawful for al Chriſtians to traffike at Tunes, and places depending theron, ſtay, inhabit, purchaſe lands, build chappels & churches, & exerciſe their religion.

4 That the moors of Spain which had receiued the baptiſme of Chriſt ſhold not be receiued into the realm of Tunes, if they did not ſhew letters of permiſſiō from the emperor or his ſucceſſors kings of Spain, or from their lieutenants, viceroyes, or Magiſtrates.

F 5 That *Muley Haſcen* did reſigne vnto the emperor and his ſucceſſors kings of Spaine, all the right which hee had to any towns of Africke, places and Iſlands held then by *Barberouſſe* and the Turkes to enioy them in propriety, if they did conquer them.

6 That Goulette, and two miles of the countrie round about, ſhold remaine in ſoueraigntie to the kings of Spaine, who might put in any garriſon, and fortifie it as they pleaſed.

7 That

1535 7 That the inhabitants of Goulette, and the territorie about it, & the ſouldiers of the garriſon ſhould bee free both by ſea and land, from all impoſts and cuſtomes for that which they ſhould buy for their own vſe, and if they traded in Merchandize, they ſhould be vſed like to them of the country. G

8 That they of Goulette ſhould not bee hindered to receiue the tolles and cuſtomes of the kings of Tunes.

9 That to entertaine the garriſon of Goulette, the kings of Tunes ſhould pay vnto the gouernours twelue thouſand crownes yearely, at two paiments, in Auguſt and Februarie.

10 That the fiſhing for corrall and the trade thereof, ſhould be reſerued for the emperour, and his ſucceſſors, kings of Spaine, to diſpoſe at their pleaſures. H

11 That in acknowledgement of the benefits done by the emperour to *Muley Haſcen*, hee and his ſucceſſours ſhould honour the kings of Spaine for euer, as their Patrons and protectors, and for an homage of that protection, they ſhould bee bound to giue them euerie yeare ſixe faire horſes, and twelue exquiſite faulcons, the which he ſhould deliuer into the hands of the gouernour of Goulette, the three and twentieth of Auguſt, vpon paine to looſe fifty thouſand crownes for the firſt time he ſhould faile, and for the ſecond a hundred thouſand, and if they ſhould continue to neglect this duety, to forfeit their realme to the king of Spaine, who might iuſtly diſpoſſeſſe them.

12 That vpon the like paine the kings of Tunes ſhould not make any leagues nor alliances with any princes or ſtates, Chriſtians or Mahumetiſts, to the preiudice of the emperour or his ſucceſſors. I

13 That there ſhould no entrance bee giuen, in the ports of the realme of Tunes, to any Pyrats, or robbers at Sea, common enemies, nor to the priuate enemies one of another.

14 Laſtly that there ſhould be good, ſincere, & perpetuall friendſhip, & free commerce maintained, betwixt theſe Princes and their ſubiects, and right & iuſtice mutually done.

Theſe articles were ſworne and ſigned in this forme reciprocally in the emperours campe neere vnto Goulette, the thirteenth day of Auguſt, in the yere of Chriſt 1535, and in the yeare 942 of *Mahumet*, the ſixt day of the moone of the month Caſa. K

King *Muley Haſcen* taking the othe drew out halfe his Cymiter, & touching the blade hee ſware by the prophet *Mahumet*, and by the Alcaron, that hee would faithfully obſerue all the contents thereof, and neuer breake them: and the emperour ſware and promiſed the ſame, kiſſing his right hand, and taking hold of a cloake which a knight of Saint *Iames* there preſent did weare, on the which there was a croſſe, he kiſt it alſo. And of this contract there were foure copies made, two in the Spaniſh, and two in the Arabian tongue, reſpectiuely kept and carried by the officers and Secretaries of theſe princes. There was alſo added to the ſaid articles:

That from that time there ſhould bee a ſupreme Iudge and Councell in Goulette, the which in the emperours name ſhould iudge without appeale, of all ciuill and criminall L
cauſes, where any of his Majeſties ſubjects ſhould be a partie, traffiking or going into any countrie of the realme of Tunes: And in regard of the towne of Afrike then held by the Turkes, if it came by any meanes into the power of the kings of Tunes, the emperour and his ſucceſſors kings of Spaine ſhould diſpoſe thereof as they ſhould thinke good. For witneſſes to the ſaid accord & articles, there were ſet downe for the emperor *Nicholas Perenot* ſeignior of Granuelle, doctor *Fernand* of Gueuara, and *Anthonie Peres*, councellors of State; And for the king of Tunes, *Aluar Gomeſis Mahumet* of Tunes, *Hamet Gamaza*, and *Abeder Heymin Maier*, his councellors, kinſmen, and officers.

This done *Muley Haſcen* retyred to Tunes, and the emperour gaue order for his returne. He had a great deſire to ſet vpon the towne of Africke, which lyes right againſt M
Sicile, & was verie cõmodious, for the Turks which held it, to make enterpriſes, but ſeeing Autumne approach, which ſhuts vp the Seas for Galleys, hee deferred it to an other ſeaſon. Hee left D. *Bernardine* of Mendoſa, brother to the Marqueſſe of Mondejar gouernor of Goulette, with a thouſand Spaniards, of the old bãds. He ſent *Andrew Doria*, along the weſtern coaſt, to learne what was become of *Barberouſſe*, and to watch what

Emperors retreat from Tunes.

A what he would vndertake, who found that at his diſlodging from Tunes he had retired to Bone, and that hauing ſome notice of *Dorias* approach with forty gallies, he had left the place voyde, whereon *Doria* ſeazed without any difficulty; who by the Emperours commaundement put a garriſon into the caſtle, and left the towne at the diſpoſition of the king of Tunes, thinking that the Moores inhabiting there would maintaine themſelues in peace better vnder his obedience. There is a ſuburbe at Tunes without the port called Bethelmenara, containing about a thouſand houſholds, where there dwelt certaine Chriſtians, called by reaſon of that ſuburbe Rabbattins, whoſe predeceſſours had bin brought thither by *Ioſeph Almanſor* king, and *Caliph* of Marroc, ruler ouer all Afrike, ſome 300 yeres ſince. Of thoſe which made profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion, the kings of Tunes did commonly make the gardes of their perſons, for moſt of them made profeſſion of armes: and carried the countenaunce of gentlemen; they held lands by homage of the king, and were rich The Emperour carried ſome of theſe Rabattins into Europe, and did them good. Hee diſmiſt the infant D. *Lewis* of Portugall from Tunes, with his galleys, and did witneſſe by his letters vnto king *Iohn* his brother, that in this voyage hee had giuen preat proofes of his iudgement and valour, and with this opportunitie he ſent ſome of the noblemen and youth, which had accompanied him, into Spaine.

1535

Bone in Afrike taken by Andrew Doria.

B *Rabattins Chriſtians at Tunes.*

Barberouſſe flying from Tunes, being come from the riuer of Maggiordech, one of his chiefe pirates called *Aidino* of Smirne, being very drie, drunke of that water and burſt. At C his comming to Bone, he drew 14 gallies vnfurniſhed out of a neere lake, which had been kept there for the like need, and hauing ſodenly cauſed them to be armed, and all things ready to goe forth, fearing to meet with the emperours armie, he had cauſed that port to be fortified, but it appearing not, he went towards the Eaſt, meaning firſt to be reuenged of the Chriſtians in ſome ſort: wherefore hauing paſſed to Alger, and there prouided for his affaires, and furniſhed his army well, he ſailed towards the Iland of Minorca, where comming neere vnto the port of Maone, he ſet vp certain Chriſtian flags which hee had taken the yeare before: the Ilanders thinking it to be a part of the Emperours armie, receiued them ioyfully; where afterwards they tooke great ſpoiles of goods and people: hee ſackt a ſhippe of Portugall there, and ſlew *Gonſaluo Perelia* the captaine after a long D fight: and ſo retiring with his prey to Alger, he ſet ſaile towards Conſtantinople.

Minorca ſpoiled by Barbaroſſe.

The Emperour hauing diſmiſt part of his army from Goulette, he paſſed with the reſt into Sicile, where he landed at Trapani, from whence he came to Palerme the thirteenth of September, where he made a ſolemne entrie: ſoone after they of the Iland made him a preſent of two hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes, as well for the charges he had bin at, as for the preparation he meant to make the next yeare againſt *Barberouſſe*, whom he deſired to chaſe out of Afrike, eſpecially from Alger. Going out of Sicile, he paſt from Meſſina to Naples, which city he had not ſeene: in his voyage hee was ſumptuouſly receiued as wel by the whole ſtate, as by priuate princes his ſubiects, eſpecially by the princes of Biſignuno and Salerno, vntill he came to Naples, where being royally receiued, E that noble citie, the head of that kingdome, would not faile to make an extraordinarie demonſtration of their loue vnto their prince; ſo as on the third day of Februarie one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſix they reſolued in the monaſterie of Saint Laurence, the Emperour being preſent, to giue him a million and fiue hundred thouſand ducats, the which was ſpeedily effected.

Emperor comes into Sicile.

1536

Gift of the realme of Naples to the emperour.

During the emperours abſence D. *Iſabella* the empreſſe was gouerneſſe in Spaine as ſhe had alwaies beene, with a councell of ſtate appointed to aſſiſt her: by whoſe aduice and order D. *Guttiere de Vargas* Biſhop of Plaiſance cauſed a fleete of fiue ſhippes to be finiſhed, the which had beene long before vndertaken, in the preſence of D. *Iohn* then prince of Portugall, who was come in pilgrimage into Caſtille. Theſe ſhippes be- F ing well furniſhed were ſent vnto the Molucques, of the which onely one paſt the ſtreit of *Magellan*, which diſcouered the ſhoare of that continent, from the going out of the ſtreit vnto Arequipa 25 degrees from the Equinoctiall.

Ships ſent out of Caſtille to the Molucques.

36 After the emperours returne from Tunes to Naples, a new warre being kindled betwixt him and the French king, by reaſon of the duke of Sauoy, the Emperours brother in law, whom the French ſought to ſpoile of his eſtate. Hee was not able to reſiſt ſo

Emperours voyage into Prouence.

1536 potent an enemy, and therefore he had recourſe vnto the emperour for aid, who hauing G
gathered togither a goodly army, cõſulted with his captains of the maner how he ſhould
make warre, whether he ſhould ſtay in Piedmont, and recouer that which the French had
taken from the Sauoiard, of which opinion the marqueſſe of Guaſt & D. *Fernand* of Gon-
zaga were, who aledged ſome reaſons to maintaine their opinion, or that he ſhould paſſe
preſently into Prouence, & leaue ſuch forces to recouer Piedmont as ſhould be thought
fit, the which *Anthony de Leua* and *Andrew Doria*, did maintaine, but eſpecially the empe-
ror himſelfe, who was confident for the enterpriſe of Prouence, and to that end he made
an eloquent Oration vnto his Councell, in theſe termes.

Oration made by Charles the fift vpon his paſſage into Prouence.

If the war we vndertake, & the enemy againſt whom we are to fight, were not knowen
vnto vs, & withal, we were not aſſured in our ſelues that we ſhold bring this war to a good H
end, without doubt we ſhould not blame this your councell, or, to ſpeak more properly,
" conſideration; but ſhould rather commend it, and follow it. But knowing that we make
" warre againſt one that hath broken his faith, a perfidious man, who hauing no regard that
" the duke of Sauoy was comprehended in the treatie of Cambray hath made warre againſt
" him, the which he knew to be againſt vs; we doubt not but God the iuſt Iudge of a viola-
" ted peace, and of the breach of faith, will take a ſeuere reuenge.
" I wil adde thus much more, that we ſhall warre againſt the ſame enemy, ouer whom we
" haue bin victorious for theſe 20 yeares: by which victories (to proue againſt that which
" you haue ſaid that we haue wonne, & that they may confeſſe they haue loſt,) we hold ſtill
" the duchie of Milan, a glorious remembrance, & a rich ſpoile of our vanquiſhed enemie; I
" the which ſhould giue hope and courage to you that be winners, and feare and diſpaire to
" them. Beſides, let vs compare our forces with our enemies, we ſhall find ours to exceed
" them both in number and valour: we ſee no ſuch danger as you pretend, although we di-
" uide our army, paſſe the Alpes, & go into France to aſſaile our enemy. But to anſwer firſt
" vnto this, & then to returne vnto our former propoſition: It is not vnknowen, and we can
" proue it by examples, how many being afflicted with warre in their owne eſtates, haue
" freed themſelues by tranſporting the war into their enemies countries, & haue made con-
" queſts of their aduerſaries ſtates: But in our caſe we will rather ground vpon firme and
" ſound reaſons, than vpon examples, the which can hardly be found equal in al circumſtan-
" ces. You are of opinion, that before we trãſport the war into France, we ſhould chaſe the K
" enemy out of Piedmont, ſo as there may be no relikes remayning: and we on thother ſide,
" induced by many reaſons, hold it much better, that paſſing into France we tranſport the
" warre thither, rather than to nouriſh it in our owne and our friends countrey, and main-
" taine it in Italie, the which hath beene ſo many yeares afflicted, and therefore it is reaſon
" we ſhould preſerue it, and giue it ſome time of reſt, after ſo great and tedious miſeries:
" ſo as it hauing felt for theſe 30 yeares, by meanes of the French, thoſe miſeries which do
" accompany war, let France in like manner taſt of ſpoiles, burning, rapes, let it taſt of the
" feare, terrour, amazement and flight of citizens, let it make proofe of the ſacking of hou-
" ſes, deſolations, ruines, and the burning of cities. It fittes not to haue the citie of Turin,
" or the country of Piedmont the reward of our victories, but Paris, yea the very Crowne L
" of France. We haue too long ſuffered that king, to make war in anothers country, I pray
" you let vs make him labour to defend his owne dominions, and let vs trie if the French be
" as much worth at home as abroad. But it may be their nature and diſpoſition is not well
" knowen vnto you, whom you haue ſo often knowen by experience: At the firſt charge
" they are ſomewhat worth, but after ſome reſiſtance, they faint, and looſe their force: Be-
" ſides, we haue knowne that king to haue bin of ſo great a mind (we will not ſay ſo raſh)
" as he will hold it a great diſhonor to ſuffer vs to enter and remain in his confines without
" giuing vs battel: The which if he do, who is there among you that wil doubt of a victory?
" Hold this for certain, that there is no other means to end the war, but that either he muſt
" adde Spaine and the empire, to that which he now enioyes; or we conquer the realme of M
" France to our other poſſeſſions: for the effecting whereof we come to ſeek him in the bo-
" wells of his owne realme. We muſt not grow old here, expecting when he ſhould come,
" and giue him meanes to preſerue his owne country, from whence he is continually ſup-
" plied with money, whereby he entertaines his armie here at our coſt, who inrich them-
ſelues

A ſelues with ſpoile of thoſe things, which ſhould ſerue to pay our ſouldiers. And for that ,, 1536
which you feare, that the French king may leuy new ſouldiers more commodiouſly; there ,,
is nothing more impoſſible to do, nor more vaine to ſpeake, for that in bringing an armie ,,
hither, it drawes new ſouldiers with the hope of ſpoile, beeing accuſtomed to ſteale and ,,
ſpoile in a Country wonne by the ſword; the which without doubt they cannot doe in ,,
Fraunce: for beeing kept in Martiall diſcipline by the king, the reſpect of their countrey ,,
binding them, they will hold themſelues for aduenturers, when it ſhalbe lawfull for ,,
them to liue with their owne pay, though hardly: ſo as few will expoſe themſelues to ,,
wounds and death, for the miſerable gaine of an ordinarie pay: and if the ſouldiers will ,,
ſeeke to haue it augmented, they muſt afflict the people; ſo as what the enemie can not ,,
B get by warre, the companies will iniuriouſly take away, they will ſpoile the victualles and ,,
diminiſh the treaſure, raiſing tumults, ſeditions and rebellions; and the rather, if the mat- ,,
ter proceed in ſuch ſort, as the king himſelfe be the cauſe of this ſpectacle, wherein wee ,,
ſhall ſee a manifeſt example of Gods iudgement: And ſo hee which hath ſo often afflicted ,,
anothers countrie with fire, ſword and ſpoile, ſhal be now forced, ruining and burning ,,
his owne countrie, not only to beare it, but alſo to do it himſelfe. But me thinkes I heare ,,
ſome of you feare, that he wil do that before our army arriue, whereunto he ſhall be for- ,,
ced. This ſhould not moue you, neyther can there be any thing to hinder vs, but wee ,,
ſhold abound in victuals, hauing prouided for it; ſo as piercing into the heart of France, ,,
we ſhall haue great abundance, and without any charge. As for your doubt, that the king ,,
C will gather forces together on this ſide the Alpes whileſt that wee are in France, and this ,,
country deſtitute of ſouldiers; we aſſure you that we haue prouided him ſo much worke ,,
in other places, as he can hardly bend his thoghts to any other buſines: for that beſides this ,,
army which will make him oppoſe all the vigour and force he hath, and another, which ,,
it may be you haue heard of ſhall be led by *Naſſau* and *Roſſan*, to inuade the confines of ,,
Picardy; there is yet a third which ſhould come and ioyne with vs in Prouence, the which ,,
at the empreſſe intreaty, our people of Spaine haue leuied: and to that end we haue ſent ,,
23 gallies thither, & one with a particular commiſſion, to informe her of my intention, & ,,
of the prefixed time of my voiage: we haue alſo taken order that an other ſhall be made ,,
ready, the which during the hotteſt of the war, paſſing through Champaine, ſhall inuade ,,
D Burgundy, and with the help of ſome of thoſe two prouinces, which are affected vnto vs, ,,
that army will worke no leſſe effects than either of the other three. So as the king being ,,
thus buſied in many places, and with ſuch great preparations of war, hauing no meanes ,,
to leuy at one inſtant ſufficient forces to reſiſt ſo great a maſſe of armies, it can not be but ,,
on ſome ſide we ſhal pierce into the bowells of his realme, let him prepare what army he ,,
can. Let vs not feare to diuide our forces; Let vs leaue what ſhalbe fit for the ſiege of Tu- ,,
rin, & the reſt which we ſhall lead with vs ſhalbe able to vanquiſh him fighting, ſpecially, ,,
if (as you haue propounded) he ſhal think to diuide his forces, to man thoſe places which ,,
he meanes to fortifie againſt vs. Adde (the which you know aſwell as my ſelfe) what the ,,
French footmen are, whereas they deſire to be more eſteemd for their horſmen, which in- ,,
E deed they practiſe more, & proue better; at this time they are much vnfurniſhed. It is not ,,
vnknowen vnto you, that at Foſſan & Conflans we haue ſpoild them of 250 horſe of ſer- ,,
uice; there are 200 now in Turin which can not hope for any better ſucceſſe: and of the ,,
other companies which came hither, halfe of them are conſumed with the toile. So as ,,
you are not to fight with that old caualerie of France, but with ſome relikes thereof: Be- ,,
ſides, they hauing heretofore wholy relied vpon the German footmen and the Suitzers, ,,
of whom they thought to haue what numbers they pleaſed, we doe aſſure you that tho- ,,
row the helpe of God, and our diligence, they ſhal not haue any, concealing what meanes ,,
we haue vſed to cauſe a good number of them that were with him to abandon him: And ,,
F from the Suitzers we haue gotten a firme promiſe (wherein we ſuppoſe they wil not faile) ,,
not to ſuffer any one to go out of the country to ſerue any Prince. Matters ſtanding vp- ,,
on theſe termes, let vs continue conſtant in our firſt reſolution: that we leaue a conueni- ,,
ent army for the recouery of Turin, and that we paſſe into France with the reſt and with ,,
ſuch men as ſhalbe leuied in Italie, & nothing ſtaied by thoſe difficulties which you haue ,,
wiſely conſidered, we may go by the riuer of Prouence. As for the difficulties which you ,,

1536 haue propounded touching the entrance, we wil neuer ſuffer the French to depriue vs of G
" that honor, to haue endured it more conſtantly than we. Concerning victualles, there is
" ſufficient prouided, which ſhalbe brought by ſea, with the artillerie, munition, and other
" neceſſaries, which otherwiſe would be very chargeable. Finally, the intemperatnes of the
" aire, which it ſeemes you feare in Prouence; hold it not worſe than that of Afrike, the
" which our ſouldiers haue conſtantly indured. And therefore all duly conſidered, I do not
" ſee why we ſhould rather feare danger, than glorie in this victory, hauing to deale with an
" enemy who is vnprouided of valiant men.

Army of Charls the fifi going into Prouence.

After this ſpeech the enterpriſe was concluded, and preparation made accordingly, they write that the emperour had in his army 24000 Germans, 14000 Spaniards, 12000 Italiās & 5000 horſe. The marques of Guaſt was general of the foot; the D. of Alua was H generall of the men at armes; and D. *Fernand* of Gonzague, of the light horſe. How they entred, & what they did in this enterpriſe, you may reade at large in the French hiſtory.

The prince D. *Philip* of Spaine, being now tenne yeares old, gaue great ſignes of wiſedome and ſufficiencie hereafter, to gouerne thoſe realmes, whereunto hee was borne an hereditarie ſucceſſor. And to make his ſtudies the more eaſie, they appointed him for his Scholemaſter *Iohn Martin Siliceo* a man not onely very learned, but of an innocent life, whoſe merits did afterwards make him archbiſhop of Toledo and cardinall: D. *Iohn* of Eſtuniga or Zuniga, a knight of great wiſedome and iudgement, and commander maior of Caſtille, was made his gouernour: and to giue him an honourable Competitor in all his ſtudies, and a ſweet companion in that tender age, two yeres before D. *Lewis* his couſin, I

Lewis prince of Sauoy dies in Spaine.

the eldeſt ſonne of Sauoy, had paſſed out of Italie into Spaine: But this yoong prince of great hope died this yeare on Chriſtmaſſe day at Madrid, to the great griefe of the prince D. *Philip*, who loued him deerely, and of the whole court, in the 13 yeare of his age.

India. Exploits of the Portugalls.

37 I will now relate ſomething of the progreſſe of the Portugalls nauigations at the eaſt Indies, and how the Turkes came and beſieged them in Diu, a towne which the Portugalls had ſo fortified, as they neither feared the fraud nor force of that barbarous and inconſtant nation. But the better to vnderſtād the war which was brought thither this yere by the Turke, wee will make a repetition of ſome things that went before. In the yeare 1532 the king of Portugall had ſent *Nonio d'Acugna* generall to the Indies, who hauing a K deſire to get footing in the realme of Cambaia, hee ſent *Antonio Silueria* with a great army, to diſcouer that riuer, and to informe himſelf wel what might be expected. This captaine made great proofes of his valor in that country, ſpoiling and burning ſome townes, and ſtriking a great terror into that people of the Portugalls name. It followed after that the Baſcia of Egipt, called *Soliman* by commandement from *Soliman* the great Turk, who could not quietly indure the Portugalles good ſucceſſe at the Indies, whereby his kingdomes had receiued ſo great loſſe, being diſappointed of the nauigation for ſpices, and other merchandiſe from the eaſt, the which were brought by the Arabic gulph, vnto the ports of Egipt, and ſo diſtributed by his merchants ouer all Europe; he ſent 2 Sangiacs, *Muſtapha* and *Safar* treaſourer of that prouince to take Aden, a ſtrong towne with a port in the ſaid gulph. Whileſt that the Turks labored to take city, being valiantly defended L by the king, it hapned that *Antonio Silueria* ſcouring thoſe ſeas with a fleet of Portugall ſhips, he heard of the Turks attempt, and not pleaſed they ſhould extend their forces beyond Egipt, he bent his courſe that way; whoſe ariual did ſo terrify the Turks, being griedie of that conqueſt, & growne ſtrong by the numbers that were come vnto them in hope of prey, as they diſlodged. After which *Silueria* put the King in mind of the fauour he had done him, and did ſo magnifie the force & power of king *Iohn* of Portugal, as he drew him to put himſelf vnder his protection, ſo as he ſhould always defend him againſt the Turke, for acknowledgement whereof he ſhould pay a yerely tribute of 10000 crownes to the king of Portugall, or as they ſay, Serafini, money of Ormuz: But this Barbarian did not M keep his faith long, for *Silueria* being gone, there came a ſhip ladē with pepper to the port of Aden, the which he ſpoiled, & trecherouſly ſlue the men. There hapned worſe after the Turks flight, who being 600, and aboue 1000 Arabians, vnder the ſame *Muſtapha* & *Safar*, and in the ſame ſhips, they went to ſeek their reuenge by thoſe riuers, ſo as comming to Diu at ſuch time as *Nonio d'Acugna* the Portugall gouernor was there, with a great armie

Nonio d'Acugna aſſailes Diu in vaine.

of

A of aboue 300 ſail wel furniſht, with an intent to get that citie, hauing ſeazed vpon a ſtrõg Iland called Betelem, not much aboue 7 leagues from Diu, they were a great aide to *Tocan* who was lord of it. Theſe ſuccors (*Muſtapha* hauing brought valiant men, harquebuziers, much artillerie, and himſelfe a good ſouldier) made *Nonios* attempts vaine, ſo as being often repulſt with loſſe, he was in the end forced to depart & returne with his army to Goa, leauing *Antonio Saldania* and *Iames Silueria* with ſome ſhips & ſouldiers at Betelem, for that they ſhould cõtinually annoy the ſea coaſts of Cambaia, as they did: for the ſummer following *Silueria* entred into Diu, and ſackt and burnt the towne, with ſome places thereabouts, for that *Muſtapha* knowing that the Portugalls would not willingly deſiſt from that enterpriſe, and that they ſhould need greater forces to reſiſt them, he was gone B into Turkie, as an embaſſador for that king, to let the great Turke vnderſtand how much it imported him, to take him vnder his protection, & to get footing in thoſe Indian ſeas, hauing a great deſire to chaſe away the Portugalls, whoſe power was feared in thoſe ſeas. But *Acugna* grieued at the diſgrace he had receiued by his retreat, made ready a nauie of 80 ſhips, in the which were 4000 valiant ſoldiers, & hauing called *Iames Silueria* with his forces to him, he preſented himſelf before Bazaino a ſea towne, which the K. of Cambaia did fortified with all induſtry, but it could not reſiſt the Portugals valor, who ruined al the fortifications. There came a new gouernor of the Portugall army at the Indies, called *Martin Alphonſo de Soſa* who made ſome attempt in Cambaia, & took the caſtle of Panam by force, thẽ like a conqueror he ran vp that riuer as far as Diu, forcing that lord to ſue for G peace, and to yield Bazain and the neighbor Iland of Salſeta vnto King *Iohn*.

Bazaino at the Indies taken by the Portugalls.

An. 1535 *Badurto* K. of Cambaia finding himſelf ingaged in dangerous wars, he craued aid frõ the Portugals, & gaue thẽ liberty to build a fort at Diu, the which they caled Thomas, for that it was begun on that ſaints day, & another neer vnto it, which they named S. Iames, either of them being ſtrõgly walled; this fort was raiſed in 49 days, whereat the K. wondred. To whom afterward the Portugals gaue great aid, & recouered for him certein places which he had loſt; thẽ leauing *Emanuel de Soſa* in the fort with 800 ſoldiers, & good ſtore of artillery, the gouernor returned to Goa. Soon after *Badurio* repented him that he had yielded ſo much to the Portugals in his realm, ſo as in the yere 1536 he commanded *Tinarao* gouernour of Diu, that vpon ſome fained colour he ſhould ſeeke to build a ſtrong D wall oppoſite to the Portugals fort, the which being denied him, there fel a deadly hatred betwixt them. The viceroy *Acugna*, hearing that this king making a ſhew of friendſhip, ſought to ruine the Chriſtians, he ſailed to Diu with a great army, where faining himſelfe ſick, he drew the ill-aduiſed king, to viſit him in his ſhip; but in his returne he was ſlaine by the Portugalls, with ſome of his people that had accompanied him, in which action there were ſome Portugalls alſo ſlaine, among the which was *Emanuel de Soſa* cãptaine of that fort. It was eaſie thẽ for the Portugals to ſeaze vpon Diu, & vpon the whole Iland, whereas they got good ſtore of mony of the kings treaſure, abundance of victualls, inſtruments of war and ſhips of all ſorts. In the beginning of this yere 1537 they began to fortifie the caſtle better, fearing ſome new alteration of thoſe Barbarians, knowing how much they E were diſcontented for the death of *Badurio*, in whoſe place they preſently ſet a child, his nephew by the ſiſter, whom certain lords of the coũtry took the gouernmẽt of with great authority, ſo as the realme ſeemed to be diuided among many, which was leſſe dangerous for the Portugals: The gouernment of the fort at Diu, in the place of *Soſa*, who was ſlain, was giuen to *Antonio Silueria*, and 600 ſoldiers appointed him for his garriſon; who could not long reſt, beeing ſtill annoyed by them of the countrey; fearing moreouer that they ſhould be ſoon ſet vpon by the Turks forces, hauing diſcouered that *Badurio* a litle before his death, had with rich preſents obtained great ſuccours from *Ottoman*, and that after his death his wife went vnto the Turks court, and made greater inſtance: wherefore the great F Turke cauſed a great army to be prepared at Suez, a port in the farthеſt boſome of the red ſea, *Soliman* the Eunuch, Baſcha of Egipt, who had the charge of it, ſurpaſſing ſo many difficulties as it ſeemed incredible: And hauing cauſed timber to be cut in Caramania, he made it to be tranſported wrought to Damieta, and then by the riuer of Nile to Caire, where the veſſells being made, and ready to ioyne, they were in the end carried vpon Camels backs to Suez 80 miles. This army as ſome write, was of 63 gallies, of 26 barkes, to

Fort built at Diu by the Portugalls.

Badurio king of Cambaia ſlaine by the Portugalles.

Army of Turkes prepared againſt the Portugalles.

1537 the which there ioyned 6 galleons, 6 galeots, 2 foiſts or Olcadi, 20 ſhips of burthen, and G
many other ſmall barkes; ſo as they might well carry, beſides the men of ſeruice, 20000
ſoldiers, among the which were 4000 Ianizaries, with ſo much artillery, as they thought
neceſſary for ſo great an enterpriſe. Towards the end of Iune, *Solyman* went from Suez
with this army: in his voiage he ſtrangled *Zebith Nocoda* lord of that place, by whom he
had bin bountifully entertained: then continuing his courſe, on the 5 of Iuly, he came to
Aden, a famous citie & port, ſtanding vpon the left point of the Perſian gulph. Here the
Eunuch gaue a new teſtimony of his treacherous crueltie, for firſt he craftily ſent ſome of
his men into the city, where they were friendly entertained, and then he procured that K.
(who we ſaid had contracted friendſhip with the Portugalls) to come and viſit him in his
ſhips, fayning himſelfe ſick, where this king complaining much of the tyranny that was v- H
King of Aden hanged at a mainyard by the Turkes. ſed againſt him, being made acquainted with *Solymans* mind, he was preſently hung vp at
the maine yard, with ſome of his people which had accõpanied him. The army ſtaid ſome
daies at Aden, firſt ſacking the city, & then leauing a good garriſon to keep it for the *Ottomans*, and then they ſailed towards Diu, where they ariued the 4. of Septemb. There they
found the Portugalls ready to receiue them as enemies, for approaching neere 2 of their
gallies were ſunck with the Artillery, ſo as they were forced to retire, and to be more wa-
rie in their landing, which they did afterward with the great ordnance to batter the caſtle.
Solimans army was much augmented, by ſome lords of the country that ioyned with him;
among whom there was one called *Coffaro*, his mother a Turk, his father a Chriſtian, born
in Chio; others ſay that his name was *Cozazaffer*, a renegado, borne in Calabria, who had I
Fort at Diu held by the Portugalls beſieged by the Turkes. bin very deere to the deceaſed K. of Cambaia, and had brought vnto him 20000 ſouldiers
gathered vp in the country. They ioyntly beſieged the fort both by ſea and land; *Silueria*
hauing but few ſouldiers in regard of the enemies number, & his continuall toile; & with
all he had not much poulder for the vſe of his artillery; wherof he did aduertiſe the vice-
roy being in Goa, craning ſuccors, and aſſuring him that they had made what defence was
fit for them. There were in Diu, beſides the chiefe fort held by the Portugals 2 towers of
a reaſonable ſtrength, in the one there were 60, in the other 50 ſouldiers, and being both
battred by the Turks (who had trecherouſly ſackt the citie in entring, without reſpect that
they had declared thẽſelues friends) the one was yielded vpon conditions, but il obſerued,
for hauing promiſed liberty to the Portugall ſouldiers, they made them gally ſlaues. The K
Baſcha did alſo batter the caſtle, ſhewing more furie then iudgement: *Silueria* defended it
with great iudgement & valor, making ſallies vpon the enemie, & diſappointing all their
deſigns: the Turks, beſides their huge artillery had with their pioners raiſed a mount a-
gainſt the fort ſo high as they might look into it, & diſcouer what they did, annoying the
defendants much with their ſhot. But the Portugalls did ſpeedily preuent it, making di-
uers Trauerſes, imploying therein all their cotton, timber, or whatſoeuer elſe they had.
The Turks & they of Cambaia preſt the ſiege hard, but more by land than by ſea, for that
they held it weakeſt on that ſide, ſo as battering a tower they made a great ruine, by the
which they were in great danger to loſe the whole caſtle, the enimy ſeeking twiſe a day to
force it, which they continued all the month of October. *Silueria* did ſodenly caſt vp a tra- L
uers with good flanks, wherby they might brauely defend thẽſelues, making great ſlaugh-
ter of the Turks. On the 20 of October they attempted to take a tower ſtanding towards
the ſea, for the defence of the Caſtle by ſcalado, but they were repulſt with great loſſe: yet
the next day they came with 10 gallies, & 33 armed barks, with great numbers of ſoldiers,
to force the tower, but in vaine; for they were not only forced to retire by 50 Chriſtians
which defended it, but alſo flanked by the artillery of the caſtle, there were in 2 dais aboue
Sallie of the Portugalls vpon the Turkes at Diu. 800 ſlain, & many veſſels ſunck. Three daies after at noon day, when they leaſt expected,
there was a ſally made by 150 Portugalls, who entred the Turks trẽches, that were ſleep-
ing, with ſuch reſolution, as they ſlew about 260, & ſo diſordered the whole army, as they
could ſcarce put thẽſelues in defence, but ſeeing the nũber ſo ſmall, they offred to charge M
them, yet ſo late, as they had time to retire into the fort in good order, with the loſſe of 3
men only, & 6 hurt. Soon after *Silueria* ſent a frigot to Goa, to craue aid frõ *Acugna*, who
Garcia Norogna viceroy at the Indies. had already ſent 16 galeots, with poulder, match, & ſome ſoldiers, but they were not yet
come to Diu. At the cõming of this ſecõd meſſage to Goa, *Garcia* of Norogna was come to
be viceroy,

A viceroy, who took vpon him the charge to prepare a great armie, to ſuccor the beſieged, and to fight with the enemie, if need were. Arriuing the 11 of September, and taking vpon him the gouernment: he gaue libertie to *Acugna* to returne into Europe, but he died in his voyage neere vnto cap Bone Eſperance, hauing bin gouernor for his K. teme yeres at the Indies, with much honor and reputation. *Norogno* came wel prouided from Portugall, for this war, for that they had intelligence of the Turks preparation in Egipt, bringing 7000 ſoldiers in 11 ſhips; being at Goa he prepared 12 great ſhips of burthen, called hulks, 16 galeons, 25 caruels, 29 gallies of 26 banks, 15 galeots, and 20 foiſts, which in al made 117 great & ſmal, but al wel armed. The 1 of Nouember *Soliman* Baſcha made his firſt attempt to force the caſtle of Diu, but he found a braue reſiſtance. *Silueria* hauing the B night before diſcouered the Turks intentions by their preparations. At the break of day there approched neere vnto the tower vpon the ſea, about 50 barkes and 12 gallies full of ſoldiers & engins, making a ſhew to aſſaile it, but it was only to draw their force thither, from the land part, where they meant to make their greateſt attempt. But *Silueria* like a diſcreet captaine, knowing the ſtrength of that part towards the ſea, brought his greateſt force, where there was moſt need, & where the enemy was likely to vſe his greateſt force. And ſo it fel out; for firſt of all there were 3000 Turks, which preſented themſelues to the aſſault, who for an houres ſpace were brauely affronted by the Portugalls, and in the end repulſed with great loſſe: but the Baſcha renued the fight with brauer men, but fewer in number, which did not a little terrifie *Silueria*, who had ſeen many of his men ſlaine in the C firſt aſſault. He therefore commaunded his lieutenant *Roderigo* of Araue, who was in the tower towards the Sea, to come vnto him with his freſh band: the which was ſpeedily effected, but vnfortunatly for him, being ſlain with a ſhot, in whoſe place *Emanuel Vaſconcello* was put, being followed by 30 freſh ſoludiers, for that the enemy omitted no force. *Vaſconcello* carried himſelf brauely, the enemy being vpon the breach, whereas they were come to the ſword, & in the end repulſt. Hauing had ſom litle reſt, behold ther ſallied out of the trēches aboue 6000 Ianiſaries, Turks, & others of the realm of Cābaia, which *Solimā* had choſen & reſerued for the laſt, to ouerthrow the Portugals forces, which wer alredy much weakened; and at the ſame inſtant he cauſed a generall aſſault to be giuen to the whole caſtle. The enemy aduanced to the rampires, and the Portugalls made reſiſtance, D *Silueria* went from place to place with a few choice ſouldiers, and comming where hee "ſaw greateſt need, he turned him vnto his company, and ſaid: Ah countrymen, do you "not remember that you are the ſouldiers of Chriſt, for the confeſſion of whoſe faith we "haue put on theſe armes, follow me then, & ſacrifice your liues glorioufly in his ſeruice, "who refuſed not to ſuffer a ſhameful death for our health. And without ſpeaking more words, ſhaking his ſword, he went wher he ſaw moſt of the enemies, whereas he made ſuch reſiſtance as after 5 houres that this laſt aſſault continued, he made the enemies attempts vaine. At the laſt night gaue an end to this cruell aſſault, not without great ſlaughter of the Mahumetans; they had loſt that day, as ſome write aboue 3500, beſides hurt men, of the Portugals there were 70 ſlaine, & aboue 300 wounded, ſo as they ſay, there remained E only 12 vntoucht. But the numbers of the ſlaine and wounded are diuerſly reported, yet they al affirm, that if the enemy had giuen another aſſault, they could not haue withſtood it, wanting both men & munition, for they had no poulder but what their ordnance was charged with, ſo as *Silueria* to prouide for a future miſchiefe, cauſed thoſe peeces which were towards the ſea to be drawne away in the night, & to be planted towards the land. But the Baſcha ſeeing his attempts vaine, laied the blame proudly vpon *Coffaro*, & other Lords of the countrey, who had aſſured him that the fort was very weake, and not able to make two days defence: moreouer he ſaid they had abuſed him, and not aſſiſted him, with ſuch forces as they had promiſed him in the beginning, & aſſured the great Turk in Conſtantinople; ſo as full of wrath & ſhame, he knew not what to reſolue, for that there was a F bruit of a Portugal army which was preparing at *Goa*, doubting they wold fight with him both by ſea & land, truſting litle in them of Cābaia, who in effect hated him generally, for the ſacking of Diu & other great wrongs the Turkes had done them: Beſides, they feared that this cruel man hauing chaſed away the Portugals, would put their new king to death, and ſeaze tyrannouſly on the whole Countrey. Whileſt they ſtood vpon theſe termes,

1537

Death of Nonio Acugna.

Army of Portugalles prepared againſt the Turkes.

Aſſault giuen by the Turkes at Diu.

Turkes valiantly repulſed at Diu.

the

1537 the 16 galeots ſent by *Acugna* arriued happily, being come the night after the 2 day of Nouember within ſight of Diu, foure miles off from the enemies army, the commanders thought it a politike ſtratagem, euery one to carry 4 lanthorns, the which ſucceeded haply; for the enemies thinking they had bin ſo many ſhips as they ſaw lights, and beleeuing it had bin the whole army, they lay cloſe and would not hazard to meet them: ſo as being fauored by the darknes of the night, and the enemies feare, being terrified with the former ſucceſſe, and the opinion they had of the army, they entred happily into the riuer, which made the port of the caſtle, bringing great ioy to their friends, who were in that poore eſtate. The Baſcha being firſt in doubt, was now reſolued to riſe, hauing no hope to better his condition; whoſe riſing was with ſuch diſorder and feare, as it ſeemed a very flight. *Soliman* leauing at land about 150 pieces of ordnance as *Goez* writes, 1000 Turks that were wounded, & another thouſand which were gone forth to forrage, all which were ſlain by them of the country, to reuenge the iniuries they had receiued. The Portugalles got the artillery, with ſome goods of value to repaire the loſſes they had ſuſtained in thoſe combats. The Turkiſh army being gone from Diu in this confuſion, *Soliman* reuenged his diſgrace vpon thoſe miſerable Portugalls, which had bin taken in the Tower, whom he had treacherouſly kept in priſon, cauſing them to be all murdred.

Turks retire flying from Diu.

The new gouernor *Norogna*, hearing that his men were freed, that ther was no need to goe with an army to Diu, he reſolued to ſecure all things in the prouince, in quieting the peopls minds, the which was eaſy to effect, throgh the reputatiõ which the Portugals had gotten, in defending themſelues againſt the Turks forces, & by the hatred which they had purchaſed by their thefts. He therfore made a peace with *Mamudio* the new K. ſiſters ſon to the deceaſed *Badurio*. Vpon theſe conditions, That the Portugalls ſhould be maſters of the fort, & port of Diu, but the king ſhould haue half the cuſtoms of the ſaid port; & that he might raiſe a wall right againſt the fort, but ſo farre off, as it ſhould no way annoy nor hinder it; which concluded, he prouided for the gard of the caſtell, ſending *Iames Soſa* for gouernor, in *Siluerioes* place, who required reſt after ſo honourable a ſeruice, he had 900 men giuen him for garriſon, with all fit prouiſiõs. This yong king was not long quiet, but ſolicited by the ambition of ſome, and by his grandmother, deſirous to reuenge the death of her ſon, he began to make warre againſt the Portugalls, vpon a pretext to recouer Bazain, whereof there had been no mention made in the laſt accord: but it proued a war of no moment.

Mamudio K. of Cambaia: and an accord made by him with the Portugalls.

38 After the Emperours retreat out of France, the war being hot in Piedmont, pope *Paul* conſidering how many miſeries this warre brought vnto Chriſtendome, & fearing and foreſeeing the ruine of Italy if it continued, hee procured an enteruiew of thoſe two princes and himſelfe in the towne of Nice, where there was no means to reconcile them: there was onely a truce concluded for ten yeares, of either ſide the Alpes, both of them holding what they had gotten: the pope hoping during this long truce there would be ſome means found to conclude a peace. The emperor returning frõ Nice towards Spain, he was ſtaid by the weather about Marſeilles, where the king ſent to intreat him to enter, and to reſt himſelfe vntill the wind were faire: for the which he gaue him thanks, letting him vnderſtand, that he deſired they might ſee one another at Aigues mortes. Whereunto the king conſented, and went thither from Auignon, being vpon his returne towards France. The emperor landed, and dined with the king in Aigues mortes, & the king entred afterwards confidently into the emperors galley, where they diſcourſed long together, but what it was few men vnderſtood, yet they parted with great ſhews of friendſhip.

Enteruiew of the Pope, Emperour, and French king at Nice.

Emperour and French king meet at Aigueſmortes.

1539 This yeare one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, the emperour, the yong prince *Philippe* his ſonne, his two daughters, and the whole Court, were full of ſorrow and heauineſſe for the death of the empreſſe *Iſabella*; ſhe died the firſt day of Maie being deliuered of a ſonne, which followed her ſoone after, they were both much lamented by the young Prince, who beganne to feele the heauie croſſes whereunto the miſerable condition of man is ſubiect. Shee was carried from Toledo where ſhee died, with a funerall pompe befitting ſo great an Empreſſe, to bee buried in the royall Chappell of Granado, which honours were afterwardes religiouſly reiterated in all the Cities ſubiect to the Emperour her husband, and by King *Iohn* of Portugall, her brother,

Death of the empreſſe Iſabella.

A brother. After her death the emperour *Charles* remained alwayes a widower, during the which he had a base son by a maid whose name and family was concealed: he was called D. *Iohn* of Austria, whom he did not aduow vntill his death. 1539 *D. Iohn of Austria.*

39 The emperor being a prince of a great courage and high attempts, imbraced many actions, so as his reuenues could hardly supply the charge, wherefore he sought to draw mony from the people & towns that were subiect vnto him, by diuers means, by subuentions, impositions, loans and extraordinary beneuolences. Among others he would haue the Castillans make him a present whereunto the Nobility should contribute, without exemption of any, hauing caused it to be propounded in an assembly of the lords & noble men of the countrey, giuing them to vnderstand it was for the charges of the war he made *Impositions cause of trouble*
B against infidells, whereof the profit and honor was common to them with him. Whereunto answer was by D. *Inigo* of Velasco constable of Castille in all their names: That the Nobilitie would neuer suffer their freedoms and liberties to be broken; whereat the emperor was very much discontented; & there hapned at the same time an accident, whereby he might see that the nobility of Castille, were not easie to be gouerned as they pleased that councelled him: and this it was. There being a turney held without the city of Toledo, where the court lay, whē the sport was ended, & the emperor desirous to return towards the citie, the presse being great, an Alcaide or Prouost meaning to hasten those that marched before, he strucke the duke of the Infantasgos horse with a riding rod vpon the croper, he being the chief of the Mēdosas, & one of the greatest noblemen of Spain, *Act of choler done by the Infantasgo.*
C who sodenly drawing his sword struck the Alcaide on the head, telling him that he shold learn to execute his charge with respect: whereupon the dukes seruants would haue slain him presently, but he staied them. The Alcaide being al bloudy, presented himself before the emperor, wherat he seeming to be offended, doctor *Ronquillo* one of the 3 prouosts of the emperors palace, aduanced as if he would lay hold on the duke to carry him to prison: but he was willed to forbeare vnlesse he would receiue as much as the other, and that hee should go and learne his duety better: wherein *Ronquillo* shewed himselfe nothing obstinate. The duke retired to his lodging being followed by al the nobilitie, leauing the emperour in a maner alone: who dissembled this act, lest hee should cause some trouble in Castille, where they had so freely refused him the donatiue, which he had demanded, and
D the better to couer his discontentment, hee caused the Alcaide to be put in prison, as hauing exceeded in his charge, sending the duke of the Infantasgo word, that he wold cause him to be hanged to giue him satisfaction. The duke came and gaue the king thanks with al humility, sued for his deliuery, had him cured at his charge, and gaue him 500 crowns, wherein he shewed himselfe generous. The emperour soone after passed into Flanders, where he vnderstood that the Gantois were rebelled by reason of subsidies and impostes, which Queene *Marie* of Hungarie gouernesse of that country had laied vpon them; and discharged his choler vpon that people. *Satisfaction done by the emperour to the duke of the Infantasgo.* *Rebellion of the Gantois for impostes.*

The Emperour at his going out of Spaine towards Flanders, he left the prince D. *Philip* his sonne, his lieutenant and vicegerent there, being then not foureteene yeares old, he 1540
E was assisted by the same Councell that the empresse his mother had, he took his way thorow France, where he was roially entertained, and accompanied by the Infants of France. *Henry* Dauphin of Viennois, and *Charles* duke of Orleans, whom the king his father desired much to see duke of Milan. What passed in his voyage betwixt him and the French, the French historie relates. But the Gantois were seuerely punished, and kept in awe by a strong Citadell, which was built, furnished and garded at their owne charge: the Emperour beeing the more incensed for that hee heard of nothing but mutinies and rebellions in all places for want of money: for that at the same time that hee punished them of Gant, the Spanish souldiers which were in Lombardie mutined against the Marquesse of Guast gouernour of Milan, for want of pay, but they were pacified by *Citadell of Gant built.*
F a generall taxation layed vpon the Countrey, the which they did willingly paie. D. *Bernardin* of Mendosa had more difficultie to content his mutined garrison in Goulette, beeing forced to shew his wisedome and to saue both himselfe and the place from their furious disobedience and mutinie, which made him feare that they had some intelligence which the Moores of Tunes or the Turks of Alger, and that they would de- *Mutinie of the Spaniards in Lombardie.*

liuer

1541 liuer the fort into their hands. The duty we owe vnto God, and reasons of State march not in one ranke in our policies. D. *Bernardin* hauing aduertised D. *Fernand Gonzague* viceroy of Sicile, of the danger wherein he was, and had good correspondency with him, he intreated, coniured and flattred the Spaniards in such sort as he filled them with hope to receiue their pay in short time, holding them in this expectation vntil the comming of the gallies of Sicile, bringing new souldiers to change this garrison: and then it behoued him to lie, and assure them with the most religious othes that might be, that their money was all ready at Messina, to be paied them as soone as they should land, and that the emperour remembring the good and faithful seruices they had done him, and desirous to reward it, drew them out of that barbarous land, to lodge them in a more pleasant and delightfull country where they should be freed from their toile, perswading them with such good words, as they gaue him credit, and imbarked in the same gallies: But they were much amazed, that comming to the port of Messina they would not suffer them to enter into the citie, and that they told them there was no mony for them, and that they sought to diuide them into diuers garrisons, vntill that the Emperour had otherwise disposed, wherefore being transported with furie and shame, to haue been thus circumuented, they began to ouerrunne the country, and to spoile houses in open villages, with all the insolencies that might be imagined: they first of all gaue an assault to the towne of Castro reall, and had almost forced it: their insolencies were such, as ioyning other mad men vnto them, they were a terrour to all the Iland, the viceroy being forced to assemble the nobilitie and commons to suppresse them by armes, seeking in the meane time to winne and draw away the heads and ringleaders of this mutinie, so as hauing won some with othes and promises of impunitie, and hope of pay, he had meanes to disperse them into diuerse small troupes, afterwards he caused the most seditious to be easily apprehended and to be executed by way of Iustice, filling the townes and high waies with gibets well furnished, for examples sake. This seueritie caused the Spanish nation to beare a deadly hatred to D. *Fernand*.

Rebellion at Goulette.

Punishment of the mutinous Spanish souldiers.

Portugall.

The Castillans of the east Indies, whereof D. *Antonio* of Gueuara was gouernor, sent forth in the yeare 1541 a new army to the Molucques, vnder the command of captaine *Villalobos*, which arriued safely at Tidore and Gilolo, but hee was as vnfortunate as the rest, which had gone before him, he himselfe with his ships and men falling into the Portugalls hands, hauing retreats and forts in those Ilands, and could not indure the Castillans should vndertake that voyage. The like successe they all haue had, which haue since attempted it: whereby it seemed that it was the will of God the Portugalls should inioy them: who haue vsed this nauigation with great honour and profit, as well to their owne nation, as to other countries of Europe: hauing made storehouses for that trade, and for the distribution of their merchandise and drugges, in the city of Lisbone, euen vnto the kings palace, vpon the riuer of Tayo, the which are called the house of the Indies. To giue more ornament to the realme of Portugall, the city of Ebora had beene the yere before 1540 made an Archbishopricke at the instance and request of the king D. *Iohn* in fauor of cardinall *Henry* infant of Portugall, the kings brother, who was the first Archbishop, hauing the bishop of Silues for his suffragan. So as from that time there were three Metropolitans in Portugall, Braga, Lisbone, and Ebora.

1541 *Portugalls will not suffer the Castillans to saile to the Molucques.*

Ebora made an archbishopricke

The Emperor hauing setled his affaires in the Netherlands, he went by Metz to Spire, and from thence to Ratisbone, where hee had appointed an imperiall diet, as well to prouide for the warre against the Turke, as to bring the Protestants vnder the obedience of the Pope and Church of Rome, which was a faire publique pretext: but hee had other designes for the aduauncement of his owne house, which hee did hope to attaine vnto, vnder colour of religion, as it appeared, and vsing at that time this shadow of religion, hee thought to stay the French king from making war (being much offended, for that *Cesar Fregose* and *Anthony Rinson* his embassadours, were murthered vpon the riuer Po, going to Venice) by vndertaking the conquest of Alger, for the which hauing assembled what forces hee thought sufficient out of Germanie, Italie and Spaine, hauing seene Pope *Paul* at Luques, reiecting obstinately the wise councell of *Andrew Doria* and other great Captaines, aduising him to deferre the enterprise vntill the

Castille.

Voyage of the emperor to Alger.

A the Spring following (by reaſon of the ſeaſon of Autume which would be come before hee ſhould land his men, and the bad diſpoſition of that yeare: but he imbarqued in the port of Luna, and came in view of Alger with aboue two hundred and fiftie veſſelles, of the which there were threeſcore & fiue gallies which caried two and twenty thouſand foot entertained, with ſome three thouſand voluntaries, and twelue hundred horſe, beſides the traine of noblemen and captains which did accompany him, whereof the chiefe were D. *Fernand Gonzague* Viceroy of Sicile, D. *Fernand* of Toledo duke of Alua, *Andrew Doria* prince of Melfi, *Virginio Vrſino* earle of Anguilara, *Auguſtine Spinola*, and *Camillo Colonna*. *Barberouſſe* had left *Aſſan Aga* a renegado of Sardinia gouernour in Alger, being accompanied (beſides the Moores inhabitants) by many Turkes, of the which there B were 800 horſemen, for the defence of the towne, & without it there were great numbers of horſe and foot, Alarabes and Africans entertained, or otherwiſe drawne thither with the hope of ſpoile: For this vagabond nation doe like vnto rauens or vultures, who by a certaine inſtinct follow armies, being aſſured to finde whereon to feede: So this people when they heare of any tumult in the country, they ſtay not till they be inuited, but flie thither in great troups, as people which haue no other care nor imploiment but to theue, by whom the emperours army was much annoyed in the landing, which was on the Eaſt ſide towards Cape Metafuſo, within 7 miles of Alger. They diuided the army into three batallions; on the left hand were the Spaniards with *Aluaro de Sande* marſhal of the field, and with D. *Fernand Gonzague* viceroy of Sicile, and the duke of Camerino. In the battel C where the emperors perſon was, the Germans marcht; and on the right hand towards the ſea, were the Italians with their colonels, the earle of Santa Fiora, and other noblemen aduenturers. That day they marched only 2 miles, and ſtaied neere vnto a fountaine that night, hauing ſtill ſight of the Moores and Arabians on horſe backe, but they durſt not approch to charge the Chriſtians; but at night thinking they had beene at reſt, they came downe from a neere mountaine on the ſouth ſide with great cries, & charged the Chriſtians, by whom they were eaſily repulſed with loſſe. The Emperour at his firſt landing had ſent to trie *Aſſan Aga* the gouernour, if hee would yeeld vp the place to his Majeſtie for reward, and not ſubiect himſelfe to the danger of a mighty and victorious enemy. But the *Aga* anſwered with a ſmiling countenaunce, that hee was to defend that place a- D gainſt the Chriſtians, as it had beene done twice to their great loſſe, and ſome write, that hee grew thus confident, not that hee found himſelfe ſo well furniſhed for his defence; but through the words of an old Inchauntreſſe, who hauing foretold the vnfortunate attempts of D. *Diego de Vera*, and D. *Hugo de Moncada*, had alſo affirmed that the Emperour of Chriſtendome ſhould ſuffer great loſſe there. The next day they marched three miles, and camped within two miles of Alger, in a place ſtrong by nature, being flanked by two torrents which fall from the mountaines, the Spaniſh foot (whereof the Duke of *Alua* generall of the horſe was the chiefe) took their lodging vpon a little hill, from which the army might haue been much annoyed. The ſea being alſo growne ſomewhat calme after a great ſtorme, the gallies came within canon ſhot of Alger, and the E ſhippes drawing neere, they did with great toile vnſhip their horſes, there being a great skirmiſh betwixt the Spaniards and Moores vpon the hill. But in the meane time they gaue order to land their victualls, artillerie and munition. Towards night the ſea began to ſwel againe, & there fell ſuch abundance of raine all night, with a cold northern wind, which is dangerous vpon that coaſt, as both the campe at land, and the army at ſea did ſuffer much, and the enemies imbracing this occaſion, thinking they could not be much annoyed with the Chriſtians ſhot, meant to aſſaile them at the breake of day. And ſo the Arabians which were abroad, and the Turkes and Moores within the city being ioyned, made a great attempt on the Spaniards and Italians quarters, towards the mountaine and the ſea ſhoare, the Germans being ſomething more backward: but the Spaniards re- F pulſt the enimy valiantly, although they could not vſe their harquebuſes, & did win much more commendation than the Italians, who keeping a gard vpon a bridge which was vpon one of thoſe torrents, ſuffered them to winne that paſſage, ſo as the enemies horſemen came euen vnto their quarter. *Camillo Colonna* was that day in gard, who with great valour withſtood the Barbarians force, and putting them to flight, chaſed them beyond the

1541

Aſſan Aga gouernour of Algier.

Diſpoſition of the Alarabes of Afrike.

Imperiall armie landed at Alger.

Italians aſſailed by the Turkes at Alger.

1541 the bridge, thinking it ſufficient : But it was the opinion of D. *Ferdinand* of Gonzaga to G
purſue the enemy, that they of the towne not being able to vſe their artillerie by reaſon
of the raine, the Chriſtians in their purſuite might happely enter pell mell with the
Turkes, and ſo ſending *Spinolaes* regiment after them, they purſued them vnto the port
of Algier, the which they finding ſhut, the Turkes went about the wall, and being wel
acquainted with thoſe places, eſcaped from the Italians : who retiring incouraged the
enemie to ſally forth, and to purſue them with great numbers; they being new ſouldiers,
tired with the raine and myre, not knowing the country, and wearied firſt with purſuing
the enemy, they fainted and disbanded, ſo as the Barbarians made a great ſlaughter of
them, for *Aſſan Aga* ſallying forth with his horſemen, and freſh foot, they were eaſily put
to rout, but ſome knights of Rhodes, colonell *Spinola*, count *John Franciſco de Bagna*, H
with ſome few captaines and old ſouldiers, making a ſtand at a bridge, withſtood the ene-
mies force: And yet worſe would haue happened conſidering their great aduauntage of
armes, vſing arrowes and ſtones, whenas the Chriſtians could not vſe their harquebuſes;
vnleſſe the emperour, who that day, and alwayes performed the duety of a captaine, a
ſergeant, and a ſouldier, had not come to ſuccour them with ſome companies of Ger-
mans; whereof the firſt being put to flight, he with an inuincible mind giuing courage
to the reſt both with words and action, in the end he repulſed the enemy, and retired his
men out of that dayes daunger, hauing loſt aboue 300 men, and 200 hurt, but few men
of accõpt: D. *Carlo* of Lanoye ſonne to the prince of Sulmona was wounded. But the for-
tune of the armie at ſea was more miſerable, which toſt with the waues and windes, had I
Shipwracke of the imperiall army in Algier. continued from midnight vntill noone the next day, in a hard and inſupportable conflict,
againſt the furious violence of thoſe enemies. The ſhips which had no other ſhelter, but
to commit themſelues to the mercy of the raging windes, ſought to vnburthen themſ-
ſelues, caſting their ordonance or any thing elſe of weight into the ſea, & cutting downe
their maſts; yet many periſhed, being either ſwallowed vp in the ſea, or beating one a-
gainſt an other were driuen on ſhoare, to be a prey the Barbarians. With the like miſ-
fortune, but with more art, and force, the gallies did ſtriue. *Doria*, and the other captains
of iudgement laboring to preſerue them with many anchors, & with the induſtrie of their
oares, they alſo caſting their artillery ouer boord; but they ſtill finding thẽſelues in excee-
ding great danger, ſome hoping to ſaue their liues at land, cut their cables, and ranne on K
ground, which was a moſt miſerable ſpectacle: for the gallies breaking, whileſt that the
men tired with the toile, being vp to the chin in water, ſought to ſaue themſelues, & held
it for a happineſſe to be accepted for ſlaues, the Arabians and Moores which ſtood ready,
to make the vnfortunate condition of thoſe Chriſtians more miſerable, ſhewed them-
ſelues to be greedy of their blood and death, killing them moſt barbarouſly without any
mercy. Amongſt which *Iannettin Doria* Admirall ranne on ground neere vnto the Empe-
rours campe, ſo as it might well be relieued by his maieſtie, who preſently ſent ſome
companies of Italians, to ſuppreſſe the furie of the Arabians, and ſaued that valiant
yong man, with the greateſt part of his companie. There periſhed foureteene gallies,
ſome write fifteene after this manner, whereof eleuen did belong to prince *Doria*, and the L
reſt to *Anthony Doria*, to Naples, and Spaine; of greater veſſelles ſome ſay ſeuentie, and
ſome a hundred and fifty, of ſhippes, carauells, and pinaces. At night it grew ſomewhat
calme, ſo as in the morning the gallies drew neere vnto the ſhoare, where they lay firſt,
but towards euening the wind grew high againe, ſo as prince *Doria* did perſuade them to
retire to cape Matafuſo, holding that place to be leſſe daungerous, for that there were
few rockes, the which the emperour perceiuing, and ſeeing that there were no victualls
in the campe, the ſouldiers hauing beene the day before without any meate, he reſolued
to riſe and march that day ſix miles with his whole armie. The which he had put in good
order, for that the enemy was ſtill behind him & on his flankes, yet they durſt not charge
them, the ſick & hurt men being put in the middeſt of the ſquadrons, vſing al care to ſaue M
them, yet many were ſlaine by thoſe Barbarians, being ſo weake as they could not be car-
ried. For wanting all kind of victuall, they had relieued themſelues thoſe two daies with
the roots of dates which they call palmette, & horſe-fleſh, ſome being ſlaine to that end.
They came that day vnto a riuer, which the Moores call Agaraz, the which was ſo riſen

with

A with the raine, as it was not poſſible to wade through, where, by reaſon thereof, and to ſee if they could get any victualls, they ſtaied that night, and gathering together the maſts and yardes of broken ſhips in that riuer, they made a bridge to paſſe the Germanes and Italians the next day, the Spaniards hauing found out a foard ſomewhat higher. The Turkes and Moores of Alger did not purſue the armie any further, and the Arabians did little annoy them, ſo as within two daies they came vnto their galleys. 1541 *Hunger in the Emperors army.*

Heere the emperour did ſomewhat refreſh his army, drawing ſome victualls out of the ſhips, and then hee gaue order for their ſhipping, which was on the laſt day of October. The inuincible and vndaunted courage of the emperour, was ad-

B mirable, who was a great conſolation to thoſe afflicted troupes: but in the ſhipping of the armie there was great pietie noted in him; thinking it impoſſible that ſhips ſhaken with the rage of the Sea, ſhould carrie ſo much people, hee commaunded that all the horſes whatſoeuer ſhould bee caſt into the Sea, were they of neuer ſo great price, not regarding the intreaties of their owners, deſiring rather to ſaue the baſeſt ſoldier being a man and a Chriſtian, than thoſe noble inſtruments of warre. D. *Fernand* of Gonzaga, ſtaied two daies to imbarke, who coaſting along Barbarie towards the Eaſt, had a ſhorter paſſage into Sicile. The Sea grew rough again, and they ſtaied not long to haue more particuler directions, the emperour hauing giuen order where his troupes ſhould land. *Conſtancy and pietie of the emperor Charles*

C There is a memorable accident reported of two ſhips full of Spaniards, which in the tempeſt were driuen on ſhoare neere vnto Algier, the Souldiers within them ſeeking to preſerue their liues by being ſlaues, but the cruell Arabians thirſting after mans bloud, refuſing to accept them, they made a braue and generous reſolution, ſo as keeping cloſe together, they marcht fighting euen to the verie gate of Alger, where they gaue *Aſſan Aga* to vnderſtand that they were come to yeeld themſelues his ſlaues, hoping that hee being borne a Chriſtian, wold not ſuffer them to be torn in peeces by the rage of the Arabians, whoſe liues might be a greater benefit, & ſo they were preſerued by that renegado with more ſhew of humanity. The gallies which were with the emperors perſon, running the ſame fortune recouered the port of Bugia, and there they refreſht themſelues a little, *Spaniards preſerue their liues generouſly againſt the Arabians.*

D and then the ſeas being ſomewhat calmed, they ſailed towards Spaine, where the emperour landed at Carthagene, from whence hee ſent to Occagna to viſit his daughters, hauing firſt met with the Prince, D. *Philippe*, who went ſpeedily to doe his daety, and to reioyce at his returne, who with an inuincible courage, ſpeaking little of his loſſe, ſhewed how we ſhould beare the croſſes of humane accidents. Prince *Doria* who yeelded not to any in greatneſſe of minde and conſtancy, being arriued in Italie, where the miſerable ſucceſſe of this enterpriſe, was already knowne, he did comfort ſuch as came to condole with him for his loſſe, and ſought to comfort him. But the emperours bountie repaired his great loſſe, for he did not onely giue him three thouſand ducats of yerely rent for euer out *Emperour Charles his returne into Spaine from the rout of Algier.*

E of the fines at Naples, but he alſo made him Protonotarie of that kingdome, which is the fift of the ſeuen principall offices; the which the prince *Iohn Andrew* his nephew doth now enioy. *Bountie of the emperour to Prince Doria.*

41 At the emperours returne from Alger, hee found himſelfe ingaged in a difficult warre, againſt the French king, the which would not ſuffer him to make any long aboad in Spaine. The king pretended that the truce had beene broken, and the faith violated by the Marqueſſe of Guaſt his lieutenant in Lombardie, by reaſon of the murther of *Fregoſe* and *Rinſon*: which fact being ſufficiently verified, it was diſſembled by him; where-upon the French king, began the warre in many places: In Brabant and thereabouts by the lord of Longuenall, and *Martin van Rouſſe*: In the duchie of Luxembourge by the the duke of Orleance: The Dauphin *Henry* was come into the countie of Roſſillon, & did 41 *Warre betwixt the French king & the emperor.*

F beſeege the Towne of Perpignan with forty thouſand foot, two thouſand men at armes, two thouſand light horſe, and great ſtore of artillerie, one of the goodlieſt armies the French had of long time drawne together; the which proued to bee of no effect, for that proceeding ſo ſlowly, the duke of Alua had meanes to put ſome troupes into the town (which was ill furniſhed) by land, and D. *Bernardin* of Mendoſa newly made generall of the galleys of Spaine, to ſupplie it with victuals and all other kind of munition by ſea,

1542 ſo as the Prince ſeeing it was not eaſie to force, and hearing of great ſuccours G which did aduance both from Spaine and Italie, hee retyred. In Italie the Lord of Langey made warre for the king, and in Picardie the duke of Vendoſme: what the ſucceſſe was, the French Hiſtorie will fully ſatisfie you.

The emperour feeling yet the bad ſucceſſe of this affaires of Barbarie, and ſtung by the French in ſo many places, fainted not: but that which did moſt trouble him, was the duetie he ought vnto Germanie as emperour: for beſides that *Sultan Solyman* had newly repulſt the forces of the empire from before *Buda*, hee was aduertiſed that hee prepared to returne this yeare in perſon into Hungarie with a mighty armie: and that which toucht him nerer, he vnderſtood that by the perſuaſion of the French king, and of Captaine H *Paulin*, his embaſſador in the Eaſt, *Barberouſſe* was at Sea, with a great number of gallies and foiſts, with an intent to inuade his Countries of Naples and Sicile, and to ſpoile Spaine if hee might finde any opportunitie.

To preuent all theſe miſchiefes, hee went to Barcelone to paſſe into Italie: where whileſt they made the gallies readie for his paſſage, and that the Souldiers came which ſhould goe with him, hee went into Nauarre, and cauſed ſome roades to bee made into the neere frontier of Fraunce, and the Towne of Saint *Iohn* de Luz to bee burnt. And ſeeing himſelfe thus preſt, hee held the ſupport of *Henry* the eight, king of England, to bee needfull, with whome hee entred into leagne.

S. Iohn de Luz burnt by the Spaniards.

Hauing concluded together how they ſhould make warre, the emperour came to Ge- I noua with forty gallies, and ſome troupes, when as *Barberouſſe* ſackt and burnt the coaſt of Calabria, and had taken the town of Regium in the ſtreit againſt Sicile. Then the Turkiſh armie came to Oſtia, which did much amaze the Romanes, but they did only water, and ſo paſt, not doing any harme to the territories of the church, which were recommended by the French king, then leauing the riuer of Genoua, hee came to Marcelles.

The French king had ſent *Frances* of Bourbon, duke of Anguien to bee his lieutenant in Prouence, and to receiue the Turkes armie, who attending *Barberouſſe*, and thinking to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of Nice, had like to haue beene ſurpriſed himſelfe, by *Iannetin Doria*, who watcht for him within the Port, with twentie gallies; for hee beleeuing one who had laied this double plot, aduentured to goe with ſome K of the kings galleys, whereof foure which hee had cauſed to aduance were taken, and hee himſelfe eſcaped by flight. *Barberouſſe* being come, *Doria* quit the Port and Towne of Nice to the Turkes, who ſackt and burnt it, but the Caſtle held good, being valiantly defended by *Paul Simeon*, a knight of Malta, the place being of it ſelfe vneaſie to batter, and worſe to aſſaile, but after a while they tooke an occaſion to leaue the ſiege. *Barberouſſe* retyred with his gallies to Antibo, being much diſcontented againſt the French, for the bad prouiſion hee had found in Prouence, for the warre, for hee ſaw many neceſſarie prouiſions to faile them ſuddenly, and that the kings men were often forced to borrow powder, match and other neceſſaries from the Turkes; ſo as hee grew often into ſuch a rage, as hee did threaten Captaine *Paulin* to L put him in chaines, and to carrie him to Conſtantinople, there to bee puniſhed as an abuſer and lyer, hauing made infinite promiſes to the great Turke, whereof hee ſaw no effects; the which hee had done if the prince of Anguien had not ſomewhat pacified him with good words. Being at Antibo, he vnderſtood that the Marqueſſe of Guaſt and the duke of Sauoy were come into the port of Villafranca, with prince *Dorias* gallies, and that being ready to enter into Port, they had been ſurpriſed with ſo great a ſtorme, as foure gallies thinking to get to ſea, had been caſt againſt the rockes and broken, and that, wherin the Marqueſſe was, in danger to be ſunke: The Turke ready for al occaſions went thither with his gallies, but he came to late: he gathered vp part of the ſhip-wracke, and drew the ordnance out of the ſea: After which he went & wintred at Tolon, from whence M he ſent fiue and twenty gallies to Alger, with the ſpoiles which hee had taken, the which they increaſed with many poore priſoners of either ſex, paſſing along the coaſt of Catelogne and Valencia, and with a ſhip and a galley, which they found neere vnto Palamos, which they carried away.

Barberouſſe beſiegeth the Caſtle of Nice.

Fernando Cortez depriued of his gouernment of Mexico.

I muſt ſpeak ſome thing of *Fernando Cortez*, who conquered *Mexico*, from whence hee

was

A was called being viceroy, by the meanes of ſome which enuied his greatnes, being accuſed in Spaine vnto the emperour, and forced to come and yeeld himſelfe a priſoner, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and forty: he could not ſo ſooneiuſtifie his innocencie, although hee were in a maner ſet at libertie, following the emperour to the warre of Alger, yet hee had no command; and as one in diſgrace with his Maieſtie, hee was neuer called to councell in thoſe dangerous accidents, although hee were a great Captaine, and had beene tryed in greater difficulties, whereof hee had giuen good proofes in all his attempts. 1542

Hee carried with him indiſcreetly in this expedition, fiue admirable emeralds, the B which hee loſt, whoſe forme and qualitie being held rare and precious, it is fit there ſhould be ſome mention made of them. One of them which was valued at forty thouſand ducats, had the forme of a cup, the button whereof was a great pearle, and the foot of pure golde, the ſecond was like a little bell, the clapper was of pearle verie properly made: the third had the figure of a fiſh, on the head whereof there were eies of gold, artificially wrought, the fourth was cut like a horne, and the fift like a roſe. After the return from that vnfortunate attempt of Alger, he laboured fiue yeres to proue his innocencie, and in the end had leaue from the emperour to returne to Mexico, and to hold his firſt honours and eſtates, but he could neuer enioy them, for being ſixtie yeares olde, hee died in the beginning of December one thouſand fiue hundred forty ſeuen, leauing an honorable teſtimony behind him, to haue beene valiant, modeſt, and religious. *Emeralds, fiue exceeding faire*

C After the taking of the Citie of Cuſco at Peru by *Francis Pizarro*, the Spaniards went to take the towne of Quito, which was great and rich, and ſtood in an excellent ayre, almoſt vnder the South line, the which, beſides that it abounds in mines of mettall, hath great ſtore of quicke ſiluer of yellow colour as they write. There came other Spaniards from Panama, vpon the brute of the great ſtore of gold which *Pyzarro* had found in that prouince, and they ſoone made good purchaſe, though not ſo great as they expected. *Proceedings of Pyzarro at Peru.*

There came alſo from S. Iago in new Spain, *Pedro* of *Aluarado*, with a fleet of ſome ſhips, thinking to effect ſome great matters, but *Pizarro* would not ſuffer him to make any profit D in the countrie which he had diſcouered, and was his gouernment: wherefore they agreed to leaue his ſhips with *Francis* for 100000 crowns, and *Aluarado* returned from whence he came. In the yere 1535 the citie of Lima was inlarged, and many dwellings made for Spaniards by *Pizarro*, he made it the reſidence for the councel of the realme, and called it the kings citie, chooſing it for his dwelling, & giuing the gouernment of Cuſco to *Almagro*. *Lima called the kings Citie.*

This yeare 1542, the emperour cauſed the Prince D. *Philip* to be ſworne future king of Spaine, by the eſtates of the Countrie, ſeeking to draw his ſubiects to giue him good helps for the future warre, wherein hee was well aſſiſted by the treaſure which came in thoſe daies from the Weſt-Indies for his fift part, beſides a great ſumme of money which was lent him by Merchants, and others, giuing them aſſignements out of the ordinarie re- E uenues of his realmes. He was come to Barcelona, to be neere to Perpignan, or to any other attempt of the French, and there he cauſed the Spaniſh footmen to paſſe, which had been in Sardynia at his returne from Alger; the which he wold haue remaine vpon thoſe frontiers, if need ſhould require, or be tranſported elſewhere vpon any occaſion. From Barcelona he went with the court to Taracona, from thence to Tortoſa, & then to Valencia, the Prince making a ſolemne entrie in all theſe place, where he was entertaind with great feaſts and pompe. *D. Philip ſworn future king of Spaine.*

After which, they paſt the feaſts of Chriſtmas at Alcala of Henares, whereas their ioy was doubled by the preſence of the two Infants, two marriages being concluded at that time; one of the Prince D. *Philip* and D. *Maria* Infanta of Portugall, daughter to king F *Iohn* the third, the other of D. *Iohn* prince of Portugall, a youth of fourteene yeares of age, and D. *Ioane* the emperours ſecond daughter. They continued in Alcala with great feaſting, vntill the end of the yeare, and then went to Madrid, where hee made his entrie the firſt day of the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred forty and three, where they made preparation of new ſolemnities for the future marriage, as alſo for the warre, the emperour beeing reſolued to paſſe into Italy in the Spring. *Philip prince of Spaine contracted to the Infant of Portugal*

1543 *Mariages of the Prince and Infant of Spaine.*

The marriage of prince *Philip* concluded in winter, was celebrated in March after, with great pompe and ſtate, and in like maner that of the Infanta his ſiſter; the Emperor neglecting nothing touching his preparation for warre, as well againſt the French, who had the yeare before annoyed him in many places, as alſo againſt the Moores of Tremeſſen, who according to their naturall inconſtancie, had iniuriouſly rebelled. To ſuppreſſe the which hee had in beginning of this yeare, ſent D. *Martin* of Cardone, earle of Alcadette into Africke with eight thouſand foot, and about fifteene hundred horſe, what ſucceded there you ſhall heereafter heare. After which hauing prouided a great ſumme of money, and ſuch foote and horſe as ſhould paſſe with him into Italie, hee gaue order for the gouernment of thoſe Realmes vnder the charge of the king D. *Philip*, to whome hee appointed for his chiefe Councellours, the commaunder *Couas*, and the Duke of Alua, fore-ſeeing many matters of great importance, and prouiding for them all with great care, as hee that ſought to make his forces greater, to free himſelfe from the moleſtations of Fraunce, and fruſtrate their practiſes which they had in Germanie, where they had thoſe Princes readie to make any alteration, being not greatlie affected to the houſe of Auſtria: wherefore hee ſought to ſettle the greatneſſe of his houſe, for many ages, according vnto humane wiſedome: And therefore hee had matcht D. *Philippe* his Sonne to the eldeſt daughter of Portugall, and to the ſole Prince of the realme had giuen his ſecond Infanta, onely with foure hundred thouſand crownes dowrie, although his Sonne had receiued double the ſumme, and for *Maximilian*, eldeſt ſonne to *Ferdinand* his brother, hee had reſerued his eldeſt daughter for all doubtfull euents of ſucceſſion in thoſe great dominions.

Tremeſſen rebels againſt the emperour

Earle of Alcadette at the enterpriſe of Tremeſſen.

In the beginning of the yeare the emperour (as wee haue ſaid) had ſent the earle of Alcadette to the enterpriſe of Moſtagan; who going with eight thouſand foote and fifteene hundred horſe from Oran, in the beginning of Februarie this yeare, neere vnto Tabida, had a skirmiſh with the Moores, who charged him in the reareward, but it was of no moment. The next day at the paſſing of a riuer neere vnto Tabida, they found a greater armie of Moores, both horſe and foot furniſhed with good ſhot, yet the Spaniards marcht in ſuch order, and ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant, as notwithſtanding that the enemie ſtood ready on the other ſide of the riuer (which they were to wade through) to receiue them, yet they repulſt them with great loſſe, and aduanced to take Tabida.

Hauing reſted there a while, they marcht on the next day, but ſomewhat late, towards Tremeſſen, lodging two leagues from the citie, being continually moleſted by the Moores, with often charging and flying away. The king was in Tremeſſen where hee had leuied what ſouldiers he could both of horſe and foot, hauing entertained about 400 Turkes which were in garriſon vpon that coaſt, ſo as the next morning the earle did with great indgement put his men in battell, leſt that (being farre inferiour in nũber to the enemy) he ſhould be inuironed by ſo great a multitude, & diſordered, being charged in front, flanke, and rere: and therefore he ſo diſpoſed of his troupes, both horſe and foot, as they might fight and ſuccour one another, fortifying his rereward as much as might be, for that he vnderſtood they had laied an ambuſh, and would charge them behind. They had ſent the woman and children with their richeſt mooueables into the mountaines which were neere, to preſerue them whatſoeuer ſhould happen; and the king hauing diſpoſed of his troupes, would not be preſent at the battell, but attend the euent in a place of ſafetie. The two armies being ioyned, the Spaniards ſhewed no leſſe valour then was needful, the enemies foreward being greater then all their army, and although the Moores in the beginning ſhewed great reſolutiõ, & diſcharged a great volley of ſhot, yet they did it ſo diſorderly, and ſo far of, as there was not any one ſlain, and but three lightly hurt, the Spaniards giuing them no time to charge again, & the horſe cõming vpon them with great violence: the fight continued about two houres; and the General hauing placed ſome looſe ſhot in the head of the foreward, they made a great ſpoile of the Moores and Turkes; ſo as in the end the enemy was put to rout on that ſide, whileſt that they fought with great obſtinacy in the rereward. Thither the earle ſent two companies, who charged with ſuch reſoluti-

on,

A on, as the Spaniards taking new courage, & the enemie being amazed, hauing ſeen their companions put to rout, the battell was ended (hauing continued about three houres) & the Chriſtians won the victorie, but there was no great ſlaughter of the Moores, who deſired rather to ſaue themſelues by flight than by fighting obſtinatly, to giue their enemies any cauſe to feare a new incounter. The king of Tremeſſen, who expected the doubtfull euent of this battel, hauing a ſigne giuen him by ſmoak that it was loſt, he prouided for his ſafety by flight among the reſt. The earle of Alcadette did win great honor in this battell both for his valor and iudgement, being worthily imitated by his three ſons, D. *Alfonſo*, D *Franciſco*, & D. *Aluaro*, the firſt leading a part of the foreward, & the ſecõd of the rereward: 1543

King of Tremeſſen defeated by the Spaniards flies.

B D. *Alfonſo* of Villaruolo marſhall of the field, D. *Martin* of Cordoua, D. *Iohn Pacieco* with other noblemen of marke, were much commended for their proweſſe that day. This victorie was won the fift of Februarie, the victor hauing loſt few men, and moſt of them were ſlaine with crosbows, whereof there were not aboue a hundred among the Moores, and aboue fiue thouſand Harquebuziers. The Spaniards deſirous to enter the Towne, the generall ſought to ſtay them that night, fearing the ſlaughter would be great, or there wold be ſome great diſorder committed in the ſacke: wherfore he lodged the army without the towne, among certain Oliue trees, giuing good inſtructions vnto the captains, to preuent all dangers which might grow by their too great confidence of the victorie, or the diſorders which doe accompany ſpoiling, as it hath often fallen out, either by the ſmall authoC rity of the generall, or by indiſcretion, on want of militarie diſcipline.

About this time the ſtate of Tunes (which the emperor had conquered and reſtored to *Muley Haſcen*) fell into great combuſtions, he hauing only retained Goulette, with an homage and ſmall tribute for the kings of Spain, as we haue ſaid. The occaſion was that *Muley Haſcen*, being deſirous to confer with the emperor, had paſt into Sicile, with an intent to come vnto him to Genoa, or whereſoeuer he ſhould be at his laſt paſſage out of Spaine; after which hee came to Naples, and meaning to continue his courſe by ſea he was ſtaied there ſome daies by a tempeſt, during the which D. *Pedro de Toledo*, viceroy of Naples, receiued a commandement to will him not to depart from thence, vntill hee receiued farther newes from the emperour, who was buſied with the warres of France, and would not D haue any thing to diuert him. This king as it was reported, had a meaning to demand ſome forces againſt the Turkes which held Conſtantine, a towne within his realme, the which was rich and ſtrong, and did much annoy him, and for that at the time of his paſſage into Sicile, *Barberouſſe* was at Marſeille, hee feared alſo that in his returne he would fall vpon him. 1545 *Moores 42.*

Muley Haſcen king of Tunes diſpoſſeſt again.

He thought in like maner that in leauing the countrie he ſhould auoid ſome great accident wherewith the ſtarres did threaten him, if hee remained in Afrike at that ſeaſon, this prince being ſtudious of Aſtrologie, and too credulous of ſuch diuinations. During his abſence, ſuch as loued him not and deſired ſome Innouation in the ſtate, bruted it out that the king was dead at Naples, after that he had beene baptized; and preſt his Sonne *Amida*, (who had the command of certaine garriſons which were appointed to withſtand the E inuaſions of the Turkes, and the thefts of the *Alarabes*, which did adhere vnto them,) to haſten his comming vnto the Citie, and to ſeaze vpon the Caſtle and his fathers treaſure, before that his younger brother called *Mahumet* (who remained in hoſtage at Goulette) ſhould preuent him, and make himſelfe king with the helpe of *Francis de Touar*, then Gouernour of the fort. *Amida* did eaſily credit that which it may bee he deſired, and although in the beginning he found ſome reſiſtance, which was made him by the Manuſette of Tunes, (who as it is were the kings Lieutenant general in that Countrie) yet in the end hee preuailed, and ſlue all his fathers friends & ſeruants, yea, hee abuſed his wiues and concubines.

Moores curious and ſuperſtitious.

Sonne diſpoſſeſſeth the father.

Amida inceſtuous.

F Theſe newes being broght to Naples, *Muley Haſcen* was much troubled, & making great haſt to depart, he made great inſtance to haue ſome forces, the which hee obtained of the viceroy, who ſuffered him to leuie 1800 men, ſuch as were baniſhed & condemned by juſtice, to whom impunitie was promiſed, if they went to this war; & they had a gentleman of the countrie appointed for their commander, whoſe name was *Baptiſta Lofredo*: with which troupe the King did aſſure himſelfe that hee ſhould bee able to ſurpriſe his re-

1545 bellious ſonne before hee were ſetled. Being come to Goulette the Gouernour G
ſought to diſſuade him from going into the Towne, no not to approach too neere,
before hee vnderſtood how the people were affected, and whether there were any
men of authoritie of his faction, to aſſiſt him: notwithſtanding that, ſome Africanes
came to viſite him, promiſing him by ceremonies, othes (ſetting their daggers a-
gainſt their throates, according to their manner) to aide him, and to die with him if
neede were, whome the gouernour wiſht him not to truſt.

Notwithſtanding all that *Touar* could ſay vnto the king, and to *Lofredo*, they would
needs march towards the towne, but before they came thither, they knew that they
had beene well aduiſed by *Touar*, for they fell into an ambuſh which *Amida* had lai- H
ed for them, and were charged by ſo great a multitude of horſe and foot, as they
had no meanes to ſaue themſelues. In this defeat there were ſlaine aboue thirteene
hundred Chriſtians vpon the place; the reſt with great difficulty recouered Goulette,
Defeat of Chriſtians. diſarmed (hauing caſt them away) and wounded. Among the which the king had e-
ſcaped, had hee not beene diſcouered by the perfumes wherewith hee was annointed
according to his cuſtome; whereupon he was hotly purſued and taken.

Being deliuered to his wicked ſonne, hee cauſed his eyes to be preſently put out,
King of Tunes taken. the like crueltie hee vſed to *Nahaſar* and *Abdulas* his younger brethren, who were
Crueltie of the ſonne to his father and Bretheren. taken with the king, to whome hee reproached that hee did him but juſtice, for that
he had in like maner made his Vncles blinde, and in the end had ſlaine them, to raigne. I
Which being done, *Amida* renued with *Francis* of *Touar*, all the conuentions and ac-
cords which his father had made with the emperor, and did the ſame homage. The which
Touar thought good to accept by prouiſion, applying himſelfe to the time, drawing (for
that hee would not ſeeme too carefull of that which had hapned) a certaine number
of ducats from the new tyrant; who alſo deliuered twenty knights, Rabatins of the blind
kings gard, who had been impriſoned for that they had ſhewed themſelues too affectionat
to his ſeruice; yeelding vp alſo the enſignes, which had beene taken from *Lofredo*, and his
body, without a head, that they might burie it after the maner of Chriſtians: And more-
ouer *Amida* deliuered into his hands for hoſtage a ſonne of his called *Seithen*. But notwith-
ſtanding all this, *Francis de Touar*, deteſting the fact of *Amida*, as vnworthie to bee K
tollerated by the emperour, hee did aduertiſe *Abdamelec* one of the bretheren of
Muley Haſcen, (who had eſcaped with *Araxid*, and liued then in exile with a Lord of
Numidia, called *Anenſeba*,) wiſhing him to come ſpeedily to Tunes, hauing wacht
an opportunitie by the abſence of *Amida*, who was gone to Biſerte to receiue that
rich cuſtome of fiſhing which was neere. *Abdamelec* was not ſloathfull, but comming
ſecretly to Goulette, hee found meanes to enter into Tunes by night, with a good
number of horſe which had accompained him, going directly to the Caſtle with his
head and his face couered, and wrapt in a ſheet after the maner of the Countrie,
where hee was receiued without any difficultie, they thinking it to bee *Amida* who
was returned from Biſerte, but they ſoone found their owne error, and being amazed L
thought to fall to armes, but they that were moſt forward, were preſently ſlaine, and
Amida diſpoſſeſt by Abdamelec his vncle. the reſt ſo terrified, as they yeelded. *Abdamelec* being Maſter of the Caſtle, hee cau-
ſed many of the towne which did fauour him to come, by whome hee was ſaluted
and acknowledged for king of Tunes, but hee raigned but thirtie and ſixe daies, dy-
ing of a peſtilent burning feuer. Before his death hee drew *Muley Haſcen* out of pri-
ſon, who receiued this good from him whome hee had perſecuted, and retyred to Gou-
lette, where hee had left in the hands of *Francis Touar*, many jewels and mooueables of great price, whereof hee gaue him no verie good accompt. The Tuneſians in
Abdamelecs place, did chooſe for their king a Sonne of his called *Mahumet*, being but
twelue yeares old, to whome they gaue foure cheefe men for Councellors and Go- M
uernors of his youth, which were *Abdulages*, who held the dignitie and office of
Manufete, *Abdelchirin*, Meſuar, which is another dignitie, and *Xerife*, borne at Bu-
gia, a Moore learned in the law of *Mahumet*, and with them one *Iohn Perell*, of the or-
Diſloyaltie of the Regents to the young king of Tunes. der of the Rabatins. *Abdelchirin*, for that hee was an honeſt man, was ſlaine by his
companions, who afterwards made a Triumuirat betwixt them, committing all exceſſe

A ceſſe and villanie, contemning the kings youth, and promiſing vnto themſelues all impu- 1545
nitie. Among other inſolencies, *Perel* hauing ſeiſed vpon the Serrail, where the wiues and concubines of *Amida* were, he rauiſht them all; which haply was the greateſt diſpleaſure *Amida* receiued, for thoſe people are wonderfull jealous of their wiues: but he tooke a cruell reuenge, hauing ſoone after ſurpriſed the citie, with the helpe of his friends and partiſans, ſo ſuddenly, as the young king had ſcarce leaſure to get into a little barke and flie to Goulette: he cauſed *Perel* to be cruelly tortured, and hauing cut off his priuie parts, the inſtruments of his ſinne, he cauſed him to be burnt aliue in the market place. He put them alſo to death which had adhered to *Abdamelec*, and among others fortie Rabatines, B whoſe bodies were eaten with dogs, a puniſhment which he vſed for them which had committed any haynous offence, cauſing them to be torne in peeces aliue, and deuoured by his famiſhed dogs. *Amida* raigned aboue fifteene yeares after, vntill that *Aluch Ali*, whom they called *Locciali*, gouernour of Alger, depriued him, ſurpriſing the towne in the yeare 1560, which hath euer ſince beene held by the Turke, but for ſome ſhort interruption, whereof D. *Iohn* of Auſtria was the cauſe, as we will ſhew. As for the poore king *Muley Haſcen*, he cauſed himſelfe to be conducted to Naples, and from thence went to the Emperour to Ausburg, where he reported his misfortunes, and complained much of *Francis de Touar*, who detained his jewels. The Emperour ended this difference, by a compoſition made betwixt the parties, and he appointed that *Muley Haſcen* ſhould haue C a pention paid him, during his life, by the Sicilians, and ſo he was ſent back into Italie, and *Touar* ſoone after called home from his gouernment.

Reuenge of Amida.

THE

THE 28 BOOKE OF THE Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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The

A

The Realmes of Caſtille, Leon, Arragon, and Nauarre, remaine vnited in D. Philip the ſecond.

Portugal by the death of the King D. Iohn, is gouerned by Queene Katherine his widow, and the Cardinall D. Henrie, during the Infancie of D. Sebaſtian.

B 1 THis yeare 1545 the Emperour had two ſeuerall aduertiſements, the one of great joy and content, the other of much ſorrow and heauineſſe: He had newes, That the prince D. *Philip* had his firſt ſon born in Vailledolit, the ninth of Iuly, who at his Chriſtening was called *Charls*, at the which there were great & ſolemne feaſts prepared; but within three dayes after all was turned into mourning and heauineſſe, by a ſtrange accident: for the princeſſe *Marie*, the young childs mother, died, for that (as they ſayed) ſhe had eaten ſomething diſorderly, contrarie to the ſtate wherein ſhe was; which happened by the negligence of the ducheſſe of Alua, and the wife of *Couos*, the high Chauncellor, to whom C the care of her being committed, they abſented themſelues a little, being deſirous to ſee a certaine ſight, ſo as at their returne they found her dead, or dying. The prince felt that force which is vſuall at the loſſe of ſo deere a perſon, yet bearing it with that conſtancie that was fit for his royall mind; but the loue hee bare her, being a princeſſe of ſingular vertues, made him to retire himſelfe for a time. Shee was much lamented and wanted of all men, for her great bountie and charitie. She was honoured with a royall funerall pompe: her bodie remained for a time in Saint *Paules* church in that towne, in the cuſtodie of the Dominican Friers, vntill that it was carried to the royall chappell of Granado. D. *Philip* had this ſorrow increaſed ſoone after with a new griefe, for the death of D. *Iohn* of Tauera, Cardinall, and Archbiſhop of Toledo, vnder whoſe D wiſe gouernement he had beene bred vp from his infancie, ſo as he loued and reſpected him much.

1545 *Birth of prince Charls of Spain.*

Death of Marie of Portugal, wife to D. Philip.

The Emperour *Charles* hauing concluded a peace with the French king, he preſently began to imbrace the affaires of Germanie, which were in combuſtion, by reaſon of religion, ſince the preaching and writing of *Luther*, againſt the Pope, to whom ſome princes of that nation, and many townes, did adhere: Which controuerſie many graue and religious men did beleeue, might haue beene eaſily reconciled by the Emperours onely authoritie, being aſſiſted by the Eſtates and Princes of the Empire, without crauing any other helpe. But, according to the common opinion, this prince and the Popes were poſſeſt with one humor, to rule abſolutely, the Popes aſpiring E to bee ſole Iudges in matters concerning religion, and *Charles* aſpiring to the like ſoueraigne power in temporall things depending of the Imperiall function, and not to gouerne himſelfe by a certaine neceſſitie, according to the aduice of the aſſemblies of the Eſtates, which they call Diets, by the which hee thought hee was kept in awe.

2 Pope *Paul* and he concurring in one deſigne, made a league the ſix and twentieth of Iune 1546, by the negotiation of the Councell of Trent, and they concluded to purſue the Councell of Trent, publiſhed the yeare before, and begun in December: and for that the Proteſtants did not allow of it, nor would not ſubmit themſelues vnto it, it was ſaid, the Emperour ſhould force them by armes, and if he entred into any treatie of F peace with them, hee ſhould not doe any thing to the prejudice of the Church of Rome. That the Pope ſhould conſigne an hundred thouſand crownes at Venice, beſides an hundred thouſand which he had alreadie conſigned, to be imployed in this warre. That he ſhould moreouer entertaine twelue thouſand foot, and fiue hundred light horſe, for ſix monethes, ouer the which he ſhould appoint a Legat, colonels and captaines. That the Emperour might for this warre take the one halfe of the reuenues of the Clergie,

1546 *League betwixt the Pope and Emperour.*

1546 Clergie, and ſell of abbie lands to the value of fiue hundred thouſand crownes: And if any prince ſhould ſeeke to hinder their reſolution, they ſhould joyne their forces together to reſiſt him. This was at ſuch time as the Councell began, whereas they made preparation for warre againſt the Proteſtants, both in Germanie, Spaine, and Italie, the Emperours deſigne extending farther; for his intent was (as it appeared ſince, and was not then vnknowne) That after that he had ruined the Proteſtants, which made the greateſt power of Germanie, he would ſubiect the Eſtates of the Empire to his will, that he might keepe the Empire in his familie, and make it hereditarie. And to giue ſome proofe of this abſolute power which he did affect, he had made a truce with the Turke, the better to attend this warre, without taking the aduice of thoſe princes and States, who had contributed great ſummes of money, to raiſe an armie againſt that common enemie of Chriſtendome. The Proteſtants had long before made a declaration, That they tooke the Pope and Sea of Rome for their aduerſe partie, and therefore they would not haue him for Iudge, accuſing him of impietie, ſacriledge, falſe doctrine, and of vſurpation ouer the magiſtrats appointed by God, and of many other crimes. They offered to giue vndoubted proofes to a free Councell, lawfully called, were it generall, or nationall in Germanie. They complained, That the Emperour had often put them in hope, but now they ſaw themſelues fruſtrat: yea, that contrarie to the decree of the laſt Diet of Spier and Wormes, where it was concluded, That to prepare the way to ſo holy an aſſembly, there ſhould be a conference of Doctors, and men of State of either part, which ſhould bring in writing the meanes to liue in peace and vnitie one with another, attending the determination of ſuch a Councell, and that in the meane time all proceedings againſt the Proteſtants ſhould ceaſe: yet they ſaw the Archbiſhop of Cologne purſued and condemned, for that he ſought to reforme his Clergie; the conference made fruſtrat by the policie and importunitie of ſome Monkes, the Pope to vſe his abſolute authoritie, and all Germanie to be full of armes; their aduerſaries picking quarels, with the priuitie of the Emperour and Pope, ſo as they were forced to defend themſelues, the which was falſly tearmed ſedition. Vpon which diſcontents there were many embaſſadours ſent vnto the Emperour, from the Proteſtant princes, whereof the chiefe were *Frederic* duke of Saxonie, Elector, and *Philip* Landgraue of Heſſe, who drew after them many princes and barons of great place, their friends, allies, or vaſſals, with the chiefe Imperiall townes, all which demaunded peace, and aſſurance that it ſhould not be broken by any decree of the Couucell of Trent, and a preſent reformation of the Imperiall Chamber, where there were ſome of their profeſt enemies.

Deſigne of the Emperour againſt Germanie

Demands of the Proteſtants.

To which demaunds the Emperour made dilatorie and ambiguous aunſwers, to win time, to the end hee might draw his forces, which came from all parts, into one bodie: ſo as they, ſeeing no other remedie, began alſo to arme, Ausbourg, Vlme, and other townes of high Germanie, being aſſiſted by the duke of Wirtemberg, came firſt to field, and fell vpon the ſubiects of *Ferdinand* king of Romans, taking Ereberg at the foot of the Alpes, comming out of Italie, with other places. The duke of Saxonie, the Landgraue and their confederats, raiſed a mightie armie vpon the marches of Franconia, and marcht towards the riuer of Danow, paſſing quietly through the lands of the biſhop of Virtzbourg, and of other Clergie men. The Emperour, who prepared his campe with all ſpeed about Landſhuot, vpon the riuer of Iſer, proclaimed them as troublers of the publicke peace, and guiltie of high treaſon. Being fortified hee came and lodged vpon the riuer of Danow, betwixt Ingolſtade and Ratisbone, hauing receiued tenne thouſand foot, and fiue hundred light horſe, from the Pope, led by cardinall *Farneſe*, Legat, and *Octauio* his brother, prince of Parma and Plaiſance, aſſiſted by many worthie captaines, whereof the chiefe were *Alexander* and *Paul Vitelli*, *Iohn Baptiſta* and *Frederic Sauelli*, *Iulio Vrſino*, *Sforce Paliuicin*, *Alphonſo* of Eſte, and *Ralph Bailloni*: And they had brought him out of the garriſons of Italie, ſix thouſand Spaniards of the old Regiments, vnder the commaund of *Ferdinand* of Toledo, duke of Alua, Marſhall generall of the armie, *Iohn Baptiſta Caſtaldo*, *Philip* of Launoy, *Aluaro Sandis*, *Alphonſo Viues*, and other auncient and approued Captaines.

Proteſtants preclaimed.

Captaines of the Popes armie.

Captaines of the Emperors forces

In

A In this Imperiall armie the cardinall of Ausbourg had the charge of the victuals. 1546
There was with the Emperour, *Maximilian*, ſonne to the king of Romans, *Emanuel Philibert*, prince of Piedmont, with many princes and noblemen, Germanes. The Proteſtants armie aduanced, being much ſtronger than the Emperours: they had two generals, the Elector *Frederic*, and the Landgraue, with equall authoritie, which, it may be, was the ruine of their armie. They had with them *Iohn Erneſt*, brother to the duke of Saxonie, and *Iohn Frederic*, his eldeſt ſonne, *Philip* duke of Brunſwic, and foure of his ſonnes, *Francis* duke of Lunebourg, *Wolfgang* prince of Anhalt, *Chriſtopher* of Heneberg, *George* of Wirtemberg, *Albert* of Mansfield, earles, *William* of Furſtemberg, *Recrod* and *Reffeberg*, colonels; with ſix companies of Suiſſes. The two armies lay neere together for ſome dayes, and the Proteſtants offered battell to the Imperials; but the Emperour would none, aſſuring himſelfe, that the enemie could not keepe thoſe great forces long together, and that in the end hee which gets the profit of the warre, hath the honour: beſides, hee expected *Maximilian*, earle of Bure, with foure thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, of the choice bands of the Netherlands.

Two generals the ruine of an armie.

B

The Landgraue, who was a reſolute ſouldier, and therefore feared more by the Emperour than all the reſt that were in the Proteſtants campe, made offer to force the Emperour to fight, if they would giue him credit; but the Elector would not yeeld to it: ſo as

Heads of the Proteſtants armie diſagree.

C theſe two commaunders not concurring well together, loſt many occaſions. The earle of Bure came to the campe, and many of the Emperours faction in Germanie, ſpoyled the Proteſtants lands, whileſt they were in the armie; yea ſome Proteſtants, being woon by the Emperour with goodly promiſes of aduancement, and perſuading them, that the warre was grounded vpon other cauſes than religion. Among them was *Maurice* of Saxonie, who deſirous to get the Electorſhip, was entred into duke *Frederics* countrey with forces, wherewith king *Ferdinand* had furniſhed him, out of Bohemia and Hungarie, and had by loue, or force, ſeiſed vpon all the townes and places of Turinga, Miſnia, and other prouinces adioyning, vnder a colour of charitie; ſaying, That it was to preſerue the duke Electors countrey and lands, the which would haue beene ruined, if

Maurice of Saxonie ſerues the Emperour.

D any other had beene imployed by the Emperour in that conqueſt: yet the Bohemians and Hungarians vſed as great crueltie and violence, as if they had made warre againſt the Turkes. The Proteſtants armie being verie great, and not able to draw the Emperour to battell, being in ſome want of victuals, but much more of money, the which they were forced to beg from the townes and comminalties, the confederat princes haning no ſupport from the kings of France and England, as they had expected, hauing ſent embaſſadours vnto them with full inſtructions, touching that which the Emperour practiſed by this warre, to the preiudice of Germanie, and the neighbour Eſtates. The heads being alſo jealous of their owne houſes and lands, which they ſaw inuaded whileſt they laboured for the common cauſe, they thought to draw the warre neerer to their owne commo-

E dities, whereupon they diſlodged, and marched towards Norling, the Emperour ſtill coaſting them.

The townes of Vlme, Ausbourg, and others, holding the Proteſtants partie, ſeeing the armie retire farre from them, hauing done nothing of import, they began to think of their eſtates, and the rather, for that the Imperiall armie increaſed daily, there being a freſh ſupplie of ſix hundred men at armes come from Naples, vnder the conduct of *Iohn Baptiſta Spinelli*: and the confederats being retired, they made ſhew as if they would beſiege Vlme, one of the richeſt townes of all Germanie. Being troubled with theſe conſiderations, and terrified when as they vnderſtood that the Landgraue had left the duke of Saxonie, and was retired home to his houſe, leauing the whole conduct of the warre to him,

Proteſtants league diſſolued

F and that the duke marcht towards his owne countrey, without any longer delay they ſent vnto the Emperour, to make their peace. Vlme was one of the firſt that obtained pardon, paying an hundred thouſand crownes, and twelue peeces of ordnance, with 1547
their furniture, and receiuing a garriſon of ten companies of foot. Ausbourg did the like, and paid an hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes, and twelue peeces of ordnance, and receiued the like garriſon.

Di-

1546 Diuers other townes yeelded alſo, and in the end the duke of Wittenberg would make triall of the Emperours clemencie: ſo as being aſſured of high Germanie, he began to follow the Proteſtants armie, and came to Nuremberg. The Prince Elector tooke ſome ſmall townes in his way, bending towards Francfort, to draw money as well from his friends as from the Clergie; and then he turned towards his countrey, his armie decreaſing much, for that many, ſeeing the Emperour to proſper, abandoned him. He being come into Turinga and Miſnia, *Maurice* diſlodged, hauing put good garriſons into Leipſie and Dreſda, which places he onely preſerued, for all the reſt the Electors recouered, and then he retyred to *Ferdinand*, and they both together came and ioyned with the Emperours campe at Egre, vpon the confines of Bohemia. The earle of Bure was come towards Francfort, with commaundement to enter into the Landgraues countrey, for whom many princes, and among them *Maurice*, his ſonne in law, did ſue vnto the Emperour for his pardon; but to ſmall effect, for he had a great deſire to haue him, thinking him alone ſufficient to raiſe the Proteſtant affaires, if they were ruined. *Bure* tooke Darmaſt by compoſition, and then Francfort, where they were in great feare to looſe their Faires, which many of their neighbours did affect. Strasbourg, a great and rich citie, did alſo compound. The Emperour comming with great ſpeed to the riuer of Elbe, hauing found a foord, where the Spaniards did him great ſeruice (for the paſſage was defended by the Proteſtants armie) he paſt his troupes, and purſued the Elector, who ſought to recouer Wittenberg, the chiefe towne of his Electorat, being ſtrong and well fortified: but he ſtayed him neere vnto the foreſt of Lochane, the Elector hauing ſcarce halfe his forces, for he had not leaſure to gather them together, being diſperſed. Being thus forced to fight with diſaduantage, he was vanquiſhed and taken, being wounded in the face. *Erneſt* of Brunſwic, ſonne to *Philip*, was taken with the Elector: his eldeſt ſonne recouered Wittenberg, being hurt, whither many others eſcaped from this conflict. The Emperour hauing thus his prince his priſoner, vſed him roughly in ſpeech, and king *Ferdinand* more. He was giuen in gard to the duke of Alua, who committed him to *Alphonſo Viues* to keepe ſafely. Within few dayes the Emperour gaue ſentence of death againſt him; the which notwithſtanding was reuoked, at the ſuit of the marqueſſe of Brandebourg: but to redeem his life, he was forced to vndergo hard conditions. Among others, he did quit the dignitie of Elector, which was giuen to *Maurice*, with all his lands, by the Emperor, who did confiſcat them, as being guiltie of high treaſon, he and his children promiſing to obey the Imperiall chamber, ſuch as the Emperour ſhould erect; and for his entertainment, *Maurice* was charged to pay him a yearely pention of fiftie thouſand crownes: The towne of Wittenberg, and the caſtle of Goth, were deliuered to *Maurice*, leauing it to his diſcretion, to ſuffer *Frederics* children to dwell in Goth: and as for himſelfe, hee ſhould remaine the Emperours priſoner. There were many other ſharpe conditions impoſed vpon him, all which he ſigned, and refuſed but one article, which was, a promiſe to obey the decrees of the Councell of Trent, the which hee conſtantly reiected, ſaying, That he had rather die than yeeld to it: wherefore the Emperour cauſed it to be raſed out. Duke *Maurice* being now Elector, and hauing ioyned to his owne patrimonie the inheritance of prince *Frederic* of Saxonie, he began to be a ſuitor for the Landgraue of Heſſe, his father in law, imploying all his friends, as the marqueſſe of Brandebourg did in like maner, who in the end obtained a promiſe from the Emperour, to pardon his life, to remit all other puniſhments due to rebels, to leaue him his country, with one fort, furniſhed with artillerie: ſo as he did renounce all leagues, to the preiudice of him or his brother *Ferdinand*, obey the Imperial Chamber which the Emperor ſhould eſtabliſh, giue him all the reſt of his ordnance, pay him within foure moneths 150000 crownes, for the charges of the warre, to deliuer the priſoners which he held, and come and craue pardon of the Emperour.

Landgraue feared by the Emperour.

Defeat of the Elector of Saxony, and his taking.

Conditions impoſed vpon the Elector of Saxonie.

Conſtancie of the Elector Frederic.

Conditions propounded by the Emperor to the Landgraue.

The Landgraue hauing accepted theſe conditions, by the aduice of his counſellors, conſidering the preſent danger, he came to Hale in Saxonie, to the Emperor, on the eight and twentieth of Iune, where, before he preſented himſelfe vnto him, they brought him the former articles to ſigne: but for that they had added many things which were not contained in thoſe which the marqueſſe of Brandebourg and duke *Maurice* had ſent him,

he

A he would not doe any thing; for the which there was great queſtion betwixt him and the biſhop of Arras, who would needs haue him ſigne it. Among other things, they had added, That the Emperour did reſerue vnto himſelfe the interpretation of euerie article, and that the Landgraue did ſubmit himſelfe to the decrees of the Councell of Trent, for the which he ſhould giue caution. 1547

The Landgraue being preſt and threatened, remembring that *Brandebourg* and the new Elector, had promiſed to maintaine the confeſſion of Ausbourg, he ſigned, That he would obey the decrees of a holy, free, and generall Councell, where both head and members ſhould be reformed, as *Maurice* and *Brandebourg* would doe. This done, they B led him into a hall, whereas the Emperour was ſet vpon a throne, where kneeling downe before him, and confeſſing, That he had offended his Maieſtie, and deſerued puniſhment, he craued pardon, and implored his clemencie. The Emperour made anſwer by *George Selde*, That although he had deſerued grieuous puniſhment, yet vſing his clemencie, and yeelding to the intreaties of many princes and noblemen, whom he deſired to gratifie, he remitted the puniſhment which he had deſerued, either by loſſe of life and goods, or by perpetuall impriſonment. Which done, the Landgraue was carried backe to the duke of Aluaes lodging, where he ſupt; where, hauing plaied late at dice, he was amazed, when as offering to goe away, he was ſtaied, and had a gard giuen him: whereat the marqueſſe of Brandebourg and *Maurice* were much diſcontented, but there was no remedie, the C duke of Alba and the biſhop of Arras ſaying, That it was the Emperours pleaſure. This proceeding, which the Empetour ſought to juſtifie by gloſſes, depriued him of the fruit which he pretended of his enterpriſes: ſo eaſily are mans deſignes and imaginations ouerthrowne. *Submiſſion of the Landgraue.*

3 We muſt now returne to the Portugals at the Eaſt Indies, where the Turks ſought to expell them. They hauing honourably defended their fort at Diu, and concluded a peace with the Indians of Cambaia, in the yeare 1537, whereas the young king *Mamudo* had ſucceeded after the death of his vncle *Badurio*, into whoſe fauour *Zaffer* the Renegado did ſtill ſeeke to inſinuate himſelfe, and to whoſe wicked practiſes this laſt warre is chiefely attributed; deuiſing ſtill how hee might expell the Portugals, for D the effecting whereof he made ſuch ſecret preparations as hee thought neceſſarie, drawing men together from other barbarous nations, making of armes, ordnance, and harquebuſes: hauing with exceeding charge drawne fiue maſter workemen from Conſtantinople, and yet they circumuented the Chriſtians, making them beleeue, that it was to make warre againſt the king of Patano, an auncient enemie, which confined vpon them; and yet they ſought with great ſecrecie to incenſe the lords of the neighbour prouinces, againſt the Portugals: Notwithſtanding they intreated them verie louingly, and obſequiouſly, knowing that it was pleaſing vnto the king. With which policie they had made them ſo ſecure and careleſſe, as they were wholly giuen to the gaine of marchandiſe, and to propagate the faith of Chriſt in thoſe parts. The Portu- E gals then were growne ſo ſecure, and had ſo neglected all care of warre, as whereas *Garcia* of Noragna had left nine hundred foot in garriſon at Diu, there were not then aboue two hundred and fiftie, vnder the gouernement of *Iohn Maſcaregna*, who had ſucceeded *Iames de Soſa*; and, which was worſe, they had no munition to make fortie dayes defence, and for that the ſouldiers had wanted their pay, many of them had ſold their armes; all which was well knowne to *Zaffer*, and to king *Mamudio*, which made their deſignes more eaſie, and their hopes greater to bee freed from the Portugals. To make their enterpriſe more eaſie, *Zaffer* began to giue it out, That the king had giuen him that citie, and that hee would ſoone come and take poſſeſſion thereof: And although it ſeemed ſtrange, it being one of the chiefe townes of Cambaia, and F brought great profit vnto the king by trade of marchandiſe, yet it was the more credible, for that the towne was reduced in a manner vnder the Portugals dominion, and many times annoyed by the Turkes, ſo as it was not ſo beneficiall to the lord as it had beene, who long before had giuen another ſtrong place, called Sorrato, vnto *Zaffer*, beſides many other places which he had either purchaſed, or gotten by fauour. He writ vnto *Maſ-* *Portugals at the Indies.*

1547 *caregna*, as a friend, rejoycing, that by the kings bountie he had meanes to be his neigh- G
Iohn Maſcaregna gouernour at Diu. bour continually, and to enjoy more freely the fruits of their friendſhip: but knowing how diſtaſtful new lords were vnto their ſubjects, he ſhould be forced to come with ſome numbers of ſouldiers, to keepe them in awe that ſhould not like of his gouernement in the beginning: whereof he thought it good to aduertiſe him, to the end that *Maſcaregna* ſhould not ſuſpect, that they would not entertaine peace with king *Iohn* and the Portugals. But *Maſcaregna* began, in the end, to fall into conſideration of theſe things, thinking, that theſe great preparations could not be againſt the king of Patana (as they had giuen it out) who notwithſtanding did not moue; which made him feare that it was againſt the fort of Diu: Whereupon he did write to D. *Iohn de Caſtro*, Viceroy of the In- H
dies, remaining then at Goa: Hee did alſo write vnto *Anthonio Soſa*, gouernour of Chaul, and to *William Meneſes*, gouernour of Bazain, to let them vnderſtand in what a ſtrait the fort of Diu was, and what need he had of helpe; and therefore they two ſhould ſeeke to ſtop the victuals which ſhould come by ſea from that coaſt vnto the enemies, who ſtayed not long to enter the towne of Diu, with *Zaffer*, being then about fiue
Diu beſieged by the king of Cambaia. thouſand, but with ſuch a number of pioners and labourers, for their workes, as ſome affirme, they were almoſt thirtie thouſand. Moſt of the ſouldiers were Turkes and Abiſſins.

Among other aduantages which the king of Cambaia, and *Zaffer*, his generall in this enterpriſe, had gotten, this was moſt important, to haue begun the warre in the beginning I
of Winter, the which begins, in thoſe countries, when as the Spring begins with vs, about the beginning of March. But *Maſcaregna* knowing with what policie the enemie had wouen this web, and ſeeking, with the like diſſembling, to win time, and to prouide for himſelfe, he diſſembled the jealouſie he had of *Zaffers* deſigne: he ſeemed content with his comming to Diu, and to diſcouer his mind fully, hee ſent *Simon Feo*, a man of great judgement, to viſit him, and to congratulate his comming, who, with like counterfeiting, was joyfully and honourably receiued by the Renegado, yet ſeeking to effect his deſignes, he began to diſcouer plainely to what end he was come thither. He propounded vnto *Feo*, That hee would build a wall which ſhould diuide the commerce of the fort from the towne (the which had beene granted at the peace making, K
ſo as it were no hinderance to the fort) whereof *Zaffer* made not any mention; but hee complained, that the traffique at ſea was reduced to that point, as the king of Cambaia, to his great diſhonour, could not diſpoſe of it, being expelled out of the poſſeſſion by their violence, whom ſome few yeares before hee had of courteſie receiued into his realme, to make them partakers, as other ſtrangers, of the trade of marchandiſe in thoſe countries.

All this being related to *Maſcaregna* by *Feo*, he found, that the Barbarian deſired as much to haue an occaſion to fall to open warre, as he ſought to auoid it for the reaſons aboue mentioned, and therefore he ſent again to *Zaffer*, to let him vnderſtand, That whereas by order from the king he would renew ſome treatie touching the Nauigation, it muſt bee L
done with the Viceroy *Caſtro*, who being not farre off, would ſoone reſolue, and according to equitie: Touching the building of the wall, hee was not to hinder it, perſuading himſelfe it ſhould be according to the concluſion of the peace; whereof he ſent a copie by *Feo*. The Renegado tooke occaſion vpon this writing to breake out into armes, who growing into a rage, tare it, and put the embaſſadour into priſon: Then giuing the Portugals no more reſpite, hee began to make his approaches, and to aſſault the fort. *Maſcaregna* foreſeeing all this, had made ſuch prouiſions as time would giue him leaue, and hauing an eſpeciall care of their want of victuals, he had ſent away the weakeſt women, with the children, and other vnprofitable perſons, in two marchants ſhips, to Bazain and Chaul: and for that the fort was large, hauing ſeuen bulwarkes, and hee M
ſo weakely manned, hee diuided his ſouldiers and commaunders, appointing twentie to euerie bulwarke, and the reſt where neceſſitie ſhould require. He had alſo drawne into the fort many Chriſtian marchants which did traffique in the towne, and did prouide for all things neceſſarie for a ſiege.

The

A The ſeat of this rocke was in an iſland where the towne ſtood, made by a riuer which fals into the ſea: (Some haue written, it is Indus, making no difference betwixt Diul and Diu:) That part of the iſland which lies betwixt the ſea and the riuer, makes an angle, and riſeth with certaine ſteepe rockes; there the fort is built: ſo as on two parts towards the ſea and the riuer, it is ſafe. Towards the citie, beſides the ſtrong walls and bulwarks, there was a large deepe ditch, which did ſtretch from the ſea vnto the riuer. Within the riuer, right againſt the fort, there was a ſtrong tower, not eaſie to bee battered, for that towards the chanell (which was betwixt it and the fort, whereas the marchants ſhips lay) there could no enemies ſhip come in, being ſubiect to the canon on either ſide: B but in the other chanell they had entrance, but in ſmall barkes, the water was ſo low; and yet the ſouldiers could not wade through. The Portugals reſerued two ſhips in the great chanell, the which vnder the commaund of *Iames Latta*, hauing alſo armed two ſmaller veſſels like gallies, *Maſcaregna* commaunded they ſhould ſcoure that coaſt, to ſtop the victuals and other commodities which came to the enemies: Wherein *Latta* ſhewed ſuch diligence, as in a ſhort time hee had taken foureteene barkes, laden with victuals and diuers other things for the vſe of the armie. But *Zaffer*, who had long before deuiſed how this enterpriſe ſhould bee gouerned, and therefore had brought ſuch a multitude of labourers, in one night he cauſed a fort to bee made vpon a little hill betwixt the towne and the caſtle; and hauing made *Fort raiſed by the Barbarians againſt Diu.* C the outward part of ſtone, many foot thicke, within hee filled it with earth, leauing ſome loope holes for ordnance. The like hee made in the towne, the which was ſo high, as it did equall the higheſt part of the fort, hauing ſafe parapets: Hee armed the wall on the out ſide with ſackes of cotton, to defend it from the enemies ordnance. This fort being ſeene in the morning, did not amaze the defendants, being prepared to reſiſt the Barbarians aſſaults euen vnto the laſt gaſpe, for the honour of Chriſts name, and the ſeruice of their king, labouring with all induſtrie and valour, to fruſtrate the deſignes of a treacherous enemie: and then the ordnance of either ſide began that cruell warre, which did much honour the Portugals name in all the Eaſt.

D To the firſt fort *Zaffer* added a ſecond and a third, with the like ſpeed, both towards the ſea ſhore: and for that the ground was ſtonie and hard, ſo as they could not well make their trenches, but with loſſe of time, they aduanced a wall of ſtone, trauerſed in ſuch wiſe one before another, as whileſt they aduanced, they were ſafe from the ordnance of the caſtle; and with this art they might eaſily come within a ſtones caſt. There hee began to rayſe a ſtrong rampar of ſtone, thirteene foot thicke, and behind fortified it with earth, the which they brought from the ſea vnto the riuer, and ſo they enuironed the fort on that ſide towards the citie, where it might be aſſaulted: And for that there was a great diſtance betwixt the firſt great forts, they made ſome leſſer along the wall, in the which they placed ſmall Corps de gard, to de- E fend the workes againſt the enemies ſallies; this renegado planting ordnance and ſmall ſhot, with great judgement, to batter the fort continually.

Hee had a deſigne alſo to take the tower vpon the riuer, and thereby not onely make the way more eaſie to take the fort, but alſo hinder ſuch ſuccours as ſhould come by ſea vnto the Portugals, for being maſter of that port, the armie which came from Goa, ſhould with great difficultie land any men. To attempt this tower, they had prepared a great marchants ſhip which they had kept in the hauen, making a fort of wood vpon it; and fortifying it with cotton againſt the defendants ſhot, and it was made ſo high, as being brought vnder the tower at a full ſea, it did reach to the top of it: With theſe and with certaine floates of plankes which they thought to F make faſt at a low water, they reſolued to aſſault the tower; whereof *Maſcaregna* was aduertiſed, who feared the ſucceſſe would be daungerous: Wherefore he commaunded *Latta*, That he ſhould come in the night with his two ſhips, and fire that engine within the port: for being depriued of that ſhip, they ſhould hardly at that ſeaſon prouide another, the riuers being carefully kept by the Portugals. On the fiue

1547 and twentieth of Aprill *Latta* went with all the ſilence that might be, to burne this ſhip, G
yet he was diſcouered by the noyſe of them that rowed, giuing an alarme vnto the ene-
mie: notwithſtanding, hauing but twentie ſouldiers with him, hee went on to execute
his deſigne, whereas they found another let, for that it was not poſſible for them to fa-
ſten the wild fire which they had brought, vnto the ſhip: yet hee left not to effect his de-
ſigne after another manner; for ſome of them leaping, with great reſolution, into the
ſhip, and cutting the cables ſpeedily, they towed her, in deſpight of the enemie, into
the chanell vnder the fort, where they burnt it at their eaſe, making great joy for this hap-
pie ſucceſſe on Eaſter day.

On the eighteenth of May *Fernando* of Caſtro, the Viceroyes ſonne, arriued with eight H
barks, like gallies, who by reaſon of the contrarie ſeaſon, could not haue come ſooner,
without verie great danger, he brought them ſome ſmall ſuccours of men and munition,
promiſing him, in his fathers name, that they ſhould haue greater ſuccours, as time
would permit. His arriuall renewed their joy, and taking a view what ſouldiers they
had, they found 450 valiant men, which were better than two thouſand hirelings, and
gaue hope of a victorie, although their enemies were hardie and reſolute, and furniſhed
with all things to annoy them. They did trouble them of the fort with their continuall
ſhooting, and ſlue many, yet they had made no royall batterie, with any intent to
giue an aſſault, neither were their defences taken away, as the art of warre required: the
which was reſerued, for that king *Mamudio* would haue the honour to be preſent at ſo I
important an action: Wherefore, on the fiue and twentieth of Iune, he being come in-
to the towne, at the breake of day, there were ſuddenly three great peeces of ordnance
planted vpon the Barbarians trenches, which they called Baſilisks, with other ſmall pee-
Batterie againſt the fort of Diu. ces of batterie, againſt two bulwarkes, one called Saint *Iames*, and the other Saint *Thomas*,
and the curtaine betwixt them. *Maſcaregna* had prouided for all this, who had not onely
cauſed a platforme to be made for the defence thereof, but alſo, fearing they would vn-
dermine that of Saint *Thomas*, he cauſed a countermine to be made, but with exceeding
great toyle, by reaſon of the hardneſſe of the ſtone whereon it ſtood: vpon which bul-
warke he did alſo plant two great peeces, with the which hee did wonderfully annoy
the enemie, breaking two of their Baſiliskes, and diſmounting the third. They continu- K
ed their batterie fiue dayes againſt thoſe two bulwarkes, and did ſomewhat ruine
that of Saint *Thomas*, and they did ſo ſpoyle the parapets of Saint *Iames*, as the gun-
ners could not ſtand to charge their peeces: yet for all this they ſaw no meanes to take
the fort, and they were rather fit to conſume the beſieged at leaſure, than to make way
for an aſſault. Afterwards they planted another batterie againſt Saint *Iohns* bulwarke,
which was weaker, reſoluing to ſeeke to force it and the other two, which they found
to bee in bad eſtate: wherefore they began to batter them anew with many great pee-
ces. In the meane time there fell out an accident, which did ſo terrifie king *Mamudio*,
as, doubting of his life, hee returned to Madaba, and was neuer more ſeene in the
campe; for that a peece being diſcharged from the fort, ſlue a kinſman of his, which L
was verie neere him: Yet *Zaffer* continuing his deſigne, hee ruined Saint *Thomas*,
Saint *Iohn*, and the curtaine, verie much, whoſe breaches falling into the ditch, they be-
gan to make the way euen for the Barbarians to goe to the aſſault.

They had alſo rayſed in the neereſt trench a caualier, or mount, from whence
they might looke into the fort, ſo as the Portugals could not ſafely goe to their
places of gard, without great daunger: and therefore *Maſcaregna* was forced to
rayſe vp a platforme againſt it, whereon hee planted fortie harquebuſiers, vnder
Anthonio Pezanna, to driue the enemie from thence, which could not bee done
without great toyle, and the loſſe of many: ſo as the number of the beſieged de-
creaſed dayly, but they increaſed in courage and reſolution. The harquebuſiers vp- M
on the platforme, not performing that which was needfull, they raiſed another caualier
neere vnto the church, on the which hauing planted a Baſiliske, they made ſuch ſpoyle
of the enemies, as no man durſt ſtay there. It ſeemed the ruines of the bulwarkes were
ſuch, as if they might fill vp the ditch to come to the aſſault, there would bee no
great

A great difficultie to force the fort, and therefore with a long and infinit toyle he began to dig certaine trenches to fill vp the ditch: and for that they would not be troubled in the carriage of it, they were couered ouer head with quarters of timber and chaulke layed thicke vpon it, to defend it from fire and ſhot. Carrying ſtuffe by this chanell, and caſting it into the ditch, they made their worke in ſuch ſort, as they were not annoyed, nor yet ſeene by the defendants: for the which they found a remedie, in opening a little doore, whereby they were accuſtomed to goe into the ditch: but it was ſtopped vp with the ruines, and it did behooue them to cleanſe it, and make vſe thereof, the which they did verie ſecretly in the night, to feed the enemie the lon- 1547
B ger with that hope. But they in the end finding that their worke did not aduance, and diſcouering the reaſon, they drew *Zaffer* himſelfe thither to view the place, and to prouide ſome remedie; a happie accident for the beſieged: for whileſt that hee went carefully vp and downe conſidering of all things, putting his head aboue the trench, and leaning vpon his hand, a great ſhot came and tooke away his hand, and the top of his head, ſo as he fell downe dead. Hee being ſlaine, the armie was in ſome confuſion to name a ſucceſſour, ſo as attending order from the king, he declared that *Rumecan* the ſonne of *Zaffer* deceaſed, ſhould hold his place, who in his fathers life time had beene generall of the ordnance. This man ſhewed himſelfe much more carefull and vnderſtanding, than either friends or enemies did at the firſt beleeue, ſo as
C following euerie action without reſt, and trying all poſſible meanes, they rayſed vp the caualier againe with new matter, being halfe ruined, where hauing planted two Baſiliskes, they made ſo great a ruine, as they ſtopt vp the doore by the which the Chriſtians came forth, to emptie the ditch, ſo as they could no more oppoſe themſelues, being tyred by a multitude of their enemies, which came daily in great numbers to the campe, and the beſieged decreaſing wonderfully; and therefore they had ſent another Fregate to the Viceroy, to ſolicite him to ſend them greater ſuccours.

Zaffer generall of the armie againſt Diu, ſlain.

The enemies hauing filled vp the ditch, and torne the bulwarkes of Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Thomas* verie ſore, they ſought to climbe vp, hauing ſet vp long beames and
D peeces of wood croſſe, like ladders, with ſuch obſtinacie, as the vndaunted valour of the defendants was not ſufficient to repulſe them, vſing many meanes to annoy them, whereof one wrought great effect. They tyed certaine piles together with chaynes of yron, and betwixt euerie pile they put pitch, rozen, and other matter to burne, the which being fired, and caſt vpon the enemie, it did burne and ſpoyle them, and at the leaſt did ſtay their furie, yet neither fire, yron, nor ſtones, could terrifie them: Seeing therefore that place in great daunger, and the little fort made neere to Saint *Iohns* bulwarke being weake, from the which both it and the curtaine were defended by *Antonio Pazanna*, with fortie ſouldiers, hee was commaunded, if need required, to goe and ſuccour D. *Fernando de Caſtro* with ſome of his men,
E who on the nineteenth of Iulie had with great valour repulſt the enemies, which were come in great numbers vpon the breach. But the enemie hauing now made the ditch euen, he reſolued the next day to giue a generall aſſault, going the night before to their temples, and praying with great affection, after the manner of the Gentiles, to their imaginarie gods: Which *Fernando Caruaial*, captaine of the tower vpon the water, ſeeing, hee aduertiſed *Maſcaregna*, that hee might prepare for his defence with ſuch forces as he had remaining. Two houres before day the Barbarians preſented themſelues to the aſſault: their greateſt force was againſt Saint *Thomas* bulwarke, where *Lewis de Soſa* with certaine choice ſouldiers behaued themſelues worthily, though with ſome loſſe. And at this time the Portugals leauing the places of leaſt dan-
F ger, to ſuccour where need required, had left the corner of the fort next vnto the ſea without defendants, where (by reaſon of the height of the rocks) they did not thinke the enemie would make any attempt: but they (whether diſcouering it then, or ſuſpecting it before, as it is likely) being not yet day, and the tide being gone had left the water very low, ſent ſome of their moſt actiue and reſolute ſouldiers with ladders, who (being threeſcore in number) mounted without diſcouerie. In the end they were diſcouered to be not only

Aſſault giuen at Diu.

Aſſault generall at Diu.

1547 vpon the walls, but within the houſes, where falling to ſpoyle, they found ſome little reſiſtance made by the women who were there remaining, who both there and at the wals, did vſe armes, and aſſiſt their husbands and brethren in ſo great danger. Whereof *Maſcaregna* being aduertiſed, he with a diſcreet ſecrecie (for that he would not amaze them that defended the breach) taking ſome ſouldiers with him from places leaſt in danger, went and charged the enemie, whereof ſome he ſlue, the reſt caſt themſelues from thoſe rocks into the ſea, but few eſcaped. They fought obſtinatly at S. *Thomas* bulwarke, where there were about 1000 of the aſſailants ſlaine, and they were ſo wearied, as they were forced to retire: but ſoone after, hauing brought freſh ſouldiers, they gaue a more furious aſſault than before, and were as valiantly repulſt by the Chriſtians: and it is reported for a wonder, that in this cruell incounter there were onely ſeuen Portugals ſlaine, but many were hurt. Two dayes after they gaue another aſſault, whereas they loſt aboue three hundred ſouldiers, in which *Fernando de Caſtro*, and *Lewis de Soſa*, did win much honor. The like did *Francis* of Almeida, who hauing the gard of S. *Thomas*, about noone time, when as other men vſe to take their reſt, the enemies ran furiouſly to the aſſault, the which he with twentie fiue ſouldiers maintained valiantly, vntill that ſome others came to ſecond them; where the fight was cruel for ſome houres, with great loſſe to the Barbarians, where they loſt 800 men. But the defendants began to be out of hope of victorie, their numbers being diminiſhed by death, and weakened, for that many were hurt, and the aſſaylants on the other ſide were much fortified, there being come vnto the campe, a ſupplie of foureteene thouſand ſouldiers, vnder a certaine lord of Cambaia, called *Moiatecan*: beſides, within the fort they had great want of victuals, and many hurt and ſicke for want of good feeding. Afterwards the Barbarians began to make mines, with great ſecrecie, making ſhew of other approaches; but on Saint *Laurence* day, hauing brought one to perfection, vnder S. *Johns* bulwarke, they made offer of an aſſault, to draw many thither to defend it; but when they thought it time, they retired without the compaſſe of the mine, and then gaue fire to it, which blue all that building into the ayre: in which accident there dyed aboue ſixtie valiant ſouldiers, and men of account, among which were D. *Fernando de Caſtro*, the Viceroyes ſonne, a young man of great worth, *Iohn* of Almeida, *Lewis Mello*, *Diego Sotomaior*, *Aluaro Ferriera*, *Roderigo Soſa*, *Lorenzo Faria*, *Iohn Brandano*, *George* of Almeida, *Triſtan Soſa*, *Francis Lupio*, and *Garcia Ferracia*. It is written, That *Maſcaregna* doubting of ſome fraud, when he ſaw the Barbarians retire, aduertiſed *Fernando de Caſtro*, That he ſhould leaue that place; but he was not obeyed. The Infidels would not looſe the opportunitie of this ruine, but ſuddenly aduanced to enter into the place, where they found foure ſouldiers onely to make reſiſtance, for that of twentie which were remaining aliue, the reſt were ſo amazed at this accident, as they could not doe any ſeruice. In the meane time thoſe foure, more by the aſſiſtance of God than any humane force, ſtaied the enemies furie, vntill the comming of *Maſcaregna* with ſome choyce ſouldiers, who repulſt the enemie, being fauoured by the approaching night: And in the meane time others labouring behind, they had raiſed vp a wall of ſtone, without morter, ſixteene ſpans thicke, the which they did afterwards rampar with earth: and thus they repaired the ruines of that baſtion. They continued their mines in other places, eſpecially vnder Saint *Thomas*, where the Portugals countermines auailing them nothing, they ruined a great part of it. The like they did to others, and were aduanced into the place, and had gotten footing into Saint *Iames* church, from whence the Portugals could not expell them, ſo as they drew a wall through the middeſt, and it remained a lodging for them both ſome dayes.

A ſecond aſſault.

A third aſſault.

Bulwarke of S. Iohn blowne vp with a mine.

The Viceroy being aduertiſed of the progreſſe of this ſiege, foreſeeing their need, ſent another ſonne of his, called D. *Aluaro*, with foureteene veſſels; who parting from Goa on Saint *Iames* day, which was in thoſe countries the verie height of the Spring, he arriued (notwithſtanding the foule weather) at Bazain: and for that he knew it would be impoſſible (by reaſon of ſtormes) to come all together to Diu, he gaue order, they ſhould all get thither as they could; ſo as all of them arriued ſoone or late, as they could worke it out at ſea. D. *Aluaro de Caſtro*, and *Francis de Meneſes*, arriued the eighth of Auguſt with the greateſt part, hauing not brought aboue 400 ſouldiers, who had much courage, but

Succours ſent from Goa to Diu.

not

A not ſo much militarie judgement, as the ſtate of their affaires required. They pretended that ſtanding alwaies vpon their defence, they had loſt much, and therefore they ſhould ſally forth couragiouſly vpon the enemy, and hinder his proceedings. 1547

The good reaſons of *Maſcaregna*, did ſomewhat reſtraine their forwardneſſe: when as hearing that the enemy ſought to draw two great peeces of ordnãce out of one of the ruined Baſtions, they held it an inſupportable affront, forcing *Maſcaregna* to giue thẽ leaue to ſallie forth, who to auoide a greater miſchiefe by a ſedition, yeelded to this neceſſarie remedie, to whome he ſpake after this manner. That it was fit ſouldiers ſhould bee gouerned by their Captaine, and not gouerne him; that they ſhould attend their enſigne B and not take it by violence, as it did behoue a commander and his Councellors, to know how to mannage warre. But you hauing now in a manner laid violent hands vpon me, and preſented your ſelues before me with ſeditious words and lookes, the Maieſtie of command is ouer-ruled by an vnreaſonable deſire, by an indiſcreet hope: Goe on and God make it ſucceſſefull vnto you; let them know your valour and the force of your armes: I will be content to follow you, who by right ſhold lead you; & although it be in an vnſeaſonable time, yet will I be partaker of your toile and daunger. Remember that in going into the enemies trenches, & in fighting, you continue as valiant and reſolute as you haue ſhewed your ſelues before the fight.

Importunitie of ſome Portugals

After which ſpeech, when occaſion & time ſerued, he diuided his little army into three C ſmall ſquadrons leauing ſome few to gard the fort. The firſt he gaue to *Aluaro de Caſtro*, the ſecond to *Francis de Meneſes*, and himſelfe remained with the third to ſuccour where need ſhould require: which action was performed with as little diſcretion as it was begunne: For they were no ſooner in the enemies trenches but they began to doubt of the euent, and although they did terrifie thoſe that were then in gard, killing ſome, and putting the reſt to flight; yet when as they ſaw the great ſquadron, began to march from the bodie of the armie, they were ſo ſurpriſed with feare, as they had no care but how to ſaue themſelues by flight, neither could they which had retained more valor, make the retreat without diſorder. The loſſe was great, for among a hundred that were ſlaine, there were diuers of great worth, as *Francis de Meneſes*, who led the ſecond ſquadron, *Francis* of Almei- D da, *Lupo de Soſa*, and *Edward de Meneſes*, ſonne to the earle of Feria, who would not be partaker of his companions defect, but making a ſtand to withſtand the furie of the Barbarians, contemning their horrible cries, and fighting valiantly, exhorting the reſt both by his words & example, to vanquiſh with the ſword and not by flight, he dyed honourably. D. *Aluaro de Caſtro* mounting vp a wall, had a great blow on the hinder part of his head with a ſtone caſt out of a ſling, the which battering his head peece did hurt him verie ſore, cauſing him to fall backeward, where hee had beene ſlaine, if *Maſcaregna* had not come preſently to ſuccour him, & carried him into the fort, as he did all the reſt that were wounded. This vnfortunate action, which hapned the firſt of September, did much weaken that ſmall garriſon: yet *Maſcaregna* fainted not, but prouided ſuch remedies for E his defence, as time and meanes would giue his leaue: The enemie did ſo ruine the Bulwarkes and courtines with his mines, as planting diuers peeces of artillerie in thoſe mines againſt the Portugals, they did wonderfully annoy them within the fort, wherefore the beſeeged were forced to labour day and night, and to make new defences, either fighting or working continually, hauing little leaſure to eat, or reſt, their number being ſo ſmall.

The Viceroy D. *Iohn de Caſtro* had beene aduertiſed of the death of his ſonne, who ſuppreſſing his particuler greefe, vſed great diligence to prouide a remedie for the generall good; He therefore firſt of all diſpatcht *Aluaro de Acugna* with order to gather together thoſe few Portugall ſhips, that were in thoſe ſeas, and hauing put ſouldiers into them F to ſaile preſently to Diu, the which hee effected, comming thether the laſt of September, with fiue ſhips and ſo many men as the garriſon was encreaſed to twelue hundred, ſo as they might with more eaſe make head againſt the enemy. Soone after hee ſent fiue other ſhips from Goa with foure hundred ſouldiers, and with them many Artificats, and ſome Architects for the vſe of building, ſo as they grew daily more confident, neither did they feare, (hauing heard that a certaine kinſman of *Zaffers* who had

Succour brought to Diu.

beene

1547 beene ſent to Caire to leuie men, came ſailing towards Diu) to incounter him with G
Victorie of the Portugals at ſea their armie, whome hauing fought with all, defeated and taken him with many others priſoners, the reſt being ſunke or diſperſed at Sea, they returned ioyfull to their Companions. They would not ſaue one of their priſoners aliue, but beeing ſlaine, they caſt their heads into the current of the riuer, to carrie newes vnto the enemie, except that of *Xaffers* kinſman, which was ſet vpon the top of a launce. But the Viceroy with all his diligence, could not draw ſuch an armie together, as hee might hope to raiſe the ſiege, before the middeſt of October: ſo as hauing about ſeuenty ſhips great and ſmall, hee beganne his voyage, and hauing ſurmounted all difficulties, being forced by foule weather to ſtay ſome daies at Bazain, hee came to the H
D. Iohn Caſtro the viceroy comes to relieue Diu. coaſt of Diu, the ſeuenth day of Nouember: where hee preſently ſent for *Maſcaregna*, being deſirous to vnderſtand particularly in what eſtate they were, where they tooke councell how to put ſouldiers into the fort, and to charge the enemies camp, which being done, *Maſcaregna* returned, and prepared to receiue the ſuccours on the ſide towards the Sea, where the enemie leaſt ſuſpected it; and hauing planted ordnance in all places, where they might annoy them, they did it in ſuch ſort as it did much aduance their affaires, neither did the enemies ſhew themſelues feareſull; but they anſwered them with the like art and courage, and foreſeeing that they meant to charge the campe at one inſtant, both from their armie at Sea, and their fort at land, they did fortifie that part towards the riuer, with a gard of fifteene thouſand Souldiers. I

The Viceroy had fore-ſeene all this, and therefore hee vſed a politike ſtratagem, on the ninth day at night, hauing drawne two thouſand ſouldiers out of the ſhips into the fort, hee cauſed the whole fleet to ſtand as it were in armes, ſome holding burning torches, ſome held two launces, and ſome an ower in oare hand, and a match light in the other, all men of no ſeruice, cauſing the ſhips to moue but ſoftly, as if they would giue an aſſault to that part of the riuer, where the enemies feared moſt, and to gouerne all theſe things hee had left ſome captaines, himſelfe being gone to land.

All things being readie, the ſouldiers hauing reconciled themſelues vnto God, in K
the morning they went out of the fort, the Viceroy hauing cauſed all the gates to bee ſet wide open, and leauing a gard within the fort, commaunded by *Anthonio Corigia*, they did not feare with fiue and twentie hundred ſouldiers, to goe and charge an armie of forty thouſand in their owne trenches. The enemie was verie watchfull of the landing of the Armie, where they moſt feared the daunger, for that they were perſuaded there could not come any great numbers from the beſeeged, wherefore they had placed the beſt of their forces on that ſide, which made the Portugals victorie the more eaſie. *Maſcaregna* had the fore-ward, with foure hundred choiſe Souldiers, who beeing entred into the Barbarians trenches, had fought valiantly, and they began to retyre, when as freſh men arriuing, hee had good need of ſuc- L
cours, and ſo they did fight often that day, with an interchangeable inclination of victorie, yet the Portugals aduanced ſtill; and hauing wonne one of their forts, in the end by their exceeding valour and the fauour of heauen, they defeated the
Victorie gotten by the Portugals at Diu. Barbarians, and put them to flight, ſome eſcaping by a bridge which they had made, ioyning the Iſland to the firme land, all the reſt of what age and ſexe ſoeuer, were made ſubiect to the reuenging ſword of the Conqueror, who incenſed with crueltie vſed againſt them at that ſeege, and with the treachcrie of them of Cambaia, would not ſuffer any one to bee taken priſoner, except *Iuzartano* a Captaine of Cambaia, much eſteemed, who was in the Viceroies power. The ſouldiers hatred was ſo great, as they not onely ſlue men, women with childe, and infants, but euen their tame cattell. M

Rumecano the Sonne of *Zaffer* (who had the chiefe charge of the army) was found dead, with *Audecano* a Captaine of Cambaia, who came the day before vnto the armie with fiue thouſand Souldiers, and *Idalcano* a Captaine of ſtrange ſouldiers. They tooke the royall Standard of Cambaia, with many others, they recouered their loſt ordnance, and tooke thirtie and fiue peeces of the enemies: but the ſpoile gotten afterwards

A wards in Diu did much inrich the Souldiers. They write that this cruell ſeege continued eight moneths: there dyed one thouſand fiue hundred Portugals, and in this laſt battell onely ſixtie, and foure thouſand Infidels. The Viceroy hauing taken order for the repayring and new building of the fort, haning alſo rewarded the well deſeruing ſouldiers, returned to Malaga. 1547

4 During the warre in Germanie, whereof wee haue formerly made mention, there was a marriage concluded in Fraunce, betwixt *Ioane* of Albret, the heire of Nauarre, and *Anthonie* of Bourbon, duke of Vendoſme, a prince of the bloud royall of France, the marriage was celebrated at Molins, in Bourbonois. This realme of Nauarre B was reduced vnto a Prouince, when as the duke of Alua ſeaſed thereon in the name of the king D. *Ferdinand* in execution of the ſentence of pope *Iulio* the ſecond, and had been alwaies gouerned by Viceroys and Lieutenants, as wee haue ſaid. In the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and two, D. *Iohn de Lauega*, Lord of Grayal, was viceroy, in whoſe time D. *Ferdinand Aluares* of Toledo, grand childe to the duke of Alua, raſed the wals of Lombier, which ſtood vntill that time: D. *Lewis* of Mendoſa, Marqueſſe of Montdejar ſucceeded the Lord of Grajal in the gouernment of Nauarre, in the yere one thouſand fiue hundred forty and three; and in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred forty and ſixe, D. *Aluaro Gomes Manrique* of Mendoſa, entred into the gouernment, and ſucceſſiuely in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred forty and ſeuen, D. *Lewis Velaſco*, at which C time this marriage was conſummated.

Nauarre.

Mariage of Ioane heire of Nauarre to Anthony duke of Bourbon.

The emperour hauing gotten ſo great and abſolute a victorie, as hee thought he now held the reynes of all Germanie in his hand, he ſends D. *Ferdinād* of Toledo, duke of Alua into Spaine, to perſuade his Son to come vnto him into the low countries; whether he went carrying his priſoners with him in triūph, leauing *Ferdinād* king of Romans his brother to gouerne the affaires of the empire in his abſence, and for that D. *Philip* comming out of Spaine, he muſt leaue ſome great one there, with the title of gouernor; and to giue that dignitie to any lord of the countrie, it would breed jealouſie in the reſt, he reſolued to ſend *Maximilian* of Auſtria, prince of Hungarie, his nephew thither, to whome hee had deſigned for wife D. *Maria* his owne daughter, with a diſpenſation from the pope, for they D were couſin Germans. This Prince came and imbarked at Genoua, ſoone after the duke of Aluas departure, being accōpained by the Cardinal of Trent, the yong duke of Brunſwike, the earle of Mansfield and other noble men, & arriued at Barcelona, with a proſperous wind, whereas all the chiefe noblemen of Arragon and Caſtille came and met him; as their Gouernour and Viceroy, and conducted him to Vailledolit, where the marriage betwixt him & D. *Maria* was ſolemnized. Theſe princes being maried, they gouerned Spain for a time in prince *Philips* abſence, who parted in the ſame fleet, & in the ſame veſſel that had brought *Maximilian*. Being arriued at Genoua, he ſtaied there fifteen daies, where he was viſited and honoured with gifts and preſents, by al the princes and potentates of Italie, and by the eſtates of the emperour his father. From Genoua he came to Milan, where E he had a ſolemne entrie made him, and then by Mantoua & Trent hee continued his voyage throgh Germany, & came to Bruſſelles, where the emperor attended him, who made a progreſſe with him through all the prouinces of his hereditarie countrie, cauſing an oth of fealtie to be taken vnto him as to his onely heire.

Caſtille.

Prince Philip goes into Flanders.

At the eſtates of Caſtille who were held at Vailledolit in the yeare 1548, it was decreed that the emperour ſhould be intreated againe, (as he had beene often) to pay the money which he had borrowed of the king of Portugall, by colour whereof he did not purſue his right vnto the Molucqus, for the which there were deputies ſent vnto him into Flanders, who offered him in the name of the eſtates, to diſcharge that debt, ſo as hee would graunt them that trade for ſixe yeares, making the landing and entring of Spices at the Groin, as F he had formerly ordained; which ſixe yeares being expired, the emperour ſhould receiue the benefit of the trade: whereunto he gaue no great eare, for that hee would not diſpleaſe D. *Iohn* king of Portugall, to whome he bare great affection. 1548

6 At that time there came vnto *Maximilian* of Auſtria, and D. *Maria* of Caſtille his wife, gouerning in Spaine, *Muley Buaſon*, a Prince of the Moores, and Lord of Veles de la Gomera in Afrike, who had beene brought into Spaine by D. *Bernardine de Mendoſa*

Muley Buaſon a Moore demands ſuccor in Spaine

1548 *Mendoſa*, generall of the galleys, to demaund ſuccour, againſt *Muley Mahumet* Xerife G of Marroc, who had expelled *Muley Hamet* his kinſman, of the race of the *Merins*, out of the realme of Fez. This Moore was honourably entertained by *Maximilian*, but touching his chiefe buſineſſe, hee aduiſed him to goe vnto the emperour, the which hee did, and paſt through Fraunce, but hee could not obtaine that which hee pretended, notwithſtanding that hee offered to doe homage to the emperour, and to pay him tribute for the realme of Fez. Hee knew well there was no great aſſurance in the promiſes of thoſe Barbariens, who are naturally diſloyall, and that it was in vaine to make any enterpriſes in Afrike, if hee did not altogether follow it; elſe it would prooue but a fruitleſſe toile and charge. After long ſoliciting, *Buaſon* return- H ned into Spaine, and made a like ſute vnto D. *Iohn* king of Portugall, who gaue him ſome ſuccours, the which had like to haue ruined him, but afterwards hee made good vſe of them.

Councell tranſferred from Trent to Bolonia.

7 The Councell continued at Trent vnto the ſeuenth Seſſion, touching the doctrine and reformation of Prelates, and the Pope ſeeing that Germanie was in ſuch a combuſtion, as there was no likelihood of any reconciliation, hee thought it expedient for his affaires of Cologne to draw the Councell out of Germany, and transferre it to Bolonia, a towne belonging to the church, cauſing a decree to bee made in the eight Seſſion, as if this tranſlation had come from the motion of the Fathers that were aſſembled, by reaſon of the indiſpoſition of many which fell ſicke through the bad conſtituion I of the ayre, and the diſcommodities of the cold and moiſt countrie. The Legats went, and were followed by the Prelates and Doctors of Italie, but the Germanes were diſcontented: wherefore the emperor vpon the complaints which were made, ſent his embaſſadors vnto the Councell of Bolonia, (which hee called an aſſembly) which were *Francis Vargas*, and *Martin Velaſco*, to the end the Councell might be ſetled againe at Trent.

The Princes and States of the empire being aſſembled at Ausbourge, did alſo write verie earneſtly vnto the Pope, beſeeching him to cauſe his Legats to returne to Trent, and to contiuue the Councel there, vnleſſe he wold ſpoile that which had bin wel begun. The Pope referred it to the fathers that were at Bolonia; who could not be induced to retract that which they had reſolued by a common conſent, and as it were (ſaid they) by the inſpi- K ration of the holy Ghoſt.

The emperour being diſcontented at the Popes obſtinacie, thought to finde ſome meanes to reconcile the controuerſies in Religion, without attending a councell any longer, for the which hee cauſed a booke to be made, which he called Interin, containing in ſubſtance all the doctrine of the church of Rome, & the ceremonies thereof; and to giue occaſion to the Proteſtants to receiue it, they were allowed to communicat vnder both kindes, and for Preeſts to marrie. It was cenſured by the Pope in thoſe two articles, and was reiected by ſome of the Proteſtāt Princes: but afterwards the Councel was returned againe to Trent, after the death of *Paul* the third, vnder Pope *Iulio* the third.

Interin of the emperor reiected by the Pope and Proteſtants

1550 *Sedition at Peru for the gouernment.*

8 The emperour being come this yeare, one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftie, out of L the Netherlands, to an imperiall aſſembly at Ausbourge, doctor D. *Pedro Guaſca*, (being newly come from Peru, where he had commanded foure yeares) came vnto him to giue an accompt of his gouernment, of the fruits whereof hee brought him a great ſumme of gold, the which did much further his affaires. This man by his wiſdome and good gouernment, had ended the ſedition and rebellion of the *Pizares* in that countrie, which had continued many yeares much vnpleaſing to the emperour; and therefore he was verie welcome: wherefore I haue thought it conuenient to make a breefe relation of the whole action. Wee haue formerly made mention of the quarrell betwixt *Francis Pizarro* and *Iames* of Almagra, either of them ſeeking to command ambitiouſly ouer his companion in that rich countrie, which they happily conquered with mutuall M duetie, and their common armes: wherein they had gotten great honour if they could haue mainteined themſelues, but they grew into factions, and to ciuill warre, pretending nothing leſſe in the end, then to make themſelues abſolute Lords, and it hapned after many attempts and enterpriſes, to the preiudice one of another, that *Francis Pizarro* had beene vanquiſhed in a great incounter, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred

A dred ſortie two and his brother *Ferdinand* taken, who notwithſtanding was ſoone after ſet at libertie, yet not without great difficulty. 1550

Hauing afterwards repaired their forces, and comming againe to fight, the miſfortune fell vpon *Almagro*, who being led to Cuſco, hee was there publikely, but vniuſtly, beheaded, by the commaundement of *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who was a little be-
B fore his priſoner. The ſon of *Iames* of Almagra carrying the ſame name, born in that coũtry of an Indian woman, deſirous to reuenge the vniuſt death of his father, found meanes to come by night into Lima, (otherwiſe called the towne of kings) where hee ſurpriſed *Francis Pizarro*, and a brother of his, and cut their throates in their owne lodging, and if
B *Gonſaluo Pizarro* their other brother had beene there, hee had paſt the ſame way, but hee was gone to make warre at Quintoa, in the prouince of Cauclane. *Francis Pizarro murthered.*

Gonſaluo, being aduertiſed of this accident hapned to his bretheren, brought backe his Souldiers, and beganne to make a cruell purſuite againſt young *Iames* of *Almagra*, and hee on the other ſide to make head againſt him, ſo as the whole Countrie was for ſome yeares miſerably afflicted with theſe factions, vntill that the emperour ſent a gouernour thither with ſome forces called *Vaſco de Caſtro*, who did ſomewhat ſuppreſſe theſe ſeditions, going firſt againſt *Iames* of *Almagra*, whome hee beſeeged in Cuſco, forcing the Inhabitants to deliuer him, hee cauſing his head to bee cut off without any long proceſſe.

C *Ferdinand Pizarro*, (who had put his father to the like death) beeing come at that time into Spaine with great treaſure, it may bee for that hee would not bee in Peru at the comming of *Vaſco de Caſtro*, and giue an accompt vnto him of his actions) was there committed to priſon in the Caſtle of Medina, where ſometime after at the inſtance of the kings Atturney generall, and vpon the accuſations which were ſent from the Indies, his proceſſe being made, hee was condemned to looſe his head, and the chiefe reaſon was, for that hee had vniuſtly and raſhly put *Iames* of *Almagra* the father to death.

It is ſaid, that through the quarrels of theſe mutines vnto that time, there had periſhed one hundred and fiftie thouſand Indians, ſometimes taking part with the
D one, ſometimes with the other. By the death of the heads it ſeemed the troubles had beene ended and ſuppreſt, there remaining none but *Gonſaluo Pizarro*, who kept himſelfe cloſe: but the change of the Gouernour made them greater than before. For it ſeeming to the emperour, or to the chiefe of his Councell, that *Vaſco de Caſtro* was not fit to gouerne that prouince of Peru, hee called him home, and ſent *Vaſco Nugnes de Velez*, in his place, with ſo abſolute and ſeuere a Commiſſion, as ſeeking to execute it, he cauſed in a maner all the Spaniards that were in that countrie, to reuolt with the Indians, hauing for the firſt act of his Tragedie declared all them guiltie of treaſon, which had carried armes, were it for the *Pizarres*, or the *Almagras*, not conſidering how farre this generalitie did extend, for among all the Spa-
E niards which dwelt at Peru, and the ſouldiers entertained there ſince the Conqueſt therof for the emperours ſeruice, there was not any one which had not followed ſome one of the parties, wherefore there were infinite appellations to the Councell of Spaine, and to the emperour, whereunto the new gouernour refuſing to yeeld, and ſtopping their paſſage into Spaine, which were deputed to carrie the juſtifications of ſo many men that were condemned, they were forced to rebell, choſing *Gonſaluo Pizarro* for their Captaine, the which he willingly accepted, being already incenſed, for the death of his brethren, but eſpecially for *Ferdinand*, whom they had beheaded in Spaine, beginning to make ſharpe warre againſt *Vaſco Nugnes*, and them that followed him, in the which a great number of his old Spaniſh ſouldiers periſhed. This new gouernour although he were vnfortunate in
F his exploits and enterpriſes, yet he continued in his ſeueritie or rather inſolency, ſo as ſuch as were about him, appointed to be his coũſellors by the emperor, were forced to lay hold of him, & deliuer him to the cuſtody of *Iohn Aluares*, for that he had ſlain *William Suares* of Caruajal, with his own hãd, for ſome priuat hatred, hauing an intent to ſend him into Spain by the firſt wind, as an vnprofitable perſon, yea prejudicial to the quiet of the coũtry, that he might giue an accõpt to the emperor of his actions, but the violence of the rebels, & of *Sentence inconſiderate and vniuſt.* *Gonſaluo Picarro head of the rebels,*

their

1550 their commaunder, *Gonſalno* was ſuch after this reſtraint of the Gouernour, (they of the Councell diſagreeing among themſelues) as they were forced with all ſpeede to deliuer him, to goueme this warre, the which prooued difficult, for *Picarro* being aſſiſted by *Francis* of Caruaial, a great Captaine, and an old experienced Souldier, hee then declared himſelfe openly againſt the Emperour, and contended for the Soueraigntie of Peru, hauing made the Towne of Cuſco the chiefe of that countrie, his ſtore-houſe for the warre. *Vaſco Nugnes* ſtriuing to reſiſt them ſomewhat raſhlie, was ſlaine in an Incounter neere vnto the towne of Quitoa, and his head was carried to Cuſco, and there made a publike ſpectacle, and ſcorne to all men, a brother of his called *Vela Nugnes*, being then a priſoner, who had no better fortune afterwards.

Death of the gouernour Vaſco Nugnes.

To bee reunnged of this rout, *Iohn Aluares, Iames de Silua*, and *Iames de Ceuton* remaining heads of the emperours part, vntill there were ſome other order taken, gathered all the ſouldiers they could together, but they were alſo defeated by *Francis* Caruaiall, ſo as they had great difficultie to mainteine their maſters authoritie vnto the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and ſixe, that the Emperour after long deliberation, and by the aduiſe and choiſe of his Councell, ſent D. *Pedro Guaſca* thether, a clergie man and of the Councell of the Inquiſition, a graue, wiſe, and diſcreet man, to whome hee gaue a more ample power than to any of the precedent Gouernours, with the title of Preſident of the royall audience of Peru: parting from Seuile that yeare, he came to Nombre de Dios, notwithſtanding that he vnderſtood that there was there in garriſon *Ferdinand, Mexia de Guſman*, vnder *Pedro Alfonſo Hinoioſa*, Gouernour in that Countrie for the party of *Gonſaluo Piarro*, who had a little before put *Melchior Verdugo*, one of the emperours Captaines to rout, and chaſed him as farre as the fort of Carthagena, which is vpon the North Sea, *Hinoioſa* remaine at Panama, which is oppoſit vpon the South ſea. It is the narroweſt place of all the firme land of the Indies, betwixt the two Seas. D. *Pedro Guaſca* did in this action ſhew a great reſolution, for hee had beene aduertiſed at the neere Iſlands of this rout, and that the port of Carthagena was the onely landing place for him, yet hee would needs caſt anchor neere vnto Nombre de Dios, which place was held by the ſaid *Mexia*, with a garriſon of eighteene hundred Spaniards, where hee ſent *Alfonſo Aluaredo* to land, in ioyning him to aduertiſe *Mexia* of his comming, and to ſound him how hee ſtood affected. The which *Aluaredo* performed ſo well, as *Mexia* and hee parted good friends in effect, though they made ſhew to the contrarie. For ſome daies after the Preſident *Guaſca* was receiued honourably into that place, yea, with ioy and content of the whole garriſon. Thus this religious man being politike and modeſt, did for the firſt fruits of his comming, winne this fort and them that held it, without any tumult or blowes, who thinking himſelfe well fortified, began with grauitie and authoritie to ſollicit the rebels and their leaders, , that they ſhould acknowledge their errors, to repaire the which, hee gaue to vnderſtand, that they had nothing to doe, but to imbrace the emperors clemency, and the grace and pardon which hee offered them. *Hinoioſa* who was at Panama vpon the South ſea, had beene aduertiſed of the preſidents arriuall, and although he were none of the moſt obſtinate rebels, yet would hee ſee how hee would carrie himſelfe at his firſt entrie into his gouernment, being ſomewhat diſcontented that *Mexia* had ſpoken with him without his leaue and priuitie, writing in choller vnto him; but *Mexia* was nothing amazed thereat, but by the Preſidents aduice went freely to Panama, to *Hinioioſa*; what diſcourſe they had, the euents did ſhew: for *Mexia* returned as freely as hee went, and preſently the Preſident departed, and went towards Panama, where hee wrought ſo with good words, perſuaſions and promiſes, as he drew *Pedro Alfonſo* of Hinoioſa, and all them that were with him to the emperours obedience. They ſay, that the greateſt motiue to make them reſolue was, that they ſaw with the Preſident the Marſhall *Alfonſo* of Aluaredo, who had bin a dear friend to *Franciſco Pizarro*. Theſe things ſucceeding thus happely, the preſident holding it a great aduantage to haue won *Hinoioſa*, hee thought it now time to preſſe *Gonzaluo Pizarro*, to come vnto himſelfe, and to acknowledge his maſter. He gaue him hope of

D. Pedro Guaſca gouernour at Peru.

Dexteritie of Guaſca to win the rebels at Peru.

A of good vſage, if he did obey, if not, he proteſted his vtter ruine, writing vnto him, and 1550
ſending him letters in the Emperors name (from whom he had brought many blanks ſigned) the bearer whereof was *Ferdinand Paniaguada* borne at Placentia in Spaine. The emperors letters were dated at Venloo in Guelderland the 17 of February 1546, & the Preſidents the 26 of September following. *Gonſaluo* was at the time of this diſpatch in the citie of Kings (ſo called for that the firſt foundations thereof were laid, the day before the feaſt of Kings, which wee call Twelfe day) where hauing ſome intelligence of the Preſidents comming, hee had called all the heads of his party vnto him, to conſult what was to be done; in the end they reſolued to ſend vnto the emperour, and to informe him of the cauſes of their riſing, and to iuſtifie themſelues for the death of the gouernour *Nugnes*, and it was concluded, that the Deputies ſhould carry letters from all the townes in
B Peru, and that they ſhould demand the generall gouernement for *Gonſaluo Pizarro*: That in paſſing by Panama, they ſhould informe themſelues of the preſident *Guaſcas* authority, and ſhould acquaint him with the cauſe of their voyage, with proteſtation, that if hee attempted any thing, or did preſume to enter into the Countrey of Peru in armes, before their returne and the Emperours anſwer, they would reſiſt him by armes. The deputies were *Ieroſme Loyoſa* Archbiſhop of the city of Kings, *Laurence* of Aldana (who commanded the garriſon there) *Thomas* of ſaint Martin prouinciall of the order of ſaint *Dominicke* at Peru, and *Gomes de Solis de Carceres*, ſome of which being ſuſpect to *Pizarro* (namely the prouinciall) he was glad to be rid of him, and to eſtrange him from his deſignes, procuring
C the biſhop of Sancta Martha to goe the voiage with them. Thus the deputies being diſpatcht, they imbarked in diuers ſhips, and ſailed towards Panama, cauſing *Laurence Aldana* to aduance, and aduertiſe them what was done there. In the meane time there was a conſpiracie diſcouered againſt the perſon of *Gonſaluo*, which had beene practiſed, as they ſaid, by *Vela Nugnes*, the deceaſed gouernors brother, who was then a priſoner, following *Pizarro*, but not in cuſtodie, for the which he loſt his head, being publiquely executed, to the great griefe both of Spaniards and Indians, who ſawe well that this would make the peace more difficult. *Laurence Aldana* being come to Panama, and hauing conferred with *Hinoioſa*, and ſpoken vnto the preſident, he was preſently wonne by them, he forgat his companions, and took an othe to the Emperour, perſuading the preſident *Guaſca*, to
D go to field to fight with the rebells, if they giue him not a good anſwer. The other deputies comming neere to Panama, and aduertiſed what *Aldana* had done, did the like, and ioyned with the preſident: who gaue foure ſhippes of warre to *Aldana*, with ſome ſouldiers, commanding him to run vp Southerly and Weſtward, and to trie if he could ſeaze vpon the port & towne of Kings, there to make a body of all thoſe that deſired to maintain the Emperors maieſtie, and to giue all hindrances he could to *Pizarro*: he left a good garriſon at Panama, he paied his ſouldiers bountifully, he made *Hinoioſa* generall of the imperiall army in field, he confirmed all the other captaines in their firſt places, and filled them with hopes and promiſes to haue better: He cauſed the prouinciall *Thomas* of Saint Martin, a man of great authoritie with the Spaniards, to imbarke with *Laurence Aldana*,
E being fit to fortifie the imperiall party, to whom he gaue many blanks ſigned by the Emperour, that he might fill them with letters directed to the captaines that were with *Gonſaluo Pizarro*: He ſent D. *Iohn de Mendoſa* into new Spaine, to D. *Antonio de Mendoſa* the viceroy to bring him ſome ſuccors, and others were ſent by him to the gouernors of Saint Domingo and other prouinces, to the ſame effect. Whileſt that *Pizarro* expected newes from Panama, and from his deputies, they brought *Fernand Paniaguada* bound vnto him, who (as we haue ſaid) had bin ſent from the preſident *Guaſca* vnto him, with letters from the emperour, and had beene ſtaied by him who commanded in the fort of Saint *Michael* for the rebells: The Councell was aſſembled to heare the charge and report of this priſo- *Gonſaluo abandoned by his chiefe adherents.*
F ner, but *Pizarro* ſuppreſt the letters. Being heard, al their opinions were nothing but Rodomontades, rebellions, fire and murder, and to conclude that they muſt keep the Emperors army from entring into Peru: whereupon they ſent for *Francis de Caruaial*, who held the ſecond place among the rebells, and was then at Plata: he came to *Pizarro* with 150 Spaniards, 30 field peeces, and about 400000 crownes; paſſing by the towne of Kings, they told him that they had diſcouered foure ſhippes at ſea, but they knew not what they

1550 were, nor whither they went: *Iames de Mora* gouernour of the fort of Truxillo, was G
ſent forth to diſcouer them, who found that it was the little fleete of *Laurence Aldana*,
with whom hee ſpake in the port of Malabriga, and hearing what had paſſed at Pana-
ma, hee ſtaied with him encreaſing his armie with his ſhippe, and ſo they went all to
Truxillo: from which place *Mora* was ſent towards Caxamalcan, a neere Prouince to
draw all them together which had a deſire to ſerue the Emperour, carrying with him
many blankes, the which hee filled with good words, aſſurances of pardon and pro-
miſes to the Captaines of that Countrie, all which in a manner did abandon *Pizarro*,
who beeing at that time much troubled for the reuolt of *Iames de Mora*, thinking to
prouide for the fort of Truxillo, hee ſent Doctor *Garcia de Leon* thither, but hee reuol-
ted in like manner, and added an other ſhippe with twentie ſouldiers to *Aldanas* fleete. H
Gonſaluo Pizarro was then certified to what end *Aldana* was come into that Sea: beeing
Captains of Pizarros partie. full of rage that hee had beene thus abandoned, hee deuiſed with himſelfe how hee
might ſtay the reſt, beeing reſolute to make warre with all violence. Hee went to
field with about a thouſand Spaniſh footemen, and three hundred horſe, and a great
number of Indians which followed him. The Captaines of whom hee made accompt,
were *Francis* of Caruajal his lieutenant (pretending to ſhare the fruites of his victories
with him) Doctor *Caruaial* and Doctor *Cepeda*, *Iohn Acoſta*, *Velez de Guenara*, *Iohn Tor-
rens*, and ſome others of leſſe note. In his armie the Generalles Standard was with
the Emperours armes alone, but all other enſignes and cornets had *Pizarros* blaſons
and deuiſes, teſtifying that hee termed himſelfe King of Peru. *Martin Silueiran* and I
Alphonſo de Mendoſa were left to gard the towne of Plata. *Anthonie Robles* was made
gouernor of Cuſco, and others in other places: all which hee enioyned to ſend ſouldi-
ers and money ſpeedily to the campe, and to publiſh his declarations and patents in their
gouernements, that hee was not in armes againſt the Emperour, but againſt D. *Pedro
Guaſca*, who ambitiouſly contrary to the Emperours commaundement, had proclai-
med warre againſt him, and aſſailed him firſt. All that were ſurprized going to ioyne
with the imperiall troupes were forced to march vnder his enſignes, or to die. Hee cau-
ſed *Peter* of Vlloa a Iacobin frier, to bee put in yrons, for that hee went in the diſgui-
ſed habite of a ſouldier amongſt the troupes publiſhing the Emperours pardon, which
he offered to all thoſe that would returne vnto his ſeruice: and hee ſent *Iohn Acoſta* to- K
wards the ſea, to hinder the deſcent of *Laurence Aldana*, who had newly withdrawne the
gouernour of Guanico, and all the ſouldiers, and had ſent them to ioyne with the
troupes of *Iames de Mora*, at Caxamalcan, in reuenge whereof *Pizarro* cauſed Guani-
co to bee fired. To encreaſe his miſeries, the Inhabitants of Cuſco, diſdaining to
Cuſco reuolts from Pizarro. be gouerned by *Anthony Robles*, a man of no worth, in the night they opened the gates
to *Iames Ceuton*, who, liuing in the mountaines and woods in great miſerie, euer ſince
that hee and his companions had beene defeated, ſeeking to reuenge the death of the
gouernour *Vaſco Nugnes*, had now come out of his holes, vpon the occaſion of this
warre, which was made by the Preſident, and had put himſelfe into the citie with ſome
tattered ſouldiers, which hee had gathered together, beeing fauoured and fortified by L
them of Cuſco, both Spaniards and Indians; where hee defeated the gouernour *Ro-
bles*, who going towards *Pizarros* campe, with moſt part of his garriſon, and one hun-
dred thouſand ducats, hearing of *Ceutons* enterpriſe, had turned head: They fought
within the walles, where hee was defeated, taken and his head cut off, retaining all his
ſouldiers which were appointed to ſuccour the rebelles, by force or faire meanes. So as
Ceuton finding himſelfe fortified with foure hundred foote, and two hundred horſe, he
led them to the fort of Plata, to chaſe away *Alphonſo de Mendoſa* who had the gard
thereof.

Cuſco being wonne, the townes and forts of Saint *Michael*, Mercadille, and Procellin,
Towns & forts abandon Pizarro their gouernors, and ſouldiers, abandoned *Gonſaluo Pizarro*; all which garriſons went M
and ioyned with *Iames de Mora* at Caxamalcan. *Lucas Martines* who ſhould haue garded
Arequipa, could not get thither, for hee was ſtaied priſoner by the way by his owne
ſouldiers; who made choiſe of *Ieroſme Villega* for their head, and went to *Ceutons* troups.
Againſt whom *Pizarro* marched, cauſing *Iohn Acoſta* to aduaunce with thoſe forces he
had

A had with him at Quitoa, but confounded with such ordinarie reuolts, not knowing whom hee should trust, hee beganne to vse crueltie, and without anie other reason then distrust, he caused some captains to be slain in his presence, the which did not secure him no more than a new oath, which hee caused the souldiers which hee had remaining to take. *Laurence* of Aldana with his fleete of six shippes had come neere vnto the towne of Kings, and had caused three of his shippes to enter into the channell of the riuer, to see if hee could execute the Presidents charge, wherefore *Gonsaluo Pizarro* marched thither, and lodged his armie neere vnto the shoare, hauing commaunded the inhabitants to bee in armes, and some of them to follow him vpon paine of death. Whilest he laie there in campe, there passed many messengers and mediators from either part, to come B to some composition, according to the Presidents instructions, who desired to end this warre by the mildest meanes that might bee, but it was in vaine; *Pizarro* could not auoyde his owne ruine, neyther could hee by anie care or diligence stay his men from running to the imperialls campe, which should haue made him resolue to embrace the pardon which was offered him. Euerie day there were some wanting in his campe, notwithstanding that hee put them cruelly to death that could be taken: *Francis Brano Lagunas*, beeing taken by his horsemen which were sent forth to scout, hee commaunded that hee should be strangled, but at the intreatie of many, especially of D. *Agnes Brano*, wife to D. *Nicholas* of Ribera hee gaue him his life, notwithstanding *Lagunas* fled away, wherewith *Pizarro* was in a manner madde, and hee grew so furious, as no man C durst come neere him vnlesse hee called him. His affaires beeing in these bad termes, all that were in his armie, were amazed and discouraged, but hee himselfe and his owne followers were most of all, whenas they vnderstood that *Iames Maldonado* aduertized by *Martin de Robles*, that they sought him to put him to death, was fled vnto the enemie, and that *Martin de Robles*, who had leaue to goe to the towne of Kings that was neere, had gone to horse backe the next day earely in the morning; and going forth by the port which leadeth to Truxillo, hee had said openly, that hee went to the President *Guasca*, the Emperours lieutenant, and that whosoeuer loued his life, and would not die like a traitour, should follow him, and leaue the tyrant *Pizarro*. The same night *Martin Lopes* fled out of the campe, and there grew such a tumult, as the souldiers were D readie to kill *Gonsaluo*: wherewith hee was so terrified, as hee dislodged, and went and camped two leagues farther from the towne, giuing the charge of marshall of the campe to Doctor *Caruaial*, commanding him to keepe a carefull gard that none disbanded, but hee also abandoned him that night, leauing willingly his rich moueables and furniture, where hee had many goodly horses of seruice, and about twentie thousand ducats in coine, and got to Truxillo, beeing soone after followed by manie other gentlemen of name and qualitie: *Gonsaluo Pizarro* did not beare the retreate of anie one more impatiently, than of Doctor *Caruaial*, complayning often that hee himselfe had made him reuolt: for that (said hee) hee had made shew to trust more in *Iohn Acosta* than in him, hauing lately sent him towards Cusco, by the mountaines, to trie if he might recouer that E citie which *Ceuton* had left in the peoples hands without anie garrison, and also for that hee had refused to giue him the daughter of *Francis Pizarro* his neece in marriage: And it is remarkeable, that beeing in these perplexities, hee sawe with his owne eyes two of the common souldiers flie out of the campe, trusting to the swiftnesse of their horses, crying out as loud as they could, God saue the Emperour, and confound the tyrant *Gonsaluo Pizarro*. Then hee resolued to dislodge from thence, taking the way to Arequipa, whether hee brought not the fourth part of his men, for most of them had left him by the way, so as beeing come into the prouince of Nascana, he had not aboue 300 men in his armie: Hee had recommended the towne of Kings, to *Anthonie Ribera*, *Martin* F *Pizarro*, *Anthonie de Lyon*, and other Spaniards, whom hee held faithfull vnto him, but whenas they sawe him retired, they called the people into a field without the towne, where they had planted a standard with the Emperours armes, and there they caused the letters of a generall pardon to be published, which they had formerly receiued and kept, the which was ioyfully embraced by them all: Then hauing taken the othe, they did

1550

Cruelties of Pizarro.

Pizarro abandoned by his souldiers.

1550 aduertiſe *Laurence Aldana* (who lay there by at anchor) that hee ſhould come and take G
poſſeſſion of the towne in the Emperours name, the which hee did, leauing the charge of his ſhippes to *Iohn Fernandes*, aduertiſing the Preſident *Guaſca* preſently of all that had paſſed: and that *Gonſaluo Pizarro* was gone from thence ſome eight dayes iourney, with a ſmall traine. As for *Iohn Acoſta* who had beene ſent to Cuſco, he had like to haue beene ſlaine by the way, by *Pasceco, Sotomaior*, and other conſpirators, who eſcaped and came to *Aldana*.

Acoſta being freed from this daunger hauing cauſed ſome of the conſpirators which he had taken, to be ſtrangled, hee came to Cuſco, and was let in (for there were no ſouldiers in the towne) there hee reformed the gouernement, diſplacing thoſe Magiſtrates which *Ceuton* had made, and ſubſtituting others, leauing a ſufficient garriſon vnder the H
commaund of *Iohn Vaſco, Taxia*, and with the reſt of his troupes hee went to ſeeke *Pizarro* towards Arequipa; but hee was not farre gone, before that they of Cuſco had changed all that he had done, and reſtored *Ceutons* old officers. *Ceuton* who went to Plata, drew vnto the Emperours ſeruice *Alphonſo de Mendoſa* with all his ſouldiers, and then all together beganne to follow *Pizarro*, to ſee that hee ſhould not eſcape out of the Countrey of Peru, all the townes beeing in a manner reduced (ſome hauing expelled, and ſome hauing ſlaine their gouernours with their garriſons) and vnwillingly acknowledged the Emperour and the Preſident *Guaſca* his lieutenant generall, who vpon the newes of this happie ſucceſſe, went from Panama by ſea, with fiue hundred Spaniards, old ſouldiers, and great prouiſion of armes, and munition: he came neere vnto Toinben, whither Embaſſadours and Deputies came vnto him from all partes, to offer him men, money, obedience and ſeruice in ſuch aboundaunce, as hee had reaſon to countermaund the ſuccours which hee had demaunded of the viceroy of new Spaine, and of other gouernours of the Prouinces of the weſt Indies. From thence hee ſent *Hinoioſa* to Caxamalcan to commaund the troups, which were there aſſembled, and himſelfe came with the armie to Truxillo, appoynting them all a time to come in the valley of Sanſaua. *Gonſaluo Pizarro* beeing come to Arequipa, hee found not any creature there, for all were gone to ioyne with *Ceutons* troupes, who aduaunced to fight with him, the which
Victorie of Pizarro. hee did, but to his owne loſſe: for hee was defeated, and forced to flie, hauing three hundred and foure ſcore ſouldiers ſlaine vpon the place, with ſome captaines, and almoſt as many taken priſoners, with which *Pizarro* fortified his army, diſtributing them among his bands: and of his part there were onely one hundred men ſlaine. By this good ſucceſſe ſome others were induced to runne the ſame fortune with him, he promiſing them great recompences: ſo as holding his forces to be ſufficient, hee returned towards Cuſco, with an intent to fight with the imperiall army, whereſoeuer hee ſhould
Army imperiall purſuing Pizarro. find it, the which beeing aſſembled in the valley of Sanſaua, there were found to be ſixteene hundred harquebuziers, fiue hundred pikes, and ſeuen hundred horſe Spaniards, whereof the captaines were *Peter Alphonſo* of Hinoioſa, commaunding in qualitie of Generall, *Aluaredes* marſhall of the campe, Doctor *Caruaial*, *Pedro* of Vlloa, and other Captaines: *Gabriel de Roias* was maſter of the artillerie: The leaders of the horſemen L
were *Pedro Cabrera*, *Gomes* of Aluarado, *Iohn Sauedra*, *Iames Mora*, *Ferdinand Mexia*, *Roderigo Salezar*, and *Alphonſo Mendoſa*, all which had reuolted from *Pizarro*. The Preſident had for his councell, the Archbiſhop of the towne of Kings, *Thomas S. Martin*, prouinciall of the preaching friers, with many others. *Peter Valduuia* gouernour of the Prouince of Chiliane, came and ioyned with his armie, a man of great experience in matters of warre, worthie to be oppoſed againſt *Francis Caruaial*, who was the moſt redoubted captaine the enemy had; and in the end vnfortunate *Ceuton* came and ioyned with them, with about fortie horſe. Being all together, they marched towards Cuſco, whither they vnderſtood that *Gonſaluo Pizarro* was come with his army. The Countrey by the which M
the imperialls did march, was rough, deſart, and without victualles, ſo as they ſuffered much, vntill they came to Andaguara, where the Countrey is peopled, and furniſhed with victualles and other commodities: wherefore they ſtayed long there, for that they would not be conſumed with trauell, and the tediouſneſſe of the winter, if the enemie

ſhould

A ſhould ſeeke to prolong the warre, the which he might eaſily doe, hauing the towne of Cuſco, and the riuer which paſſeth by the valley of Seguiſagrane at his deuotion. In the Spring time of the yeare, one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and eight, the Preſident cauſed his army to diſlodge from Andaguara, and croſſed many narrow paſſages of the mountaines without any difficultie, and many riuers, whereas *Pizarro* might haue annoyed them much, if hee had not beene negligent, and then came and lodged vpon the declining of the hilles, in a diſcommodious place, aboue the valley of Seguiſagrane, in the which *Pizarro* was camped, who wanted not any thing, hauing the towne and riuer behind him at his commaundement; whereas the imperialls ſuffered much hunger, cold, and other diſcommoditities: yet notwithſtanding the Preſident did forbeare to fight, B being aduertiſed that a good number of the Spaniards that were with *Pizarro*, did but watch an oportunitie to abandon him, and to reuolt, which he deſired might be before they did fight, that he might haue the weaker oppoſition. But they could not temporize long in that bad lodging, whereas the cold which was great in that ſeaſon, did ſo benumme the ſouldiers, as they could ſcarce hold their armes; and alſo for the neereneſſe of the two armies which were daily in skirmiſh; ſo as they were forced to come to a generall battell, the which was ſoone ended. For the ordnance was ſcarce diſcharged, but many of *Pizarros* armie diſbanded openly, among which were Doctor *Cepeda*, *Garci Lazo de la Vega*, and *Alphonſo Peres Hita* captaines; and all the ſouldiers which remained at the rout of *Ceuton*, went away in one ſquadron to the imperialls, which made the reſt C retire and to flie the battell, ſome going towards the citie of Cuſco, which was fiue leagues off, and others to other places: they that were moſt affected to *Gonſaluo*, and moſt guiltie remained about him, who being foure in number, were of opinion to caſt themſelues into their enemies troups, and to die fighting valiantly, rather than to be led bound to an ignominious death; but *Gonſaluo* told them, that ſeeing Fortune had turned her backe, it were better to die Chriſtianlike, acknowledging their faults, than to periſh like pagans in ſuch vanities. Being then enuironed by the imperiall horſemen, he yielded his armes to *Pedro de Vlloa*, great Prouoſt of the armie, who led him before the Preſident, by whom hee was much blamed for his obſtinacie, yet hee ſhewed himſelfe nothing deiected, but anſwered reſolutely to whatſoeuer was demaunded. Being giuen in D gard to *Iames de Ceuton*, he was for ſome daies well and modeſtly intreated, not ſuffering any one to diſquiet him either in word or deed. All the other Commaunders were in a manner taken that day, either with *Gonſaluo*, or in the purſuite, except *Francis Carnaial*, who was afterwards found and deliuered by his owne ſouldiers, being hidden among the reeds in a moore, thinking to renue the warre if hee might eſcape. All the reſt were ſomewhat lamented, but not hee, for hee was exceeding cruell, and the chiefe author of *Pizarros* rebellion, and it was ſaid that by his inhumane councell, *Pizarro* had cauſed aboue ſixe hundred gentlemen to be murthered, and thrice as many good ſouldiers, Spaniards, with an infinite number of Indians, and that he neuer was at the death of anie one, but he did reuile him with all the opprobrious words he could inuent. The rebelles E campe remained a prey to the imperialls, whereby they were greatly enriched: and to preſerue the citie of Cuſco from ſacke, and to containe euery one in his duetie, and to preuent reuenges, which do commonly follow ciuill victories, *Ferdinand Mexia*, and *Martin Robles* were ſent thither with two companies. Afterwards the priſoners proceſſes were formally made. The chiefe of the rebellion were condemned to die, as guiltie of treaſon. *Gonſaluo Pizarro* had his head cut off, the which was for a time ſet in the market place in the citie of Kings, for a publike ſpectacle with this Inſcription. *This is the head of the Traitor and Tyrant* Gonſaluo Pizarro, *who being rebelled, and hauing taken armes in the realme of Peru, againſt the moſt mightie Emperour Charles the fift, his prince, was vanquiſhed* F *fighting againſt the ſtandard royall in the valley of Saguiſagrane, and hath beene thus worthily puniſhed.* All his goods were forfeited: his proud palace which hee had built in the citie of Cuſco was ruined, the ſoile ſowed with ſalt, and a pillar erected with a table containing the ſentence of his condemnation. He died cõſtantly retaining his accuſtomed proud looke, he was royally attired in ſilke imbrodered with gold and pearle; which the executioner had. His bodie put into a coffin was honeſtly buried in Cuſco. *Francis Caruaial*

1550

Defeat of Pizarro.

Death of Gonſaluo Pizarro.

1550 was executed in like manner with nine other captaines, but their bodies were quartered G
and hung in the high wayes. Many alſo of the moſt ſeditious were hung vpon trees on
the high wayes. The Preſident hauing thus puniſhed the chiefe mutines and rebelles,
hee cauſed a generall pardon to be publiſhed in Cuſco to all the reſt, forbidding any one
to reproach the fault hereafter, vpon paine of death.

This victorie was wonne the ninth day of Aprill, one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and
eight, happie doubtleſſe for the Emperour, for if *Pizarro* had wonne it, Peru had bin
loſt for him, and Spaine depriued of the treaſures of that Countrey, which are great
and incredible. The Preſident found himſelfe much troubled when hee came to reward
ſuch as hee had drawne from *Pizarros* faction, to whom he had made great promiſes, for
there was not any common ſouldier but he held himſelfe worthy of a gouernement: and H
he could not pleaſe them all, but he ſupplied this defect with ſtore of ducats, which a-
bound in that golden region. Then hee beganne to ſettle ſome order in regard of the
Spaniards, which were feudatarie Lords ouer the Indians, how they ſhould carrie them-
ſelues to the Indians their ſubiects. He erected a Parliament or royall Audience in the
city of Kings; to the which any man that was grieued might appeale, and giuing hope
to them that remayned at Peru, by the aduertiſement he ſaied he had receiued from the
Emperour, to haue a Viceroy very ſoone hee bad them farewell, and went away in
December one thouſand fiue hundred forty and nine, carrying with him about two mil-
lions of gold for the Emperors part. He came from the city of Kings to Panama, where
hauing reſted ſome dayes, hee went by land with his baggage to Nombre de Dios, vp- I
on the north ſea, where he arriued happily: For, had hee ſtaied a little longer at Panama,
hee had beene in danger neuer to haue ſeene Spaine more. For that certaine other re-
belles led by *Fernand* and *Pedro Contreras* (whoſe father was Viceroy of Nicaragua)
came and ſeazed vpon Panama, thinking the Preſident had beene there, and ſpoyled it:
and miſſing him, they purſued him, thinking to finde him vpon the way, and to ſtrippe
him of his treaſure, making an attempt to enter into Nombre de Dios, but they were re-
pulſed by the garriſon and the Inhabitants. The gouernors and garriſons that were neere
made a head, and went to field, and diſperſed them in ſome incounters, in one of the
Contreras other rebells. which one of the *Contreras* was ſlaine, and the other loſt, ſo as hee was neuer more
heard of. K

This ſecond reuolt did ſomewhat ſtay the voyage of the Preſident D. *Pedro Guaſca*,
who embarqued in Iuly 1550, hauing ſuppreſſed two importaunt rebellions at the
Weſt Indies, beeing followed by a great number of noblemen Spaniards, who were
rich in gold and ſiluer of the ſpoiles which they had taken, or for recompences in theſe
ſeditions; he arriued happily at Saint Lucar of Barameda, and from thence went to Se-
uile, where hauing reſted ſome dayes, hee paſſed into Germanie to the emperour,
whom hee found at Ausbourg, by whom hee was graciouſly receiued and honoured for
his good ſeruices, who in reward thereof ſome moneths after made him Biſhop of Va-
lencia which fell void.

But let vs returne to that princes affaires in Germanie, and what hee had to treat of L
at Ausbourg, whereas all things did ſucceed according to his deſire, the negotiations
of great Kings being like vnto other mens, ſeaſoned with ſweet and ſower, by him that
gouerns the whole world, and for the good of men, who elſe would forget him if they
ſhould alwayes proſper. This mightie Emperour, a Conquerour and wiſe, according
to the world, and the common opinion of all men, finding after much toile, by a hard
and preiudiciall experience, that hee was farre from that which hee pretended to doe
for the good of his houſe, by armes and force, againſt the libertie of the Electors, and
Emperour ſolicites D. Ferdinand to reſigne the dignitie of king of Romans to his ſon Philippe. the Eſtates of the empire, hee ſought to attaine vnto it by the meanes of ſome conuen-
tion, and therefore hee did preſſe his brother *Ferdinand* to reſigne vnto prince *Philip* his M
ſonne his right and dignitie of King of Romans, whereupon they grew to a great quarrel,
to pacifie the which *Mary* Queene of Hungarie their ſiſter, was forced to returne to Auſ-
bourg, from whence ſhee parted alittle before: he purſued this reſignation by all the
meanes and policie hee could, for that it was the next infallible ſteppe to bring D. *Phi-
lippe* to the empire, but *Ferdinand* would neuer yeelde to it, thinking that if hee made

this

A this daungerous alienation, all his sonnes (hauing a good number) should remayne without estates and meanes, wherein hee had reason. Hee had sent into Spaine for *Maximilian* his sonne to come to the diet, beeing a milde and courteous prince, and very pleasing to all Germanie. D. *Philippe* hauing sayled to be king of Romans, parted from Ausbourgh, and tooke his way towardes Genoua to returne into Spaine to gouerne it.

1550
Returne of prince Philip into Spaine.

Peter Lewis Farnese Duke of Placentia and Parma, hauing beene slaine the yere before by his owne subiects, some thought by the Emperours procurement, for that *Fernand Gonzague* gouernour of Milan, did instantly seaze vpon the towne of Placentia, *Octauio Farnese* his sonne, distrusting the Emperour his father in lawe, hauing married his
B base daughter, and seeing himselfe contemned by the new Pope, hee sought support and protection from the French; whereat pope *Iulio* was so offended as hee thundered out a sentence of Excommunication against him, by the which hee declared him fallen from his estate, giuing it in prey to the Emperour: whereupon D. *Fernand Gonzague* spoyled the territorie of Parma and the French sent succours to Duke *Octauio*, which caused a new warre betwixt the Emperour and the French king.

9
Octauio Farnese excommunicated, the cause of new warre.

1551

This warre beganne in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, by meanes whereof the Germanes freed themselues from manie violences,
C which had beene offered them both in generall and in particular by the Emperour, beeing made proud with his victories, which hee sought to make all men feele, as well Catholikes, as Protestants, vnder diuers pretexts; of some to be satisfied for the charges of the warre, which hee saied hee had made for the libertie of Germanie; of others by the waie of chastisement, for that they had reuolted, wherein hee saied that he proceeded mildely, quitting much of his right to ease and spare them. By this meanes there was neyther towne nor countrey, estate nor condition of men, amongst the Germanes, which were not vexed by taxes, and by sower speeches and threats, if they presumed to tell him of his duetie, or to put him in mind of his conuentions and promises. Finally, hee would haue all depend vpon his owne will. Thus he heaped vp a great treasure; and they say, that hee had wrested from the Princes and Protestant townes, a-
D boue fiue hundred peeces of great ordnance, wherewith he did furnish his places and forts in Italie, Flaunders and Spaine. In these discontents the Towne of Magdebourg vpon Elbe, which had beene proclaymed and streightly besieged, for that it resisted his Edicts, was now more slowly prest, so as they had meanes to free themselues vpon honest conditions, *Maurice* Duke of Saxonie thinking it best to compound this warre, hee beeing the chiefe of it, and to attend the deliuerie of the Landgraue of Hesse his father in lawe, whom hee had brought the Emperour, vpon a promise, that hee would not detaine him prisoner, and yet hee kept him, and carried him vp and downe as it were in triumph: Whereupon hee often besought the Emperour to haue regard vn-
E to his honour, which was ingaged, and seeing him make no accompt to set him at libertie, hee entred into league with *Albert* of Brandebourg, the Landgraues children, and others, and all they with the French King, who marched speedily with a great armie towards the Rhine, giuing it out, that it was to restore the Germanes his good neighbours, and auncient friends to the French, to their true and first libertie, which was taken from them by *Charles* of Austria, tearming himselfe Emperour. The Protestant Princes went to armes also, and committed great spoyles in Germanie. But that warre was ended by the deliuerie of the Landgraue, and by some things that were granted or promised to the Protestants.

Magdebourg deliuered.

10
League betwixt the princes of Germany and the French king against the emperour.

1552

The French King beeing come neere Strausbourgh, and hearing of this accord made by Duke *Maurice* without him, hee returned discontented, retayning for his
F charges and paynes, Metz, Thoule, and Verdun, Townes belonging to the Empire: And the Emperour finding himselfe bound to recouer them, hee stayed not, but came and layd siege to Metz in the beginning of winter: What the successe was you may read in the French historie.

Metz besieged by the emperor

The

1552 The fathers being yet at Trent, *Maximilian* of Auſtria with his wife D. *Maria* of Spaine paſſed there, beeing returned out of Spaine, who croſſing from Barcelone to Genoua, had beene in ſome daunger, being purſued by the gallies of Fraunce, whereof *Leon Stroſſy* was generall. A little before hee had entred into the port of Barcelone, and carried away ſome veſſells which had beene prepared for *Maximilians* paſſage, wherof the imperialls complained, ſaying that there was no open warre.

Port of Barcelone ſpoiled by Leon Stroſſy.

Whileſt the Emperour toyled both mind and body in Germany, betwixt the ſtorms of the Councell, the Proteſtants, and his owne affections, being alſo entred into a new warre againſt the French king: the Turkes and pirats of Afrike ſpoiled the coaſts of Naples and Sicile, whereof Spaine was not free. The chiefe Leader of theſe theeues was *Dragut Rais* (whom others call *Orgut*) who had ſurprized the towne ſometimes called Aphrodiſium, and in our time was named Afrike by vs, and Mehedie by the Moores, belonging to the realme of Tunes, ſometimes a rich towne oppoſite to Sicile. This *Dragut* had ſucceeded *Barbarouſſe* in boldneſſe and policie, and was bred vp vnder him; of a poore gallie boy, hee grew a noble pirate: hee had beene taken about the Iland of Corſica by *Ianetin Doria*, and made a gallie ſlaue; but after ſome time he deliuered him for a ſmall ranſome, to the great preiudice of Chriſtendome. Being growne more inſolent than before, he committed infinite ſpoiles vpon Sicile, Calabria, Naples, and the coaſts of Genoua and Spaine, and thruſt on with the like ambition to the two brethren *Barbarouſſes* hee would haue a retreate for the ſafety of his theſts, and be alſo called Xec or King. Whereupon hee ſurprized this towne of Afrike, which was then well peopled and of great trafficke: by the wealth whereof he made himſelfe fearefull to all the coaſts of Italie and Spaine, and of late ſcouring the Tyrene Seas, whileſt that the gallies were buſie to paſſe and repaſſe the princes D. *Philippe* and *Maximilian*, had ſacked and burnt Rapallo. So as the Emperour was daily importuned to chaſe him out of that dangerous neſt, who commanded D. *Iohn de Vega*, viceroy of Sicile, and *Andrew Doria* prince of Melfi, the chiefe Author of this enterprize, to gather an army together with all ſpeed for this action. Many voluntaries came to reuenge the publike and priuate wrongs, and to win honour, but eſpecially with the hope of ſpoyle, which they thought would be very rich, for beſides the great booties, which *Dragut* brought, he had with large rewardes drawne many merchants thither, and namely the Iewes which were expelled Spaine and Portugall were retired to that towne. *Andrew Doria* ſoliciting the preparation of the fleete, whereof hee was generall, the Emperour hauing giuen the charge at land to the viceroy of Italie: and for that he thought that before the whole armie ſhould be ready to goe into Barbarie, this cunning pirate might doe ſome harme vnto the Chriſtians, he therefore aduertized D. *Bernardin de Mendoſa* generall of the gallies of Spaine, to ſtand vpon his gard on that coaſt. Hauing then receiued three gallies from the duke of Florence, foure from Malta, and three from the Pope, with thoſe of Naples and Sicile, making in all foure and fiftie gallies, well manned both with ſouldiers and mariners, in the end of Iune they bent their courſe towards the towne of Afrike: hauing viewed it, and burnt ſome veſſelles belonging to the Moores, it was reſolued firſt of all to take Muniſterio a little towne neere it with a caſtle, the which hauing few inhabitants, *Dragut* had fortified with a good garriſon of Turkes beeing to bee feared that whileſt they were at the ſiege of Afrike, he might annoy them continually from thence, if the pirate who was then abroad ſhould make his retreate thither with any number of veſſelles, as hee was pretended to doe, neither was hee out of hope to ſuccour them. The towne was taken with ſmall toile, but finding it a worke of more difficultie, to force the caſtle, beeing brauely defended by the Moores and Turkes, they cauſed D. *Garcia de Toledo* generall of the gallies of Naples to land, who battering the Caſtle with eleuen peeces of ordonnance, made a breach, the which they defended long, but in vaine, for in the end they were all ſlaine or taken priſoners: the Chriſtians hauing loſt aboue three ſcore of their beſt ſouldiers, beſides a cannon breaking in one of the gallies, it ſplit and ſuncke, yet they ſaued all the men and furniture. Then they turned towardes Afrike, *Doria* hauing furniſhed himſelfe with munition at Goulette, and ſent to leuie more men in Naples

12 *Afrike a towne in the realme of Tunes taken by the Spaniards.*

Muniſterio in Afrike taken by the Chriſtians.

A ples and Sicile: and then did D. *Iohn de Vega* paſſe, hauing left his ſonne D. *Aluaro* to gouerne the Iland. They ſpent ſome time about this new prouiſion, ſo as the Turkes within Afrike had more leiſure to fortifie themſelues, both with men and all other neceſſaries: which made the ſiege tedious and difficult to the great loſſe of the Chriſtians, for that *Dragut* hauing an intent to draw the army from that enterpriſe, ſpoiled the coaſts of Italie, and burnt ſome weake places, doing the like at ſea to the Merchants; ſo as *Bernardin* of Mendoſa had worke to defend the coaſt of Spaine, whileſt that this pirate annoyed the Ilands of Majorca, Corſica, and Elba: but this could not remoue *Doria* from his reſolution, who held it an vnprofitable thing to ſpend that ſummer in running after *Dragut*. The Chriſtians fleete being returned well furniſhed to beſiege the towne of A- 1552
B frike, and the ſituation and ſtrength thereof being well obſerued by *Vega* and other captaines of experience, there were diuers opinions among them, for the difficulties that were propounded by one and other. The towne ſtands vpon a long tongue of land, right againſt Sicile, being three miles in compaſſe, it lookes towards Malta, and Gerbe, and is enuironed by the ſea on three partes, the fourth beeing to be attempted by land, and therefore it was ſo ſecured as it could not be battred with anie armed veſſells, but on two narrow flankes, the reſt of the channell beeing ſo ſhallow, as no veſſell of anie burthen could approach; ſo as they found this enterpriſe more difficult than they did at the firſt conceiue it. They held the wall towards the firme land to be well fortified, with fiue towers of equall diſtance, and a great rauelin in the moſt eminent place, the which did
C come farre forth, and was well flanked. The queſtion then was, on which ſide they ſhould batter it, for to attempt it by ſea they held it impoſſible, for that none but ſmall gallies could come neere it: ſome would haue the rauelin firſt battered by land, for that it would annoy them much that ſhould goe vnto the aſſault, if they ſhould batter the curtine: And others maintained that it was more eaſie to make a breach in the Curtine, and hauing battered the defences which flanked it, to ſecure themſelues with it, and with ſome trauerſe: for that it was not the cuſtome of warre to attempt a place where it was ſtrongeſt; but weakeſt: with this aduice they planted their ordnance, and beganne to batter from the breake of daie vntill night, finding that old wall more hard to ruine than they expected: wherefore hauing viewed the breach, and finding it not ſufficient, they left
D it to make another: And in the meane time they had ſo battred the defences of the rauelin, as the defendants could no more vſe them, and the rather, for that the Spaniards were ſo farre aduaunced with their trenches, as they ouerthrew any that ſhewed themſelues with their ſmall ſhot, ſo as they thought they might well attempt it there by ſcalado. They had already retired their ordnance from their firſt batterie, holding it fruitleſſe, and wholy relying vpon their ſecond: wherewith the Generalls were much grieued (not well agreeing among themſelues) knowing what a blemiſh to their reputations, and a loſſe to Chriſtendome their retreat would bee: wherefore they laied hold of that courſe, which was held to bee the onelie meanes to take the towne: They had ſpent great ſtore of munition in their batteries, and beganne to be ſcanted; and
E therefore they were fully reſolued to ſcale the rauelin, and to make a diuerſion towards the ſea, the gallies ſhould at the ſame inſtant make an offer to aſſaile the towne on that ſide. Wherefore on the ſecond daie of Iuly the Spaniards of the regiment of Sicile, gaue an aſſault to the rauelin, with great courage and reſolution, and entred it, where they might haue preuayled, if they of the gallies had come forwards with the like courage, or at the leaſt with that order that was ſet downe: but hauing ſhewed themſelues too late, they made no diuerſion, and they that had entred the rauelin, were repulſed with great loſſe: which ſucceſſe did wonderfully afflict the whole campe, not knowing what courſe to take to ſaue their honours, ſo as there was ſmall hope in this ſiege, through the diſagreement of the Commaunders, either of their ſeeking to execute
F his charge apart, whenas the ſituation of the place required an vnion both of minds and forces.

Situation of the towne of Afrike.

Aſſault giuen in vaine at Afrike.

They wanted ſouldiers by their continuall skirmiſhes, the Moores and Turkes defending it with an vndaunted courage; they wanted munition, and were ſhortened for victualles, hauing none but what came from Sicile, which could be in time prouided.

It

1553 It was therefore reſolued to ſend *Marc Centurione* to Genoua for new men, who brought G
in tenne gallies twelue hundred Spaniſh foot, which were giuen him by the gouernour
of Milan, and ſome munition from the common weale of Genoua, and the Duke of
Florence, which fortified the campe and gaue them courage to make new enterpriſes.
They were aduertiſed by a Moore, that *Dragut* beeing retired into Barbarie, was reſol-
ued to relieue them by land, who hauing made the Moores his friends, by his great
bounty and valour, gathered a great number of them together, which ioyned to ſeuen
hundred Turkes, hee thought might worke ſome good effect, who making often at-
tempts, and they of the towne ſallying out at the ſame inſtant, did much annoy the Chri-
ſtians, till in the end many beeing ſlaine in a furious skirmiſh, and many more hurt, hee
diſpaired of euer doing good. It was not without loſſe to the victors, who had manie H
Dragut ſeeks to releeue the towne of Afrike ſlaine, and of great valour; amongſt which was *Fernando de Toledo:* Some ſay hee was
gouernour of Goulette, and others, marſhall of the campe to the Spaniſh foot. Mat-
ters being thus bettered within the campe, for that after this attempt, *Dragut* had re-
tired himſelfe to Gerbe, to attend the ruine of his neſt, they reſolued to make triall of
their laſt force, and not ſuffer themſelues to be ſurprized with the fall of the leafe, which
vpon that coaſt would hazard the loſſe of their fleete. They concluded therefore to
make three batteries, two by land, and one by ſea; with a caualier or mount made of
timber and earth, and ſet vpon two gallies, whereon they might plant ſome peeces of
batterie. I

This being brought vnto the wall towards the ſea, wrought a wonderfull effect, and ſo
did thoſe at land, for that vſe had taught them better the nature of that place, where
they had made many attempts and ſpent much munition. On the tenth day of Srptem-
ber they came to the aſſault with great reſolution and good order in all three places;
where they found very great reſiſtance, but it was firſt entred by the ſea, where they
found the wall weakeſt, and therefore had made the greater breach: they wonne it foot
by foot, and in the end many of them being retired into the rauelin to make their laſt
reſiſtance vnder a Turke, which was their leader, they neuer gaue it ouer, vntill death;
Afrike taken by D. Iohn de Vega. ſo as the ſlaughter was great: There were manie priſoners taken, ſome ſay aboue tenne
thouſand, others but ſeuen thouſand. The wealth was not ſo great as was expected, K
for that euer ſince *Dragut* was Lord thereof, it was nothing but a retreat for theeues and
pirats. The priſoners were carried into Sicile, whereas the women and children were
ſold good cheape, the men that were fit for labour, were diſtributed among the gallies.
The viceroy cauſed the breaches and ruines to be repayred, and left a garriſon of Spani-
ards there, vnder the commaund of D. *Aluaro* his ſonne. Whileſt that the armie remai-
ned there for the finiſhing of the fortifications, they had a cruell ſtorme, which continu-
ed foure daies, and did them much harme, after which they returned all home ſafely, to
the great ioy of all Italie, for this victorie. *Muley Haſcen* the diſpoſſeſſed king of Tunes
died at this ſiege. Soone after the Viceroyes returne, it was reſolued in the Emperours
councell, that the towne of Afrike ſhould be raſed, as a place lying too farre off, of great L
charge, and hard to be kept.

Birth of Henrie Burbon King of France and of Nauarre. 13 This yere one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and three *Ioane* of Albret the preſump-
tiue heire of Nauarre, was deliuered of a ſonne, and he was named *Henrie*, who ſhould
ioyne the rights of Nauarre to them of the houſe Bourbon which made him apprehend
the Crowne of France.

Dragut after the loſſe of the towne of Afrike, beeing retired into the Iland of Gerbe,
hee aduertized *Sultan Solyman* of his loſſe, who retained him into his ſeruice, and hono-
red him with charges. *Doria* beeing aduertized in the Spring, that *Dragut* was gone
to Gerbe, whereas by a long narrow channell, hee entred into a poole, where hee
might at eaſe trimme his gallies, and goe out to his theeuing at pleaſure, *Dorias* ar- M
Dragut beſie-ged at Gerby by Doria eſcapes cunningly. mie came ſodainely vpon him and beſieged him, who to defend his veſſelles had a To-
wer which garded the channell, and withall, hee had built a Baſtion to couer him.
Notwithſtanding they muſt in a ſhort time haue all periſhed with hunger; both hee
with his Turkes, and the Moore which was Lord of that Iland, who beeing loath
to breake his faith, would not yeelde him priſoner to *Doria*, yet hee perſuaded him

to

A to finde some meanes to escape, else they should bee all famished, for that the Iland was but little, barren, and had small prouisions to liue withall. Being then forced by necessitie, hee set all his Turkes, Moores, and slaues to worke, who beganne to make a channell in a lower part, the which hee continued daie and night vntill hee came vnto the sea, neyther was hee discouered by the enemies. And so in the night time hee escaped this imminent daunger with admiration, *Doria* being much discontented that the Turke had circumuented him with such a stratageme, and moreouer that in his retreate hee had taken two of his gallies: but not so satisfied, pursuing this pirate, hee lost seuen more, which were cast away in a storme, with the death of aboue a thousand persons. The Turkes armie beeing then at sea, B and *Dragut* ioyned with it, beeing in all a hundred and fiue gallies, and thirtie other vesselles, they entred into the streight of Messina, and tooke the towne of Augusta in Sicile, which in auncient times was called Megara, from thence he landed in the Iland of Malta, and attempted the strong Castell of Saint Angelo in vaine: then comming to the Iland of Goze, they sacked it, and carried away many slaues. Finally he came into Barbarie, and tooke Tripoly from the Knights of Malta, hauing held it forty yeeres. 1554

And new Dorias gallies lost.

There was some discord betwixt *Amida* King of Tunes, and D. *Lewis Perez* gouernour of Goulette, who pretended that the Barbarian after the vsuall manner of the Moores had broken his faith with the Emperour, touching the accord made with C *Muley Hascen*, when he was put in possession, and therefore he annoyed him much: so as *Amida* fearing worse, made a new accord, and bound himselfe to giue euerie yeare vnto the Emperour twelue thousand crownes, to pay the garrison of Goulette, and moreouer fifteene Barbarie horses, and eighteene faulcons, to furnish wood for the vse of Goulette, to release all Christian slaues within his realme, and not to suffer anie more to be made, and finally, that hee should not receiue anie pirates, but should aide and defend the Emperour with all his forces against any one that should seeke to offend him.

Amida a King of Tunes makes a new accord with the emperour.

The marriage of D. *Iohn* prince of Portugall, sonne to King *Iohn* the third, and of D. *Ioane* the Emperours daughter, was consummated in the yeere one thousand fiue D hundred fiftie and foure, the which confirmed the friendship and alliances betwixt their houses and states. But this yong prince who was not fully seuenteene yeeres old, dyed within a yere after his marriage, leauing the princesse his wife with child, who eighteene dayes after was deliuered of a sonne, whom they named D. *Sebastian*, King *Iohn* and Queene *Katherine* hauing not any more children remaining: D. *Ioane* being risen from her child-bed, went into Castille to goueme the realme in the name of the Emperour *Charles* her father. 1554 *Portugall.* 14 *Birth of D. Sebastian of Portugall.*

The Emperour finding himselfe much broken and troubled with many infirmities, made his will about that time at Brussells, committing in the meane time the execution of many things to his sonne D. *Philip*, for that which concerned the affaires of Italie: And E as for Flanders and the Countries adioyning, he himselfe with Queene *Marie* his sister, widow to *Lewis* king of Hungarie, would goueme.

15 This yeare a marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Philippe* prince of Spaine, and *Marie* Queene of England, for the effecting whereof the Prince made preparation to go into England, hauing foure score great shippes and fortie carauells, in the which, besides the noblemen and knights which did attend the Prince, with their ordinarie traine there were foure thousand foote, Spaniards to defend the fleete, and to serue in Flaunders, in the warre against the French: he tooke shipping in Biscay hauing a prosperous wind, leauing for gouernesse in Spaine D. *Ioane* his sister, who (as we haue said) was in the beginning of the yeare, left a widow by the prince of Portugall. About the middest of F Iulie hee came within sight of Hampton, where there was a fleete of sixe and thirtie shippes, some of the Queenes, some of the low Countries attended to gard him, it being dangerous sailing vpon that coast; there came from Southampton a shippe royally appointed, being followed by tenne others, which were sent by the Queene to receiue the princes person, and his whole Court, in the which were many noblemen of England

Marriage of D. Philip and Marie Queene of England.

1555 land ſent to that end, and to preſent vnto him the order of the Garter, which he receiued with a ioyfull countenance, and put the garter on his left leg. Hee would not haue anie go into the ſhip with him, but the duke of Alba, *Ruy Gomes de Silua*, *Antonio de Toledo* and *Pedro Lopes*, the firſt was his lord ſteward, the ſecond lord chamberlain, the third maſter of his horſe, and the laſt a ſteward alſo; but afterwards other noblemen and the whole court landed, with their furniture, which continued three days. During the princes ſtay there, he was entertained with all the ſtate that might be deſired, from thence he went to Wincheſter, where the Queene attended him, and where the marriage was celebrated. On the 25 of that month, there was firſt read the renunciation of the emperour his father, by the which he reſigned vnto him the realme of Naples, & then the articles of the capitulation made in regard of that marriage. The Emperour would not, neyther did the Engliſh thinke it fit their Queene ſhould marrie with any one that had not the title of a King, ſo as the realme of Naples was aſſigned vnto him, and ſoone after the Duchie of Milan. Whereupon the Marques of Peſcara was ſent to Naples, to take poſſeſſion in his name, which ceremonie was done the 25 of Nouember, with great ſolemnity in the preſence of cardinall *Pacheco*, then viceroy, and of the prince of Biſignano, who was created Sindic of the city to that end.

Philippe made king of Naples.

Death of pope Iulio the third.

In the yeere 1555 died pope *Iulio de Monte*, hee was of a quiet diſpoſition, louing his people, but irreſolute in his greateſt affaires; which grew of a deſire he had to be friend both to the French king and Emperour, who hauing not that art that was requiſite to reconcile their old quarrels, hee found himſelfe often deceiued in his deſignes, and was not beloued of any of them. He was ſucceeded by *Marcel Ceruin* of Montepulciano, cardinall of Sancta Croix, a man of a verie good life, giuing great hope of his good gouernment; but hee died within three weekes after his election, confirming a common opinion in the people of Rome, that the Popes which change not their name, die preſently. His ſucceſſour *Iohn Peter Caraffa* cardinall of Oſtia, failed not to change his name, whom they named *Paul* the fourth; hee was called *Chietin* or *Thietin*, of the name of an Order of religious men, whereof hee had beene the Author, at ſuch time as hee was Biſhop of Chieti or Thieti in Abruzzo, he was alſo ſurnamed the Warrior.

Death of pope Marcel.

Pope Paul the fourth.

Death of queen Ioane the emperours mother.

16 The ſame yeare Queene *Ioane* mother to the Emperour died in the towne of Tordeſillas, hauing beene alwayes troubled in her ſences, and diſtracted, ſince the death of king *Philippe* her husband, vntill that ſhe was threeſcore and fifteene yeeres old: this princeſſe troubling her ſelfe infinitely for that ſhe thought ſhe was contemned, and that they kept her as a priſoner, this ambitious humour of commaund would not ſuffer her to take any reſt, ſo as this ſharpe and violent humor of melancholie, which ſhe had as it were by inheritance from the Queene D. *Iſabella* a Portugall, wife to D. *Iohn* the ſecond King of Caſtille her grandmother, was continued and augmented in her.

Death of Henry of Albret king Nauarre.

17 *Henry* of Albret king of Nauarre died about that time at Pau, in the fiftieth yeare of his age. He ordayned as the Kings his predeceſſours had done, that he would be buried in Pampelone, whoſe bodie was layd at Leſcar in Bearne. To whoſe poſſeſſions, and right to the realme of Nauarre, *Ioane* of Albret his onely daughter ſucceeded, beeing married to *Anthonie* of Burbon duke of Vendoſme. This realme detained by the Emperour, was in the meane time gouerned by Viceroyes: about the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and fiftie by D. *Barnardin Cardenas* duke of Magueda, in whoſe time D. *Philippe* prince of the Aſturies, and heire of Caſtille, Arragon &c. was ſworne prince of Viana: and in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and two D. *Bertrand de la Cueua* duke of Albuquerque took vpon him the gouernement; it is hee that was in Guipuſcoa whenas the French held Fontarrabie. By him there were certaine light enterpriſes made vpon the frontires of France, and vpon the towne of Saint Iohn de Lus in the precedent warres, and by the diligence of the ſaid Duke of Albuquerque, the prince D. *Philip* was declared king of Nauarre with the emperours conſent, by the Eſtates of the Countrey, beeing aſſembled at Pampelone, in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſixe. About this time D. *Pedro* of Nauarre Marqueſſe of Cortes, and Marſhall of the realme of Nauarre, died at Toledo, leauing for heire to his poſſeſsions D. *Ieronima* of Nauarre, in fauour of whom her husband D. *Iohn de Benauides*, was made marſhall.

Gouernors of Nauarre.

Death of D. Pedro of Nauarre Marqueſſe of Cortes.

The

A The warre had beene verie hot theſe laſt yeares betwixt the French and the imperials, vpon the frontiers of Artois and Picardie, and in Piedmont, the which had extended into Tuſcaine, whereas *Peter Stroſſy*, who commanded the French forces, was defeated in battell by the Marqueſſe of Marignan Generall for the emperour. Sienna had beene long beſeeged by the Imperials, and defended by the French, but in the end it was yeelded, and made ſubiect to the duke of Florence. But the French notwithſtanding this bad ſucceſſe in Tuſcaine, began to grow ſtrong in Piedmont, and ſeemed to threaten the duchie of Milan, where there wanted a Gouernour, D. *Ferdinand Gonzague* being called in Flaunders to iuſtifie himſelfe, as hee did, of the ſlaun- 1555

Sienna loſeth her liberty.

B ders wherewith hee was taxed by D. *Iohn de Luna* a Spaniard, Caſtellan of Milan and the Chaunceller *Tauerne*. *Ruy Gomez de Silua* imbraced this occaſion, who beeing much beloued by king *Philip*, and finding the duke of Alba to be a great competitor in his Maieſties fauour, hee had practiſed long by all the policies of a Courteour to ſend him from Court, beſides hee was ſuſpected to fauour them that did moleſt *Fernand Gonzague*, to the end that being called thence, the duke might haue meanes to bee ſent thither, with a large authoritie, the which ſucceeded according to his deſire for the warre increaſing in Piedment, and ill mannaged by them that commanded, the king reſolued, the emperours Councell being alſo of that minde, to ſend the duke of Alba, to reduce it into ſome better eſtate. But he would not accept of that charge,

C which indeed was great and weighty, if hee might not haue ſuch authoritie giuen him, as hee might gouerne with honour, and hope of good ſucceſſe. Wherefore hee obtained a title, which was neuer before graunted to any of the emperours Miniſters, paſſing with full power and authoritie to gouerne the realme of Naples, and the duchie of Milan, as well in peace as in warre, and to gouerne all as if his Majeſtie were there in perſon. And for that hee knew how weake the forces were in Italie, for want of money, before his departure he would haue great prouiſion made both from the lowe countries, Spaine and Italie; ſo as with an opinion to doe great matters, not onely by the fame of his authoritie and valour, but by the great ſum of money which was aſſigned him, he gaue order for his ſpeedy paſſage beyond the Alpes. Hee ſent Commiſſions

Duke of Alba ſent Viceroy into Italie.

D before to haue men, artillerie, munition, victuals, and pioners in a readineſſe, and himſelfe came in poſt the twelfth of Iune to Milan, the ſucceſſe of that warre you may read in its proper hiſtorie. The duke of Alba hearing of ſome alteration intended vpon the confines of the realmes of Naples, was inuited to goe thither (notwithſtanding that the king had already ſent *Bernardine* of Mendoſa thither, with the title of Lieutenant, in the place of Cardinall *Pacecco*, who went away hearing of the dukes arriuall in Italie) making *Iohn Baptiſta Caſtaldo* his Lieutenant in the ſtate of Milan.

18 The emperour this yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, broken with toyles of the world, and willing to free himſelfe of ſo great a burthen, and to ſatisfie the deſire of his ſonne king *Philip*, to whom although he had giuen the title of King of Na-

Emperour Charles reſignes the Gouernment to his ſon

E ples, and afterwards of duke of Milan, yet the gouernment remained at the diſpoſition of the emperors councell, he reſolued to renounce the abſolute gouernment with the titles of al thoſe realmes & ſtates, except the empire, to the which his brother *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed. So calling his ſonne into Flaunders, he made this renunciation with great ceremonies, in the town of Bruſſels, the fiue and twentieth day of October in a great aſſemblie of the Nobilitie, Prelates, and deputies of towns, the Queene of Hungarie, and *Maximilian* the emperours ſonne in law, with ſome other princes being preſent, but all Spaniards, officers & others of what qualitie ſoeuer, were put out of the hall, and not any ſuffered to ſtay, but ſuch as had buſines, or had beene called. So as from that time all matters were handled by the ſaid kings Councell, and he was called both king of Spaine and Ca-

F tholike. But before the reſignation of all his realmes and eſtates in this honourable aſſemblie, he gaue theſe inſtructions vnto his Sonne for the better gouernment of his eſtate.

1555

The inſtructions of the emperour Charles, when hee reſigned his eſtates, vnto his Sonne Philip. G

IHaue reſolued (moſt deare ſon) to come now to the point of reſigning into your hands the full adminiſtration and abſolute gouernment of al my eſtates & realms, as I haue often told you; wherefore my pleaſure is, that againſt the morning you giue order for the performance of this act with all due ceremonies: you ſhall alſo giue order with ſpeed, by ſending meſſengers into euery part, that both gouernors, inferior magiſtrates and people, acknowledge you (as in duty they are boũd) for their ſuperior, yeelding you due obediẽce, H & that al perſons (except ſuch as are ſubiect to the empire) take the oth of allegeance. The like oth I wil haue the generals of armies & al the commanders of martial forces take, that they may from henceforth in the point of loyalty depend vpon your ſelfe & no other. The more rare this preſident is of princes which haue bin content to reſigne their eſtates vnto their ſucceſſors, the greater are the ſigns not only of my loue to you, but of the aſſurance I haue of your good inclination, & my great care to ſee your eſtate ſetled. I could defer this act (as moſt princes doe) vntill my death; but hauing a deſire rather to imitate the ſmaller number of fathers in this point, I haue choſen willingly by this act in my life time, to make my ſelf a ſuperior, rather than a cõpanion to any. It is a weak trial of the valor & reſolution of a prince, to ſubdue kingdoms by force, in compariſon of conquering himſelf, being thus I far cõtent not only to bridle al ambition & deſire of rule, but to ſubmit himſelfe to a certain kind of obedience. Againſt this courſe, ſenſuality doth ſtriue with all her force, and in exchange of al worldlie ſatisfactiõs which are enioyed by the prerogatiue of abſolute authoritie, ſetteth before our eies the rigor of the laws, to which as to a common bounder, princes (ſetting their authoritie aſide) muſt leuell all their actions, as well as priuat men. To blind our vnderſtanding farther with like vailes, the ſame ſenſuall conſideration ſtirreth vp by way of admonition a prouident forecaſt of diuers inconueniences whereinto many fall, that haue made themſelues ſubiect to the will of other men, by the diuerſitie of their conceits and cenſures, the which by the corruption of the care of priuat intereſt are apt to ſwarue from the right rule of integritie. It may be that ſome wil be terrified with K this common ſuppoſition; that princes which are once poſſeſſed of authoritie may reſigne it at their owne pleaſures, but they muſt reſume it at the pleaſures of other men. Yet fatherly affection hath preuailed in me more than all theſe zealous conſiderations, and duetie alſo in ſome part, for finding my ſelfe now aged (which may bee accompted greater in regard of my ſickely eſtate) my ſatietie of glory in this world, and wearineſſe of toile; finding moreouer that by my continuall trauell vnto this day, I could not ſatiſfie in any part the duetie which belongeth vnto the profeſſion of a Chriſtian; I find my ſelfe inflamed with a moſt earneſt deſire to free my ſelfe from ſo manie troubleſome incombrances, and then retire my ſelfe to a meere religious kind of life, and more fit for a Chriſtian. On the other ſide the conſideration of your age, being now ripe and fit for go- L uernment, together with the expectation which you haue gotten in the world by managing the greateſt affaires of Spaine with great iudgement, do moue me the rather to proceed in my reſolution. Being moued by all theſe good conſiderations, I haue thought it fit to lay this weighty burthen vpon your ſhoulders, and to eaſe mine owne, which time and trauell haue now weakened and diſabled. I do confidently hope that the ſubiects of al my prouinces ſhal haue cauſe to thanke God firſt, and then me, for this reſolution, in reſpect of the gratious vſage they ſhall receiue at your hands, ſucceeding in my place: neither is it hurtfull vnto your ſelfe, that by his occaſion during my life, you ſhall ſettle your ſelfe more firmely in my dominions.

It remaineth then (my moſt deere Sonne) that with the ſame tender and father- M ly affection which hath moued me to this, I put you in minde alſo, that aboue all things you ſet before your eyes, the feare of God, which ought to be the ground of ciuill gouernment, and ſo to frame (as much as in you lies) the hearts of your ſubiects, keeping carefully in mind that which wee cannot prouide (by reaſon of this ſhort & tranſitory life) by any other means, more worthily & more honorably, thẽ by leauing vnto the world

when

A when we are gone a good report of our commendable actions. Perſuade not your ſelfe (deare ſonne) that becauſe the prerogatiue of commanding many eſtates giues great ſatiſfaction and libertie in this world, which euer flattereth the ſenſe of man, that it is not in like manner accompained with many croſſes, and often intermingled with a kind of ſubiection, either by the reſtleſſe iealouſie with which the mindes of Princes that demeane themſelues diſorderly are tormented, or in reſpect of the cõtinual care which they take for the preſeruation of their eſtates. Deceiue not your ſelfe in beleeuing that the regiment hath any kind of proportion with thoſe mightie burthens which are impoſed on you by my giuing place; for whereas Spain is a realme of ancient ſucceſſion, and therefore firme
B and ſecure, the eſtates of Flaunders, Italie, and Germanie, are more ſtrange vnto you, beſides they are more variable and troubleſome in their owne diſpoſition, and their opportunity of crauing aide from Princes which are mighty & buſie which confine vpon their countries is more dangerous. Ad hereunto that many kingdoms bring many cares, for euerie ſinal addition (where the burthen was ſufficient before) putteth al things out of order, euen as a ſtomacke which hath once receiued what ſufficeth nature, euery ſuperfluous bit cauſeth an indigeſtiõ & ſurfet of that which ſhold ſerue for ſuſtenance. He makes a great tryal of himſelfe that gouerns one ſtate well, but to gouern more than one well, is almoſt aboue the force of man. No man can at one time attend diuers actions, for euerie ſhip muſt haue her proper pilot, euery armie his general, & much more doth euery eſtate
C craue a particuler gouernor. But the greedines of mã hath ſo much exceeded theſe prefixed boũds, & forced reaſon with ſuch violẽt aſſaults, as the greater princes are the more deſirous they are to get. It is now held baſenes, not onely to depart from any thing alreadie gotten, being more than enough, but not to ſeek by al means to increaſe it. But ſeeing reaſon is ſo far ouermaſtred herein by ſenſualitie, and that our age is wholy diſpoſed to ambitious deſigns, I wil forbeare to ſpend any more idle words, in perſuading you to that, the contrarie wherof is generally obſerued. I wil rather yeeld this libertie to the worlds abuſe; with this excuſe notwithſtanding, that either all, or the greater part (and eſpecially thoſe that are accompted generous) do the like, and would euer do, if opportunity and meanes were anſwerable to their deſires. But yet I require you with all loue, that you endeuour
D by all meanes to correct this common error, and aſpiring humor in your ſelfe, ayming at a greater good, which is, to gouern wel thoſe ſubiects that are vnder your command: the which is honorable to the world, & acceptable in the ſight of God. To this end I muſt let you vnderſtand that the liues of princes ſtand like glaſſes before their ſubiects eyes, who looking daily into the ſame, as the liuelie mirrors wherunto they ſhould endeuor to conforme their courſes with al obedience & loyalty, they diſcern more eaſily the good & bad that is therein exemplified: wherefore how circumſpect and powerfull ſoeuer princes be, they muſt not thinke that their actions can bee concealed from the world; for although during their own liues they may ſomtimes ſeale vp their ſubiects mouthes, ſtay their tongs and reſtrain their pens, yet ſoon after they wil breake out with greater violence, & inueigh
E more bitterly againſt their honors. Wherfore let your carriage be ſuch towards your ſubiects, that in reſpect of the great care they find you haue of thẽ, they may the better like of your directions, repoſe themſelues vpon your wiſdom, & liue ſecurely & contentedly vnder the protection of your valor, for that the mutuall affection & loue betwixt the prince and his ſubiects, doth vndoubtedly ſpring from this root. Remember alwaies, that it is fit that he which gouerneth a ſtate, ſhold be as vigilant & carefull of the quiet & ſafety therof, as a ſhepheard is of his flock, or houſholder of his familie. To giue a certaine rule concerning this point, I would haue you to vnderſtand that all the cares which princes take of their eſtates are referred to the conſideration of one of theſe two times, that is, either of peace or war, betwixt which two al our actions are ſpent, and therfore it is wiſely ſaid, that
F the maieſty of a prince hath as great need to be aſſiſted with a councel of great policie & wiſe fore-caſt in time of peace, as of a great and ſtrong armie in time of war. Wherefore a princes whole care & courſe ought to be in the firſt time to haue a reſpect to his ſubiects quiet & content, and in the later to their ſecuritie, from whence groweth ſatisfaction on both ſides. And men without all queſtion are more ſecurely gouerned with good intreaty vnder a voluntarie ſubiection, than by inforced ſeruitude, and more firmly kept in obedi-

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1555 ence by loue than by violence. A Prince ſhold euer preſer the leauing of his dominions to G
his ſucceſſors by meanes of the peoples loue, leſſe abſolute & more durable, than by their
feare leſſe durable, yet more abſolute: It is feare that holds the ſubiects loues, and bridleth
their inſolent deſires, but no longer than ſome freſh occaſiō is offered to ſhake this ſeruile
yoake from their necks, and to ſettle their loues and loyalties vpon ſome other mighe-
tie potentate, who ſhall bee both willing and able to protect them from all wrongs,
which being once done, they will neuer be willingly drawne to their firſt obedience. It
doth alſo often happen that the ſecret hatred which proceedeth from feare, inforceth
them without any reſpect to make attempts for their deliuerie. Some hold that the beſt
way for a prince to keepe his people quiet, is to keepe them poore: but in my opinion H
they ſtray much from the path of policie: The reaſon is, for that euerie hope or
likelyhood of bettering their eſtates vnder other rulers, mooueth them to lay newe
plots, and to deſire innouations. I doe as little allow of their policie, who to di-
uert their ſubiects from practiſing any alterations hold them in continuall action, eſ-
pecially if their imployments be barbarous and baſe; for beſides that it breakes their
hearts, experience doth teach that for deſire of eaſe they will affect alterations, for as
the end of feare deſerues reproofe, ſo the meanes that leade thereunto are alſo re-
prooueable. How much the way of winning the peoples loue ought to be preferred
before the courſe of keeping them in awe, may eaſily appeare by a due conſideration
of the cauſes from whence theſe affections haue their beginning: The cauſes of the I
peoples loue are juſtice, gracious vſage, and fauours, all which deſerue praiſe: The cau-
ſes of their feare are grieuances, ill vſage and oppreſſion, which merit blame. Looke what
the cauſe is, ſuch is commonly the effect, whereby it followes neceſſarily, that as out of
loue is drawne a regiment more firme and ſtable, though more moderate, ſo out of
feare proceeds a kind of power more abſolute in ſhew, but yet leſſe durable: the like pro-
portion holdes in the peoples hearts, for where they loue there is all ſatisfaction, mirth,
ſweet conuerſation and dutifull reſpect, but where they feare, there is ſuſpition, ſtrange-
nes, diſcontent, quarrels, melancholie. Out of the impreſſions which feare breeds wee
can expect no better fruits than hatred, but from that deuotion which loue kindleth aſ-
ſured confidence, whereupon we ground the common prouerbe, Loue is among kinſ- K
folkes, and feare among enemies. The parts which beſide reſpect of Religion, are required
in a Prince for the better gouernment of his eſtates, & ſetling in his ſubiects hearts a loue,
and reuerent reſpect both of his perſon & ſtate, are chiefly three, Faith, Iuſtice & Conti-
nencie: Faith makes him intire in all his proceedings, and a man of his word, for without it
no man would giue credit either to his practiſes or promiſes: Continencie makes him to
be reuerenced with reſpect, and imitated with commendation; it giueth him an excellent
aduantage in a large field; correcting ſeuerely the faults of ſubiects that offend in that de-
gree, the which he could not doe without bluſhing if himſelfe were culpable: Iuſtice tea-
cheth a prince how to reward the good and to puniſh the bad, to giue euerie man his due,
to reſtraine men by correction that are apt to erre, & to incourage others by rewards that L
are deſirous to deſerue wel: beſides it makes the princes bloud, his honor, and his eſtate
ſecure, without which vertue no force is able to keep the ſubiects faithfully affected to
their Soueraigne, for it is the propertie of all people when as they neither find reward of
good deſerts, nor puniſhment of offences, to grow firſt into diſtruſt, & then into deſpaire,
which paſſions corrupt their mindes, hauing once gotten the maſteric. Wherefore let
the due conſideration of what is iuſt and honeſt bee alwaies preferred in all your prince-
ly purpoſes, that being once ſetled in the ſubiects hearts, that iuſtice is duely admi-
niſtred, they will euer remaine ſatisfied with your direction, eſpecially if beſides
this fauour, they liue in aboundance, hauing free traffike to all parts, and quiet-
neſſe of minde, for men toile and trauell during the courſe of their liues, not only M
for their Princes & ſuperiors, but for themſelues and families. Doubtleſſe, to maintain the
people in aboundance of al things neceſſarie for the preſeruation of their liues, is not on-
ly commendable in a prince, but doth worke great effectes in winning the hearts of men,
the which may bee eaſily prouided for, by a carefull fore-ſight of the times of dearth,
making diligent prouiſion for neceſſaries in due time, ſo as the benefitte may who-

ly

A lie redound to the peoples eaſe, and not to the princes gaine, by inhaunſing of prices and preferring of priuate benefit before publike content. A prince may alwaies hold himſelfe rich when as his ſubjects that liue vnder him, are rich; for vpon any extremitie he ſhall bee frankely releeued by their beneuolence: good vſage ſetleth their loues, and bindeth their deuotions. Experience teacheth, that fauours of this kind are neuer forgotten, that a ſmall conſideration in time of need winnes more vnfained loue than greater benefits when there is plentie: And that thoſe fauours haue alwaies had deepeſt impreſſions in mens gratefull thought, which concerne maintenance and the preſeruation of life in time of neceſſitie. It is ſufficient for a prince in this cauſe of prouiſion, to take order
B that hee loſe not by the bargaine, or if hee deſire to gaine ſomething for the releeſe of other charges, let it bee no more than an honeſt merchant with a good conſcience may gaine, for to theſe bounds may the politike prouiſion of princes ayme, but no farther, either in reſpect of honour or authoritie. If a Prince will bee beloued of his people, hee muſt giue them cauſe to thinke that hee loueth them; aſſuring himſelfe that their thākfulnes muſt grow from his deſert, their loue from his prouidence, & their content frō the peace and ſecuritie which they enioy vnder him; and that according to the fruits of fauour which the people reape by the Princes policie, they frame themſelues to liue contentedly, vnder the gracious ſhadow and protection of his princely wings, relying vpon his wiſdome and carefull gouernement. Otherwiſe there is no doubt but, ſubiection
C being in it ſelfe both burthenſome and odious, they would ſoone take ſome new courſe to ſettle their quiet and ſecuritie by ſome other means, freeing themſelues from all cauſe of feare, which (as I haue ſaid before) is leſſe durable, and leſſe ſecure, and therefore leſſe pleaſing to the ſtate of a Chriſtian Gouernour. Let no Prince imagin that with ſolemne ſhewes and publike ſights alone ſubiects are delighted and pleaſed in their own conceits, for thoſe things are not acceptable, but whē as their minds are ſatisfied in matters which do import them more. Vpon this ground and to the ſame end I muſt alſo aduiſe you in any caſe to vſe that moderation which is fit in charging the people with tributes or any other kind of impoſitions, for albeit that States cannot bee ruled without ſome kind of releeſe, in reſpect of the manie occaſions and exceſſiue charges wherewith Princes are
D burthened in times of peace, but much more in time of war; yet vnto euerie thing there belongs a meane, which in all occurrents is the perfect rule of humane actions, eſpecially thoſe which any way grieue the ſubiects hearts, conſidering that euerie princes power is grounded vpon their conformitie to his directions and vniforme aſſent to ſerue and honor him: wherfore this meane muſt be ſought out with all care, & being found it muſt be put in practiſe with great temperance, and worthily preferred before all other courſes, ſeeme they neuer ſo commodious and profitable. If the continuall toile of warre hath inforced mee at anie time to holde a heauie hand ouer my ſubiects in this kinde, I proteſt this courſe was alwaies againſt mine owne liking. Touching this point of obſeruing a conuenient meane in all impoſitions and taxes, you muſt conſider that the reuenues
E of a prince, whether they be publike or priuate, are raiſed two waies, the firſt by augmentation of the old, the other by addition of new, for vnto theſe two heads all the intentions to get money which are put in practiſe by the princes of our age may bee reduced.

In like maner the waies by which mony may be drawn from the ſubiect & others, are voluntarie or forced. The voluntarie may be contained in the ſale of cuſtoms, offices, and other like alienations of commodities and rents. That which is forced may in like maner be exemplified in ſuch taxes and ordinarie tributes, as are impoſed vpon the people without recompence: the firſt hath in it a kind of ſweetneſſe, for that it is ſeldome vrged by neceſſitie: wherfore it is requiſit to limit the other kind by this, and when neceſſitie requires
F rather to ſel offices & rents, than to inuent any new grieuāces to the people. I haue many times reſolued with my ſelf to deale after this maner, but haue euer bin diuerted by occurrents from bringing into my ſtate that cuſtom of ſelling of offices, and making magiſtrates for life, which is vſed in the court of Rome, for it is a matter of great import, & a means to bring a ſudden gain into the princes purſe, for the next vacatiō, either by remoue, imploiment, or death, yeeldeth as much or very little leſſe than the ordinarie rent, which by

1555 their accompt is to bee anſwered. No doubt this was a courſe of great conſide- G
ration, and of eſpeciall commoditie to the ſuperiour, as may bee gathered by this rea-
ſon of experience: That the Popes in how great pouertie ſoeuer they finde the
Church at their firſt entrie to the Sea, yet they neuer want meanes to procure mo-
ney after the firſt beginning of their gouernment.

It is true that in the Court of Rome, as it ſhould ſeeme, the ſale of Offices, which
haue annexed vnto them ordinarie adminiſtration of juſtice, brings not ſo great danger
vnto the State, as it would doe in other Realmes, for that auarice is not the chiefe
obiect in that place, of mens intents, but rather hope to raiſe themſelues to greater
honour from this ground, and acceſſe at all times vnto the Pope, vpon this occaſion, H
which carrieth with it many other eſpeciall commodities. But the Princes of the
world may in like manner deuiſe to ſet ambition in the eye of Officers, as the ob-
iect and end of their offer to buie Offices, by rewarding ſuch as carrie themſelues
well with great honours, and diſgracing thoſe that ſhall deale otherwiſe. By this
meanes you may change the obiect of your Officers, from couetouſneſſe to a deſire
of rule, and to ſupply the humours of authoritie, which is alwaies acceſſarie to Ambi-
tion.

The ſecond meanes to ſeeke reliefe from the ſubiect (which I tearmed forced) is
heauie and odious, yet by the good diſcretion of Miniſters which deale in thoſe af-
faires, and by the preſidents of other countries lying neere about, where they are op- I
preſſed by their Gouernours, this griefe may bee much qualified. The Prince in this
caſe may doe much good vnto himſelfe, by giuing eaſie acceſſe vnto his perſon when
occaſion doth ſerue; for hee muſt take a fit time to acquaint them with his occaſi-
ons, hee muſt ſeeke in ſome ſort to free himſelfe of their hard conceite, and eaſe
the other part by fauours of an other kinde: hee muſt juſtifie his actions in the iudge-
ment of the world, eyther by prouing the cauſe of this grieuance to bee verie vr-
gent, or colouring the ſame ſo cunningly as it may at the leaſt appeare ſo, or ende-
uouring to ſend ſome away ſatisfied, if it bee poſſible. This not voluntarie, or forced
way, is ſubdiuided into two other parts, into perpetuall burthens, as cuſtomes, or
temporarie: as ſubſidies: and this later at the time of the firſt impoſing, makes K
people to grieue for a while in reſpect of the paine which pincheth them, but this
greefe cannot long endure, for that one inſtant, and one paiment freeth them, eſpe-
cially if the prince make proteſtation of his vnwillingneſſe, and with all make ap-
parent to the peoples meane capacitie, the neceſſarie cauſe that vrgeth him thereun-
to. The other kind is farre more grieuous and offenſiue, albeit in time the people grow
better acquainted with that courſe, and beare it as well as they can, for that there is no
remedie. Sodaine impoſitions, although they ſeeme grieuous at the firſt, yet by a prince
whoſe lineall ſucceſſion is not well ſetled, ought to bee preferred, as potions which are
more ſharp and yet more quicke in operation, are before thoſe that are more gentle, yet
long and tedious in curing the ſicke; and the rather in this caſe, for that Princes cofers L
are ſuddenly repleniſhed. Aboue all things you muſt haue a great care, that during the
leuie of this aid, your Officers adde nothing to the burthen, either by extremitie, diſcur-
teſie, or demaund of fees, for we find daily that by ſuch extraordinarie extortions, men
are more incenſed in reſpect of the wrong and violence, then with the principall, which
is diſburſed for the ſatisfaction of their Soueraigne: The ſubiect is much impoueriſhed
by this hard courſe, and yet the Prince reapes no benefit thereby; nay when hee ſhall
haue need to craue a new ſupply and aide from them, hee findes them more feeble and
leſſe able to relieue his wants. Rents increaſe by raiſing new impoſitions vpon occaſi-
on; by bettering the trade, by reducing forfeitures to the princes pleaſure, by limiting
all neceſſarie charges, and cutting off ſuch as are ſuperfluous. The field of raiſing new M
rents is exceeding large, yet the prince is bound to walke in it with all poſſible reſpect, ſo
farre as it concernes the peoples grieuance: hee muſt eſpecially abſtaine from impoſing of
heauie cuſtoms vpon ſuch things as his ſubiects are inforced to ſend abroad, as Sicile doth
graine, and the Realme of Naples wine and Silke. The like conſideration is to bee had
of things brought in from foreine parts for the ſupply of other wants at home: for

vpon

A vpon theſe two reaſons experience and time hath grounded the ordinarie traffique that holdeth betwixt countries for their naturall neceſſities. Wherefore in theſe cauſes princes ought to haue a care that their reuenues may bee aunſwered in a meane, rather than by exceſſe; for the more moderate cuſtomes are, the greater ſtore of needfull things are brought home vnto our doores, in reſpect of the great gaine which marchants make by ſelling at the ſecond hand: and for the like reſpect the greater ſtore of ſuperfluous things are tranſported by the ſubiects into foraine parts. By this meanes the rent is rayſed farre aboue the meaſure which a great impoſition would yeeld: The people want no foraine commodities for their reliefe, and yet their purſes are filled by the vent of ſuperfluous
B things at home; ſo as they may be the better able both to ſatisfie their princes cuſtome, and contribute alſo vpon ſuch reaſonable occaſions as ſhall occurre in policie: vpon other things which are rather brought in for wantonneſſe and pleaſure, than for neceſſarie vſe, a more weightie impoſition may bee layed, for the eſtate (which may well forbeare theſe looſſe commodities) is not damnified thereby, if ſome, to ſatisfie their humors, will needs buy, it skilleth not though they pay ſomewhat deerer for their fantaſies. Beſides, ſome are diſcouraged ſometimes with the great price, which otherwiſe would acquaint themſelues too much with the pleaſures which make men effeminate. Princes that ſeeke to increaſe their old rents, by raiſing of their woonted impoſitions, muſt be careful, that they doe it rather with a limitation of the cuſtomers commoditie and gaine, that le-
C uies it, than with the peoples loſſe, that aunſwers it: for a grieuance in this kind were in effect as ill as any other impoſition. There muſt be a care alſo taken, that a conuenient reſpite may be allowed the ſubiect for the payment of his taske. As for example, if the prince haue need of money in Summer, then to ſeſſe the ſubiects the Winter before; for they are apt to take the time of this delay for a kind fauour. This leuie of money muſt be put into the hands of ordinarie officers, and not to appoint any new to diſquiet them, or to rifle their wealth, vnder colour of ſeruice to the State; for ſuch parts are moſt hatefull vnto them. But, as I ſayed before, a prince ought firſt to conſider, whether it be poſſible by ſelling or ingaging ſome part of his reuenues, to ſupplie the vrgent occaſions of his eſtate, before hee ſeeke to helpe himſelfe by the purſe and ſweat of his ſub-
D iects: for otherwiſe, as the wiſer ſort perceiue that, whatſoeuer they doe or ſay, they ſhall bee ſtill forced to contribute to their ſuperiour; that on the one ſide their old burthens are increaſed, and on the other, all meanes cut off, by which they might haue vent for their commodities; all traffique either ouerthrowen, or much decayed, by the which they were woont to releeue their wants with foraine commodities, it is not poſſible but they will eagrely deſire an alteration, and attempt it by all meanes poſſible. Touching this point of moleſting the ſubiects with impoſitions as little as may be, it importeth much, that they be agreeable to the nature of the countrey where they liue, that the people may beare the burthen more eaſily; for from thoſe places which yeeld nothing but men, princes may not demaund money. England yeeldeth an example of this kind;
E for on that ſide which lyeth next to Scotland, they ſeſſe not their borderers. You your ſelfe may draw ſome money out of Spaine, Germanie, and Flanders, when occaſion doth ſerue, but out of Italie both men and treaſure. Moreoner, when you impoſe any burthen, it is not amiſſe to ſet the rate in the beginning high, that the people may hold it as a fauour, when as, at their requeſt, it is brought to ſome reaſonable tearmes. They may bee eaſed alſo, by admitting their excuſes which they make in reſpect of time, and giuing eare with patience to that which they are able to alledge for ſome tolleration; you muſt alwayes haue a care to leaue them ſatisfied in ſome ſort, at the leaſt to comfort them with kind words, and make them capable of the juſt cauſe that moued you. You muſt lay before them the times, the reaſons, and the occaſions which inforce this courſe,
F prouiding alwayes, that all gracious dealing may be thought to proceed from your ſelfe; and whatſoeuer is offenſiue, ſharpe or odious, referre it to your officers. You muſt moreouer haue an eſpeciall care, that all profits ſo deerely purchaſed with the peoples grones, be brought to your owne hands, and not imployed or diſtributed to the priuat vſe of perſons that are put in truſt to gather it vnder you. It importeth alſo your eſtate very much (deere ſonne) to keepe credit with the marchant, which will alwayes ſucceed happily, ſo

long

1555

1555 long as you aſſigne vnto them conuenient commodities, in conſideration of their bonds, G
and maintaine them euer in ſecuritie, eſpecially with the ſtate of Germanie you muſt take
this courſe, for the holding them thus ingaged in your eſtates and realmes, by reaſon of
their intereſt and bonds, without erecting of any forts, which they deteſt much. You
may no leſſe aſſure your ſelfe of that Eſtate which is of great importance in Italie, than
the French king held the Florentines tied vnto him by the trade of Lions, as wee haue
found by plaine experience. Now ſeeing it is not poſſible that a prince of many eſtates
and countries ſhould alone be able to gouerne them all, nor any one of them (all things
conſidered) it is requiſite that this defect be ſupplied by the meanes of miniſters and de-
puties, that may helpe to ſupport ſo great a burthen: Wherupon it followes of neceſſitie, H
that to chuſe ſuch as be worthie and ſufficient in all reſpects, is a matter which doth much
import the State; wherefore I will ſpeake vnto at large of this matter, to the end you
ſhould not want a rule to know them, and imploy them in the ſeruice of the State. I
would haue you conſider, that the properties belonging to worthie miniſters are theſe:
Firſt and principally, wiſedome and vnderſtanding how to manage their affaires that are
committed to their charge; ſecondly, loue to their ſuperiour; and laſtly, vertue in them-
ſelues: to the end that by wiſedome they may haue knowledge, and by vertue diſpoſiti-
on to execute the truſt: for otherwiſe, either through ignorance they ſhall not know, or
by frowardneſſe refuſe, or through malice grudge, to diſcharge their dueties. Theſe are
the qualities without the which the prince cannot relye vpon their worth, nor the peo- I
ple be pleaſed with their actions. But as there is great difficultie both in finding out and
obſeruing ſuch, ſo experience doth teach, that all princes which haue been ſerued by men
of ſuch ſufficiencie in theſe degrees, haue ruled happily, with great contentment to their
ſubiects, and eternall glory to themſelues, notwithſtanding that they haue themſelues bin
ſomewhat diſſolute: for what made the name of the Emperor *Iuſtinian* immortal, beſides
his profound knowledge, but the great worth of his counſelors & miniſters, both in peace
and war; for by their helpe in both ſeaſons he effected great matters. Doubtleſſe it is an
argument of great wiſedome in a prince, when as nature hath not enabled him in the firſt
kind of perfection, which is, out of his owne ſufficiencie to rule the State, yet at the leaſt
to marſhall himſelfe in the ſecond ranke, which is, of ſuch as imploy men in their ſeruice K
that are capable; for thus they draw the quinteſſence of many pregnant wits to their own
vſe, and grow to vnderſtand more than a number that know by themſelues: as foure eyes
muſt needs ſee more than two, by the courſe of nature. But wee may hold that prince vn-
fortunat, which reſteth in a third proportion, being neither able of himſelfe, nor willing
to giue eare to others that are more ſufficient. A prince can neuer want meanes to reple-
niſh his owne Court with men fit for his ſeruice, if he will be carefull to ſeeke them out
where they are, eſteeme them, and acknowledge their deſerts, by good effects. Let him
rather make the firſt motion, and not depriue himſelfe by daintineſſe of a worthie ſeruant:
for that prince is rather proud than politicke, who perſuadeth himſelfe, for that his
treaſures are greater than other mens, therefore euerie man ſhould creepe before they L
call, eſpecially the wiſe and vertuous, who many times carrie minds as hautie as
princes, and in that reſpect deſire not to ſubmit their liberties to the will of any
man, preferring the freedome of a meane fortune, before the golden fetters of a prince
that either knowes them not, or regards them not. The reaſon is, for that wiſedome
and vertue are in themſelues a kind of ſuperioritie, or rather the verie true ſuperioritie it
ſelfe, for that we ſee that Empires, treaſure, fortunes, fauours, and natures ornaments, are
ſubiect to corruption and change, by alteration of time, or accidents, as it pleaſeth God
to diſpoſe: But the riches of the mind, ſuch as wiſedome and vertue are, can neuer be di-
uided from the partie that poſſeſſeth them. The minds of honeſt men are much eſtran-
ged, when they find how little their ſuperiors eſteeme them, preferring a wicked and lewd M
perſon before a loyall heart, a flatterer before a faithfull miniſter, a man puffed vp with
vndeſerued fauours, before him that ſeeketh to purchaſe grace by deſert, an idle drone
before a painefull officer. Thoſe princes erre exceedingly, which want judgement to
conceiue, that vertue cannot bee valued, that it deſerueth more than any one can
giue: that all fauours which a prince beſtoweth vpon worthie ſeruants, are both honou-
rable

A rable and profitable, and that a prince cannot imploy his treaſure with greater gaine by 1555
intereſt in any trade, than by rewarding ſuch as are both vertuous and politike. Nothing can bee made more plaine, nothing can be found more neceſſarie, conſidering how impoſſible it is, that any prince ſhould either winne great honour, or atchieue great matters, without able miniſters. Beware you erre not in this point, but ſeeke for worthie ſeruants, and retaine them in your ſeruice with all honour and preferment, ſetting this downe for a Maxime, That in a matter of importance a reſolute and wiſe Counſellor ſhall ſtand you more in ſtead with his ſound aduice and judgement, than your legions of ſouldiers with their armes, or whole mountaines of treaſure in your
B cofers.

Doe not beleeue, for that a prince is wiſe and vigilant himſelfe, he therefore needs not any able miniſters; nay, you may obſerue, that the greateſt princes of the world haue alwayes ſought to draw vnto them the greateſt number of rare men. Who was euer attended on by a greater number of this qualitie, than *Cæſar*? whom I hold to haue beene the greateſt prince that to this day, both in peace and warre, hath either ruled ouer prouinces, or commaunded armies. It ſeemeth rather, that theſe proportions and qualities are linked together with an indiſſoluble knot, that when the prince is valiant and wiſe, ſo are his officer, when the prince is faint-hearted, ſo are his miniſters.

C If we allow a grounded excellencie in the prince, it is to be preſumed, that the ſame can neuer brooke an inſufficiencie in thoſe that attend on him, whereas the weakeneſſe of the princes judgement cannot be capable of his ſeruants excellencie. From hence our common prouerbe taketh his firſt originall; Like will to like: Equals are moſt apt to conſent in loue; and hee that will gheſſe probably of the diſpoſition of a ſtranger, whom hee knoweth not, muſt conſider with whom hee keepeth companie. Conſider of this poynt of imployment and election with an eſpeciall care (my moſt deere ſonne) and herein it ſhall be ſufficient for you to imitate and follow me, your father, alone, who during the courſe of my life haue indeuoured to haue about me men of greateſt eſteeme, both for counſell and execution. To the care which is to bee had in reſpect
D of them, for their vertue, wiſedome, integritie, and loue, I would haue you alſo for your owne part bee carefull to imploy ſuch perſons in the affaires of Italie, as are beſt acqnainted with their humors, and are moſt ſutable to the conditions of that State; prouiding that they may bee throughly inſtructed in thoſe points, without reſpect of any priuate intereſt, or ſpeciall loue or bond to any. The like courſe I would haue you take in Spaine, and your other Eſtates, eſpecially in chuſing the leaders of your armies; for vndoubtedly the fitneſſe of your miniſters for thoſe places which they hold, is a matter of verie great importance in all actions of gouernement. We read of *Hanibal*, That he was moſt fortunate at land, yet verie vnhappie in all actions belonging to the ſea. And how many doe wee find in generall experience, which are
E exceeding fit for the nature of one people, and vnfit for another. Sometimes wee meet with perſons abſolutely wiſe, and that carrie themſelues with great commendations in all places, and at all times, and vpon all occaſions that are incident to their charge; but wee find them rare: of others that are onely fit for ſpeciall affaires there is no great plentie in the world, and therefore they muſt bee imployed in that facultie wherein they are held moſt ſufficient to ſerue: for it is a matter of no ſmall importance, to make choyce of ſuch a miniſter to any end, as is found moſt excellent in his owne profeſſion.

Make your ſpeciall choyce out of diuers ages, and diuerſitie of gifts, for ſo ſhall you bee ſure to light on thoſe that are moſt fit. Bee carefull that vnder your moſt
F truſtie and moſt ſufficient Counſellors, ſome may bee trayned and inſtructed for the ſeruice, when their date is at an end, leaſt otherwiſe the fortune of your great gouernment ſeeme to be bounded within the terme of their continuance; for priuat perſons haue their periods, but policies in States well gouerned ſhould be perpetuall. Let the Romans ſerue for an example in this caſe, who to preuent the danger that might grow by committing the burthen of direction to one onely man, aſſigned by way of ſucceſsion (in caſe

he

1555 he ſhould periſh that had the chiefe commaund) ſundrie gouernors vnto euerie armie. In G
any caſe beware you do not lay your moſt important cauſes in a time of danger, vpon the
ſhoulders of ſuch perſons as were neuer made acquainted with affaires of equall weight:
When any ſuch occaſion doth happen, your ſafeſt courſe is, alwaies to preferre the judge-
ment of your eldeſt counſellors, who ſpeake out of experience.

Aime not at honor in the choice of your couuſellors; reſpect thoſe of a middle age,
where gifts are anſwerable: for as the yonger ſort is commonly euer credulous and bold,
ſo others that are neuer called vntil their later daies, are ſuſpitious, incredulous, irreſolute,
and commonly leaue the world before they can be made fit for their calling: but they that
haue made proofe of their ſufficiencie for the ſpace of many yeres, and vpon verie dange- H
rous occaſions, waxing white headed with the toile of ſeruice, and the cares of gouerne-
ment, ought euer to be reuerenced and reſpected, as a neceſſary wreſt to turne the jarring
ſtrings of diſagreeing humors at a councell boord, to perfect harmonie. I would alſo haue
you in this point of imitating the militarie diſcipline of Rome, to make a medley of your
councell, betwixt wiſe old men, and yong men of great hope: for ſuch a ſpeare, like vnto
that of the Pithagorians, conſiſting of ſo many ſundrie parts, as treble, meane, & baſe, will
yeeld that ſweet conſent which is to be wiſhed in all policie. By this meane princes ſhall
not need to make their muſicke of one ſtring, they need not build vpon one hope, nor ad-
dict themſelues to one certaine qualitie: for many times among thoſe that are young of
yeares, we find perſons old of vnderſtanding, and among aged men, counſellors that haue I
greene heads, and flouriſh both in wit and fortitude. In this caſe, ſuch young men are ac-
counted old, and ſuch old eſteemed yong: The middle ſort are to be marſhalled on either
ſide, as their conditions and qualities incline to one or other, more or leſſe; for miniſters
ought not to be reſpected for their yeares onely, but for their judgements, manners, and
conditions in the execution of their charges. And yet, beſides theſe ordinarie obiects, ac-
cording to the age and qualitie of euerie one, ſeeke alſo to haue knowledge of their na-
tures and priuat affections: for it is not ſufficient for a generall that conducteth an armie
through any countrey, to haue a generall Idea of the countrey in his mind: but it is re-
quiſit he ſhould haue a particular knowledge of the countrey it ſelfe, whether it abound
with water & other neceſſarie prouiſions, or be in want, which firſt of all cauſeth a dearth, K
and then ruine. A prince muſt euer preſuppoſe, that although the quicke conceit of ſome
ripe heads, makes them ſoone to take inſtruction of a new charge, recommended by ſu-
periors, and to grow fit for the managing thereof, the greater part notwithſtanding is for
a time vncapable, and during that time may commit diſorders, and offend the ſubiects in
their cuſtomes, priuiledges, and rights: which, ſeeme they neuer ſo ſleight, either in re-
ſpect of themſelues, or of any other accidents of leſſe account, yet muſt they needs be va-
lued according to the rate which they had in generall opinion, and the great diſturbance
which is bred by want of obſeruation; for ſmall ſpatkles may kindle a great fire, if they be
not quencht in due time, with moderation.

Now that you may the better know who are the wiſe and worthie miniſters, that de- L
ſerue imploiment in your eſtate, you muſt vnderſtand, that true wiſedome may be gotten
by foure meanes eſpecially: The firſt is, by experience of occurrents in the world; where-
fore it is ſaid, That they which practiſe much, muſt needs learne much: And this kind of
wiſedome our auncеſtors exemplified in their owne kings, the Greekes eſpecially in *Aga-
memnon* and *Menalaus:* who by varietie of matters put into their hands, and by occaſion of
that which by their accidents and conſultations they generally vnderſtand, may eaſily
grow wiſe, and learne (as the prouerbe ſaith) at the charges of other men. The ſecond
meane is, by the inſtruction of hiſtories; for thus they come to knowledge both of acti-
ons and reaſons, in times paſt; they marke their applications and effects, and thereby ſet-
ting downe rules vnto themſelues, for the direction of their owne affairs, not onely pur- M
chaſe honor and reputation by their knowledge, but wax great by the toile of other men.
Of this kind we may find paternes both in *Solon* and *Socrates*. The third courſe is, by traue-
ling into diuers countries, and by obſeruing the diuerſitie of lawes and policies: for this
particular collection of foraine wiſdome, may be ſenſibly applied to particular occaſions
of their owne. And this kind of wiſedom is aſcribed vnto *Vliſſes* by Antiquitie. The fourth
meanes

A meanes to attaine vnto it, is, by long life: for although a man ſhould learne but one good leſſon euerie yere, yet time, at length, would make him generally wiſe. *Neſtor* may ſtand in this degree for a faire preſident, of whom it is plainly ſaid, that he vnderſtood very much for that he had liued very long. And I cannot ſee how a young man may be capable of any of the other three firſt kinds of wiſedome, both for that he cannot in a ſhort time gaine ſo great experience as is neceſſarie to this effect; and moreouer, youth wanteth that well ſeaſoned conſideration that is requiſit: neither are a few yeares ſufficient for men to trauell, and to obſerue that which breedeth judgement. Laſtly in reſpect of the defect and want of time, he cannot draw a true picture of that apprehenſion which old age hath gathered. I denie not, but by the meanes of ſome prudent miniſters & counſellors, a young prince may attaine to all foure kinds at once, if he retaine about him a conuenient number of men, wiſe in their degrees, and not onely vſe their counſell in his great affaires, but with all regard follow it. 1555

B

Wherefore there ought to be great regard had in the choice of theſe men, eſpecially to chuſe wiſe men, which by way of inſtruction and hiſtorie, can conceiue, eſpecially with any ſmall experience of the affairs of the world, and the benefit of their many yeres, which is the moſt ſecure, and leaſt deceitfull mixture of theſe kinds of wiſedome, that can be limited; ſauing that thoſe perſons which are beſt furniſhed with all theſe kinds, ought to be preferred before all others. The wiſedome of miniſters ought to be referred to the ſame

C two times we haue formerly ſpoken of, of peace and warre, whereunto all the conſiderations, forecaſt, and prouiſions of a prince, ought to be directed.

The goodneſſe of miniſters and officers, which is the ſecond part that is required in them, may be judged of by the good name which they do carrie, and by their good behauiours. A man is ſaid to do well foure waies, by chance, by cunning, by the beginning of the habit it ſelfe, and after that by vſe and practiſe, if it be fully perfected. Good workes done by chance, or to a cunning end, are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that are done at the firſt beginning of the habit, for that they neuer ſpring from any vertuous intention, as the other do, though both may be indifferently accompanied with good effects. And for that the ſecrets of the mind are hard to be diſcouered by the judgement of man, for that God

D alone doth ſee the inward part of our hearts: wherfore men do greatly erre in making vſe of them, being impoſſible to attaine to a perfect knowledge of thoſe perſons, but by a continuall obſeruation of their actions with ſpeciall care. In the firſt kind, which is of things done well by chance, it is not poſſible there ſhould be any good intentiō, for that the partie neuer thinks of that he hath in hand. Much leſſe in the ſecond, where all is directed to a cunning end, for that malice bears the ſway. The third and fourth degrees, where men either begin a vertuous habit, or haue attained it, the intent is alwaies good; yet the effects and operations of the third doe not alwayes fall out ſo happily as of the fourth: for the third proceeds ſometimes from a ſence not fully ſetled, nor throughly corrected by the reſtraint of reaſon, & raines of vertue, which onely ruleth their intents, and accompanieth

E their actions, elſe there ſhould be more difference betwixt the members of this diuiſion. They that by cunning will ſeeme vertuous, in reſpect of endleſſe feare leaſt their ill meaning ſhould be brought to light, ſtanding in the mid way to the marke which is common to all men, like a bow drawne from the other extreame, they are heauie, melancholie, and full of doubts, vpon euerie rumor of the vulgar ſort, they caſt falſe ſhadowes of ſuſpition, linger in miſtruſt, and affright themſelues with fancies: their daies are troubleſome, their nights vnquiet, their cares infinit, and therefore our Sauiour might boldly ſay, *Hæ parietes teſtes*. But they that are ſincerely and intirely vertuous, relying onely vpon their bountie and worth, liue in continuall peace, with content of mind, and without all feare of oppreſſion. It reſteth in the will and power of the prince himſelfe, to incourage faithfull mini-

F ſters to ſhew their loue and duetie to their ſuperiours, either by binding them by rewards and fauours, or by contenting them with honour and authoritie, or by fitting them with ſuch commodities and pleaſures as they moſt affect, or by ſetling their inclinations to deſerue well, in offering occaſions whereby they make proofe of their fidelities: For as it is moſt proper for mans nature, to proceed with courage where they find their ſeruice thankefully rewarded vpon iuſt cauſe, ſo princes are apt to truſt

vpon

1555 vpon due triall of their miniſters integritie. But the way to make them conſtant and ſure G
againſt all aſſaults, is, to tye them, not with any ſingle bond, but with all theſe to-
gether, if it bee poſſible. Let no prince thinke, that it is more ſafe, in conſultation tou-
ching his affaires of Eſtate, to truſt domeſticals, and ſuch as are moſt deere vnto him
for other ordinarie cauſes, but leſſe able to aduiſe, before others that bee farther off,
ſo as they bee more fit, onely of feare to ſeeme more vnthankefull to the firſt, and de-
priue them of their due: for the end will be, that by this opinion hee ſhall preferre
men of no worth nor vnderſtanding, before others that are more ſufficient and neceſſa-
rie; which is the moſt abſurd and ſenceleſſe errour which hee can commit, touching this
point of election of miniſters. I would haue all other conſiderations of riches, fauour, H
and all other gifts of fortune, yeeld in your eſteeme to vertue and worthineſſe: for where
a prince finds qualities agreeable, it is his part to thinke how to inrich and aduance them;
for the meaner their eſtates are whom the prince ſhall raiſe to high degrees, the greater
ſhall their bond appeare, and the more ſincere and firme their dueties and affections. In
rewarding your ſeruants good deſerts, I would wiſh you to endeuour as much as you
may to gratifie them according to your deſires, and to haue an eye to their owne ends:
for ſome ſeeke eaſe onely, and aboundance of commodities belonging to this life; others
hunt after honour and authoritie; and ſome couet ſatisfaction in other kinds, according
to their ſeuerall humors, or as ſuch fauours either are indeed, or at the leaſt are held by
them moſt ſutable to their conditions and qualities: without reſpect of theſe affections
of men, a prince ſhould often looſe the thanks which bountie expects: for many deſire ra-
ther to faſt than to be crammed againſt appetite. Among other rules it ſhal not be amiſſe
to note, that nothing bindeth loue more firmely, than when a prince beſtowes a benefit
out of his owne free choice, without the inſtance or ſoliciting of any fauorer. The firſt we
muſt aſcribe to the fauour of our Soueraigne alone; the ſecond we may diuide betweene
the prince that giueth, and the friend that moueth it. Some haue commended and allow-
ed a diſtruſt and diſagreement betweene miniſters of State, as if it were the beſt meanes
to acquaint a prince with the truth: but this courſe was neuer pleaſing to my humor, nei-
ther could I euer find how ſo bad a cauſe as diſcord, could euer produce any commenda-
ble effects in a princes ſeruice. A kind of emulation is not amiſſe, ſo as it tend onely to K
incite honourable minds to ſhew themſelues more worthie of the princes fauour, to de-
ſerue better in his ſeruice, and to be fit for a better place when time ſhall ſerue, as we read
of two of *Cæſars* Corporals: but in no wiſe let it grow to malice or miſlike; for the prince
may neuer ſhew more fauor to one than to another, as it falleth out ſometimes, for that it
will not be poſſible alwayes to keepe the ballance euen, but the partie which receiueth
leſſe is tormented with jealouſie, fretted inwardly with ſpight, blinded with diſdaine, and
all, in the end, turneth to the prejudice of the princes ſeruice, and the publicke action.

Among theſe, and out of theſe, ought the prince to make choice of a ſufficient number
to ſerue him in the place of councell, and imploy the reſt in other ſeruices belonging to
the State: for being guided by their aduice & counſell, he can hardly erre, but may rather L
reſt aſſured, that his worthie acts ſhal purchaſe honor & immortalitie to his name; where-
fore ſtriue to abound in theſe rather than in any other treaſure whatſoeuer: and feare not
leaſt facilitie, in being led and directed by the aduice of worthie men, ſhould rob you of
the honor which belongeth to your rare deſerts; for that the chiefeſt commendation is
not aſcribed vnto him that either giueth counſel, or hath charge to execute, but vnto the
prince, vpon whoſe reſolution all depends, and who out of his judgement and diſcretion,
aſſignes to euery man that part for which he is moſt fit, in his owne opinion: for although
there may be aptneſſe in the timber, yet to make choice of the beſt for building, and im-
ploy it to the beſt vſe, ſhewes the skill of a good workeman. Beſides, if the prince, out of
a jealous and ſuſpitious humor, be miſtruſtfull in this point, how eaſie a matter is it at all M
times, vpon diuers colours and pretences, to change, alter, or deferre his reſolution, ſo as
whatſoeuer they inuent ſhalbe aſcribed to his own perfectiō. A prince can neuer want oc-
caſions to ſound their opinions, and to make profit of their deep judgements, without im-
parting the ſecret of his purpoſes to any one of them.

My meaning was to diſcourſe with you about this point of chuſing able miniſters, at
large,

A large, for that, in my opinion, the weight of this ſubiect required no leſſe: wherefore I re- 1555
peat it againe, That a prince can neuer become great, nor maintaine his greatneſſe, with-
out the ſeruice and aſſiſtance of ſufficient counſellors & officers: And therefore (my moſt
deere ſonne) I require you carefully to open both your eyes and eares in this reſpect, and
to be diligent in ſearching out the qualities of men, for your better inſtruction. All offi-
ces, adminiſtrations, and gouernments, which are giuen for a ſhort limited time, are moſt
ſecure from thoſe ſuſpitions & jealouſies which long continuance in office and authoritie
doth breed; being impoſſible, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, to make parties, or to procure followers.
And although this courſe be not alwayes free from thoſe dangers and diſcommodities,
B which are incident to gouernors, who either want experience, or acquaintance with ſtate,
yet a moderate exchange ought, in my conceit, to be preferred before a perpetuitie: for
the people (be the gouernors neuer ſo religious and juſt) feele a kind of ſafetie at the leaſt,
and as well in this point as in others, delight, in change; vſing the ſame as a counterpoiſe
to that irkeſome loathſomeneſſe which groweth out of the continuall vſe of any one
thing without alteration.

Let your maner in giuing audience to ſuitors be eaſie, liberal, and ordinarie, wherby not
only the ſubiect is pleaſed with the ſame, reputing this acceſſe as a reſtoritiue, for that it
giueth them opportunitie to eaſe their grieuances by their ſuperiors fauor: but on the o-
ther ſide it maketh the prince more wiſe, when euery day by this means he cõmeth to the
C knowledge of new accidents, new impreſſions, & new opinions. The prince alſo commeth
to vnderſtand all the affairs, humors, paſsions, and plots of his own ſubiects, and their inte-
reſt, which is, as I ſaid before, one kind of wiſedome. To this end therefore, and for a thou-
ſand other good effects, a prince ought to viſit all his eſtates often, but in ſuch ſort, as ma-
ny progreſſes and extraordinarie charges which belongs vnto them, may not be burthen-
ſome to his ſubiects, and a blemiſh to his owne authoritie: for things that are accounted
excellent, if they be made common, they looſe a great part of their eſtimation in the eyes
of the world. If their progreſſes be ſeldom, in like maner, they giue ſome ſuſpition of neg-
lect, and careleſſe regard of the peoples good; they giue incouragement to deputies and
magiſtrats, to follow their own humors: and moreouer, they make their ſubiects deſpaire
D of all hope of refuge to the princes preſence, and of recourſe to the ſame in time of neceſsi-
tie: for, as I ſaid before, this is a meane to eaſe the ſubiect, and to curbe the magiſtrat. In
giuing audience, let your care be to ſend euerie man away with ſome ſatisfaction, or at the
leaſt with good liking of your affabilitie. Heare ſuch as offer you petitions with patience,
and anſwer them with compaſsion. Prouide alwaies, that the power of thoſe that are moſt
mightie ouerſway not the right of them that are miſerable; haue no reſpect of perſons, but
looke only to the juſtice of the cauſe. If any man appeare before you in a rightfull matter,
who is otherwiſe ill ſpoken of, regard not at that time his conuerſation, but his complaint,
not what he is in life, but what he ſpeaketh. Now to the end the parties which haue re-
courſe vnto you, appealing from your officers, or charging them with corruption, may
E be more throughly conuinced by due proofe, and more eaſily induced of themſelues to
confeſſe their faults, ſtretch out your hand as farre as in honor you may, in granting them
new Iudges, or Commiſsioners, who together with other ordinarie officers, will be more
carefull to carrie themſelues vprightly in ſuch offices as are aſsigned to their cares. The
way to plant a firme reſolution in your officers, to deſerue well, is, to reward them boun-
tifully that haue ſhewed their worth: for by this meanes, by the diſcharge of his duetie
in a meane place, he will endeuour to be held worthie of an office of more eſteeme: not-
withſtanding there is great reaſon why the prince, vpon theſe occaſions, ſhould haue
due reſpect to the credit and honour of his officers, and to vſe ſuch moderation in this
kind, as without wrong to the plaintifes, their reputations may be tendered. Examine
F weightie cauſes with deliberation, but be carefull to giue quicke diſpatch to matters of
ſmall moment, eſpecially if they concerne perſons that are in miſerie. Vſe the like expe-
dition in matters concerning poore men, orphans, dowers, churches, education, mainte-
nance, charges left, tutorſhip, debts, and ſuch like charitable cauſes, of which you are in
conſcience bound to haue an eſpeciall care, and to protect them in neceſsitie. That ſtate
can neuer proſper where ſuch cauſes are neglected, for that God which makes no diffe-

1555 rence of perſons,but aſſureth vs,That he will alwaies haue one eare open to the ſorrowful G
complaints of ſimple ſoules which ſuffer wrong,will puniſh kings and magiſtrats for their
contempt euen of their Chriſtian ſubiects. I would exemplifie this danger by ſome ſpeci-
all example of Gods juſtice in my time: but the verie ground of charitie ſet downe in a
word or two,may ſerue, and for the reſt I leaue you to the tenderneſſe of your owne con-
ſcience,and the counſel of your Confeſſor. The like courſe muſt be taken with tradeſmen,
artiſans,marchants,and husbandmen; for theſe kind of people can neuer follow the court,
nor without ruine to their eſtates,ſpend their goods, labour and time about ſuits: for it
were better to be ſpeedily diſpatcht with ſome loſſe,than to be tired with a world of Pro-
ctors,Aduocates,and Notaries, in hope of getting all; conſidering how much the loſſe H
of time,in regard of their trade,importeth them. Whatſoeuer may be ended at one hea-
ring by your ſelfe,diſpatch: what you are not able of your ſelfe to rid, recommend it by
way of tables and memorials in other affaires. It ſhall not be amiſſe,for quicke diſpatch of
cauſes,to aſſigne to euerie officer his particular taske; for otherwiſe it were not poſſible
for one man to run through all. In caſe of neceſſitie the prince may commit his office, for
his owne eaſe,to his faithfull miniſters, in imitation of the knife which in old time was v-
ſed in the ſacrifice at Delphos: for there was ſuch a faſhion deuiſed for the reliefe of poore
men,which could not long attend without great loſſe,as one man alone was able by the
helpe of its many parts,to ſerue all the prieſts. In criminall cauſes,where there is queſtion
of life and death,and other capitall puniſhment,proceed benignely with ſeueritie,and ſe- I
uerely with benignitie,according to the ſtate and qualitie of the cauſe. Applie your ſen-
ces to the circumſtances of the perſon,time, and place, the maner, and ſuch like conſide-
rations. Be content to imitate the rule of *Lesbos* in this caſe,which was apt to bend accor-
ding to the obliquitie of the ſubiect vnto which it was applied by art: So muſt princes fol-
low occaſions,if they will rule with commendation. This is not to make difference of per-
ſons touching the right it ſelfe,but to judge of right with wiſedome and diſcretion,accor-
ding to the ſundrie indifferences that are aptly offered; proceeding notwithſtanding,
where we find the like reſpects in all degrees concurre with like conſideration: for the
people are not grieued with ſetting downe any reſolution, how grieuous ſoeuer it may
ſeeme,but diuerſitie of puniſhments for one and the ſelfeſame fault, where no certaine K
reaſon can be found of the diuerſitie. If any conceiues this counſel to be in any ſort repug-
nant to this Maxime, That all lawes ſhould be equall, inflexible, vnchangeable, &c. hee
muſt be anſwered, That it is onely vnderſtood of the dead letter of the law which as it e-
uer ſpeaketh and reſolueth in one manner, ſo ought it in reſpect of it ſelfe, to be indiffe-
rently interpreted and executed: But there is another reaſon of the liuing law, which is
the prince and his miniſters, eſpecially touching Commiſſions which bee receiued from
him: for they ought to execute the dead letter of the law with ſuch reſpect and modera-
tion as hath beene mentioned before, ſo as they bend it with equitie, but breake it not
with wilfulneſſe: Wherefore there is a certaine power giuen vnto the prince aboue the
lawes, and by the rule of conſcience which is imprinted in the heart of him or them that L
are ſet vnder him, the cauſe is qualified according to the reaſon of the circumſtance; for
rigor is not alwayes right: neither may we ſay, that they rule beſt, which vrge the letter
without reſpect to the reaſons; that rather follow the words of a text which is mute,than
the due conſideration of a quicke interpretation, which is more ſenſible. Prouided al-
wayes for the preſeruation of Maieſtie, and maintenance of lawes, That howſoeuer it
may pleaſe a prince out of his owne conceit to diſpoſe, in ouerruling any matter, with
reſpect either of the perſon or time, augmenting or abating the reward of any good de-
ſert,or puniſhing of any fault, the ſame be not drawne to conſequence, or inforced as a
preſident to thoſe that ſhall liue after him. They that gouerne know better how to mo-
derate theſe caſes,than the lawyers that plead; and many things are incident to politicke M
direction, which neuer come within the compaſſe of an ordinarie Aduocate. Contenti-
on betwixt husbands and wiues, maſters and ſeruants, parents and their children, neigh-
bours, kinſmen,friends,and ſuch like, conjoyned in the ſtrait linke of ordinarie officers,
ought rather to be ended by a friendlie arbitrator, with ſpare of charges which belong
to ſuits,than by a ſeuere judge,who decideth all things by extremitie. The beſt courſe for

a prince

A a prince is to cenſure cauſes by due circumſtances without partialitie; and that the diffe- 1555
rence which ſhall appeare betwixt his moderation and the written law, may rather ſeeme to ariſe out of a right in equitie, than an error in affection. I would haue all the courts of juſtice offend rather in compaſſion than rigor or crueltie, vnleſſe there be a notable exam-
ple to be made for the terror to the multitude. In all kinds of rewards be bountiful aboue the common courſe, and alwaies chuſe rather to leaue a light offendor (whoſe crimes are not manifeſt) vnpuniſhed, than to condemne an innocent, or to leaue a peece of ſeruice
vnrewarded, at the leaſt with fauourable words, with praiſe and cauſe of hope, vntill time and opportunitie may yeeld a more ample ſatisfaction. Be carefull that compaſſion & fa-
B cilitie in remitting puniſhments, be tempered with ſuch a reaſonable meane, as it neither incourage men to offend, nor giue occaſion of many errors which grow by too much leni-
tie. Let it ſuffice, that your ſubiects liue vnder you with induſtrie, and as becommeth men, without giuing ſcandall or ill example to the world. Proceed not to that kind of curioſitie which makes many rulers to inquire & ſearch what men doe in the moſt priuat and ſecret places of their houſes: this humor is many waies offenſiue, for both it breedeth trouble to the prince, and oftentimes great harme to the party, without deſert. Though ſome be not abſolutely chaſt, yet ſo they be found wary in auoiding all cauſe of ſcandall & manifeſt of-
ſence, the prince hath reaſon to referre the judgement of the ſecrets of mens hearts vnto God, and the correction of ſecret ſins to his diuine Maieſtie: for where our eyes can no
C way pierce, there is no reaſon that our hands ſhould execute. Keepe one eare alwayes o-
pen for the aduerſe partie; beware of ſetling your judgement, eſpecially in cauſes of juſtice vpon the firſt impreſion; for time trauelleth for truth, and oftentimes graue deliberation eaſeth her of her burthen. In thoſe occaſions a moderation ſhold be had in ſuch regard, as neither the ſubiect be induced by too great facility to attempt any practiſe of vnlawful ac-
tion for the furtherance of his intent, nor diſcouraged by too great rigour for expecting reaſon at your hands; for both extremities are dangerous. Whileſt that you are in choler, or haue made your ſelfe a prey to any other paſſion, or reſpect of priuat intereſt, be verie carefull neuer to giue ſentence, or at the leaſt not to put the ſame in preſent executiõ, leaſt afterwards appeales be made vnto your ſelfe from ſuch vniuſt ſentences and executions,
D by the parties that are wronged, when you are come vnto your ſelfe. You may read in hi-
ſtories, of a poore woman that appealed from king *Philip*, being tranſported with paſſion, to the ſame king *Philip*, qualified with a due conſideration: and of the penance which was injoyned by S. *Ambroſe* to *Theodoſius*, after the maſſacre of Theſſalonica.

Touching the orders of your familie and Court, I haue diſcourſed with you at other times, out of which you may draw rules for the direction of thoſe affaires: be alwayes mindfull that your gards be entertained about your perſon, according to the wonted ma-
ner, rather to ſet forth the maieſtie of gouernment, than in reſpect of danger of your life for euidẽt neceſsitie. Touching the wearing of your apparel, there is no doubt but prince-
ly garments, fit for your eſtate at certaine times, doe both grace your perſon, and ſtrike a
E kind of awe into the peoples hearts: Notwithſtanding to ſute your ſelfe ordinarily more plainly, & according to that faſhion which is moſt generall, doth win great loue, as I haue obſerued by mine owne experience: for nothing pleaſeth the ſubiect more, than to note ſometimes a careleſſe contempt of thoſe outward complements, in which ſome princes ſet their princelie felicitie. The like conſideration muſt be had touching your diet, and other neceſſarie things belonging to your perſon and your Court, with a carefull regard, that neither hatred be purchaſed by exceſſe, nor contempt by too great equalitie.

To the time of peace likewiſe belong diuers kinds of workes worthie of a princes care, which draw the ſubiects eyes to admiration, and his heart to thankefulneſſe. In this
F degree we marſhall whatſoeuer princes either build or repaire for the peoples good, as adorning cities, amending highwayes, repayring bridges, making riuers nauigable, charges in bringing waters, in repairing of churches, hoſpitals, guild-halls, publike places, and towne walls, taking order for the reformation of abuſes in religion, Vniuerſities, Colledges, and judiciall places, in limiting the fees of Counſellors, excluding auarice from courts of conſcience, and corruption of magiſtrats in the bringing vp of orphans, mariage of poore maids, and redemption of priſoners. Bleſſed is the heart that thinketh on thoſe

1555 things, and the hand that putteth them in execution; for by this meanes the ſubiect ſhall G
not onely be prouided for in the common courſe of life, but the pleaſures and commodities of perſons, places, and conditions, ſetled in happineſſe: Yet in theſe caſes alſo care muſt be taken, that the people be not ouer burthened; for it is all one to them, whether oppreſſion creepe in by this or any other meanes, which they cannot remedie, and where the people themſelues are vrged to an extraordinarie charge, they hold not the prince to be an author, but an executioner. To the time of peace alſo belong many conſiderations, prouiſions, & forecaſts, concerning war; to the end that whatſoeuer accident happens, the prince be not taken altogether vnprouided on a ſudden, or driuen to ſeeke ſhelter when the ſtorme is imminent. But to auoid confuſion about theſe times, I muſt warne you, for H
a concluſion in this point, that as an honorable peace is the end of war, ſo muſt your peace be gouerned by ſuch great diſcretion & diligent foreſight, as the war may alſo be ſecure to the ſtate when it happens. I come now (my moſt deere ſonne) to diſcourſe with you of ſome points belonging to the time of war, whereon it ſtandeth you in hand to thinke aduiſedly, as wel in conſideration of your preſent eſtate, as alſo for the increaſe therof, whenſoeuer juſt occaſion ſhalbe offered. To theſe ends of preſeruation and inlargement by way of counſell and aduice in time of peace, and of armes in time of war, a prince ought wholly to addict himſelfe, and neither ſpare paine, diligence, nor danger, in any enterpriſe, that enable him to attaine them happily. A prince ought to be more heedful to looke into the accidents & occurrents of war, than peace; for that war aboundeth more with vnexpected actions, with diſorders not foreſeene, and when they happen, for the moſt part, are irrecouerable: Againe, for that war is leſſe reſtrained by the curbe of ciuile lawes and officers than peace, depending cõmonly vpon the will of him that is moſt powerful, as moſt commonly it is kindled by a greedie deſire of one to raigne aboue the reſt, and is afterwards maintained by the feare of a neceſſarie defence: both which affections are ſo forcible in the mind, as they will rather conſtraine you to make the ſatisfaction of your will the obiect, than to looke into the means wherby you may compaſſe it. Theſe cares and preparations for war, are moſt neceſſarie for princes & potentates, whoſe vnquiet eſtates are often troubled by foreine enemies, who lay plots to annoy them. Theſe and ſuch reſtleſſe neighbors giue euerie day juſt occaſion to be offended by them. This is your caſe, who being ſeated E
betwixt the power of the Turk, & the jealouſie of Chriſtian potentates, could not deſign a matter of any great effect, though you gaue your ſelfe to reſt. But let not this ſcruple greatly trouble you, for that diſcontinuance of profeſſing armes, wil in time do you more harme, than the maintenance of your reputation by them can any way trouble you. Experience doth teach, that all men feare to incenſe an enemie who hath his armes readie drawne to ſtrike. Beſides, as men wax old with time, ſo ſtates are weakened with ſloth, and in effect conſumed by the canker of idleneſſe, whileſt that others that cõtend with martial enemies, are not onely maintained in health, but augmented daily more & more in force and vigor, as mans bodie is by exerciſe. Vpon the laying downe of armes, & diſcharge of troups, the ſubiects grow wanton, and wild at home, finding ſo great a part of their wonted burthen eaſed: and this we daily ſee, that hauing bin long accuſtomed to this pleaſing eaſe, you ſhall hardly bring them again in awe, to haue the patience to endure your impoſitions, & their former frankneſſe and readineſſe to ſupplie your neceſſities. On the other ſide, the multitude of ſouldiers tainted with the libertie of ambition and other humors of camp, wil hardly frame themſelues to lead an honeſt ſober life at home, which hath often bin the cauſe of tumults & vprores in monarchies. Beſides, I cannot ſee how a prince that ruleth many eſtates, can euer ſettle any reſolution to liue in peace, in reſpect of their ambition & greedineſſe that are about him, their emulatiõ and jealouſie that are equall to him, and their feare and ſuſpition that are vnder him: For they that are of the firſt ſort diſpoſe themſelues to giue occaſion of offence, out of a deſire to ſubuert the eſtates of other men, M
the ſecond, to ſettle their own fortunes; and the third, to preuent oppreſſions & injuries: wherfore it is wel ſaid in our prouerb, that he which cãnot take hard meaſure at the hands of other men, muſt keep them low that are moſt apt to offer it. It is therfore neceſſary for a prince, eſpecially being poſſeſſed of ſo many eſtates as you are at this time, to diſpoſe your ſelfe effectually to a care of ſuch things as belong to warre, whereof hauing fit occaſion

to

1555

A to diſcourſe at this preſent with you, & taking my beginning from the chiefeſt parts ther-
of, I ſay, That this care ſtandeth chiefly vpon arms, forts, and garriſons, vpon order for pro-
uiſions to be made for them, knowledge of the qualitie and conditions of States, & of the
people that inhabit them. The care of an armie conſiſteth in the ſetting downe of a cer-
taine and conuenient number, and in giuing good orders and directions for their maner
of fight. The number muſt be ſuch as will ſuffice for any braue attempt their Leader will
vndertake. The rate will fall out fitly, if no error be committed either in too much or too
little; for too little will not ſerue, and exceſſe is euer a cauſe of confuſion. Opinions haue
differed exceedingly concerning this point, but the beſt and moſt expert agree, That an
B armie conſiſting of 30000 foot, and 4000 horſe, is ſufficient for the execution of any wor-
thie enterpriſe. The reaſons that are brought for proofe hereof are many, & of great force;
for this proportion is reaſonable, neither ſuperfluous, nor wanting. According to this
proportion an armie may be better diſciplined, it may be better entertained with pay, and
ſupplied with victuals and all other things neceſſarie. It is more eaſily repaired after ſome
great loſſe, either by ſickneſſe, or any other accident, and it may be better imployed and
maintained in all places. The people that receiue them find more eaſe in their charges. A
prince may better ſtand vpon his gard with ſuch a force; and a victorie gotten by a reaſo-
nable number is more honourable. To conclude, it is in all reſpects moſt agreeable to the
maner of ſeruice in our age, as they can beſt judge that haue often had proofe thereof by
C their owne experience. Whereas huge armies are, we ſee few come to fight, and therfore
a leſſe number might ſerue the turne, as it did the Romans in their warres in many coun-
tries, when as they brought multitudes of men: As it ſerued *Alexander* in ouerrunning A-
ſia, and might, perhaps, haue ſerued *Hanibal* againſt the great forces of Rome, if either he
had receiued due ſupplie from home in due time, or could haue made the ſouldiers which
he was driuen to leuie in other countries, as reſolute as his owne, which was not poſſible.
The Romans during the ſtate of the commonweale, afterwards the Emperours, and the
Turks at this day brings greater forces to field. To which preſidents many anſwers may be
giuen, eſpecially, That this both was and is done rather for a kind of glory, to extend their
forces ouer all, than for any other need of helpe in war: for an armie ſo proportioned, as I
D haue ſaid, is ſufficient of it ſelfe for any notable attempt, as may be proued by many effec-
tuall reaſons: for hardly ſhall you find a place whereas a greater number than I haue men-
tioned, can be put in battel, by reaſon of impediments which grow by ditches, riuers, lakes,
mountains, woods, & ſuch like, whereas a reaſonable armie may eſcape them by the con-
duct of a diſcreet General. This proportion is to be kept exactly by ſuch princes as reſolue
and are euer inforced to ſtand vpon their gard, & keep their forces in a readineſſe, whether
their occaſion be offenſiue or defenſiue: for by this meane they ſhall be able to beare out
the charge, and diſpoſe at all times of their companies, as aduantage ſhall be offered. The
Turks policie is worthy to be imitated in this point, who notwithſtanding his great num-
bers, hath drawne the reſolution & glory of his forces to his Ianizaries alone, which are a
E certaine number, and more eaſie to be ſatisfied. Theſe ſtanding faſt, the reſt are kept in or-
der by that means, wheras otherwiſe it were very difficult to content all the companies. In
the ſame reſpect *Cæſar* gaue moſt honor to the tenth legion, but with another kind of mo-
deration & reſpect to the reſt than the Turke vſeth. Some thinke, that in reſpect of many
occaſions to diminiſh the prefixed number, either by drawing ſome into garriſons, or by
imploying them otherwiſe, or by ſome accidents that may fall out, an army ſhould conſiſt
of a greater number of ſufficient men: but to one that hath the perfect skill of warre, this
number doubtleſſe may ſuffice, ſo as the companies that are withdrawn for other ſeruices
be inſtantly ſupplied: for thus ſhall the number & the armie be the ſame, as the tenth le-
gion was euer one and the ſame, notwithſtanding accidents. Neither would I haue you to
F perſuade your ſelf, that by often changing armies wax weak, but rather, if ſupply be quick-
ly made, more gallant & more couragious: for thus we reape the benefit of thoſe forward
& reſolute men, which being newly come, are far more ready to hazard their liues, for that
they know not what the danger means, nor haue not the conſideration & ſtay which time
brings: on the other ſide the valor of old ſoldiers is more throughly refined by experience.
By this meanes alſo the readie wayes are opened, to recompence and honour thoſe that

1555 deſerue well, and for correction and infamie for ſuch as deſerue otherwiſe. Theſe meanes G
are moſt expedient for the maintenance of armies in the field, and there is no doubt but
euery one of thoſe that are valiant and tried, will exceed ten that want experience in any
enterpriſe. Next to the proportion of the number, I could wiſh you to be prouident in
ſeting downe good rules for the campe, which ought chiefly to be grounded vpon con-
ſcience, in obſeruing thoſe things which belong to religion, and leading an vpright & ho-
neſt life. Next to this you muſt diſpoſe your ſouldiers minds to dutifull obedience, and
due reſpect, not onely to their Generall, but to their commanders. The beſt meanes to
ground this reſpectiue awe, is by incouraging with hope, & rewarding vpon good deſerts
ſuch perſons as are chiefly noted for their forwardneſſe, and diſgracing others that are o- H
therwiſe affected. The firſt attempt of mutinie muſt be preſently corrected; for the re-
membrance of ſharpe puniſhment will ſticke longer in a ſouldiers mind, than any earneſt
exhortation of a Generall. Out of theſe meanes of preparation ſprings a diſpoſition in all
men of valour, vertue, and obedience. Beſides the ordinarie exerciſes of the campe, to
keepe their minds from idleneſſe, and their bodies from ſloth, you muſt prouide, that by
parties made, and ſhadowes of true fight indeed, the profeſſion of armes may grow fami-
liar vnto the ſouldiers, and they made fit for any ſudden attempt. Moreouer, it is fit to diſ-
poſe the minds of commanders, as well in campes as garriſons, to commaund with judge-
ment, and to ſerue with diſcretion: In the ſouldiers likewiſe willingneſſe to obey, and a
readineſſe to execute; the which may the more eaſily be effected, if order be taken that I
the captaines account the ſouldiers their companions, as *Cæſar* called them *Commilitones*
in this reſpect, and take an eſpeciall care of them in all things that belong to their profit,
reputation, and loue. And ſouldiers for their part, the more courteouſly their Leaders in-
treat them, the more humbly they ought to obey their commands. An armie being thus
prouided for, in that which concerneth the proportion and diſcipline, you muſt imploy
your care effectually in ſetting down good orders touching fights; for without great care
you may not hope for any proſperous ſucceſſe in martiall affaires, nor preſume of any vi-
ctorie. I know that circumſtances alter rules ſometimes in all profeſſions, and in thoſe
moſt of all; notwithſtanding Maximes grounded vpon reaſons and experience, will make
a man more apt to take his beſt aduantage. Surely it would ſeeme a labour worthie of ſo K
great a prince as you ſhalbe, to vſe all poſſible diligence to find out a better way than that
which is vſed among the Chriſtians of our time, wherby an armie may be often releeued,
and come to trie the fortune of the fight: ſo as the firſt ranke being forced to retire, it may
not fall vpon the ſecond, nor the ſecond vpon the third; but that they which are behind
aduancing to releeue the firſt, being tired, & forced to recoile, may performe that ſeruice
without diſorder, in ſuch ſort as the firſt may no way hinder them: for although the firſt
be inforced to retire, yet the other that are freſh, making vp the bodie, by ſtepping into
their places, may come to handie ſtrokes with their enemies. Herein conſiſted the chiefe
perfection of the Roman diſcipline, and hereof, among my notes, you may find many
ſtrange conceits, for that I had an earneſt intent, if time and leaſure would haue giuen me L
leaue, to haue ſet downe ſome plot, and made this ground one of the chiefeſt labours in re-
ſpect of warre with the Turkiſh Infidels. But in reſpect of my continuall affairs, and being
euer turmoiled with endleſſe buſineſſe, I could neuer effect what I intended, nor applie
my mind intirely to this ſingular inuention. It may be that God hath reſerued the credit
of this ſtratagem to you, wherein you may be ſomewhat aſſiſted by that briefe collection
which I haue made for memorie. Surely it is a great diſorder, and a foule diſcredit to the
Leaders of our time, that all the force and power of a mightie armie ſhould conſiſt vpon
three or foure of the firſt ranks of the battell. This error groweth from the defect of our
rules in the marſhalling of our battels and ſquadrons in a direct line, euery man in particu-
lar, and all the rankes in generall, ſtanding one directly behind another: for in a direct line M
it is not poſsible to giue the firſt any meanes to rerire, but they muſt diſorder them that
follow. Wherefore for an introduction to a better methode than hath been hitherto pra-
ctiſed, it ſhal not be amiſſe to put thoſe three bodies into which an army is diuided, name-
ly, the foreward, battel, and rereward, into three ſquadrons, ſo placed one to anothers ſide,
as they may meet together in forme of a triangle.

The

A The firſt ſquadron muſt repreſent the point, the other two the ſides, for being thus diſ- 1555
ioyned & diſſeuered by art, it is an eaſie matter to bring forward the ſecond to fight with out diſturbance to the firſt, and the third without trouble to the other two: Thus cõming to ſucceed their fellows ſide long in continual fight againſt their enemies, another aduantage wil ariſe, which is, they ſhall trie the fortune of the field thrice in one incounter. I doe aſſure my ſelfe, that from this beginning men may proceed to a more perfect knowledge how the ſquadrons themſelues being alſo diuided into leſſer ſquadrons might one retain another by the ſame proportion. A man may aime at ſuch a myſterie by orderly degrees, for the matter being ſo intangled, as experience doth teach, it were no more poſſible to
B bring this than any other art at the firſt inuention, to perfection in an inſtant.

It is the labour of a beare to licke miſhapen fruit to faſhion, and of a Lyon to bring militarie rules to certaintie. The want which men may iuſtly find in direction of an army at this day, proceedeth farther yet, for they put the beſt and moſt reſolute ſouldiers in the formoſt rankes, who being forced to giue backe, they cauſe all the reſt by their example to doe the like, as if it were lawfull for them to imitate their actions and thoughts. In ſome ſort they may be excuſed in their imaginations, yet wee ſee that from this error doth commonly grow the ruines of all Companies. The Romanes were farre more diſcreet concerning this point of marſhalling their men, for the firſt front was made verie ſtrong with yong men of great force, whom they called but a third
C part of their old and beſt ſouldiers were mingled with this head-ſtrong youth, both to defend them, & to temper thẽ. The ſecond ſquadron, to the which they gaue the title *Primarij*, cõſiſted of two parts of old ſoldiers only & a third of yong. The third was anciẽt old ſoldiers called *Triarij*. By this means neither the ſecond depended of the firſt which were yong for the moſt part, nor the third of the ſecond in which were alſo ſome yong. Beſides, the firſt incoũter was alwaies very furious by the forwardnes of yong ſpirits, who the leſſe they knew of danger in this kind, the more reſolute they were and aduenturous: experience doth teach that to withſtand the furie of a fight, we cannot make our head better than of yong men, ſo as they may be tempered with a third part of old; the ſecond ſhall be better gouerned, and the third more furniſhed with valour, Iudgement and conſideration. Such ought the diſtribution of our forces to bee in this age. Wherefore let no man
D preſume to prefer any before this diſcipline of Rome; for it is verie likely that they which with ſuch proſperous and long continuance of time made the onely true profeſſion of armes, marſhalled their forces in this manner, would euer haue forſaken it, if there had not beene ſome ſpeciall cauſe; and therefore we may reſt aſſured that they had reaſon on their ſide; for proofe whereof I note that when ſoeuer thoſe *Phalanges* came to ioine with the forces of Rome, being ordered as we haue ſaid, they neuer ſped happily. The reaſon will appeare plainely by comparing both diſciplines, for the Greekes by marſhalling the beſt men in the formoſt Squadron, had a meaning to put valour and reſolutiõ into the reſt which could not be expected generally of all the companies, the greater part
E being a multitude void of experience, & guided onely by their ſence: wheras the Romans had as well regard to preparation of minds, ſo as it was not hard to bring thoſe that were guided by ſence to execute things with good conſideration: wherefore it was ſufficient that onely bodies of men were aſſigned ouer to the corporall whome *Scipio* left with *Syphax*, the better to braue the foot of Cartharge, for albeit at the firſt they were lightly eſteemed by the enemie, yet by a courſe of good diſcipline, they became afterwards the meanes whereby the Romanes conquered. Euerie man is able to conſider with him ſelfe to what great vſe this forcing of bodies by good order was, and how much it was eſteemed at the firſt. It were friuolous to ſay that thoſe rules can hardly bee now obſerued with any hope of good ſucceſſe, for that artillerie is crept into our warres;
F for if thoſe ſquadrons had in thoſe daies, and would haue (in caſe artillerie were not in vſe) an aduantage ouer our men, conſidering that this aide is common to both ſides, it followeth that the perfections of thoſe ſquadrons remaine in the ſame aduãtage which it had and ſhould haue without artillerie. Beſides it is euident to ſence that thoſe collaterall Squadrons, are not in halfe the danger of great ſhot, that ours bee, which are ranged this day by a direct line: for a volley of ſhot comming from the head of one

battell

1555 battel to another, ſcoureth throgh al the ranks. Let vs ad the deceitful vſe of late artillery G
and chiefly to offend the bodies of men in field. But for that the ſmal ſhot may be made to
play with great aduantage, where thoſe ſquadrons are cloſe, & other rules of that Romane
diſcipline carefully obſerued, you ſhall ſeeke out particular inſtructions among my notes:
And moreouer what fit conſiderations may be vſed in the choiſe of commanders to an ar-
mie, what moderation ſhould be obſerued in cauſing the common ſouldiers to depend
vpon their Generall, & other commanders put in truſt by him; beſides other meanes for
the ſetling of your beſt ſecuritie.

I will now paſſe vnto other things which come into my mind to aduiſe you touching
the carriage of your ſelfe in this time of warre: but by the way I muſt once againe H
put you in minde with great earneſtneſſe, that this care of finding out the beſt way
of marſhalling your forces in the field, ought in reaſon to bee one of the chiefeſt that
you muſt imbrace, as well for occurrents of warre, as to make your name immortall a-
mong all nations. Your fleets at ſea ought in like maner to haue their particular reſpects,
touching which there ſeldom chanceth any cauſe of innouation. The chiefeſt care is, that
all neceſſarie imployments that belong to Nauies, be alwaies in readineſſe: That the veſ-
ſels be rigged, augmented, and imployed euer in ſome ſeruice for the ſtate, ſo far as is con-
uenient with ſecuritie. Aboue all things ſettle thoſe affaires in ſuch a certaine courſe, as
your gallies and other ſhipping may bee properly belonging to your ſelfe, or to the ſtate,
and not to your captaines, officers, or other priuate men, for hauing repoſed the whole I
weight of your fortune and reputation vpon the ſafegard of thoſe veſſels, they will not
eaſily or willingly be brought to hazard them where the ſmalleſt daunger ſhall appeare.
The charge of getting ſhips of price into their hands, together with the difficulty of re-
pairing and ſupplying them in caſe they ſhould miſcarrie by any miſchance, doth make
men ſo feareful of the worſt, as oftentimes a publike opportunitie is loſt, while priuate re-
ſpects are tendred. By taking of this order you ſhall bring all men to depend vpon your
ſelfe, and you ſhall neuer need to depend vpon any: I ſpeake not of the large allowance
which will be made by officers, when they ſerue themſelues for their owne commoditie.
Cauſe your forces to be viewed and ſurueyed, & their munition to be reuiewed & repai-
red: where you find the rate ſuperfluous, abate, where too ſcant, augment it. Auoid extre- K
mities in any wiſe, either of too much or too little; diſcretion muſt be the meaſure of theſe
conſiderations. Be carefull alwaies to furniſh your places of ſtrength, with ſufficient go-
uernours and truſtie garriſons. Let your number rather offend in exceſſe than want, for of
both there is leſſe danger in an ouer-plus, both for that the onely valour and reſolution
of the ſouldiers hath often ſupplied the weakeneſſe of the place, in reſpect whereof the
Romans euer truſted more to the courage of their men, than to the ſtrength of the place;
as alſo in reſpect of thoſe that fall ſicke and die, or runne to the other ſide, or are cut off
by any other meanes, ſo as the whole number is neuer ſeene to fight at one inſtant: forti-
fie your ſelfe with ſure forces againſt the enemie, with your tents pitched, truſting rather
to forts raiſed in the field, than to the ſituation of townes. On the other ſide when you L
beginne to quarrell and inuade, you muſt rather aſſaile your enemies by the help of forts,
and ſconces, built of purpoſe to annoy him, than ſeeke to win his places of ſtrength, with
loſſe of time, and an intollerable charge. This courſe is ſecure and certaine, as the other
is deceitfull and dangerous: whereof you ſhall find further proſes among my notes for
memorie.

Touching the maner of erecting forts with ſpeed and little charge, and the beſt
meanes to ſettle a wauering eſtate, the beſt way is to marke aduiſedly the whole poſi-
tion and ſituation of the place, and to faſhion out of it the frame that ſhall be fit; ap-
plie your induſtrie to the plot of nature, with ſuch certaine reaſons and vndoubted
rules, as both the whole may anſwere to the parts, and the parts vnto the whole in due M
proportion and workemanſhip. Thus muſt you proceed from one eſtate vnto another
reſpectiuely, ſtanding alwaies thus far reſolute touching the rules of fortification, That
although no place can be impregnable, yet it ſhall bee ſufficient that ours be ſuch as the
enemie ſhal haue ſmall hope to win them, either in reſpect of long time, or the great ex-
pence which ſuch a labour wil require, being threatned by many misfortunes & diſaduan-
tages,

A tages. The prouiſions of war conſiſt in victuals, artillerie, munition, ſupplies and coine, which altogether in effect import no more than an abilitie to mainteine continually ſo great a force of trained men, as out of the ſame an armie (when great need requireth) may be drawne by the Soueraigne, or forces ſufficient in all reſpects for the vſes aboue mentioned. Hereupon followeth, that a prince, who either reſolueth or is inforced to ſtand vpon his owne defence, muſt think vpon a kind of warre with which he may be able to rule both the charge and weight that goes with it. Wherefore I had a meaning to ſet downe a certaine order in my armies, which might be ſufficient to bring this to paſſe, but I could neuer find any fit opportunitie to put it in execution. My intent was firſt to leuy a gallant B army of Flemings, Spaniards, and Italians intermixt; being thus aſſembled, I meant to keep them euer in one eſtate, either in warre againſt the Turke, or ſome Chriſtian Princes which I could not auoid without great danger, or great diſhonour: Then I did thinke it good to capitulate with this armie, that al booties of great matters belonging to the publike ſtate, as artillerie, munition and ſuch like things, being gotten either by the ſacke of Townes or ſpoile of the Countrie, ſhould be properly reſerued to the princes chamber, the reſt left vnto the ſouldiers. Notwithſtanding I reſolued to bind the Souldier to ſel & deliuer vnto the Princes officers at a reaſonable price ſet downe, all victualles, garments, houſhold-ſtuffe and other goods pertaining to their neceſſarie vſes or their commodities. Theſe things I would haue kept in ſtore vntill the Souldier ſhould haue need of them a- C gaine, with ſome conuenient profit vnto my ſelfe. By this prouiſion both Prince and Soldiers ſhould be ſupplied, but the ſouldier moſt: for beſides the comfort of receiuing readie money at all times for that they get, they ſhall be alſo ſure of all neceſſarie things at an eaſie price. If we compare it with their loſſe, who buy all things from the Merchant, or the ſtranger who ſtill followeth the campe, it ought not to offend the Souldier, that his Prince ſhould draw ſome little portion to his owne releefe of that vnmeaſurable gaine which otherwiſe would be diuided among cormorants. I thought moreouer that it wold proue profitable to the ſouldier, and ſafe for the Prince, if a certain officer were appointed in the campe, into whoſe hands the ſouldiers (being imploied in any dangerous ſeruice) might confidently commit their money or the pillage of beſt price with full aſſurance D that in caſe it chanced to them otherwiſe than well, all ſhould be deliuered to their heires or to ſuch perſons as they would appoint; imitating in this point thoſe captaines which to be the better aſſured of their ſouldiers, take vp money of the officers in preſſe to pay the companies. *Cæſar* vſed the ſame policie, and thereby was free from all feare, either of the officers, whoſe credit he had by this means ingaged, or of the ſouldiers whoſe pay was alwaies readie. Beſides other obligations, a reaſonable gain might be afforded after ſo much in the hundred by the yere vnto the ſoldiers, who being aſſured of a ſure place where to leaue their armor or their ſtocke vpon any dangerous imployment, & that their contracts and directions touching thoſe things ſhall be faithfully performed, whatſoeuer happen vnto themſelues, they wil hold it for a greater aduantage to leaue their ſubſtance in a tru- E ſtie hand, rather than to carrie it about with them. If any chance to die without heires in bloud, or limitation, in warre, who ſhould ſucceed him; the goods may iuſtly be aſſigned to the Princes chamber, as wee ſee by the ciuil Law, the prince inheriteth their eſtates that die without any certaine heires. It may be jealouſie, (which the baſer ſort is euer apt to conceiue of the princes policie, to inrich himſelfe) may diſcourage ſome, ſuppoſing vnder euerie bait to find a ſecret hooke, vntill that experience hath cleered the clouds of this falſe imagination, wherefore the way to breake this ice, is to appoint a certaine number of the chiefeſt of the campe, whome we may moſt boldly truſt, to beginne this order, and to bring in their ſhares; for who is either ſo ſuſpitious or fooliſh, be he either priuat ſoldier, captaine, or Colonell, that had rather carrie all his goods about him, in continual ha- F zard both of enemies and boores vpon euerie iniſter accident, than leaue it in ſafety, and with ſome aduantage to themſelues, or to their heires who may recouer it. It may be ſaid that prouiſion for the carriage of theſe things will be chargeable, but that may be holpen by another meanes, if the ſouldier out of the gaine and intereſt of his goods laied downe in truſt, be bound to anſwere it, for that the goods doe ſtill remaine his owne, and the charge is ſatisfied with ouer-plus. Touching theſe carriages, you ſhall find a modell and memoriall 1555

1555 memoriall among my notes, for the priuate ſouldier is greatly eaſed by this new inuenti- G
on, hauing nothing to care for but his armes and himſelfe, ſo as the whole campe in ge-
nerall ſhould be more light: beſides the greateſt part of the treaſure and goods of
value belonging to the campe ſhould reſt euer in the princes hand, ſo as hee might
vſe them for the furtherance of his attempts in warre, as wee ſee the proofe of things left
by like truſt in the hands of merchants. Thus by the money which ſhal remain in the prin-
ces hands, by their deceaſe without heires, either by deſcent or diſpoſition of will of ſuch
as were the right owners of the ſame, and by the gaine which doth accrue vnto the prince
by ſelling victuals and other implements at the ſecond hand (but yet to the ſouldiers eaſe,
in reſpect of that which he ſhould pay vnto the merchant or victualler for the like, the H
prince may make himſelfe more able to maintein a mightie armie long, as you ſhal diſco-
uer more particularly by my notes. But as I haue ſaid before it is expedient that with this
the prouiſion of valiant ſouldiers, able leaders, and good orders doe concurre, al-
though the vulgar ſort doe accompt money to bee the ſinewes of all warre. I haue of-
tentimes had cauſe to iudge of this compariſon, and therefore may be the better belee-
ued in ſetting downe a difference: It is a ſtrength where other parts more needful are cõ-
pleat, but a ſillie ſinew where the chiefeſt members are diſordred. Allow me thoſe abili-
ties and politike prouiſions in a princes armie with perfection, whereof I ſpake before,
and no doubt but the warre will maintain it ſelfe: for we cannot find that a worthie Ge-
nerall and leader of a good and well directed armie, euer wanted courage to beginne, or I
meanes to maintaine the warre, as well with pay by meanes of pillage and ſuch other
gaine, as with victuals euen out of the enemies countrie. Beſides a prince may alwaies
keepe his troupes in heart, by putting them in hope of honour, profit and all kinds of
reward, when time doth ſerue, although prouiſion for the preſent bee ſcant, ſo as
they know the princes abilitie and fortune to bee ſufficient to performe his promiſes.
Then may the Prince, imitating the Romans, repoſe greater truſt in ſouldiers that are
both valiant and well affected to his gouernement, then either in deepe trenches, or
places ſtrongly fortified: I meane ſuch a Prince as either hath a will or is inforced a-
gainſt his will to hold his ſword alwaies in his hand, and to looke for hard meaſure.
If all the charges of warre ſhould bee drawne out of a princes cofers, it were not poſſi- K
ble it ſhould continue long. To preuent this inconuenience, it ſeemeth good to ſome,
to haue the warre made to a profitable end, but it is not verie eaſie as I thinke to giue
an inſtance of this aduice, conſidering experience doth teach, that by offenſiue warre
the countrie is ruined, the people ſpoiled, and the prince impoueriſhed, and in a defen-
ſiue warre, of what qualitie ſoeuer the gaine be, men may not expect that it ſhould
anſwere the charge that doth grow thereby. Imagine that this inconuenience may
bee eaſed by good counſell, and applying batterie to the chiefe places onely,
which either by their wealth, or the releefe which others bring in by their meanes,
may yeeld ſatisfaction and recompence for any charge, without being forced other-
wiſe to fight in vaine, or for the opening of a paſſage which is alreadie giuen you, L
into the enemies ſtate: yet it cannot bee denied but for many other reſpects, and in
ſundrie other caſes, the warre, which without ſuch a kind of releefe is no way tolle-
rable, by meanes thereof is made ſecure and free from all dangers and diſorder of a-
ny moment.

Now for that ſupplies are neceſſarie for the maintenance of a continuall armie in one
and the ſelfe ſame eſtate; I thinke it verie requiſite for the ſeruice of your campe,
that throughout all your realmes and eſtates, the which in your choiſe are fitteſt to
ſet out men, a particular muſter bee taken, and a Regiſter preciſely kept of all the youth
that are able to beare armes, ſo as it may bee done without offence to the people,
or incenſing the hautie hearts with rage and malice againſt their Soueraigne. M
As I ſaid before, your tried Souldiers muſt bee kept in practiſe, leaſt their ſpi-
rits grow dull and their bodies vnable by ſloth and diſcontinuance, ſo would I wiſh
thoſe young ſouldiers were trained by ſufficient leaders, that they may be the better
able to ſerue when they are called for. In this generall muſter eſpeciall choiſe ought
to bee made of ſuch men as by nature are giuen to the warres, and apt of their diſpo-
ſition,

A ſition; that are in good eſtate to liue, and eſpecially that haue families, for of ſuch, a man may looke for better proofe, and relie more on, for that they haue ſomewhat to loſe at home, they eſteeme their reputation, and feare ſhame and puniſhment more, the which they that haue lands and goods to anſwere for their good behauiour, cannot ſo eaſily auoid as they that haue nothing: Beſides they are incouraged by a reſpect of bloud to a care of their owne houſes. Theſe perſons may in no wiſe be drawne out of families, that haue but one man in them, or ſo few, as the preſſing of one man may indanger the whole familie for want of food, but you muſt preſſe them where they may be ſpared without danger, and incourage them beſides with the hope of credit, and commoditie to bee
B gotten by their merits in the campe, for otherwiſe wee ſee that being brought with diſcontentment to the field, their deſerts proue according. Thanks be giuen to God, you are ſouereigne ouer many great realmes and great eſtates, in which you may raiſe ſuch martiall troupes without offence, as they may not onely bee ſufficient to defend, but to offend others if you liue in vnion of good correſpondencie, with your friends and kinſmen of the houſe of Auſtria: by this agreement you ſhall ſettle your owne power, and become a comfort and ſupport to thoſe that loue you, and a terror to ſuch as enuie you: On the other ſide aſſure your ſelfe that diſcord among neere allies, will blemiſh your authoritie, put heart into your enemies to make deſignes againſt your greatneſſe, and ſo diſtemper your friends, as they ſhall not be able to reſolue which
C way to bend their affections. Standing thus vnited, you ſhall haue great oportunitie (beſides the Italian & Spaniſh forces) to diſpoſe of the Germanes, as your need ſhall require, the which is a martiall and a verie honorable nation. I know that this mixture doth oftentimes cauſe diſorders in a campe: but yet by one that knoweth how to temper this light diſcord with a moderate emulation, they may be imployed to moſt excellent and rare effects, in reſpect of the great difficultie and almoſt impoſſibilitie that euer they ſhould ioine or agree together in offenſiue mutinies, diſtractions and diſobedience of any kind. I cannot forbeare to report vpon this iuſt occaſion what I haue often aduiſed you of before, that you reſpect with all due regard your couſin the king of Bohemia, to the greatneſſe and ineſtimable value of whoſe mind, the greateſt empires are too narrow bounds;
D and doubtleſſe vpon euerie fit occaſion, you ſhall ſee effects anſwerable to this conceit which the world hath of his worthineſſe. Beleeue this confidently, that there is more good to bee expected from the loue which ſpringeth from conſanguinitie (although that ſometimes cauſes of vnkindneſſe may ariſe, than from the faireſt ſhewes and greateſt profeſſions of good will that can bee made by any ſtranger. Now for that all offences and vnkindneſſes are moſt bitter, growing among perſons that are neere in bloud, if they be not quenched in due time: to preuent a greater inconuenience, cut off all iuſt occaſions on your ſide, ſetting downe this leſſon for a rule, that it is an art more worthie commendation to yeeld in ſome ſort to thoſe that are allyed, to continue their affection, than to end quarrels & vnkindneſſes with other perſons, by inforcing them to yeeld to our authority.
E But to conclude my councell touching the care which muſt bee taken of this trained youth, is, that it may alwaies ſerue as a Spring to ſupply the armie: for the better pleaſing of their humors, and winning of their loues, it ſhall be fit to priuiledge them with a libertie to weare weapons, eſpecially on thoſe daies that are appointed for their exerciſes, and to make the beſt ſhew they are able of their forwardneſſe. I would alſo haue them graced with ſome ſpeciall fauour, as occaſion ſerues, and exempted from all ſeruile burthens in Countries. Then would I wiſh you wholy to direct your care to a due conſideration of your eſtate in general, and of the countries in particular vnder you: Look vpon their condition, ſituation and qualitie, conſider both of their aboundance and wants, and of ſufficient meanes to liue, as water, wood and graine, that ſupplie being made from other
F places that haue greater ſtore, all loue and kindneſſe may be entertained among people that are ſubiect to one Soueraign power. Though policie did not preſcribe this care, yet chriſtianity wold challẽge it. Cauſe plots to be drawn of al their greateſt riuers, moũtains, ſtreits & paſſages, that by repairing vnto your map vpon any accident, that ſhall happen, you may diſpoſe of things with greater certainty. Be careful not only to know the diſpoſitions & humors of thẽ (which is very neceſſary for great princes) but alſo their alliances

and

1555

1555 and factions, whereby you ſhall be alwaies able both to bridle their vndutifull affections, G
and to preuent their practiſes, if they breake out into extremities. The balance of autho-
rity is in your hands; all credit comes from your ſelfe, & therefore gouern the ſcales with
ſome moderation, ſo as that ſide may be heauieſt which is beſt affected to your party. Pro-
uide againſt al dangers, & ſerue your turn by all ſuch oportunities, as may further your in-
tention. If any countrie doth liue in danger of an enemie, that doth fronter vpon them, ſe-
cure them in ſuch ſort by captains, officers, & garriſons, as they may be freed from feare of
al wrong. To be ſhort, I would haue you caſt vp an euen reckoning, & make a iuſt accõpt
of their inclinations, their power, their wants, their ſtore, their agreement, their diuiſions,
their alliances, their habits, their cuſtoms, their affections, their dependances, their affinity, H
their cõmodities, & their diſcõmodities, that by eaſing one & charging another, you may
turn al things to your beſt content. Then wil it be time to turn your eye to the like conſi-
deration of their accompt. In this point you muſt reſolue with ripe iudgement and great
care, making fit proportions by comparing ſundry circumſtances of perſons, places, times,
natures, cuſtomes, neighbours, officers, adherents, and other accidents, as are incident to
ſo ſtrong a knot of ciuill policie. Theſe things being vnderſtood and wiſely pondred by
him that hath the helme in hand, there is no doubt but he may euer march vpon a firme
ground in any enterpriſe he takes in hãd; for in knowing our own & our enemies ſtrength,
in weighing circumſtances with an equall hand, & being able to apply the beſt aduanta-
ges, that wiſdom & experience can find, to profitable vſes, conſiſteth both the hope & hap I
of victorie. I know that diuers courſes muſt be taken according to the diuers qualities
of the nation, & the ſituation of the countrie. Touching the firſt, whether it be peopled,
or ſcant of men, armed or naked, valiant or cowardlie, pleaſed or diſcontented.
Touching the ſecond; whether it be full of mountaines, valleyes, plaines, woods or ri-
uers, whether it abound with victuals and al orher commodities that are fit for war, or is
barren or beggerly. Aboue all things be ſure you neuer be drawn into quarrels, with any
mighty potentate for the reliefe of ſuch as rather burthen than eaſe, indanger than helpe
your eſtate, which elſe may turn to your great diſaduãtage. Beſides theſe rules, I wold pre-
ſcribe a nũber more of like effect, the which long experience (the mother of true wiſdom)
hath imprinted in my heart, which other men perhaps which go more by aime than by art K
make ſmall accompt of. War ought alwaies to be vndertaken vpon a iuſt quarrel, and di-
rected to no other end than to a ſafe & honorable peace which cãnot be purchaſed with-
out wars. In war he that ſpendeth moſt in accompt, ſpendeth leaſt in want; doubt of this
opinion who liſt, my ſelfe can warrãt it. It is not good to enter into a quarrel without fore-
caſt, how to make it good, but after it is once begun, there is neither dalliance nor delay
without danger. To him that hath beſt skill & vnderſtanding how to manage war, it will
maintein it ſelfe, ſo as good order may be taken from the firſt beginning; and the proofe of
euerie peece of councel that experience maketh good, may ſerue for ſound direction in o-
ther things that happen afterwards. Let prouiſion of all things be made in the beſt kind, &
euer with an ouerplus, for in that which is left can be little loſſe, & althogh there were, yet L
there is no proportion betwixt it and the dangers that may grow in weakening braue at-
tempts with ſcarcitie. Let al your proceedings & inuentiõs tend to victory, for that is the
final end of the art of war, to which men attaine with ſeaſonable prouiſiõs, diſcreet orders,
& wiſe gouernment. In the beginning wiſdome, diligence, & warines is required, courage
in the purſuit, & a conſtant reſolution vnto the end: you muſt euer giue the firſt aſſault, ra-
ther then attend vntil you be ſet vpon: And althogh your fortune ſhold be ſo bad as to be
preuented in this courſe, yet muſt you ſeek by al meanes to diuert that force by the great
aduantage that is gotten by making warre vpon ſome other princes countrie, or doing
ſome good peece of ſeruice to ſtay the frowns of fortune. Repoſe not the only ſtaie & hope
of your martiall proceedings eyther vpon your companies of horſe by land, or your fleet M
by ſea, for they are things without ſence or reaſon; & we ſee that at ſea the greater num-
ber preuaileth cõmonly, beſides the deceits & vncertainty of the ſea. But touching theſe
inſtructions thus ſcattered and other conſiderations to bee obſerued in the whole courſe
of war, I wil refer you to my noates which wil giue no ſmal light, how to demean your ſelf
vpon all occaſion, the which (conſidering your preſent eſtate) are likely to happen.

I will

A I will now ſpeake firſt of the warre againſt the Turke, as that which I hold to bee of greateſt importance, moſt certaine, and moſt daungerous, as well in reſpect of your profeſſion and faith, which ought to bee preferred by a Prince of your religion and conſcience before all other ends, as alſo the Turke is the mightieſt enemy, that either at this day you haue, or are like to haue. You may aſſure your ſelfe that he is a certaine enemy, not only through the malice which he beareth to your ſelf and faith, but by the grounds of his owne politike, or rather tyrannous eſtate, which preſſe him to bee alwayes readie and in armes to withſtand all attempts. It is hard for him to worke any great effects in Hungary, as well in reſpect of the long courſe of the riuer of Danow, and of the champaine country, as of the ſituation of Vienna, and the neighbourhood of Germanie. In B other places likewiſe his next neighbours are either mightie or troubleſome, and ſuch as in proceſſe of time may bee more eaſily brought vnder than at this inſtant, ſtanding alwayes with their ſwords drawne to defend their liberties: They are not like vnto the Sophie, whoſe deepe wiſedome and great valour makes his forces to bee feared more than the greatneſſe of his owne eſtate: But God knoweth whether his next ſucceſſours will be able to ſupply the want that is found in his fortune. In other places the borders are not all inhabited, for they lie waſte moſt commonly vpon the greateſt parts of the dominions and realmes that are poſſeſſed by this tyrannie for theſe reſpects: And for his ſoueraignetie vpon the ſea ſide, beſides the diſcord and diuiſion which is among the Chriſtian princes of our age, there is no doubt but hee ſhall be drawne to turne his whole forC ces vpon the Ilands, and your eſtates in Italie. It is not probable to thinke that hee will breake with the Venetians before hee breake with you, for doubtleſſe hee will imagine, that in warring againſt Venice, your forces will come in to aide: but beginning firſt with you, it may be hee will hope that the Venetians will remaine neuters. One reaſon may be giuen in this reſpect, which is, their diſcontinuance from all exerciſe of armes for ſo many yeres: Another, for that commonweales conſiſting either of popularitie or peeres, in reſpect of the long life which they preſume to be moſt certaine in their eſtates, and their hope of preferrement from degrees of good to better, which is euer greene, do euer truſt more in the aduantage of time, and ſuch accidents as may fall out in the changes and alterations of the world, than in anie warre that is attempted by great PotenD tates, and will either not at all take armes, or ſo late, as they had done better, not to haue medled. Moreouer, hauing alreadie faſtned their tallons in his ſides, and put a ſharpe bitte into his mouth, by the poſſeſſion of the Ilands of Cipreſſe and Candie, it is likely they will ſtand long vpon their gard, before they will hazard themſelues to offend or defend any man. Adde hereunto that the eſtate of Venice ſtanding wholy vpon merchandize, they can not forbeare the trafficke they haue in the Turkes Dominions. Now wee ſee that the Turke is by little and little growne proud, hauing multiplied your daungers by the greatneſſe of his power, which is now ſo aduaunced to the toppe of Fortunes wheele, as wee may rather hope that it will breake with its owne burthen, or that it may be weakened by policie, or warre, than looke for an ouerthrow by ſome E miracle from heauen, or by the power of Chriſtendome, for as men are ſinfull, ſo God is iuſt.

No doubt but the Turkiſh Empire hath a period, but in Gods fore-knowledge, not in mans fore-caſt, and therefore vntill wee chaunge the courſe of our euill liues, wee ſtriue in vaine to moderate the plagues of his deſerued indignation. I know many haue beene of the mind, and are yet at this day, that it is impoſſible for anie Potentate in Chriſtendome, to ſet downe any courſe by his owne force to keepe vnder this aſpiring miſcreant. And therefore by a generall league and combination of all princes this worke muſt be effected. Notwithſtanding, when I conſider by the light of long experience F what poore effects haue iſſued from this deuice, and what fraude doth often lurke amongſt ſuch conſorts, I am of opinion that you ſhould wholy relie vpon your owne ſtrength: and before the attempting of anie famous enterpriſe, examine what your owne eſtates are able to performe, and then thoſe which your neighbours and allies haue promiſed. I haue found, and you haue reaſon to remember how the French king

1555 carried himſelfe concerning theſe occaſions vpon a cauſleſſe iealouſie, and a priuate G
ſpleene: men will haue humours whileſt they mannage the affaires of this world: your
wiſeſt courſe is to prouide that they may not preiudice you. The way will be more eaſie
by conferring the good will and affection of your allies of the houſe of Auſtria alone.
But for the full accompliſhment hereof with commendable effects, you muſt reſolue ac-
cording to the proper and true meanes, which are, wiſedome and infallible concluſions
out of the grounds of long experience.

The firſt point is to conſider aduiſedly what kind of warre may moſt auaile you, to
defend, offend, peruert, or diuert. Touching a defenſiue warre, my opinion was alwayes
to haue it abſolutely excluded, for what is it elſe but a laying of our ſelues open to a
manifeſt conſumption of ſtrength from time to time, not without great hazard of the H
whole in a ſhort ſpace, or by long delayes, as things fall out, and with deſpaire of
any ſatisfaction or reſtitution. This kind of warre hath beene generally held by all men
of experience that made profeſſion of armes, to be the moſt vnprofitable and moſt daun-
gerous of all the reſt: but whenas men are inforced thereunto by neceſſitie. An offen-
ſiue warre which reaſon perſuadeth to be made againſt him in Greece, both in reſpect of
our inferioritie by ſea, and for many other reaſons which concurre, I hold it very hard
and in a manner impoſſible to bee brought to any good effect, ſeeing that diuerſions are
ſo eaſie and commodious vnto him: for as it is impoſsible to make preparation for
ſuch a warre, without diſcouerie, great charge and loſſe of time, ſo the Turke will
plainely foreſee our deſignes, and fruſtrate our executions. The warre which wee I
call preuentiue ought to bee eſteemed the more fitte, for that the multitude of ſoul-
diers which the Turke carrieth alwayes with him to maintaine his owne deſignes,
and to fruſtrate our purpoſes, is infinite. The courſe of diuerſion can auayle as lit-
tle, preſuppoſing that offence goe before which I haue ſpecified: whereupon I may
conclude, that none of theſe ſimple kindes are for your good: I might proceed
and diſcourſe particularly, and according to their ſeuerall tearmes and differences
touching euerie one of theſe; but by the ſtrengthening of this diſcourſe with ſundrie
other reaſons of importaunce that concurre, it will appeare that out of the concluſions
of theſe ſeuerall kindes, there ariſeth a mixt kind of warre, moſt fit for your occaſions:
for ſeeing there is no remedy but you muſt haue warre againſt the Turke as I ſaied be- K
fore, ſince wee can neither make a warre meerely offenſiue for the reaſons I haue ſet
downe, nor ought once to thinke of a preuenſion without ports, wee muſt preſuppoſe
that ſuch a warre may bee defenſiue in act, but offenſiue in proofe, yet ſimply neither
offenſiue nor defenſiue, according vnto the ſpeciall rules and notes of both in ſimple
tearmes.

Let this warre thus tempered goe forward with a wiſe care to diuert, and ſo by lit-
tle and little it will take a ſafe courſe to preuent; and in the end prooue meerely offen-
ſiue to the enemie. But before I come to exemplifie this paterne, and ſet downe my
plot, I muſt put you once againe in mind, that in making warre againſt the Turke,
you muſt relie more vpon ſtratagems and the Art of warre, than in multitudes of men, L
watching all oportunities, his troubles and incumbraunces in other warres, his loſſes
and ruines by them, the partialities which fall out oftentimes betwixt the ſucceſſours
of the State, and the diuiſions amongſt themſelues: All theſe things may induce a bet-
ter knowledge how to make our partie ſtrong, but aboue all things bind vpon Gods fa-
uour. But for that this fauour ought to bee procured, partly by ſuch meanes on our
ſide, as are incident to the diſcretion of reaſonable men, you muſt vnderſtand, that no-
thing can bee more expedient for you, than agreement and intelligence with your
friends of the houſe of Auſtria, as on the other ſide proportionally it ſtandeth them in
hand, for the better effecting of any enterpriſe, to bee firmely vnited vnto you, and M
to acquaint you with their purpoſes. Theſe things prouided for, you may eaſily come
to the knowledge of the true courſe which it behoueth you to holde in maintaining this
kind of warre: for if by any fit occaſion which ſhall be offered, the Turke beeing either
ingaged in other warres, or his eſtate declining at home, you ſhall ſee reaſon to beginne
the

A the quarrell, and to preuent his reſolution. You may doe it beſt towards Hungarie, making your vncle now deſigned Emperour, acquainted with your intent, keeping the warre out of the champane Countries, and farre from the riuer of Danow, whereof the Turke ſtandeth in great neede, in regard of his carriages for ſuch an armie: Beſides, forcing him to paſſe by places which are not fit for his great troupes of horſe and multitudes of ſoote, there is no doubt but you may hope for a verie happie end of your deſignes. But in caſe not any one of theſe occaſions be offred, yet you may procure one by your owne diſcretion, making the yeere, wherein he maketh his preparation to ſerue your turne, by temporizing warily and fruſtrating his deſignes by delayes and ſhifts, according to the circumſtances and aduantages which ſhall be offered. 1555

B The next yeere when either hee doth not, or perhappes can not ſo ſpeedily aduaunce, or arme his troupes as hee deſireth, in reſpect of the great prouiſions hee is inforced to make, then would I haue you to aduaunce, and to fortifie that part of the Countrey which you haue gotten before that hee can bee readie to impeach your courſes vpon the frontires, and defend it with the like reſolution. Againe, vſe the matter in ſuch ſort, as when hee beginnes to caſsiere his companies, and to retire his forces, you may bee ready to renew the warre, and thereby force him to make a new defence. By this meanes you ſhall inforce him to continue his great armie ſtill in pay, which hee is not able to indure, or elſe to bring ſuch meane forces to field as hee may bee eaſily dealt withall, and by conſequence change the manner of his warre, which were no
C meane ſtep to an honorable victorie, for thereupon ſetting downe a new and diſcreet courſe for direction, you may preſume of a moſt fortunate ſucceſſe. Wherefore you haue reaſon both to graunt and offer all kinds of aid, both of men and money, I meane to the King of the Romanes, who ſhall fitly ſerue your turne, to keepe the ballaunce euen, till you finde a fitter opportunitie. And for that wee know, that vpon anie worthie peece of ſeruice the Turkiſh forces are verie apt to ſhrinke, for that they relie wholy vpon their ſtrength, being alſo apparent that this blow muſt be rather giuen by ſtratageme than by force, it ſhall not be amiſſe to touch thoſe meanes which are likely to aduaunce our purpoſes: you muſt be very carefull to drawe them into ſtreit places, where the warre for want of carriages and other neceſſarie prouiſions may proue
D verie cumberſome, as both I haue ſpecified before, and experience hath taught in the warres of Albania. Againe hee muſt bee encountered with ſo ſtrong an armie of foot, as it may bee able to withſtand his troupes of horſemen. Which in reſpect they are for the moſt part vnarmed, might bee eaſily effected. It is a point of eſpeciall conſideration alſo to put forth a ſquadron of choice men to entertaine the Ianiſaries in fight, from the beginning vnto the end of the battell, leauing in like manner conuenient forces to incounter the reſt of his armie: for whereas the manner of the Turkiſh diſcipline is alwayes to reſerue the valour of the Ianiſaries for the laſt ſupplie and recourſe to victorie, when the reſt of the armie ſhall ſee that they haue beene charged from the beginning of the fight, they will, no doubt, bee much troubled with this alteration,
E and the Ianiſaries themſelues amazed and diſordered with a ſtratageme vnlooked for. It can not bee obiected, that this deuice will ſerue but once, for in trueth it will force them to forſake that courſe for euer, when they ſhall ſee their policie preuented, by which they haue many times preuayled againſt the enemie. It cannot be denied but by meanes of this prouiſion *Hanibal* more than once defeated the Romane Legions, and the Romanes themſelues vſing the like ſtratageme againſt the Latines, in the verie bowelles of theyr owne eſtate during the time of their diſſentions and warre, obtained victorie. Aboue all things bend your care to ſtirre the people to rebellion againſt their Gouernours, by good vſage, exemption &c. This may bee brought
F to paſſe more ſpeedily, by remouing campes, and erecting forts in the Countrey, both for defence and offence, than by places inhabited, as you may find ſet out at large in my Memorialles: I haue there ſet downe the meanes to make them ſpeedily, and with ſmall charge, the true reaſon by which they may be brought to good effect, the way to hemme in, to cut off, and to ſubdue ſecurely with good prouiſions, the

1555 forces of any great eſtate, with very few of them; as we find that *Ceſar* himſelfe dwelt in G
France, by the report of his Commentaries. The leaſt beginning of good ſucceſſe, will preſently draw downe the Turke, to make warre againſt them, where you ſhall bee beſt prouided to incounter him: for it ſtandeth him in hand to be iealous (as hee is) of that reputation in armes, and opinion of ſuperioritie aboue all princes, which hee hath hitherto held, for feare of diſorders and reuolts, which euerie little declining of his fortune might cauſe in his mightie eſtate, by reaſon of the diſcontent wherein the people liue in reſpect of his tyrannous gouernement.

You haue likewiſe to conſider of your warres with the crowne of Fraunce, the which are of great conſequence in reſpect of the ſolide and vnited forces of that realme, and the coniunction and league which they may eaſily continue with other Potentates of Chri- H
ſtendome, and chiefly with the princes and ſtates of Italie, for the iealouſie wherein they liue of our greatneſſe. But beſides that point whereof I warned you before, ſpeaking of the danger that is in leagues, and the ſmall effect that comes of them, you haue beſides this one ſecure and ſound prouiſion in readineſſe at all times for your further comfort in this verie caſe of France, that ſo often as you ſhall aſſault that king within his owne dominions, which is not hard to doe, conſidering in what manner his realme is enuironed on euery ſide, you ſhall be ſure to draw him backe, and ſo diuert him both from Italie, and from other enterpriſes. Surely the French king warreth in Italie to his great aduantage, as well in reſpect of the peoples diſpoſition to innouations, as of the great gaine he ſometimes makes by one only attempt, in compariſon of his ſmall expences: we ſhould I
haue ſeene the proofe not many yeares ſince, if the French could haue made vſe of that aduantage which they held at Ceriſoles, or at the taking of Caſſal, after the great ouerthrow which immediately after the reuolt of Siena the Turkiſh fleete gaue to ours in the Sicilian ſea. Beſides, the Italians are ſo much grieued, being curbed by Milan, Naples, and Sicile, as they are glad of any oportunitie to weaken our ſuſpected forces, and doe willingly offer themſelues to any one that will promiſe to eaſe them of their burthen, and to ſet them free, not foreſeeing that the French, if they were once maſters of the like forts within the body of the ſtate, would be as much, or more offenſiue to their liberties.

The warre of Piedmont will make the French king wearie in a ſhort time, if you indeuour to fight hand to hand as they do: for by a cuſtome which they haue long obſerued, K
to leaue no enemie behind, you ſhall verie eaſily bring this to paſſe, if you hold ſome ſtrong towne well fortified againſt their force, proceeding there from hand to hand as you find occaſion: If they diminiſh or abate their armie, increaſe yours, ſo as you may be able to take ſome place of importance, which being weake you may fortifie. Thus by the helpe of places, and of ſo great an eſtate on your backe, you may make warre in winter. And to theſe ends if you be prouoked by occaſion, I had once reſolued for their ſpeedie riddance and diſpatch to cut off their paſſage out of France to Turin, raiſing two or three forts betwixt Turin and the Alpes: for when they ſhall be forced to maintaine a mightie garriſon, and their prouiſions on this ſide the Alpes cut off, it would be hard for them to furniſh themſelues with ſufficient ſtore of victuals and munition out of their owne coun- L
trey. In aſſaulting the French King at home, there are two kindes of warre which promiſe proſperous ſucceſſe; the one is by the commodity which you haue to draw your forces ſooner together, and to enter into the heart of his Countrie, where you ſhall find abundance of victualls and other things to maintaine a ſufficient army. Before the French king come into the field, I would haue you ſeeke to make waie for your ſelfe, and ſo to aduaunce, inlarging your owne courſe, and cutting off your enemies beſt oportunities by forts built in the Countrey, as I aduiſed you before ſpeaking of your warres againſt the Turke, which courſe *Ceſar* himſelfe obſerued, when he made warre in that country. Sometimes oportunitie may be giuen either by the declining of the aduerſe partie vpon M
ſome braue attempt of yours, or by your good ſucceſſe and their misfortunes. Whereupon you may ſo preuaile as afterwards you may lay plots to compaſſe that which is not yet conquered. Diuiſions may happen in the countrey, and a thouſand other accidents, eſpecially in this age, whenas loue and charitie ſo decay, whereby an enterpriſe begunne

with

A with iudgement, may be greatly furthered; wiſe men muſt not diſdaine to goe forwards by inſenſible degrees, for ſo goeth the Sunne about the world; for it is impoſſible that a kingdome of ſuch ſtrength, and at vnion within it ſelfe, ſhould bee at one inſtant ſwallowed vp by anie foreine enemie. But if the leaſt part which is one, bee drawne from them, and added to a ſtronger part than their owne, the oddes will grow within a while to be ſo great, as they that find the want will ſmart for it. Surely, if I had vnderſtood the reaſon from the firſt beginning of my proceedings againſt Fraunce, which I haue learned ſince by long experience, and the conſequence of manie braue attempts which I haue made againſt this realme, vndoubtedly I would haue brought ſome rare effects to paſſe: But it may bee that God hath reſerued that for your greater glorie. One onelie
B difficultie is to bee thought on in this caſe, which is, that the French may ſooner enter into Italie by certaine months, conſidering the ſeaſon of the yeere, and forwardneſſe of the Countrey, than wee can enter into Fraunce: But this aduantage muſt be preuented by another ſtratageme: for as ſoone as you find that the King hath entred into his charge, and made his prouiſions, deuiſe to trouble him in Fraunce with ſo ſufficient an armie, as hee may bee conſtrained to increaſe his forces on that ſide, and ſo giue ouer all other intended enterpriſes. It is needleſſe to ſet downe anie other rules for your proceeding in this courſe, ſo long as you are Lord of the Lowe Countries, and firmely vnited to your friends and alies in Germanie. Againſt this miſchiefe I find two certaine remedies, the one by entertaining the French King in Italie, and aſſaulting him in France, at one
C inſtant. The other in making ſhew to be readie, and to ſet forward in ſo good time, as hee ſhall haue other matters to thinke on than his attempts againſt Italie. You ſhall eaſily attaine to your deſired end, in proceeding after this manner, as well in reſpect of the jealouſie which the King in his abſence hath of that eſtate, as to auoid the daunger that may follow, if hee leaue his frontire townes behind his backe enuironed both with forts and troupes, as *Ceſar* dealt at Marſeilles, making warre againſt *Affranius* and *Petreus*. By this meanes ſmaller forces may ſerue your turne, and all the brauerie and terrour which the French intended in their comming forward, ſhall turne to your aduantage, and hauing an other armie ready to aduaunce, you ſhall be maſter of the paſſages and force him to abandon that garriſon which hee left enuironed with your forces vpon the frontire.

D The other way to inuade France, is to ſet vpon the frontires, and then goe forwards; but this requireth too long time, and ſerueth rather to diuert the French Kings courſe from Italie, than to feede our hope with gaining by the match, in reſpect of the little likelihood to winne anie great townes vpon the frontires, for the French king is mightie, and will come armed to reſcue rather than leaue it in daunger: Beſides, the winning of a towne by batterie, requireth a long time, and a wanton charge. It is verie true that the difficultie may be recompenced in ſome ſort, by making choice of ſuch places as import the cauſe wholy, or in the greateſt part; but of all theſe waies the firſt hath moſt valour, and is moſt likely to prooue ſucceſſefull. I remember well, that when I aſſaulted Fraunce towards Landerſey, my intent was to haue entred into the bowells of that
E Realme, before the comming of the Suiſſers, but after that I had made ſome ſtaie about the winning of certaine townes vpon the frontire, the facilitie that I found in preuailing againſt the firſt that were attempted by my forces, made mee to change my mind, and to ingage my ſelfe there, with an aſſured hope that I might with the like ſucceſſe go through with the reſt, before the King ſhould be ſtrong enough to march: but beeing ſtaied there longer than I either thought or expected, the King had oportunitie to make himſelfe ſtronger with eaſe, to defend himſelfe with greater ſecuritie, and to conſtraine mee by force to retire, and to yeeld to an agreement which was then made rather (to tell you plaine) to colour my retreat, than for anie good effect that followed.

F Now if in making warre againſt France you ſhould preuaile in your attempt, to the which (for that it were againſt the skill of Armes) I can not beleeue you will be euer drawne without great likelihood of victorie; you muſt labour effectually to bring it to that point: Purſue your aduantage in ſuch ſort as I haue ſaid, for by this meanes the king being forced for the moſt part to ſupplie his wants from countries farther off, before he ſhalbe ready with new forces, you may come vpon him with a freſh enterpriſe: But if the

1555 worſt ſhould happen vnto you, (which God forbid) you ſhall alwaies haue leiſure to repaire your ſtrength, and ſo much the more freely, both for danger and all other inconueniences, if you can put off the hazard nere to the point of winter, ſo as the credit which he getteth in that action may not further his affaires in Italie: To theſe ends a gallant armie conſiſting of a reaſonable number, ſhall auaile you more than huge multitudes. And againſt France alſo you may greatly ſtrengthen your eſtate, by maintaining a continuall number of foot, to match their ordinarie troupes of horſe, as you ſhall find it ſet downe more plainely in my Reports, with full conſideration of all accidents, augmenting your proportion againſt the Turke, according to the rate wherein he exceeds the French king and others, princes of Europe, in force. It ſtandeth neither with your iudgement nor skill, in any of theſe caſes which I haue ſet down, to giue your firſt onſet vpon anie place which requireth long time, great forces, & exceſſiue charge before it can be won, vnleſſe you be firſt ſure of ſome ſecret intelligence within the towne, or priuie to ſome great defect or want which pincheth them, whether it be of men, munition, leaders, victualls, and ſuch like neceſſarie things which they can not forbeare; or haue ſome certaine knowledge of the vnſetled humors of the people, or of ſome chiefe magiſtrates, or of diuiſion within the bodie of the ſtate it ſelfe, ſo as you may aſſure your ſelfe before the cardes be dealt, to win the great reſt by ſetting it vp.

G H

Theſe occaſions ought not at anie time to be neglected, vnleſſe you meane to abandon the due conſideration of the Art of Warre, for otherwiſe the enemie gaineth too much time for the preparing of his forces, and brings his deſires to paſſe; whereas on the other ſide, it is hard to maintaine an armie long with victualles and other prouiſions at a ſiege without making ſome roome at the firſt for the paſſage of his conuoies. I remember well that I once vndertook an enterpriſe againſt Prouence in France, my Rende-vous was at Marſeilles, which was the cauſe that my hopes were made fruſtrate, and my charges loſt, and withall, my retreat was exceeding daungerous: And which is worſt of all, the eyes of *Francis* the French King were opened by this meanes, ſo as hee plainely diſcouered the daungers of his realme, and forthwith ſought to ſettle himſelfe at Turin, and to make his reſidence in Piedmont where the French did afterwards make warre to their beſt aduantage, diſcouraging the ready meanes of diuerting all attempts on that ſide againſt Fraunce, beſides the credite which they got by the action with the States of Italie.

I K

If they had knowne (as I haue ſaid) how to vſe this proſperous ſucceſſe to their beſt aduantage, I doubt not but they had often put all the eſtates you holde thereabouts in daunger: Seeke therefore alwayes to aſſault the French King in his owne Realme, and to preuent his firſt attempts, for otherwiſe you cannot when you will ridde your hands of him, by making a diuerſion from Italie, if hee may be ſuffered to put in his foote, for then the difficultie of repairing your armie with ſupplies of Spaniards, conſidering the ſituation will be verie great, wherein all conſiſteth, for they beeing defeated by anie miſchaunce, it giues great incouragement to the States of Italie, to laie new plottes, eſpecially the Venetians whom euerie little blaſt doth eaſily awake. Perſuade not your ſelfe that your deereſt friends in Italie, ſeeing your power decline, will euer adhere to your misfortunes with the hazard of their owne eſtates, but rather ſecretly reconcile themſelues to him that hath the vpper hand, and follow the Victors good fortune. I would not wiſh you to applie your whole care about the recouerie of Siena, which will be hardly effected. I graunt the Duke of Florence hath beene jealous to that State, conſidering his oportunity to annoy them, both by neere neighbourhood, and the power of his authoritie: This plot if it might take effect, will bee a notable preſident to all States, and make them warie how to intermeddle againſt your power: And which importeth your cauſe moſt of all, you ſhall by this meanes cut off all intelligence betweene the French Kings forces, and the States of Italie, who finding the French ſetled within the heart of their Countrey, will be more apt to ioyne with them in friendſhip, and relie vpon their ſtrength, rather than when they ſee them farre off in Piedmont; and much leſſe if they can bee drawne on this ſide the Alpes, whereas their fauour cannot bee commodious, nor their diſpleaſure daungerous. It ſhall alſo much a-

L M

uaile

A uaile in your dealing with the Crowne of Fraunce, to bee fully informed of the humors and affections of all such persons as are in greatest fauour with the King, or that stand for the best offices; thrust your hand secretly into all their competitions, and drawe the strongest partie vnto you with all the Art you can: for neuer can the Theater of publique Actions afforde more fauourable shewes in your behalfe, than when it shall bee moued vnder hand with inuisible deuises. If euer Fortune fauour you so much, as that either by alliance, or anie other kind of agreement, you shall bee able to remoone the French out of Piedmont, wincke at all other things. Doe the best you can whereby the Realme may bee induced to desist from armes; so shall you bee secured from tumults and many other kindes of crosses, which are more daungerous, and not knowne
B to euery man; if afterwards anie occasion be offred of doing your selfe good, forbeare not to lay holde of it. Thus shall you euer be most secure concerning causes which belong to Italie. This is the ground vpon which in the end it behoueth you to settle the strongest sinews of your foreine power, and therefore haue alwayes an eye vnto it with an aduised consideration. 1555.

The reason is not all one for the French to bee now put out of Piedmont, and as if they had neuer held it, for in the opinion of the world it will be more disgrace vnto them, than the winning thereof before did yeeld them profit. Wherefore in all your capitulations and agreements let your eye leuell directly at this end, and your plottes of policie aime alwayes at this marke. For beleeue me son, and I assure you out of my long experi-
C ence, that Piedmont alone will benefit you more, than if on that side which lies next vnto Flaunders, you had bereft him of the third part of his owne kingdome. Seeing then wee are entred so farre into the State of Italie, and ingaged in the highest mysterie of State, wee must proceed a little farther in this politique discourse. I will tell you once againe, that by the life of this one artere the pulse of all your great power doth beate. This waie your eyes must bee euer bent and open to all oportunities: First I would haue you vse all deuotion and curtesie to the holie father, and the apostolike Sea; I would wish you to bee verie kind to the members of the same, as the Cardinalles, Bishoppes, Prelates and other of the Clergie belonging to the Court of Rome. Be euer readie for the defence of them and the Catholike profession. In all elections of Popes,
D see that you labour not by anie vnchristian, vnlawfull, and indirect meanes to preferre anie of those Cardinalles that are your especiall friends: Striue not to make one rather than an other, so as all Competitors bee worthie of the place, for in these sacred actions the holie Ghost doth worke: And it is better to submit our likings to the prouidence of God, which turneth all things to the best, as wee may vnderstand by that which is recorded of *Mathias* in the Text, than to follow humours or respect particulars.

There is no question but anie of them may bee wonne by due respect, and admit they should become strange, yet after you haue sought to reconcile your selfe into their fauours by such meanes as are prescribed you by the holie Ghost, hauing your territories
E included in the middest of theyr Countrey, you can neuer want the choice of manie meanes belonging to the world; by which for your last refuge, when there is no other meanes, you may insinuate your selfe more eatily into their good opinions: I meane either by alliance with their chiefest friends abroad; or bestowing pensions and sundrie curtesies vpon such persons of the Clergie as they most affect at home, with a thousand such like complements, as may pleasure them daily, without anie hinderance to princes of your qualitie. This is the waie to make the Pope your friend, though at the first hee were elected by a faction of Cardinalles which depend not on your affection, for hardly shall you find anie hawke so haggard but hee will prey vpon all apt aduauntages:
F Hereof you must haue an especiall care, the end whereof is the general good of Christendome, rather than anie respect of your owne priuate interest; though manie perhaps doe not so much regard those bonds which ought to moue them simply to make a Pope, as they doe the profit when a Pope is made to their purpose.

The territories of the Church lie (as we may say) in the very heart of Italie, but so inuironed with yours, as they may serue for a garland: if Siena were once recouered, they

should

1555 ſhould then be compaſſed in on all ſides with your forces: So as the way which you ſhall take, according to the rule ſet downe before, ſhal be made more eaſie by your diligence, and the fauours which you meane to beſtow, ſhall more readily bring forth thoſe good fruits which you deſire among them. So long as godly men are preferred to that Sea, ther is no doubt but charitie, religion, & care to keep the ſeamleſſe coat of Chriſt vnrent, will moue them both to tender and deſerue your loue. If men delighted more with worldlie honours ſhould hold thoſe places (which God forbid) yet would they be alwaies glad to make a friend of one whō they are not able to incounter with hoſpitalitie, beſides his deuotion to the popes thēſelues. The curteſies which you may likewiſe vſe to the cardinals your ſpeciall frends, wil much fortifie this warie & diſcreet cōſideration. Apply your care frō time to time to win many friends amōg the cardinals, aſwel old as yōg, the which may be eaſily effected, in giuing thē preferm̄ets & ſuch dignities as they deſire. The like courſe I would haue you hold with the Biſhops & other prelats of that Court: but haue a care to deale moſt bountifully with ſuch perſons as are moſt inward with his Holines. G H

Aboue all things ground your ſelfe vpon the conſcience and equity of your demands, in dealing with the cardinals & other friends; but in caſes that require grace and fauour, ſee that you rely vpon the bountie of the Pope himſelfe, leſt you be deceiued of your expectation. Sticke not to afford all commodities out of your eſtates to the court of Rome, with a bountifull and a willing heart, & if neceſſitie inforce you to breake with the Pope, yet vſe the matter with ſuch temperance and warineſſe, as the world may rightly vnderſtand the reaſon: and acknowledge that the cauſe of this ſtratageme grew not from your deſert, but that you were inforced thereunto for your owne ſafetie. Religion is the bond of loue, and therefore nothing is more contrarie to hope and expectation of good ſucceſſe, than to leaue an ill opinion in the minds of men of your affection towards thoſe that hold the place and credite of Gods miniſters. I

In matters pertaining to accōpts in general, conforme your ſelf at al times with obedience & humblenes to the certen & infallible determination of his Holines, & howſoeuer cauſes of vnkindnes may ariſe, yet let the world ſee your religiō is vnchāgeable. Touching the Venetians you may eaſily take order, if you find it good for your ſelfe to continue in the league with thē, being (as I ſaid before) ſo diſpoſed to rely wholy vpō time as they wil wander between theſe vaine & idle expectations, ſuffring thēſelues willingly to be drawn on from day to day, & conſuming ſtil with a ſoft fire of ambitiō till at length they become a prey to ſome martial power without any great difficulty. Moreouer the Turke, hauing ſhut thē from Corfu, wil ſoone bereaue thē of Cipres & Candie, & reſtraine them much: And conſidering that the trade of Venice ſtandeth wholie vpon merchandiſe, you may neuer vndertake anie enterpriſe vpon hope of their aſſiſtance, eſpecially againſt the Turk, if it be not at ſuch time as they are very lowe, and you in great proſperitie; and yet euen then alſo it might be thought that ieloſie & feare of your good fortune wil work more in their ſuſpitious conceits, than any other due conſideratiō, or reſpect whatſoeuer. Experience hath taught that theſe mean conceits, whoſe humor is to apprehend more than anie can containe, loſe more by emulation than they get by policie; but whenſoeuer you haue cauſe to break league with them, aſſault them firſt, & with all celeritie, for as they do lie in wait to worke vpon the firſt aduantage that their neighbors miſeries doe afford, ſo ſtates which haue often had proofe of this ſtrange inclination, look warily to their attempts, & hold no ſtricter league with thē than ſtands with their owne neceſſities. If then you ſhall begin to plie thē luſtily before they cā haue leiſure to combine with orher ſtates, or make prouiſion for war, a matter ſo long neglected by their ſloath, as it will appeare they haue quite forgotten their firſt alphabet; & as in popular eſtates fear breedeth infinit confuſiōs, ſo may you make your profit of their ignorance. If this be doubted of, you can deſire no plainer proofe, than their want aſwell of carriages, as of policie in letting ſlippe ſo many braue occaſions as theſe late yeeres haue offred. It ſeemes that they preſume out of their ſloathfull humor to maintaine their dignitie by certaine quiet ordinances, and ſober inſtitutions made by their gowne men: & herein fortune hath bin more fauorable to them; but yet it may be ſaid without offence or error, that commonweales ſo qualified, doe neither know nor vnderſtand in what ſort to vſe their power to their beſt benefit. K L M

This

A This weaknes being found, in setting first vpon their estate, I do assure my self, that with 1555
that sodaine alteration, and many other troubles and disorders that will ensue, you may bring some great enterprise to passe, before they be awaked from sleepe, or resolued among themselues what to spend, or whom to relie vpon, what Leaders to imploy, or haue reuiued their old discipline or manner of making warre so many yeeres neglected in their gouernement. Their couetous desires to cut off all cause of charge in time of peace, their ignorance in training men that may be fit to serue when need requires, their want of leaders in the bodie of their owne estate that may withstand the violence of any mightie potentate, that maketh head against their force, will alwayes giue aduantage to your policie, in taking the first start of them: you may boldly imagine that by this means you
B shall inforce them to their owne defence, whereas if you giue them leisure to beginne the warre, and to assault you first in the realme of Naples, they might doe great harme, in respect of their kind vsage towards them, and their ciuil gouernment which is yet fresh in memorie. If you find no likelihood that they will fall to their defence, inforce them what you may, and seeke to preuent their purposes by meanes of diuision in some good sort, for herein consisteth the greatest aduantage of your actions. I must now let you vnderstand that in seeking to assault them first, your greatest care must be by all means possible to thrust into the verie centre of the State, for hauing forced them to put garrisons into all the strong places which they hold, it is not possible they should bee able at the same time to keepe the field. In the meane time you cannot but find some great want in
C one or other of their forts, either of leaders, garrisons, prouisions, or paies; you may find out the striuing humors that are set a worke by faction in generall, or of persons discontented in particular. In any one place that your fortune shall be to take, vse your happy beginning as an extreme to further good, and leaue a president and incouragement to others, by your princely dealing with those, so as they may more easily bee brought to yeeld vpon reasonable conditions and honourable offers made to Burgers, Leaders, Souldiers &c. with other meanes which circumstances, time and place shall present to your discreet consideration. If you be once master of the field whatsoeuer is not strong will remaine at your deuotion, or they shall be inforced to come to field, where they can not
D long continue their garrisons being prouided: for hereupon a battell must ensue, which in respect of their long discontinuance of armes, and want of knowledge & experience of the seruice of these times, will be greatly to their disaduantage, and disgrace, so as they may be diuerted first from the realme of Naples, which is one of their best hopes, when they may approch without opposition.

Be carefull also that no other prince in Italie grow too potent, although he seeme to depend wholy vpon your crowne; for in this case you must be no lesse careful to contain those which make shew to be your friends within reasonable bounds, than to keep downe your enemies; holding it for an infallible ground, that they which make profession to follow you, and are most forward in your seruice, would be the first (vpon the least disaduantage and declining of your fortune, and hope to better their owne) that would turne
E vnto the other side. But as the many diuisions and factions in Italie doe make the labour hard, to keepe that which you now hold, as sometimes it happened betwixt the States of Greece and the Romans, you must euer presuppose this principle, that the Estates of Italie desire aboue all things to see a Duke setled at Milan, and a King at Naples; to this end tend all their practises, for that is a meanes to weaken your incroching power, and withall to free themselues from forreine seruitude: The reasons are, for that with petie princes they may treat at all times vpon euen hand, with you they promise faire in iealousie, and perseuere in dissimulation. Againe, a Duke of Milan, or a King of Naples, which had no more estates than that alone to build on, would feare and hope with them, and euer tie himselfe to them in a firme league of friendship, against forreine forces for
F his owne securitie, which is the strongest bond.

But with you they neither dare enter into league, lest thereby you should grow more strong, nor warre, lest with an ouer-match you should weigh downe their policie. Besides, a doore well kept is a defence for all that liue vnder one roofe, and in one familie. The Venetians aboue all wish for this, because they might haue great choice in

setting

1555 ſetting downe their plottes, and more helpe at their need. The Pope hath alſo beene G
as apt as others to combine and practiſe to this end: but your beſt remedie againſt this
humour will be to take aduantage of the diuiſions and factions which happen daily a-
mong themſelues, and to maintaine by continuall action, your reputation in armes,
holding good intelligence in euerie ſtate, appointing able and ſufficient miniſters to at-
tend the Pope; by fiſhing with a golden hooke where the ſtreames are troubled. As for
Italie you need not feare anie daunger, if you can deuiſe to keepe them from combi-
ning craftily within themſelues, and eſpecially with the French King on that ſide the
Alpes, which is not hard to doe, for him that ſtandeth euer watchfully vpon his gard,
and hath in his head diſcretion to ſee, and in his hands meanes to preuent their purpo-
ſes. The ſafeſt courſe as I haue aduiſed you before, is to nippe off the firſt buddes of am- H
bition before they ripen to your preiudice, or ſeed to the hazard of your gouernement.

Theſe briefe notes (my deare ſonne) I thought good to leaue with you, as certaine grounds and principles, whereunto you may reſort for reſolution of doubts as occaſion ſhall be offered. I am not ignorant that many circumſtances may change the rules, but yet the reaſon of them well obſerued will direct you, in what ſort to deale, howſoeuer freſh occaſions may inforce you ſomewhat to digreſſe and varie from my former obſer-uations. Touching the manner in particular of faſhioning your policie, both in time of peace and warre to the beſt vſe, with extraordinarie plots for the performance of grea-ter actions, rather ſenſibly conceiued in my head vpon likely grounds, than warranted I
by certaine proofe during the time of my flouriſhing in the world, I referre you to the compleate diſcourſe which ſhall euer witneſſe both my loue to you, and my trauell for your happineſſe. For a concluſion of this point, I charge you by the intereſt which by nature I may claime, and by the duetie which by the lawe of God you owe me, that in all enterpriſes you ſet the rule of conſcience before your eies, and what ſtratagems and policies ſoeuer you vſe to attaine vnto your deſires, yet let the ground and end be iuſti-fiable in his ſight who weigheth all things, not by humane paſſion, but by his moſt holie ordinance.

Be kind in naturall affection to all the branches of your honourable houſe: Continue league and friendſhip with your ancient allies: Preuent the firſt beginning of your ene-mies attempts: Beware of ſugred words, where reaſon maketh you to ſuſpect ill deeds: Be ſure of ſound aduertiſements from euerie ſtate: Be iuſt at home, and bountiful abroad: ſo ſhall your end be ſutable to your entrie, and both to that vnfained wiſh which your fa-thers loue affordeth you. I will neuer ceaſe to pray for your good ſucceſſe: in you it re-ſteth to proceed in ſuch a courſe as praiſe may ſound your purpoſes.

D. Philip the ſecond of that name, and 23. *King of Caſtille &c.*

AMong other aduertiſements which the emperour had giuen vnto the king D. *Philip* L
his ſonne, he had exhorted him much to make a peace with the French, and to keep
1556 it; *Mary* Queene of England did alſo affect it, being deſirous to haue him by her to haue ſome iſſue: whereupon they entred into treatie, and there was a truce concluded for 5
19 yeeres, by the which it was agreed that euerie one ſhould remaine in poſſeſſion of that
Truce betwixt the French and Spaniards for fiue yeares. he held. By this truce which was both profitable and honourable for the French, *Octauio Farneſe* duke of Parma returned into fauour with king *Philip*. But ſoone after the Pope falling in quarrel with the king of Spaine, touching the *Colonnois* whom he had excommu-nicated, and depriued of their goods, as rebells to the Church, hauing made his nephew
Breach betwixt Pope Paul the fourth, and the king of Spaine. *Iohn Caraffe* duke of Paliano, & giuen vnto his ſon, but yet an infant, the caſtle of Caui, be- M
longing to *Marc Anthonie Colonne*, with the title of Marqueſſe; the D. of Alba viceroy of Naples, hauing commandement from his maſter to preſſe the reſtitution of the *Colonnois* to their poſſeſſions, had proteſted that he would do it by force, who (hearing that the *Ca-raffes* did fortifie Paliano, vpon the confines of the realme of Naples) ſent the erle of San-valentino to the *Caraffi*, exhorting them that they would not attempt a thing ſo preiudi-ciall to his Maieſtie, and that they ſhould doe all good offices to pacifie the Pope, and to

take

A take away the occaſions of theſe tumults, ſeeing that they might expect more from the King of Spaines bountie, by quietneſſe, than from their vncle, by ſuch daungerous and not durable Innouations, which could not produce any thing but warre and ruine. The Earle complayned alſo in the Duke of Albas behalfe, that his Holineſſe had vſed all them fowerly that were friends to the Emperour, and to the King of Spaine, and that hee daily gaue new occaſions to thinke, that his heart was eſtraunged from them, for that to wrong the fauorites, friends, and dependants of the houſe of Auſtria, without reſpect of anie, was a ſigne of much hatred which was borne them, and ſmall accompt that was made of them: beſides arming and leuying new troupes daily, the which were ſent vnto diuerſe places of the frontire, and finally cauſing a fort to bee B built vpon the confines of the realme of Naples, and imploying men therein, that were ſuſpected to the houſe of Auſtria, did ſhew plainely that hee had done them wrong, or meant to wrong them, and then defend it by force. But this was againſt the quiet of Chriſtendome, ſeeking to ouerthrow the hope of a generall peace, which with great toyle was lately grounded vpon a truce: and to receiue into Rome, not only the enemies of his King, but open rebelles, was nothing elſe but to approue their treacherie, and to haue an intent to vſe their councell or ſeruice to preiudice his Maieſty, ſeeing they were ſo familiar, in his Court. The which hee ſhould beleeue hee could not long endure, beeing of ſo generous a mind, and of ſo great power as hee needed not to feare anie man; and if hee had endured vntil that time, it was onely in reſpect of the C holie Sea, deſiring peace aboue all things, whereunto the Pope ſhould bee more inclined than he, in regard of his dignitie and charge.

1556

Earle of Sanſalentino at Rome to treat at accord.

Duke of Alba complaines of the Popes actions.

The Pope anſwered pertinently to euerie one of theſe points, ſhewing that it was not fit for anie man, much leſſe for a Catholike King, or his miniſters to ſeeke (vpon anie colour whatſoeuer) to hinder the Popes authoritie ouer his ſubiects, that he might not take knowledge of their offences and puniſh them, for the reſpect hee ſhould beare to anie Potentate: and that hee (although that the King of Naples were feudatarie to that Sea) tooke no care for that which was doone in that kingdome, much leſſe ſhould hee with ſuch vehemencie ſeeke an accompt in Rome of the Popes actions, who was a free and abſolute Lord: But touching that which was ſpoken of armes and ſoul- D diers, it was neither in that citie nor anie where elſe, a preparation to warre, but for the ſafetie and defence of his perſon and State, ſeeing that hee had cauſe to feare ſecret treaſon, and that which they could not doe by poiſon, they would ſeeke to effect by the ſword, and they that could not depriue him of his life, would with ignominie ſpoile him of his eſtate, hauing before his eyes the example of *Clement* the ſeuenth by his too great truſt. And as hee could not altogether blame his Maieſties royall conceptions, ſo hee could not excuſe the malice of ſome of his followers, who haue thought therein to pleaſe him, whom hee alſo blamed, for entertaining anie hard conceit in the Kings mind, cauſing him to ſuſpect his Holineſſe actions and his nephews, ſo as happily he had commaunded him to ſend ſome troupes vnto the frontires of the territories of the E Church, vnder *Bernardin* of Mendoſa, and that they had made other demonſtrations nothing conformable to the peace, which the Duke ſeemed to deſire, according to the intent of the King his maſter. Touching enemies and rebelles which he ſaied he had receiued into Rome, hee anſwered, that hee might well know, that that Citie had beene alwayes a common Countrie, wherewith the King ſhould not be grieued: Beſides, the Duke of Alua, who made all this noyſe, ſhould conſider how much the Pope of Rome was reuerenced and reſpected by him, ſeeing that hee had receiued and fauoured *Marc Anthonie Colonna*, who had beene excommunicated by him, with all thoſe that ſhould receiue or aſſiſt him. And as for the Kings well taking of it, it was well knowne, and of what power hee was, ſeeing that hauing ſcarce taken in F hand the gouernement of his Realmes, hee would haue ſoueraigne Princes reſpect his Maieſties fauourites, the which hee entertained in other mens eſtates: But notwithſtanding hee did hope that God would fauour the iuſt cauſe, and that beeing forced to take ſome other reſolution, hee truſted to find them that would helpe the oppreſſed.

Anſwer made by the Pope to the duke of Albas complaint.

But

1556

Truce broken betwixt France and Spaine.

But after this they fell to open armes: the Pope apprehending the preparations G which were made by the Spaniards in the realme of Naples, had recourſe vnto the French King, and to the forces of Fraunce, the auncient refuge of Popes oppreſſed. This was an occaſion to breake the truce, and to bring Fraunce and Spaine againe to armes. There had been a league made by the procurement of the cardinall of Lorraine (before the concluſion of the truce) betwixt the Pope, *Henrie* the French king, and the Duke *Ferrara*, whereof the Duke ſhould be generall in Italie, in qualitie of the Kings lieutenant. Cardinall *Carraffa* the Popes Nuntio was ſent into France for Legat, who brought a ſword vnto the king, in ſignification of warre, at whoſe inſtance there were three thouſand foot appoynted to bee ſent to Rome, whereof part were ſpeedily imbarked in thoſe gallies which brought this Legate to Marſeilles. The Pope hee ſtood vp- H on his gard, entertained captaines, and gaue commiſsions to leuie men, cauſing the places about Rome to be fortified. The duke of Alba ſeeing the French king ingaged in this quarrell, entred in hoſtile manner into the territories of the Church, where hee tooke many places, and brought his army neere to the gates of Rome, which made the Pope to importune the French King for ſuccours. Afterwards hee tooke the towne of Oſtia, and the caſtle; the which had wonderfully amazed the Romans, if *Peter Stroſſy* had not beene, who ſince his defeat, being no friend to the Spaniards, had liued in Rome, and had accompanied Cardinall *Carraffa* into Fraunce, and returned with him to Rome by the kings commaundement, who imployed himſelfe wholy for the *Caraffes* who had all I the authoritie, wherefore hee was verie pleaſing vnto them. By his induſtrie and valour, Oſtia with ſome other places were recouered from the Spaniards.

Cardinall Carraffe legate in Fraunce.

Duke of Guiſe ſent into Italie.

The king deſirous to releeue the Pope, ſent *Francis* of Lorraine Duke of Guiſe into Italie, as the Popes ſouldier, with whom, and with the Duke of Ferrara hee had made certaine conuentions, for the entertainment and ſafetie of the armie, conſiſting of twelue thouſand foot, French, Suiſſes, and Griſons, and two thouſand horſe, with the which he paſſed the Alpes in the heart of winter.

Iohn de Luna flies into Fräce.

About this time D. *Iohn de Luna* was in Flaunders, who (as wee haue ſaid) had been called thither touching *Fernand Gonzague:* hee ſeeing himſelfe very ſeuerely handled by the Kings miniſters in that buſineſſe, ſeeking a ſtrict accompt of him of the munition of K the caſtle of Milan, being accuſed to haue imployed it to his owne priuate vſe, hee reſolued to flie from Bruſſels, who comming into Fraunce, was graciouſly receiued by the Chriſtian king, and an honourable penſion giuen him for his maintenaunce. Hee wrote from thence to his ſonne *Diego,* that hee ſhould deliuer the caſtle of Milan (where he remained in his fathers place) to whomſoeuer his king ſhould commit it, and that neither hee nor his brethren ſhould euer ſwarue from his ſeruice. And ſo it was deliuered by way of prouiſion to *Alonſo Peſcioni*, by order from the catholike King, and afterwards to *Alonſo Figueroa*, who was ſent Caſtellan thither, fearing the danger.

Charles reſignes the empire to his brother.

The Emperour *Charles* hauing the laſt yeare made a reſignation of all his realmes and dominions, ſhewing a rare Preſident of his fatherlie loue, and of a wiſe and temperat L mind, hee reſolued alſo to write vnto his brother touching the gouernement of the Empire, and, leauing the gouernement of his ſtates more free vnto his ſonne, retire himſelfe, and ſpend the remainder of his life in a free and quiet contemplation. Wherefore on the ſeuenth day of September this yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſixe he ſent doctor *Saler* into Germany to his brother *Ferdinand* with a reſignation of the gouernement of the empire with the Crowne, Scepter, and other Ornaments; pretending, that being vnable to vndergoe that burthen, by reaſon of his age, and the infirmities which did afflict him extraordinarily, hee perſuaded the Electors to confirme the ſaid *Ferdinand* in his place, being yonger, ſtronger, and more apt to beare the burthen of ſuch an empire, to whom there was giuē by the prouidence of God, for a naturall enemy the Turk, who was M mighty & alwais watchful, the which was now moſt to be feared, for that he heard he was making a great preparation for war. He did write particularly to euery one of the electors touching that buſines, & a very familiar letter vnto his brother, recommending his ſon vnto him, that he would direct and aſsiſt him in all occaſions, with his councel & help. On the 14 day of the moneth he went from Gaand into Zeland, his ſhips attending him at Fleſsingue

A Fleſſingue, but for that the wind was contrary, hee was forced to ſtaie many daies at Zuyt- 1556
bourg a village betwixt Fleſſingue and Middelbourg, which turning faire, hauing taken his leaue of his ſonne, and giuen him his bleſſing, and imbraced all the Princes and Noble- men, he tooke ſhipping with his two ſiſters *Mary* widow to *Lewis* King of Hongary, and *Leonora* firſt widow of Portugal, and then of France, who would needs accompany him in this voiage. *Charles the fifth paſſeth into Spaine to a ſolitary life.*

He came in a eleuen daies to the coaſt of Spaine, and landed at Laredo in Biſcay, where before that he receiued any of thoſe Noblemen that came to doe their duties to him, hee kneeled downe, and gaue God thankes, for that in the laſt yeeres of his life, hee had ſuffred
B him to come and die in that country, which had alwaies beene moſt deere vnto him, and by whoſe meanes he knew he was come to the hight of that honour and greatneſſe: And then imbracing thoſe Noblemen and Grandos of Spaine very louingly, he paſt by Bourgos to Vailledolit, whereas his Nephew Don *Carlo* was, to whom he gaue many good inſtructions, putting him chiefly in mind of religion and Iuſtice, where reſting ſome daies, and leauing his ſiſters there, that he might haue no let to attend the life which hee had propounded, he retired himſelfe to the Monaſtery of Saint Iuſt of the Order of Saint Ieroſme de la Vera, neere to Placentia, a deſart place, in the Prouince of Eſtremadura. Here, with foure ſeruants onely to ſerue him in his neceſſity, hee paſt his life in continuall contemplation, giuing great almes and doing other good deeds of charity, for the which hee had re-
C ſerued a hundred thouſand ducats yeerely out of his great poſſeſſions. Pope *Paul* the fourth hearing of his reſignation, was much troubled, thinking that the Emperor could not doe it, ſeeing it was neceſſary, that beeing deſirous to leaue off that degree, whereunto hee had beene aduanced by the Popes authority, hee ſhould reſigne it into the Popes hands; whoſe office it then was to write vnto the Electors to prouide one that were worthy of that dignity, who was to obtaine the ordinary confirmation from him, wherein *Ferdinand* afterwards found ſome difficulty.

Queene *Leonora* being in Caſtille ſhee had a great deſire to ſee the Infanta, D. *Maria* of Portugall her daughter, who remained at Lisbone, wherein there was ſome difficulty vp- *Enterview betwixt the mother and the daughter.*
on the point of honour and conuenience, whether the mother ſhould goe into Portugal,
D or the daughter into Caſtille, ſo as the Emperour was forced to write ſomewhat ſharply vnto the king D. *Iohn*. In the end the daughter came to ſee the mother in the city of Badajos, which was the laſt time of their meeting.

The king of Algier with the helpe of an army at ſea of Turkes, of two and forty gallies, and many Moores at land, did much annoy the coaſt of Afrike, and in the end came to O- *Oran beſeeged and valiantly defended.*
ran thinking to take that towne from the Spaniards. Being incamped there the ſeuenth day of Auguſt, and viewed it where they might plant their battery, they beganne to caſt vp trenches about the wall, planting ſome peeces to batter the caſtle of Alchaizer, but it was very indiſcreetly done, for they lay open both to the artillery of the fort, and to that of the port Tremiſene, ſo as very many of them were ſlaine. Whereupon they were forced to
E make new rampars, and to find out a better ſeat for their lodgings, the which were on euery ſide diſcouered, their army being great, for beſides 12000. Turkes, there was an infinite number of Moores, both horſe and foote. They ſtaied there ſome daies before they reſolued to batter it, for that they could not find a conuenient place, but that they ſhould be wonderfully annoyed by the ordnance from the fort, which ſtanding high diſcouered the country round about, and ſhot into their trenches. In the meane time the beſeeged ſallied forth dayly to skirmiſh, and carried away the honour in a manner alwaies: and although there were not aboue two thouſand ſouldiers in the whole garriſon, which were diuided in Merſalcabir, the caſtle Alchaizer and the towne, yet the Earle of Alcaudette the Gouernor ſent them continually forth to annoy the enemy. But the Moores reſoluing in
F the end to batter it, and come to an aſſault, on the fifteenth day of Auguſt they beganne to batter the caſtle in two places, where they themſelues receiued the greateſt loſſe; for beſides many others, all their gunners were ſlaine, ſo vnskilfully they had planted their batterie, ſo as at night they withdrew it, knowing that all their endeauors were vaine. The *Turkes and Moores flie from Oran.*
next day the Turkes began to retire towards the ſea with diſhonor, making all poſſible ſpeed to get into their gallies, which lay at Sorzet, and the Moores on horſe-backe ſauing

1556 themſelues by flight. The reaſon why they receiued no more loſſe by the Spaniards G
in their retreat, was for that they heard thereof late, when as moſt of them had recouered
their gallies, or were fled away on horſe-backe.

There was ſome ſlaughter made of the Moores that were footmen, but the greateſt
part of them were pardoned, for that being of the country, the Spaniards would incenſe
them as little as might bee, notwithſtanding that they were treacherous and of no faith.
The Earle tooke ſome of their baggage which the enemies had left behind them for haſt,
with one peece of Ordnance, and if they had had three or foure hundred launces to follow
then ſodainely, few of the Turkes had eſcaped, for that they were all in a confuſion, and
moſt of them without armes. This ſodaine retreat of the Turkes at the enterpriſe of O- H
ran, eaſed the Catholike Kings army of much toyle, hauing beene many daies doubt-
full, whether they ſhould goe and releeue this towne, or carry the Spaniards into the
Realme of Naples, to the Duke of Alua.

1557 After all the broiles in Italy, betwixt the Pope and the King of Spaine, and the taking
and retaking of many townes, in the end both parties ſeemed to incline vnto a peace. The
Pope being a man of a ſmall diſcours and ignorant of his owne affaires, fearing to bee a-
bandoned by his foraine forces, which hee could not entertaine but with great char-
ges, which his meanes would hardly ſupply, ſuffring himſelfe to bee gouerned by
Pope yeelds to treat of a peace. men which deceiued him, and applied all to their owne priuate profits, with ſupreme au-
thority, men of no faith, and which had many practiſes; hee therefore yeelded to their I
perſuaſions which did mediat a peace betwixt him and the King of Spaine, amongſt
which were the Duke of Florence and the Venetians, deſirous to diuert this warre, which
could bring nothing but ſpoiles and ruines. The Duke of Guiſe lying neere to Rome
had newes of the battaile of Saint Quentin loſt by the French; wherefore hee perſua-
ded the Pope to take ſome courſe for himſelfe for that hee ſhould bee forced to returne
with his army or the greateſt part thereof into France, to ſuccour that Realme, which
he ſaw in apparent danger.

King of Spaine deſirous of peace with the Pope. King *Philip* did in like manner write vnto the Venetians, ſhewing how weake the Popes
hopes were growne, yet he offred all honourable conditions of peace to his Holineſſe, re-
ferring the compoſition to the Iudgement of their common-weale, if the Pope and Vi- K
ceroy ſhould diſagree: Hee did alſo ſend commaundement to the Duke of Alba, that
hee ſhould procure a peace with all conditions; and ſo as his friends and ſeruants might
not bee oppreſt, hee ſhould accept any accord from the Pope, with whom hee meant
not to bee any more in diſgrace, and that hee deſired no greater fruites of the victory
which hee had newly gotten, than to be at peace with his Holineſſe. The Duke was then
ready to inueſt Paliano, but the Cardinall of Santafiora continuing to negotiate this peace,
had often ſent *Alexander Placidi* his Secretary vnto the Viceroy, to let him vnderſtand,
that the Pope at the intreaty of many Cardinalls, had yeelded to a peace, and ſent him
theſe conditions.

That the Pope was well pleaſed to receiue *Philip* king of Spaine, and the Duke of Al- L
ba into fauour, pardoning all the iniuries they had done vnto the Church, ſo as the Duke
with all his troupes did within tenne daies depart out of the territories of the Church lea-
uing the townes and forts taken in that warre free vnto the Pope: and that hee in like man-
ner would cauſe the Duke of Guiſe to depart for France within tenne daies. The Duke
of Alba although he knew the king his Maſters mind, and were himſelfe deſirous of peace,
Duke of Aluas anſwer touching a peace. yet would he make vſe of the occaſion, and haue it with all aduantages: And therefore
hee anſwered the Cardinall, that thoſe propoſitions were to be propounded to men that
were vanquiſhed, and not to victors: But if the Pope would haue peace with the king
of Spaine, he ſhould accuſe his owne iniuſtice, for ſpoyling the *Colonnes*, and his error
hauing impriſoned ſo many of his Maieſties vaſſalls and ſeruants; making warre againſt M
him, and calling in the French to preiudice his ſtates, for the which hee ſhould craue par-
don: a propoſition which ſhewed rather the pride of that Nation, than the mind of the
Prince, to whom it was no ſmall blemiſh.

The *Caraffi* ſeeing the preſent danger, & doubting the vaſt deſignes of the Spaniard in this
great proſperity, according to the which they doe commonly guide their paſſions, either
inſolent

A inſolent or deiected, they perſuaded the Pope to retire into Fraunce, or to ſome other place of ſafetie, leauing garriſons of Frenchmen in all the forts belonging to the Church, to kindle ſuch a fire in Italie, as neither the Spaniards nor their partiſans ſhould euer bee able to quench. But the Pope who naturally did not loue ſtrangers, and had receiued ſmall ſeruice from the French, reiected it as a deſperate Councell, yet being reſolued rather to imbrace any partie than yeelding to the Viceroys propoſitions, to do a thing contrarie to his mind and dignity. 1557

At ſuch time as they treated of this accord, the Viceroy (the more to terrifie the Pope) began to aduance with his armie towards Rome, with an intent to giue an aſ-
B ſault to the Citie, and then retyre, yet it was giuen out that hee had a meaning to take it, but his deſigne was made fruſtrate by the vigilancie of the *Caraffi*. The duke hauing relation from *Palazzo* and *Moſchera* (two of his Captaines, whom he had ſent in the night to view the citie) that giuing a ſudden aſſault towards Port Maior, with the helpe of ſome peeces of artillerie, it might bee eaſily forced, hee remoued with the armie, and ſtaied at Colonna, where the ſixe and twentieth day of Auguſt at night, hee cauſed his armie to march in this order. The light Horſemen were in the foreward, hee made a great Squadron of all the Spaniſh foot, which ſerued for the battell, and the Dutch had the rereward, and on their flankes they had other troupes of horſe. *Duke of Alua goes to aſſaile Rome.*

And for that they were in ſome doubt of the French which were at Tiuoli, they ſent
C ſome troupes of horſe and foot on the right hand to ſtay the enemie, if they ſhould haue any notice of their enterpriſe. Hee then ſent aboue three hundred before with ladders, and other inſtruments to climbe vp, and to breake open gates if need were, that being brought by ſome neere way neere vnto Port Maior, they might giue a ſudden aſſault, and being ſeconded by ſome horſe which were neere them, they might enter the Citie, and keepe a port vntill that the reſt of the armie arriued.

The order was that they ſhould preſent themſelues vnto the wall about the ſeuenth houre of the night, but there falling a ſmall continuall raine, the waies were ſo broken, as being conſtrained to take a longer courſe, it was breake of day before they arriued, ſo as being diſcouered by ſome of the Countrimen, they aduertiſed them of
D the citie, which made them retyre ſpeedily, leauing their ladders againſt the walles, and many cloakes wherewith they had couered themſelues from the raine, yea, and ſome armes, but the ſlackeneſſe of the enemie in the purſute was the cauſe that there were not aboue fiue and twentie or thirtie taken.

Cardinall *Caraffy* had intelligence by the Secretary *Placidi*, when he came from the viceroy, that the armie began to riſe; whereupon hee doubted they would aſſaile Rome, or Tiuoli, and take the French vnprouided, ſo as hee gaue them warning ouer night, and hee himſelfe (not making it knowne to the Romanes, in whom he had no great confidence) wacht all night with the duke, and was in armes, doubling the ſentinels whereas they moſt doubted the enemie. *Aſcanio de la Corne*, who commanded the horſe that
E went to ſecond the 300 foot, ſeeing the lights about the wall, and the gards in a readines, held the enterpriſe to be diſcouered. And to confirme this opinion, foure light horſemen went forth earelie to get ſome bootie, they thinking by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the night, the number to be greater, and that they had laied an ambuſh, whereupon they retired.

The duke of Alba comming neere vnto Rome, and ſeeing his men had not done any thing, thought that they ſtood readie within to receiue them. And for that he vnderſtood by certaine ſpies, that *Stroſſy* had led foure hundred Horſe and twelue companies of Gaſcons the euening before out of Tiuoli, it confirmed him in his beleefe, that they were entred into Rome, hauing notice of the Spaniards comming, wher-
F upon he cauſed the armie to retire to Colonna from whence it came: without doubt if hee had but attempted it, Rome had beene taken and ſackt. The citie was ſo ill garded, as a leſſer armie would haue forced it, for that the Romanes were enemies to the *Caraffi*, for the wrongs they thought they had receiued of them, and of the ſouldiers that were within the citie; of the which the Gaſcons did not ſpare their goods *Rome in danger to be ſackt.*

1557 nor honors, & the Germans, enemies to the Pope, ſpoiled the church & altars. The Pope G
conſidering of theſe things, & lamenting the miſeries of the time, being forced to countenance and not to puniſh thoſe wretches, who called themſelues defenders in name, but in effect were deſtroiers of that miſerable citie, beganne to bee fully reſolued to peace; and the rather for that hee did viſibly ſee the danger wherein hee was, being certified that the Citizens of Rome had reſolued, that if the duke of Alba returned, they would ſend to capitulate with him, and open him the gates vpon honeſt conditions.

The duke of Guiſe, and *Peter Stroſſy* entred into Rome after this tumult, who talking with the Pope, aduiſed him to accommodate himſelfe vnto the time, as wiſemen doe commonly. They laied before him the vnfortunate loſſe of the French king, H
whereby there was no hope of any greater ſuccours, and that hee ſhould remaine without a Generall, for that hee was to returne ſpeedily into Fraunce, which would bee no ſmall preiudice vnto him, for that his Nephewes, who were to gouerne the warre, were of ſmall experience, neither would they beleeue them that vnderſtood more in that art, but intreated them ill, keeping backe their entertainment, ſo as ſeeing his holineſſe without money, and without Captaines, they did not thinke the warre could continue long: wherefore they counſelled him to make the ſpeedieſt and beſt accord he could with the king of Spaine. The Pope gaue an attentiue eare to the free ſpeeches of theſe Noblemen, and reſolued to make an end of the peoples miſeries, wherefore he called the embaſſadour of Venice vnto him, intreating him I
to goe and informe that Senate of the eſtate of things, and to exhort them in his name to make ſome good accord with the imperials.

After manie treaties, in the end a Peace was concluded by the Cardinals of Santafiori and Vitelli; and afterwards by *Caraffa* and the duke of Alba, who met together at Caui. And ſo by either of them hauing full authoritie from the Pope, and the king of Spaine, the following accord was publiſhed the 14 day of September.

Peace betwixt the Pope and the king of Spaine.

1 That the Pope ſhould receiue from the duke of Alba in the name of the king of Spaine, the ſubmiſſions that were neceſſarie to obtaine pardon from his Holineſſe, but afterwards the Catholike king ſhould ſend a man expreſly to that end. And ſo his Holineſſe ſhould receiue the king into fauour, as an obedient Sonne, admitting him to all K
the graces of the holy church, like vnto other Chriſtian Princes.

2 That the Pope ſhould renounce the league contracted with the French king, and remaine a Neuter, louing them both equally, as his Sonnes.

3 That his Maieſtie ſhould cauſe the townes and Cities demanteled, which had beene taken and held ſince the beginning of the warre, to bee reſtored, if they did in any ſort belong vnto the Apoſtolike ſea.

4 That the ordnance taken on either part in that warre ſhould be reſtored.

5 That his Holineſſe and his Maieſtie ſhould forgiue all offences that had beene done them, and remit all ſpirituall and temporall puniſhments, graunting them a gerall pardon, with reſtitution of their honors, dignities, faculties, and iuriſdictions, wher- L
of they had beene depriued, in regard of that warre. From the which were excepted *Marc Antonio Colonna*, *Aſcanio de la Corgna*, and other rebels, the Popes vaſſals, who ſhold remaine in the ſame cenſure and diſgrace, during the Popes pleaſure.

6 That Paliano ſhould bee deliuered into the hands of *Iohn Bernardino Carbone*, ſonne to the Popes Couſin, but faithfull to both parties, deliuering the fort as it was at that time: and that the ſaid *Carbone* ſhould ſweare fealtie to the pope and king of Spaine, and to obſerue the articles concluded betwixt the Cardinall *Caraffa*, and the duke of Alba, hee hauing the gard of Paliano, with eight hundred foot, which ſhould bee paied equally by the Pope and king.

Beſides theſe there were (as ſome write) other ſecret articles concluded betwixt *Caraffa* M
and the duke of Alba, concerning Paliano and that duke.

During theſe broiles betwixt the Pope and the king of Spaine, the warre was as violent vpon the frontiers of Artois & Picardie: where the duke of Sauoy being generall for the king of Spain, entred with an armie of 40000 men, he beſeeged S. Quentin, defeated and

S. Quentin taken.

A and tooke the Conſtable which came for to relieue it, and then tooke the towne: after which the duke of Guiſe was called home out of Italie. 1557

The duke of Sauoy hauing taken Caſtelet, and ſome other places in Picardie, diſſolued his armie: after which the French king hauing raiſed a great armie commaunded by the duke of Guiſe, hee tooke Calis, Guines, and all the land of Oye, from the Engliſh in the heart of winter. Soone after the Marſhall of Termes went with an armie into Flaunders, where hauing taken Bergues and Dunkerke, and beſeeged Grauelin, hee was charged by the earle of Egmont, his armie defeated, and hee himſelfe taken. After which rout the French king leuied new forces, and came B and camped about Amiens: And king *Philip* on the other ſide being nothing inferiour in forces, lodged neere vnto Dourlans. Whileſt that theſe two mightie armies which lay ſo neere one vnto another, held all the world in expectation of ſome bloudie battell, God inſpired the hearts of theſe two great Princes with a deſire to quench this warre without effuſion of bloud, and to preferre an accord before a doubtfull victorie: wherefore their Deputies being aſſembled in the Abbaie of Cercampe vpon the Marches of Artois, hauing propounded certaine Articles, a peace was more eaſily concluded at Caſtell Cambreſis, vpon the newes of the death of *Marie* queene of England. The conditions were:

Calis taken.

1558

Marſhall of Termes defeated.

Peace betwixt France and Spaine.

1 That king *Philip* being a widower, ſhould marrie *Elizabeth* eldeſt daughter to C king *Henrie*.

2 That *Marguerite* of Fraunce the kings Siſter, ſhould bee giuen in marriage to *Emanuel Philibert* duke of Sauoy, and that in conſideration thereof, all his country, townes, Caſtles and iuriſdictions of Sauoy and Piedmont ſhould bee reſtored, except the towns of Turin, Quier, Pignerol, Chiuas, and Villanoua of Aſt, which ſhould continue three yeares in the French kings hands, and that in the meane time the king of Spain ſhould retaine Aſt and Verceil.

3 That all the Townes and forts which had beene taken in theſe laſt warres, ſhould bee reſtored on either part, whether they did belong to thoſe kings, or to others which had followed their parties, and namely the Iſland of Corſica to the Ge- D nouois, Montferrat to the duke of Mantoua, and the towne and caſtle of Bouillon to the biſhop of Leege.

4 That they of the houſe of Longueuille ſhould bee put in poſſeſſion of the countie of Saint Paul, and the king D. *Philip* of the county of Charalois, the Soueraigntie reſerued: but there was no mention made of the Siennois.

5 That the two kings ſhould doe their beſt endeuours to entertaine the peace of Chriſtendome, and ſhould procure the continuance and ending of the generall councell begun at Trent.

This yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, queene *Leonora* ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, died in Februarie, at Talaberuela three leagues from Badajos E ſhee was firſt wife to *Emanuell* king of Portugall, and then to *Francis* the French king, ſhe was honoured with a royall funerall pompe: And in September following, the emperour *Charles* ended all his toiles, and paſt to a better life in the monaſterie of Saint Iuſt, where hee had remained two yeares: his bodie was left there to bee afterwards buried in the monaſterie of Saint Laurence, which king *Philip* his ſonne did ſince build with great charge and ſtate, in remembrance of the victorie gotten againſt the French, and the taking of the Conſtable on Saint *Laurence* day, the tenth of Auguſt. Hee left an immortall fame of his valour, more than any of his predeceſſors had done in many hundred yeares before, for that in him all thoſe vertues might be ſeene, which are to bee deſired in one, that ſhold gouerne his people iuſtly, and commaund armes and manage warre iuditiouſly: He was F verie religious and pitifull to the poore, wherein he ſeemed rather prodigal than liberall: In his eating, drinking & apparel he was very temperate & modeſt, ſo as he might wel be a preſident to any priuat mã, as wel as to great princes, in the practiſe of that vertue: He had a care of juſtice, to haue it duly adminiſtred, although the continual wars wherwith he was afflicted made him to endure many defects: He not only ſpake the language of euery nati-

Death of Queen Leonora.

21

Death of the Emperour Charles the fift.

Praiſes of the Emperour Charles.

1558 on where hee commaunded in Europe, but alſo thoſe that were not vnder his gouernment, for hee ſpake the French and Sclauon tongues readily. In other things hee was not learned, but eloquent, ſhewing great grauitie in his ſpeech. It ſeemed that his good fortune did ſtrue with vertue to fauour him: Hee was prompt in execution, and conſtant againſt any apparent daunger, little eſteeming death. Hee was ſo accuſtomed to the toyles of warre, that vntill hee grew aged, it ſeemed no trouble vnto him. Hee liued eight and fiftie yeares ſixe moneths and ſixe and twentie daies, his funerals were celebrated with great pompe throughout all the cities of his realme, yea, throughout Chriſtendome, euerie one ſeeming both in publike in and in priuate, to be partakers of this generall loſſe.

In December after, king *Philip* his Sonne cauſed his funerall to bee made at Bruſſells with great ſtate and pompe, where all his moſt glorious enterpriſes were repreſented. Spaine this yeare beſides the loſſe of two ſuch great Princes, was not a little annoyed by the Turkes army, which going from Prouence, landed ſome men in the Iſland of Minorca, beyond the port of Maone, and there, after ſome difficultie and loſſe, they tooke Cittadella, where there were not aboue fiue hundred men to defend it, of whome there were aboue foure hundred ſlaine, the Turkes diſdaining that they were forced to batter it, and to giue ſome aſſaults before they could take it. And ſo valour which is wont to bee admired and reſpected of the enemie, did now cauſe a contrarie effect in the hearts of theſe barbarous and cruell men, and hauing ſpoyled the towne and the whole iſland, they returned with many priſoners into Prouence.

Armie of Turks in Minorca.

Death of D. Iohn the third king of Portugal.

22 A little before the emperours death, D. *Iohn* the third of that name king of Portugall, died at Lisbone, to the great griefe of his ſubiects, by reaſon of the infancie wherein hee left D. *Sebaſtian*, the heire of the Crowne. Hee was a ſtately and beautifull Prince, and of hautie enterpriſe, hee continued the Nauigation of the Indes, with great happineſſe and reputation, and made the name of Chriſt to bee knowne to many barbarous nations. Hee made many leagues with the Potentates of the Eaſt and South to abate the Turkes power, yea with *Tamas* king of Perſia, to whome hee gaue ſuccours of men, artillerie, and all other munition for warre, teaching him and his people to warre after the diſcipline vſed in Europe, that they might annoy the Turks: yet he was blamed, that to ſpare money, he had cauſed many forts in Afrike to be raſed which the kings his predeceſſors had won with great charge and loſſe of men. Notwithſtanding, he left manie monuments and marks of his pietie, according to thoſe times: for in fauor of him, the Pope made Miranda Portalegra & Leira, biſhopricks, and the citie of Ebora, an archbiſhprick; he reformed many Abbaies, taking away the ſuperfluous reuenues of the rich, and giuing them to the poore: Hee made an vniuerſity at Coimbra, increaſed the citie of Lisbone much, the which is the greateſt and beſt peopled of all Spaine, and by the perſuaſion of the Clergie receiued the Inquiſition into Portugal, being vntill that time reiected by his Predeceſſors, by reaſon of the abuſe: Hee was a verie great fauourer of the Ieſuites: and dyed in Iune, in the Palace of Riuiere, in the fiue and fiftieth yeare of his age: hee was interred at Belem.

1559 *Caſtille.*

King *Philip* being at Gand, hee ſent *William* of Naſſau Prince of Orange, and D. *Fernando Aluares* of Toledo, duke of Alba (who had left Italie and his charge to the duke of Seſſe being ſent in his place) into Fraunce, to ſweare and confirme the articles of the peace in his name: and the duke of Alba had an eſpeciall commiſſion, to make the matrimoniall promiſe of the king of Spaine to *Elizabeth* of Fraunce, according to the accord, and to ſolemnize this act, as it is vſuall for great Princes that are abſent. This was celebrated at Paris in Iulie one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, but the feaſts and ioy of this marriage prooued mornefull for that k. *Henry* was hurt with the ſplinter of a lance, and died, as you may read at large in the Hiſtorie of France. Before his death he wold haue the mariage of his Siſter *Marguerit* with the duke of Sauoy conſummated, which was a great content to that poore prince diſpoſſeſt of his ſtate, who feared much that the kings death which was vndoubtfull

Marriage of king Philip with Elizabeth of France.

A ſull, would be a great croſſe vnto him. King *Philip* (after the conſummation of his mari- 1559
age, by the duke of Alba) ſent *Ruy Gomez de Sylua* vnto his queene, with a rich diamond, valued by ſome at eightie thouſand crownes, by others, at an hundred and fiftie thouſand, with order, that ſhe ſhould prepare her ſelfe to goe into Spaine the next yeare. And hee finding himſelfe freed from troubles, and hauing diſpoſed of the affaires of the Netherlands, appointed gouernours for euerie prouince, and ouer them *Marguerite* of Auſtria, his ſiſter, ducheſſe of Parma, he tooke ſhipping at Fleſſingue, in Sep- *King Philip returns into Spain*
tember, and arriued at Laredo in Biſcaie, verie happily: for he was no ſooner landed, but
there did riſe ſo violent a ſtorme, and ſuch contrarie winds to that nauigation, as, had hee
B beene at ſea, he had beene in verie great danger, or, had he beene in Flanders, he could not haue parted in ſix monethes. They perſuaded him, that his preſence in Spaine was verie neceſſarie, for that by their acquaintance with the Engliſh and Germans, many of the Court, and other Spaniards which had followed the warres, ſeaſoned with *Luthers* opinions, had ſpred them there: to root out the which the Iudges of the Inquiſition ſayd, that they were too weake, the king being abſent.

23 Being arriued, it was his chiefe care to haue a ſtrict ſearch made for them that *Perſecutions in Spaine for religion.*
had any ill conceit of the Romiſh religion, and to haue them rigorouſly puniſhed: ſo
as that yeare there were two hideous ſpectacles preſented, one at Vailledolit, and ano-
ther at Seuile, of people of diuers conditions, ſexes, and ages, condemned to bee
C burnt aliue; among which there were ſome of noble families. Some ſayed, it was a ſecret plot betwixt the two kings of France and Spaine, at the concluſion of the peace; for hee of France had begun the like perſecutions within his owne realme, and with his owne officers firſt. The Archbiſhop of Toledo, the chiefe Prelate in Spaine, was much ſuſpected to decline from the Romiſh Church, wherefore he was put in priſon, and his rents ſequeſtred.

This yeare the Roman Sea was voyd, by the death of Pope *Paul* the fourth, being *Death of Pope Paul the fourth*
foureſcore and three yeares old; before his death being duely informed of the villanies
of cardinall *Caraffa* and his brethren, being his nephewes, hee baniſhed them out of
Rome, and depriued them of all their dignities and offices. The cardinall loſt his place
D of Legat at Bolonia, the duke of Paliano the commaund of the armes and of the gallies of the Church, and the marqueſſe of Montabello, the gard which hee had of the Popes perſon, and of the palace. This Pope was ſucceeded by *Iohn Ange de Medici*, a Milanois, and was called *Pius* the fourth: at his firſt comming to the Sea he cauſed cardinall *Caraffa* to be put in priſon, and ſtrangled there, and the duke of Paliano, the earle of Alife, and other of his predeceſſors kinſmen, to be beheaded, being conuicted of many crimes. He did intimate the Councell of Trent, which had beene left off ſince the yeare 1552, but it began not vntill the yeare 1562.

During the warres of Europe, Aſia and Africke had not beene at peace; for that famous pyrat *Dragut* hauing gotten the iſland of Gerbe from *Solyman* that was lord there-
E of, whom he cauſed to be hanged at Tripoli, giuing the place to another lord, for a tribute of ſix thouſand crownes, and yet ſoone after he depriued him: but thoſe people, not able to endure his tyrannie, tooke armes againſt him, and ſought to make a new lord. Tripoli had alſo beene taken eight yeares before by *Dragut*, from the knights of Saint *Iohn*, who to reuenge that diſgrace, ſought to recouer it this yeare. The people of Spaine deſired nothing more, than to keepe vnder the Moores and pyrats of Africke, who being neere vnto them, may eaſily trouble their nauigation, and annoy the Southerne coaſts: Wherefore it was not difficult for *Iohn Valette*, a French man, great Maſter of Malta, to perſuade the Catholike king, and the Councell of Spaine, to ſend an armie to the conqueſt of Tripoli, from whence *Dragut* and other pyrats did dayly annoy the
F Spaniards. *Dragut* was much hated, not onely of the Chriſtians, but alſo of the Moores, ouer whom hee vſed moſt cruell tyrannie, ſeeking by treacherie, or by open force, to kill the chiefe Commaunders, and to make himſelfe lord of their States: Among which the king of Caruano was the chiefe, from whom hee had taken a great part of his eſtate: and for that he was of great force, hee was reuerenced among his peo-

ple,

1559 ple, almoſt like a Pope among the Chriſtians; wherefore it ſeemed hee might helpe much in this enterpriſe, againſt this famous pyrat, if (as hee had made offer) he would ſhew himſelfe fauourable. *Valette* being incouraged by his offers, hee began to treat with the duke of Medina Celi, then Viceroy of Sicile, and afterwards in the Court of Spaine, by the Commaunder *Guimarano*, his embaſſadour. At the firſt there was ſome difficultie, the king being in warre againſt France, but a peace concluded, hee reſolued to attempt the enterpriſe of Tripoli, ſending *Guimarano* with his reſolution, and letters of Commiſſion to them that ſhould haue the execution thereof. Hee carried letters to prince *Doria*, That hee ſhould with all ſpeed make readie the armie, being now mid Iune; who being verie old, and vnable to beare armes, gaue the charge thereof to *Iohn Andrew Doria*, being his lieutenant, writing vnto him into Sicile. The duke of Seſſa had commiſſion in the State of Milan, to make readie two thouſand Spaniards for that ſeruice: and *Aluaro de Sandy* to go thither in perſon with the footmen that were vnder his charge within the realme, and with the two thouſand Spaniards. The Viceroy of Naples had order to ſend two thouſand Spaniards of the regiments of that realme; and the Viceroy of Sicile had the title of Generall in this action.

Tripoli beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Guimarano hauing performed all theſe Commiſſions, in the end hee came to Meſsina, the ſeuenteenth day of Iulie. Euerie man was carefull to execute his Commiſſion, and the great Maſter, to whom the king had giuen the chiefe care to manage this enterpriſe with diſcretion, and to aſsiſt it both with his counſell and force, laboured by all meanes to get the armie forth, that they might performe ſome worthie action before Autumne: But they had ſo many croſſes, as the nauie could not poſsibly get out of the port of Sarragoſſe in Sicile, before the firſt day of December. There were leuied for this enterpriſe by *Sandy* in the State of Milan, beſides thoſe men aboue mentioned, two thouſand fiue hundred Italians, all old ſouldiers, and three Companies of Germans, which had remained there ſince the laſt warre, commaunded by *Stephen Leoparti:* and ſo all theſe ſouldiers were ſent to Genoua to imbarke, where they had many difficulties, and the Spaniards mutined, ſo as *Sandy* and *Lorenzo Figueroa* had ſome difficultie to pacifie them with foure payes: then putting them into certaine ſhips, the fift of October they went to Meſsina.

Of the two thouſand Spaniards out of the realme of Naples, the Viceroy would giue but fiue hundred, hee fearing to leaue that coaſt without a good gard, for that the Turkes armie, being foureſcore ſayles, was then at Velona, breeding a doubt in the Chriſtians, where this tempeſt would fall: But in effect it was by *Solyman* to keepe our men from the enterpriſe of Barbarie; for that the great Maſter hauing ſome monethes before ſent two foiſts into Africke, to diſcouer, one of them was taken by *Dragut*, whereby he vnderſtood the Catholike kings preparations, and his deſignes: ſo as hauing but fiue hundred men in Tripoli, hee ſuddenly hyred to the number of two thouſand Turkes and Moores; writing thereof to Conſtantinople, whereupon hee reſolued to ſend forth this fleet. Moreouer, there were leuied within the realme twelue Companies of Italians. In Sicile alſo there were twelue Companies, among the which, as in thoſe of Naples, there were many baniſhed men, who were fierce and warlike, but verie mutinous.

All theſe men, being aboue thirteene thouſand, were commaunded by valiant captaines: *Iohn Andrew Gonzago*, ſonne to *Fernando*, was Colonell of the Italian foot leuied in the State of Milan, and Marſhall of the campe to all the Italians that went in that action: *Luigi Oſorio* was maſter of the campe to the Spaniards of Sicile: *Bernard Aldana* was maſter of the ordnance, whereof they carried great ſtore, both for field and batterie: *Peter Velaſques* was Commiſſarie generall of the armie, and the Commaunder *Charles Ieſiers*, was Colonell of fiue hundred harquebuſiers, ſent by the great Maſter, beſide foure hundred valiant knights in the gallies, of that Order. There were in Sicile of gallies, three from the Church, whereof the charge was giuen by the Colledge of cardinals (the Sea being voyd) vnto *Flaminio* of Anguillara, thirteene of *Iohn Andrew Dorias*, payed by the king, ſeuen of the realme of Naples, gouerned

Number of Chriſtian Armie going to Tripoli.

A ned by *Sancio Lieua*, tenne of Sicile, commaunded by *Berlinghery Requeſens*, foure from the duke of Florence, vnder *Nicholas Gentile*, fiue of the Order of Malta, and one galliot, fiue of *Anthonie Dorias*, commaunded by his ſonne *Scipione*, two of *Bandinello Saule*. To theſe were added two galliots of the duke of Medina Celi, the Generall, one of *Lewis Oſorioes*, and one of *Frederic Staues*: ſo as they were in all foure and fiftie, beſides eight and twentie great ſhips, of the which *Iohn Andrew Gonzaga* was Generall; two galleons, one of Malta, the other of Cicala, with fiue and thirtie brigantines and fregates: ſo as they reckoned in all an hundred and nineteene veſſels. They carried great ſtore of munition for the warre, and victuals to feed 30000 men foure monethes. 1559

B There was ſome difficultie to imbarke the Spaniards of Sicile, mutined, for that there were many monethes pay due vnto them; but *Fernando de Sylua*, marqueſſe of Fauara, being left lieutenant by the duke, ſatisfied them with two monethes pay. Going from Meſſina to Sarragoſſe, in October, they ſtayed there many daies, by reaſon of the contrarie winds. Their long ſtay there did much prejudice them, for it not onely bred a ſickneſſe among them, whereof there died aboue two thouſand, but alſo many fled away, eſpecially of the Sicilians. The firſt of December the gallies parted from Sarragoſſe, with great hope of a proſperous voyage, the ſhips ſayling towards Cap paſſe ro, being towards night, with an intent to goe to Secci di Palo; who hauing left the ſhips behind, and a contrarie wind blowing in the morning, they were forced to returne againe into

C Sarragoſſe. The gallies fearing if the contrarie windes ſhould grow great, it would breed them great danger in this long voyage, being much before the ſhips, they reſolued to get to Malta. Here the gallies, with the Generall in them, and other men of account, were honourably entertained by the great Maſter, for ſome dayes, the winds being ſtill contrarie to their intended voyage. It was then reſolued, that two and twentie gallies ſhould returne into Sicile, to bring the ſhips to Malta; moſt of which arriued after ſome difficultie: Fiue of them ſtayed vntill the firſt of Ianuarie, and three vnto the twelfth, among which was the galleon of Cicala, which running to Cap paſſero, was there ſpoyled by the Sicilian ſouldiers that were in her, who killing their commaunders, fled away. The like happened vnto a ſhip which carried Sicilians alſo, of the which *Vincentio Caſtag-*

D *nuola* was captaine, who was not ſlaine by them, but verie cruelly intreated. Some dayes before there arriued ſeuen Companies of Spaniards, ſent in three ſhips by the Viceroy of Naples, to fill vp his number of two thouſand, according to the kings commaundement. There came in like manner a galleon with many refreſhings from Sicile, and great ſtore of munition.

They were haunted ſtill with that infectious ſickneſſe in Malta, whereof many dyed, giuing in the beginning apparent ſignes of the vnfortunate ſucceſſe of this armie. Thus the ſecret iudgements of God doe often make mens counſels and reſolutions vaine, the which in regard of the cauſe are held good, but are not approued by his diuine prouidence, it may be to confound the wiſedome of men, but without doubt for our offences. 1560 *Queene of Spaine conducted into Spaine*

E In the yere 1560 *Iſabella*, or *Elizabeth* queene of Spaine, was conducted into Spaine, to the king D. *Philip* her husband, being accompanied by *Anthonie* of Bourbon, king of Nauarre, with other lords and ladies: ſhe was receiued at Ronceuaux by the cardinal D. *Francis* of Mendoſa, biſhop of Burgos, D. *Inigo Lopez* of Mendoſa, duke of the Infantazgo, and many others, who conducted her to Guadalajara, where the mariage was celebrated. At that time D. *Gabriel de la Cueua* was Viceroy of Nauarre, in the place of D. *Bertrand* his father, deceaſed, who gaue the new queene a ſtately reception paſſing by Pampelone. The ſame yere the prince D. *Charles*, ſonne to king *Philip*, was ſworne, and acknowledged to be true ſucceſſor in the realmes of Caſtille, Nauarre, Arragon, &c. after the accuſtomed maner of Spaine.

F But to the returne to the warre of Barbarie. The Catholike kings nauie ſtayed many dayes at Malta, by reaſon of the contrarie windes; ſo as in the beginning of the yeare the Generall (although he were perſuaded by the great Maſter to ſtay vntill the weather were better ſetled) commaunded the armie to imbarke, and about the middeſt of Februarie he came to the iſland of Gerbe; where hauing diſcouered two ſhips of

Alexandria,

1560 Alexandria, laden with marchandiſe, lying within the chanell, they tooke and ſpoyled them: but they vſed no diligence to take two veſſels that went with oares, which lay more within, the which afterwards were no ſmall hurt vnto them. *Dragut* was there with ſeuen hundred Turkes and Moores, on horſebacke, and three thouſand foot, being then in quarell with the Xec, or lord of the iſland, who alſo had good numbers of Arabians and Moores, and expecting aid from the Chriſtians, was continually in armes againſt his enemies. G

Chriſtians army at Gerbe. *Dragut* held that part of the iſland which was towards the chanell, hauing kept thoſe two veſſels readie to ſend vnto Conſtantinople, or to flie away, if neceſſitie forced him, hauing no hope to eſcape on the other ſide, whereas the Xec lay with his forces, eſpecially if all the Chriſtians armie were landed, whereof a part went to land, to fetch freſh water, being led by *Aluaro de Sandy*; where skirmiſhing nine houres together, during their watering, they receiued no great loſſe, and ſlue many enemies: In the retreat *Aluaro* was ſhot in the flanke, yet could they not poſſibly take any one priſoner, to be informed of the ſtate of things: which was afterwards thought to haue ſtayed the victorie, and to haue ruined their enterpriſe, when as, by the taking of the two galliots, *Dragut* could not poſſibly haue eſcaped, after which the taking of Tripoli had beene eaſie, neither ſhould hee haue had meanes to ſend to Conſtantinople, to aduertiſe them of the ſtate of things in Barbarie, and to procure an armie. It was knowne afterwards, that there was great ſtore of money and jewels, which *Dragut* ſent by *Vluccialy* the pyrat, vnto the Baſſa of the port, to procure ſuccours from the great Turke: ſo as if they had taken and burnt them, they had obtained a happie victorie; the which was not done, partly through the negligence of them that commaunded, and partly by the great diligence of the enemie, who would not haue the Chriſtians know what paſt in the iſland, for that there was not any creature liuing found in the two ſhips, all being fled to land. In the morning before day the Chriſtians parted with their armie, neither could they put any to land in a fregate, to diſcouer the ſtate of the iſland, the Moores were ſo carefull to defend the ſhore. H

Occaſion of a victorie loſt by the Chriſtians. I

Two dayes after there came eight gallies to Gerbe, the which had ſtayed at Malta for ſome prouiſion, where landing vnaduiſedly to water, they were charged by the Turkes, who ſlue an hundred and fiftie good ſouldiers, and tooke ſome priſoners, among which was captaine *Pedro Vermudez*: and of the chiefe of them that were ſlaine, were foure Spaniards, *Adrian Garzia*, *Alphonſo de Guzman*, *Pedro Vianega del Rio*, and *Franciſco Mercato*: which diſorder did much trouble the Generall, being now at Secco di Palo with the whole armie; and they were all much diſcontented, to heare afterwards, that a fregate of the knights of Malta, paſſing neere vnto Gerbe, had beene told by two Renegadoes, that *Dragut* was there, and that *Vluccialy* was gone with two galliots to Conſtantinople: And, which was worſe, the armie was forced to ſtay ſome dayes at Secco di Palo, by reaſon of contrarie windes, being an hundred and fiftie miles from Tripoli, where drinking freſh water digged in thoſe ſands, but of a peſtiferous qualitie, it brought a peſtilent infirmitie into the armie, whereof many dyed. In the end a South-eaſt wind ariſing, it did hinder their courſe to Tripoli, and ſtaying there infinit numbers dyed, through the corruption of the ayre and water, this peſtilent diſeaſe increaſing daily, hauing waſted a great part of their munition, and broken the Admirals ſhip by the mariners negligence, hauing alſo loſt two ſmaller ſhips laden with victuals, at Cherchenny, they had not many men in the armie for this enterpriſe, expecting footmen from Naples and Sicile, and the Galeon of Cicala, two galliots, and ſome ſhips, which had beene kept backe by contrarie windes. Wherefore they reſolued to returne, and to land at Gerbe, where they arriued the two and twentieth day of March, and on the ſeuen and twentieth *Aluaro de Sandy*, Marſhall generall of the campe, landed with their men, and ſome field peeces, to lodge in good order, neere vnto certaine wells of freſh water, two miles from the caſtle, towards the Weſt. At their landing *Aluaros* nephew died of a peſtilent feuer, carrying his name; a young man of great hope: he was much lamented by him, and the whole armie. K

Chriſtians ſlain by the Turkes in watering.

L

M

Chriſtians army land at Gerbe.

Ha-

A Hauing at night made three squadrons of all his men they lodged neere. *Sandy* not thinking it fit to goe vnto the wells, for that hee found by many coniectures that the Moores had receiued them as enemies, wherefore it would bee dangerous, if lodging late, they should bee charged by the enemy. At night the Xec sent two men with a fayned Embassage, intreating the Generall to goe to Tripoli, for that hee had beene receiued quietly by his subiects, who would take it ill if the Christians should remaine in that Iland; but in effect they came to discouer the campe. They were entertained vntill the morning, and then an answere was giuen them, that they had landed at Gerbe finding the winds contrary to goe to Tripoly, but yet they had done it willingly to put the B Xec in possession of the Island, before they went to Tripoly, which they intended afterwards. They therefore desired to see him well setled, to buy refreshings with their money, take water, and as soone as the windes were faire, goe for Tripoly. In the morning hauing put all their men in battaile, they marched towards the wells, beeing sixe miles off, the souldiers hauing indured much that night for want of water, hauing not brought any out of the gallies, so as they marched with great thirst, *Sandy* beeing carefull least at their arriuall, disordering themselues hauing a great desire to drinke they should bee charged by the Moores, and receiue some great losse. They marched in three squadrons; in the foreward went the great Commander, with the knights and souldiers of Malta, and with the Germanes and French, which were not in all aboue two C thousand. 1560

Andrew Gonzaga commanded the battaile, consisting of three thousand Italians, and in the rere-ward were three thousand and fiue hundred Spaniards: And of either side they were couered with a wing of three hundred shot, leauing in the midest a conuenient space for the baggage. But if they came to a battaile, one of these wings was to ioyne with the foreward, and the other with the battaile; hauing marched a while, they were staied at a certaine bogge, by a field peece: *Sandy* with the shot which were towards the shore, aduanced to recouer the wells, which hee found had beene spoiled by the Moores, and filled with stones and sand, so as hee was forced to send for Pioners with tooles to clense them: neither did the Moores yet shew themselues, beeing an apparent signe D that they had an intent to charge them in their lodging, so as they marched in good order, forbidding any man to disband vpon paine of death. Then they met with foure Moores of Authority sent from the Xec, with a designe to view the army, but with an excuse of a friuolous Embassage, where they were entertained with good words, whilest that the army aduanced toward the wells, and then were dismist with a generous answere from the Generall: That seeing the Xec could not come vnto him, beeing staied by his people, that hee should rest satisfied, and that hee would soone bee with him in his castle, reiecting their proposition, that the Duke should aduance with foure horses onely, as the Xec had done, that they might parle together. Yet for all this the Moores, who lay two miles off, couered with a little hill, did not moue, seeing the order of the E Christians army to bee verie firme, wherefore they did forbeare vntill they lodged, imagining that hauing endured much thirst that day and the night before, they would in their lodging fall into a confusion with a desire of drinke. Which did not follow by *Aluaro de Sandys* great care who caused them still to keepe their rankes: Notwithstanding that Colonel *Spinola* hauing too eagrely aduanced to entertaine a great skirmish, was in great daunger with some Harguebuziers that were with him. But the Marshall foreseeing this danger, had sent captaine *George Ruis* with two hundred Harguebuziers of Sicile behind certaine walles to fauour their retreat. The Moores attempted also to breake the rankes of the Christians in other places, with great courage and readinesse, but with little losse that day, onely captaine *Ruis* being hurt in the shoulder with a F launce, died within few daies after.

Order of the Christians army at Gerbe.

The skirmish ended two houres before night, and the Christians lodged, hauing caused the wells to be clensed during the skirmish.

The day following they fortified their lodging against the enemie, and the gallies were sent for to furnish themselues with water; but three daies after they went forth in battaile, to goe and fight with the enemie, which did not succeed, for the Moores with their

Xec,

1560 Xec, did often intreat the Generall to receiue them for vanquiſhed, offering to bee ſubiects to the King of Spaine. Hauing firſt taken hoſtages, *Michel* of Baraona a Colonel was ſent with two companies of Spaniards to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and the next day the Generall entred, with the chiefe of the army, the Moores ſhewing themſelues very obſequious, bringing aboundance of victuals vnto the campe. The Arabians Mahamidi were alſo paied with their Xec, who had faithfully kept the paſſage of the bridge, as they had beene appointed at Secco di Palo. They afterwards held a Councell, how they might keepe that Iſland at the kings deuotion, the which they held to bee verie neceſſarie, for by that meanes they ſhould take a retreat from the Turkes and Moores which did robbe vpon thoſe ſeas, and withall they ſhould ſecure Sicile, Sardinia, Malta and other places, and to that end they ſhould build a fort, making vſe of the caſtle to keepe their victualls and munition, and for ſome wells: beſides hauing their materialls neere, with other commodities for the ſpeedy doing it. G H

Fort built in the Iſland of Gerbe.

On the ſeuenteenth of March the army began to lodge about the caſtle, where they had appointed to build a fort, *Antonio Conte* being Ingener, aſſiſted by *Bernardo Aldano* and *Sanchio de Lieua*, within two daies after the worke beganne, it being diuided amongſt the Nations after this manner. Being to make foure Bulwarkes, the charge of one was giuen to *Andrew Gonzaga*, and to the Italians, an other to the great Commander, and to them of that order, the third to *Andrew Doria*, and them of the gallies, the Generall reſeruing the fourth for himſelfe, ſo as within few daies it was put in defence. But neither the ayre nor the water were healthfull for them that were not accuſtomed vnto it, ſo as many died daily, and more fell ſicke, which was a lamentable ſpectacle. There was an hoſpitall prouided, and the biſhop of Majorca who was alſo gouernour, did what hee could to preſerue the ſouldiers. They had newes that they prepared an army at Conſtantinople; and the great Maſter of Malta doubting ſome danger called home the great Commander with his Gallies and men, the which parted from Gerbe the eight of Aprill, leauing the charge of fyniſhing that Bulwarke to *Pedro Vrrea*, for that they made great haſt to leaue it defenſible, the Duke reſoluing to imbarke, being verie carefull to furniſh it, although that all things did not ſucceed according to his deſire. The king of Caruano came to viſit him, and there paſt great kindneſſe betwixt them, but the Xec would by no meanes meet him, yet hee came once halfe a mile out of the caſtle to treat with him, beeing accompanied with a great number of Moores. The Generall was earneſt to haue ſtore of victualls brought from the ſhips vnto the campe, but they that were intereſſed ſeemed to haue ſmall care of the publike good. There were two thouſand foot Italians, Spaniards and Dutch appointed for the gard of this fort, with fifty horſe vnder the Colonel *Michel* of Baraona. There was order giuen to haue the Xec take the oth, who ſhould aduance the armes of Spaine. And then hee reſolued to part with the army in the beginning of May, but hee was ſtaied vpon ſome controuerſie growne betwixt the Chriſtians and the Moores, vpon a light occaſion; but it was wiſely pacified, and ſome that had moſt offended puniſhed. I K L

Xec ſwears obedience and tribute to the King of Spaine.

The fame of the army increaſing, and the ſolemnitie performed the fifth of May, a mile from the campe, in the preſence of *Monreal* the Generals Secretary, and ſome of his gentlemen, the Xec did ſweare vpon the Alcaron to bee faithfull to the king of Spaine, to pay euery yeere ſixe thouſand crownes, foure Eſtriges, foure Lanerets, foure Falcons, and one Camell, and in like manner the Moores, that were with him did ſweare vaſſalage and fealtie vnto him. Then order was giuen to imbarke the army, wherein they were verie ſlacke and negligent, vntill that there came a meſſage from the Great Maſter to the Generall, aſſuring him that the Turkes gallies being foure ſcore and fiue had parted from Gozo on the eight day of that month at night, with an intent as hee did coniecture to releeue Tripoly, and then to ſeeke out the Chriſtians army, hearing that it was vnfurniſhed of ſouldiars, and out of order. Then euery man deſired to bee at ſea, ſo as the confuſion was great, and their opinion diuers, but moſt concurred to go preſently to ſea. M

The Generall went to *Iohn Andrew Doria* being not well recouered of a great Infirmitie, to reſolue of all things, leauing a charge with *Alnaro* to haue his men readie, ſo as returning at night he might not ſtay; *Doria* being reſolued to put to ſea, and hauing giuen order

A order to the ſhips to follow him, he left a gallie called the Conteſſe, for the duke to im- 1560
barke in, being light, and well furniſhed with ſlaues, that all things being ordered, hee might goe and joyne with the armie. The Generall would not omit any duetie that night, being before the twelfth day, but hauing giuen good inſtructions to the gouernour of the fort, he ſpake with great efficacie to the ſouldiers which remained, aſſuring them, That the armie at ſea being in that accident in greater daunger than the fort, it was fit he ſhould be where the perill was moſt apparent, entertaining them after this manner vntill the day began to breake, when as he with *Sandy* came vnto the fregare which ſhould carrie them to the gallie that was gouerned by the Commaunder *Guimarano*. But hee made
B a ſigne vnto him with his hand, that hee ſhould retire to land, for that the Turkes armie began to appeare, with an intent to charge the Chriſtians. After *Dorias* reſolutions to get out of thoſe ſhelues, there aroſe a contrarie wind, which did hinder him: ſo as the Turkes Generall hauing caſt anker but ſixteene miles from Gerbe, the night before, hauing ſent *Cara Muſtafa* gouernour of Mitelen and *Vluccialy* to diſcouer, he vnderſtood in what confuſion the Chriſtians were, being readie to depart, hee then reſolued to ſet vpon them at the breake of day: with which reſolution hee came on with a proſperous wind, when as *Scipion* going forth with a ſquadron of gallies for the gard, hee was ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the Turkes, as hee had no time to aduertiſe the armie: ſo as euerie man being amazed by this ſudden accident, they had no other care
C but how to flie, but it was done with that confuſion which a ſudden feare of an inuitable daunger doth vſually bring. *Iohn Andrew Doria* diſtruſting his Admirall gallie, for that it was old and heauie, hee reſolued to draw neere to land, being forced to 24
recouer the fort in a barke, being a mile off: the gallie was preſently abandoned, and *Armie of Chriſtians miſerably loſt at Gerbe.*
left in the ſlaues hands, who being at libertie, carried it to the enemie. It was a miſerable ſpectacle to ſee that mightie armie ſcattered in an inſtant, ſome one way ſome another. There were ſeuen gallies which fought to ſaue themſelues in the chanell of Gerbe, where moſt of the men leaping into the water, although they were farre from land, ſought to ſaue their liues by ſwimming, ſo as all the ſhore was full of men.

D The Marſhall *Sandy* ranne thither with a great troupe of ſhot and pikes, to defend them that came to land, for that the Moores, being treacherous and inconſtant, had preſently changed their minds, and ſlue and ſpoyled as many as came vnto their hands. The Generall to auoyd this other miſchiefe, ſent word vnto the Xec, by the king of Caruano, and the Infant of Tunis, That hee ſhould forbid his Moores to annoy the Chriſtians, putting him in mind of his faith formerly giuen. But they prepared to flie alſo, fearing the Turkes, pretending, that they went to gather together ſome Arabians Mahamidy, with the which they would returne, and fauour the Chriſtians; wiſhing them not to truſt the Moores of the iſland, who were not well affected to them. That morning there were nineteene gallies fell into the enemies hands, with the Admi-
E rall, the reſt ſaued themſelues in diuers places, by flight, the which was attributed to the courage and good counſell of the Commaunder *Anthonie Maldonato*. The great Maſter had called home his gallies to Malta, as hath beene ſayed, to prouide for the daungers of that iſland; but afterwards hee ſent backe three, vnder the commaund of *Maldonato*, who in this confuſion going to ſea, was followed by many gallies, relying vpon the skill of this knight, the which ſucceeded happily. The duke and *Sandy* ſtayed vpon the ſhore, to defend thoſe poore wretches which came from the gallies, from the Moores, giuing them clothes and armes, which were prepared for them that ſhould defend the fort.

The ſame day they held a Councell vnder a tent, where were the Generals *Iohn An-*
F *drew Doria*, D. *Aluaro de Sandy*, and the Commaunder *Guimerano*. *Doria* ſaid, That it was neceſſarie for them to depart ſpeedily, whileſt that the enemie was buſie in giuing chaſe to the gallies, which he meant to doe in a fregate, carrying them to Malta, or into Sicile, to gather together the diſperſed gallies, and to arme others, to make head againſt the Turkes armie, if hee ſhould ſeeke to annoy any place of the kings. *Sandy* did counſell

1560 the duke to goe to attend his chiefe charge of Sicile, the which was now in great daun- G
ger, and if he did it not he ſhould faile much of his duetie: but for his part, he would
remaine in Gerbe, being thereunto bound both by the duetie of his charge, and the ſer-
uice he ought vnto his king, ſeeing there remained aboue three thouſand, beſides the ap-
pointed garriſon, ſome of which eſcaped from the gallies, and ſome were neuer imbar-
ked, being ſicke, and not fit for the warre, and yet they were to be reſpected as Chriſti-
ans; beſides, there being many which had followed him in the action, it was not fit hee
ſhould ſeeke his owne ſafetie, and abandon them.

Theſe with other his reaſons were allowed of, and it was reſolued, they ſhould depart
that euening about Sunne ſet, in nine fregates, ſome other knights and officers follow- H
ing them: but a contrarie wind ſtayed them that night. But the next day there happe-
ned another diſgrace: for the Generall meaning to keepe the Turkes from the ſhore,
whileſt they purſued the gallies that retired into the chanell, hee cauſed the artillerie of
the fort to bee mounted, among which was a Culuerin, which being ouercharged,
brake, and ſlue ſome that were neere vnto the Generall. The loſſe was exceeding
great in thoſe gallies that were taken, not onely of the veſſels, and of many ſouldiers
that were in them, but alſo for that there were many men of account ſlaine, or taken
priſoners: among which were *Flaninio* of Anguillara, Generall of the Popes gallies,
Sancio de Leua, Generall of them of Naples, *Berlingheri* of Requeſens, of thoſe of Si-
cile, the biſhop of Majorca, *Gaſton de la Cerde*, the Generals ſonne, with others. But at I
the Turkes returne from the chaſe of the gallies, they prepared to fight with the
ſhips which were full of ſouldiers, being fiue and twentie, all which they tooke with-
outtany difficultie. Some write, there were aboue 3000 men taken in the ſhips & gallies,
and drowned, ſeeking to flie to land. The Viceroy of Sicile, and *Iohn Andrew Doria*, eſca-
ped, and came to Malta, and from thence to Sicile, hauing firſt giuen order, that a fre-
gate of aduice ſhould bee ſent to them that were in the fort at Gerbe, of their ſafetie,
and that the Commaunder *Guimerano* was ſent into Spaine, to informe the king of this
accident, and to intreat him to ſend D. *Bernardin de Mendoſa*, Generall of the gallies of
Spaine in Sicile, to joyne with ſuch as were eſcaped, and to make the bodie of an armie,
whereby they might ſuccour the beſieged at Gerbe. They of the fort were verie joy- K
full of theſe newes; and *Sandy*, who was made Generall by the duke, confirmed them
with many good reaſons, that they ſhould vndoubtedly expect it, omitting no paines
to fortifie the place.

Pialy Baſſa, who was Generall of the armie, reſoluing to take the fort, did write to *Dra-
gut* (who, a little before the Chriſtians had come the ſecond time to Gerbe, was gone with
all his horſemen to Tripoli, to defend it) That he ſhould ſend, or come with all the forces
he had, to beſiege Gerbe, ſending him alſo prouiſion of victuals, and munition for that
enterpriſe. The Baſſa landed his ſouldiers, and began to fortifie his lodging neere vnto
Turkes campe about the fort at Gerbe. the wells where the Chriſtians had camped. *Sandy* did not thinke it conuenient to make
often ſallies, hauing no great ſtore of good men, and too many that were vnprofitable, L
which was his greateſt trouble, hauing neither victuals nor water ſufficient for a long
ſiege. But he reſolued to draw it in length, for many reſpects, hoping that they ſhould be
relieued, it importing his Maieſtie much, not onely for the loſſe of the fort, but alſo of ſo
many good ſouldiers, and captaines of qualitie, which were there expoſed to apparent
danger. The Baſſa hauing all the garriſon ſouldiers of Barbarie, with other neceſſaries,
made his approaches neere vnto the fort, where they were daily in skirmiſh, about cer-
Wells loſt by the Chriſtians at Gerbe. taine wells, where the Chriſtians kept a gard without the fort, but in the end they tooke
them from the beſieged. The Turkes preſt them with their trenches, and prepared a great
batterie againſt the fort; but their greateſt miſerie was, that by the loſſe of their wells, and
the great heat in thoſe Southern coũtries, many begã to die of thirſt, hauing but little- M
water which they had reſerued in veſſels; for the water which they drew out of the wels was
ſo ſalt, as it did cauſe thirſt, and not quench it. *Sandy* ſeeing how much it did import to
be thus kept within the fort, and to be depriued of water, he reſolued to make a great ſal-
lie, and to chaſe the enemie from their trenches; the which had beene ſucceſſull, if the
ſouldi-

A ſouldiers had kept the order preſcribed them. There went forth fiue hundred Italians, and as many Spaniards, all harquebuſiers, with an hundred Germans, pikes, who ſallying forth by two ports, ſhould come and ioyne together, cloy the ordnance, and kill all that ſhould reſiſt, expreſly forbidding them to fall to the ſpoyle. There were others alſo ſtood readie to ſuccour where need ſhould require. At the breake of day they went forth, killing many of the enemies, in which charge *Dragut* himſelfe was hurt: they cloyed three peeces of ordnance, tooke ſome Enſignes, and were maſters of the trenches: but forgetting the order was giuen them, ſome being too bold, aduanced ſo farre, as they could not be relieued by their companions, and ſome too greedie, fell to ſpoyle; B whereby they were in ſuch diſorder, as the Turkes imbracing the occaſion, turned head, and charged them, ſtriking ſuch a terrour into them, as they baſely fled. There were many men of worth died fighting valiantly, among the which were the earle *Galuano Anguiſola*, captaine *Carlo d'Aro*, and ſome others. The Turkes purſued them that fled euen vnto the fort, where the artillerie from the bulwarkes made a great ſlaughter of them. But the want of water, through the loſſe of their wells, was of ſuch importance for the beſieged, as without doubt it was the cauſe of all their miſeries, and in the end of the loſſe of the fort. They were forced to make their bread with ſalt water, their victuals were verie ſalt, being prouiſion taken out of the ſhips, the ſeaſon of the yeare in that climat was exceeding hot, their toyle great, and continuall, ſo as their thirſt increaſed as their water C decreaſed. Thoſe poore wretches, to flie the occaſions of great thirſt, eat little, ſo as they grew ſo weake, as they could not endure the inſupportable toyle of warre, but died without remedie. Many ſeeing that they muſt die of thirſt, fled to the enemie, and although they knew well, that they went to a perpetuall ſlauerie, yet they ranne when they had any opportunitie, to giue themſelues vnto the enemie for drinke, and to no other end.

1560

Thirſt vnheard of in the fort of Gerbe.

They had not much water remaining in their ceſternes, and that which they digged within the fort was ſalt, like vnto the ſea water: whereupon a Sicilian, called *Sebaſtian du Pollere*, offered to draw a good quantitie daily by Alambick, and to make it freſh: *Sandy* promiſed him a great recompence for this inuention, and cauſed the Germanes to make D eighteene Alambickes, hauing no more matter to worke with; but they could not draw aboue fiue and thirtie barrels a day out of their wells, which was a ſmall prouiſion for ſo many thouſands of thirſtie perſons. The ſalt water being diſtilled, was ſo ſweet, as tempering it with the well water, it made a pleaſant mixture: ſo mingling the water of the wells, the diſtilled water, and that of the ceſternes, together, the Generall diuided it among the ſouldiers, giuing a double portion to them that carried armes. The diuiſion of this drinke was verie ſtrange, whereof the gouernour of the fort had the chiefe care, being a matter of great importance, and therefore it was diſtributed in a place where there was a good gard, whereas the ſouldiers paſt in order, hauing a ſpunge hanging at a line, the which being put into a tub of water, he tooke it and ſuckt E as much as was allowed him.

Salt water made freſh by Alambicke.

The Turkes continued their workes, and had aduanced their trenches euen vnto the fort, and the ſouldiers ran daily vnto them, yea they who had the charge not to ſuffer others to run away, were the firſt that went themſelues; and ſome were ſo villanous, as they had plotted to ſet fire on the powder, and to blow vp all. Some affirme that there were fifteene hundred which had fled to the enemie, wherof there were many ſouldiers of known valour, and ſome nobly borne, but not nobly minded, ſelling bodie and ſoule to flie the want of drinke. The Turkes ſought to win the fort by mines, batterie, and aſſaults, and the beſieged repulſt them valiantly. In the end of Iune D. *Aluaro de Sandy* hauing viewed the prouiſions carefully, and finding that they had not wood for ſix dayes, which was F moſt neceſſarie to diſtill their water, and that they had not ſufficient of ceſterne water left, to ſerue the ſouldiers three dayes, they being aboue a thouſand, ſeeing matters reduced to that extremitie, he called the captaines and chiefe officers to councell, hauing firſt appointed that the ſouldiers ſhould haue double allowance both of meat and freſh water alone, with ſome little wine which had beene reſerued for them that were wounded.

1560 He ſpake vnto them at night, letting them ſee to what eſtate they were brought, and G
repeating in what manner they had defended themſelues with iudgement and valour, a-
gainſt the violence of their enemies; and that ſeeing themſelues now vanquiſhed ra-
ther by hunger and thirſt than by armes, he knew not a more honourable reſolution, than
Reſolution of Aluaro de Sandy for their laſt refuge. to put that generous courſe in practiſe, which in moſt deſperate caſes hath giuen a glori-
ous victorie to braue and reſolute ſouldiers. They therefore concluded that night to
make a gallant ſallie, and to charge the enemie, who leaſt dreamt of it. In the morning,
two houres before day, there went forth at the port towards the ſea, ſix captaines with
three hundred men, being choſen out of all the nations, and hee himſelfe followed with
the chiefe of all his men, leauing ſome behind to gard the fort: of thoſe that he led hee H
commaunded ſome to remaine in the rereward, with certaine captaines, and to kill all
them that ſhould disband. He commaunded the foreward to goe directly to the Baſſa
and *Draguts* tents, he himſelfe chuſing to aſſaile the great tent, where there was a great
corps de gard. With this order they ſallied forth with great reſolution, ſome marching
towards the Generals tent, and ſome towards the other: They paſt three trenches vali-
antly, to come vnto the tents, and *Sandy* defeated the corps de gard, where making a
great ſlaughter, he put all into confuſion: but hee found himſelfe ſuddenly abandoned
by his men, meaning to aduance, not any one remaining with him but *Marotto*, the
Sergeant Major, and captaine *Peruccio* of Nizza, of the which *Marotto* was ſoone after
wounded and taken priſoner, and yet he fighting ſtill with the enemies, being followed I
by *Peruccio*, who had offered to conduct him to the gallies, in the end hee freed himſelfe,
and recouered a gallie, whereas hee neither found victuals nor clothes, being all wet:
wherefore he ſent a meſſenger vnto the fort, to will *Iohn d'Alarcone*, the Treaſurer, to ſend
him clothes, and ſome prouiſion for the ſouldiers of the gallies, with ſome oares, to
the end they might conduct him, by the chanell, into the fort, exhorting all them that
were yet remaining to defend it ſafely.

The newes of their Generals life was ſome comfort to the captaines and ſouldiers,
but they began preſently to deſpaire of all helpe, but by ſome accord with the enemie,
hauing water but for two dayes drinke. There were many Chriſtians dyed in this
ſallie, but moſt men of commaund, the reſt being either fled vnto the enemie, or got- K
ten vnto the fort. The Treaſurer *Alarcone* went vnto *Sandy* with prouiſion, and yet they
could not part that day, the gallies being battered continually by the Turkes artillerie.
They within the fort were ſo full of confuſion, as they knew not what to reſolue, and
although there were ſome captaines which did incourage them to attend the Generalls
returne, yet the feare of the greater part was ſuch, as they forced the reſt to yeeld, to a-
nother reſolution; and they had alreadie ſet vp a flag on *Spinolas* bulwarke, in token of
a parley: whereunto the Turkes made aunſwer with the like ſigne. Whereupon three
captaines with an Enſigne went vnto the campe: but the Turks ſeeing no flag of truce
ſet vp in the gallies, as well as in the fort, *Pialy* commaunded that they ſhould aſſaile them
both by land and ſea. *Sandy* being ſurpriſed with this vnexpected furie, he with captaine L
Clement diſpoſed the ſouldiers as well as they could for their defence, finding in them a
great willingneſſe and reſolution: but ſeeing afterwards that they made no ſhew of ho-
ſtilitie in the fort, and that the Moores, Turkes, and Chriſtians ſeemed to bee vnited,
they alſo ſought to eſcape, ſo many flying away, as *Sandy* had not aboue thirtie men re-
maining with him; at which time *Dromux Arez*, a renegado of Genoua, captaine of
the Baſſaes Admirall, came vnto the gallies prow, who ſpake vnto *Aluaro* in Italian:
D. Aluaro de Sandy taken priſoner by the Turkes. My lord, you can no longer defend your ſelfe, fall not therefore into the hands of theſe
baſe people, but yeeld your ſelfe, and chuſe a better partie: I will not yeeld my ſelfe to
thee nor to any other, aunſwered *Sandy*, but I will goe with thee, if thou wilt promiſe
to bring me vnto the Baſſa: The renegado promiſed him, and receiuing him into M
a little boat, being ouer laden, it ſunke, and they were wet. Being then conducted to
the Baſſaes tent, hee receiued him with honour, and diſcourſed much with him touch-
ing his defence: but he refuſing to accept of any offer vnworthie the name of a Chri-
ſtian knight, was conducted to Conſtantinople, and preſented to the great Turke.

Sandy

A *Sandy* ſeeing the captaines which went forth to capitulate, he blamed them, foretelling them, that they ſhould not haue any thing obſerued, as it fell out: for hauing agreed, That all the officers ſhould come forth freely, with fiue and twentie ſouldiers in a companie, they were moſt of them put to the ſword, and the reſt taken priſoners, onely they had libertie which went forth to capitulate. The fort was ſpoyled, but the gaine was ſmall. The Generall *Pialy* hauing ſtayed there eight dayes with his fleet, he went and made a ſtately entrie at Tripoli; then returning home, he was forced by contrarie winds to ſtay in a port of Sicile neere to Sarragoſſe: where ſome Turkes, going to water, they receiued much loſſe by the horſemen which garded the coaſt. 1560

Fort at Gerbe taken by the Turkes.

B The next day *Lewis Sahauedra* went vnto the Baſſa with a ſafeconduct, touching the ranſome of priſoners, lamenting much the miſerie of thoſe noblemen he found there, and wondering at the ſmiling countenance wherewith *Sandy* entertained him, who ſhewed himſelfe like one that was neuer altered by the croſſes or ſmiles of fortune. The Baſſa gaue him good hope of ranſome; but the wind growing faire in the morning, he weighed anker, and went on his voyage. Comming to Conſtantinople, he entred in great triumph, cauſing the priſoners to be carried to his houſe: In which *Aluaro de Sandy* ſhewed againe his generous mind; for ſome ſhewing him a bathing houſe, a place appointed for many ſlaues, he refuſed to enter into it, letting the Baſſa vnderſtand, That it was no fit lodging for him: and the Turke (not without wonder at the greatneſſe of his mind) commaunded, that he ſhould haue chambers appointed for him. They were all preſented C with great ſolemnitie before the great Turke, who ſtood behind a window to ſee them, they all refuſing to accept any vnfitting conditions, that were offered them by the great men of the port. *Sandy* was carried to the tower of Marnero, whereas thoſe priſoners which once enter, doe neuer, or ſeldome, come forth. *Sancho de Lieua Berlingheri*, and others, were ſent to the tower of Pera.

Pialy Baſſa enters Conſtantinople in triumph.

After this great loſſe, new miſeries purſued ſome of them that eſcaped: for D. *Lewis Oſorio*, and the vicont of Cigale, being come into Sicile, hauing bought a Turkiſh gallie which had beene taken from *Vluccialy* the pyrat, a renegado of Calabria, it was taken from them by the Viceroy, in the port of Meſſina: Whereat theſe two captaines being D much moued, they meant to paſſe into Spaine, to complaine vnto the king, going in two of their veſſels; but they were ſet vpon by a gallie and two Turkiſh foiſts, and taken almoſt without any reſiſtance. *Cigale* was led to Conſtantinople, with *Scipio* his ſonne: the father dyed there, and the ſonne denied Ieſus Chriſt, from whom came that famous *Cigale*, who was a Baſſa in our time. The Commaunder *Guimerano* hauing the reputation of a great mariner, was made Generall of the gallies of Sicile; but at his firſt going forth with ſeuen gallies, hee was incountred by *Dragut*, neere vnto the iſland of Lipari, hauing eleuen gallies well armed, who tooke him with his ſeuen gallies, and led him away. Among the priſoners was the biſhop of Cattanea, of the houſe of *Caraccioli*. 1561

E In the king of Spaines countries of the Netherlands, they of the reformed religion increaſing mightily, notwithſtanding the rigorous Edicts which had beene made by the Emperour, the Councell of Spaine thought it fit to bring in the Inquiſition to ſuppreſſe them, appointing certaine Inquiſitors of the Faith, who ſhould haue a care that no forbidden bookes ſhould bee read, nor kept in their houſes, and that no man ſhould diſpute againſt the Romiſh religion. But the king hauing promiſed, That hee would not charge his ſubiects with ſuch an intollerable yoke as the Inquiſition was, and the Inquiſitors finding that they could not by any meanes put it in practiſe, they ſought to bring it in by a couert meanes, vnder colour of making new biſhops in the countrey; to effect the which cardinall *Granuelle* ſent doctor *Sonnius* to Rome, as you may read more at large in F the Hiſtorie of the Netherlands.

New biſhops in the Netherlands

This yeare 1561 the king of Spaine made great inſtance at Rome, to haue libertie from the Pope, to diſpoſe of ſome of the tenthes of the Clergie of Spaine, which amounting to a great ſumme yearely, he meant to applie to the good of Chriſtendome, and eſpecially of his realmes of Spaine, arming a great number of gallies more than had bin accuſtomed to defend thoſe coaſts, being continually annoyed with multitudes of pirats, who had

King of Spaine ſeekes to prepare a great fleet with the reuenues of the Clergie.

1561 their retreats in the ports of Barbarie: And as many of the noblemen of Spaine ſhewed themſelues readie to contribute out of their owne reuenues, to ſo good and neceſſarie a worke, ſo the Pope did not refuſe to gratifie the king, but ſtayed his reſolution, for that he would not diſpleaſe the Prelates of Spaine, who did not ſeeme verie willing to beare this burthen; and the Pope deſired more at that time than any other (when as they ſought to draw the Councell againe together) not to giue them any great diſtaſt. G

1562 The warre beginning to grow hot in France, for matters of religion, the Proteſtants being in armes, after the maſſacre of Vaſſy, the French king craued aid from the Pope and king of Spaine, who were verie willing to giue him the beſt ſuccours they could. The Pope, on the ſudden, could not ſend him aboue two thouſand foot, and two hundred harquebuſiers on horſebacke, vnder *Fabritio Serbelloni*, his nephew, Generall of his forces at Auignon: who finding himſelfe too weake for them of the Religion that were in that countrey, demaunded new ſuccours, and had two companies of lances ſent him: H

King of Spaine ſends ſuccours into France. but the Catholike king offered to ſed tenne thouſand foot, and 3000 horſe, of the which the French accepted 3000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians; but they came late, after the battell of Dreux.

D. Carlo prince of Spaine grieuouſly ſicke. The prince D. *Carlo*, ſonne to the king of Spaine, appointed the ſole heire of ſo many realmes, playing at Alcala de Henares with ſome young youthes, his play-fellowes, hee fell vnfortunatly downe the ſtayres in the palace, where they ſtood playing: in which fall hee was ſo hurt in the head, as the Phyſitians diſpaired of his life. In this mourneſull accident the king referred his fatherly affection to the will of God, writing into all his realmes, That they ſhould with their deuout prayers procure the princes long life, if it were for the glorie of his diuine Maieſtie, and the good of his ſubiects. Some write, that hee was ſtrangely cured by the bodie of Saint *Diego*, who dyed ſome hundred yeares before, a religious man of the Order of Saint *Francis*, the which the king cauſed to bee brought into the princes preſence. This bodie was kept in a ſhrine of yron, which *Henrie* the fourth of that name, king of Caſtille, had cauſed to bee made, and layed in a chappell built in honour of him. This ſhrine being brought and opened in the kings preſence, they found, with great admiration, that the bodie was nothing corrupted, nor a haire diminiſhed, but breathing forth a ſweet ſauour: where cauſing the princes bodie, halfe dead, to be layed vpon it, he began preſently to amend, and within few dayes after recouered his perfect health. But euerie man hath free libertie to beleeue it, if he pleaſe. I K

This yeare, beſides the kings priuat ſorrow for the daungerous ſickneſſe of his ſonne, hee had a publicke diſcontent for the loſſe of ſome gallies, neere vnto the port of Herradura. D. *Bernardin* of Mendoſa, ſome call him *Iohn*, was Admirall of the fleet of Spaine, who was readie with two and thirtie gallies, well furniſhed, to make an attempt againſt the Moores; but they were ſurpriſed with a cruell ſtorme, and in the end three were ſwallowed vp in the ſea, of the which the Admirall was one, where *Mendoſa* was, and the reſt were driuen into the neere harbours verie much ſhaken: of the three there was not any liuing creature ſaued, and of the reſt there dyed verie many: ſo as ſome write, they loſt two thouſand perſons, others fiue thouſand. The which, with their former loſſe at Gerbe, was verie grieuous to the houſe of *Mendoſa*: for the ſame yeare *Indico*, brother to this *Mendoſa* the Admirall, ſailing from Genoua towards Spaine in a gallie, it was ſo toſt with contrarie winds, as the mariners not able to help themſelues, they were ſwallowed vp; ſo as *Mendoſaes* bodie could neuer be found, yet the bodie of the gallie, and of the reſt that were dead, were recouered.

Bernardin, or Iohn de Mendoſa drowned with ſome gallies. L

1563 25 The Prelats being aſſembled againe together this yeare 1563, they began to proſecute their ſeſſions, and it ended in December, hauing continued almoſt eighteene yeres,

Councell of Trent. but with many interruptions, not without the proteſtations of many princes and Chriſtian States, of ſome pretended nullities, as well in the manner of their proceeding, as in the ſubſtance of their decrees. But among all the queſtions, that of Precedence betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, was vrged by their embaſſadours with great vehemencie, and in the end it was ſent by the Fathers to Rome, to be decided by the Pope, and the Conſiſtorie. M

Theſe

A Theſe two great Princes hauing both at the Councell and in Rome, where they attended a definitiue ſentence, their partiſans that were affected, and others which diſcourſed without paſſion, many pertinent reaſons were produced on both ſides, both by word of mouth, and by writing: whereof for that it concernes this ſubiect, I will make a briefe repetition. 1563

26 *Controuerſie betwixt the French and Spaniſh for precedencie.*

The Spaniards ſaid, that take it how they would, were it for temporall or ſpiritual matters, Spaine was of greater dignitie than Fraunce, and that it was in a maner iudged by law, cuſtome, and the opinions and authoritie of the moſt learned, that the kings of Spaine ſhould haue the prerogatiue for their excellencie and nobilitie, and for their me-
B rits to mankinde, and eſpecially to the Church of Rome. Antiquitie (ſaid they) in theſe matters imports much, whereof Spaine retaines the vndoubted markes: for ſince the firſt peopling of the earth, the name of Spaine hath beene famous to the world, and preſerued in that nation ſince the time of great *Hercules Oron*, or his nereſt deſcendants which haue raigned there, and hath neuer beene extinguiſhed, whereas the name of the French is new. *Markes of the antiquitie of Spaine.*

The Spaniards by the conſent of all men, are deſcended from *Tubal* one of *Iaphets* children, which his poſteritie hath called *Iuball*, of whome the mountaine Iubalda, called by Geographers Idubeda, retaines the name: But the Celtes and Gaules to whome the French haue ſucceeded, or (to doe them more honour) with whom they are in a maner in-
C corporated, haue their beginning from one *Samoteus*, who according to *Beroſus* was the younger Sonne of *Tubal*. The ſituation of Spaine ads to her dignity, it holding the firſt place in the Geographicall maps: but if the greatneſſe of the countrie giues power to kings, and that they are valued thereby, who knowes not but that Spaine is much greater than France, wherof the kings of Spaine doe yet hold a good part in Soueraigntie? It is, vnqueſtionable, that euer ſince there were kings of Spaine, their dominions haue beene larger then thoſe of France: it is apparent in the raigne of the Spaniſh Gothes, who did not onely hold at one time Spaine bounded by the Spaniſh ſeas, and the Pyrenee mountains, but alſo the country of Languedoc, vnto the riuer of Rhoſne, and that which is now of the realme of France beyond Garonne, and moreouer in Afrik a great part of the coun-
D trie: The greatneſſe of the empire of the king of Spaine at this day is different, who holding the beſt part of Europe, with many places in Afrik vpon the Mediterranean ſea haue diſcouered a fourth part of the world, vnknowne to the ancients, and therby inriched the reſt with temporall commodities, as it hath done that new world with ſpiritual bleſſings, cauſing thoſe barbarous nations to bee inſtructed in the knowledge of God. To which new regions the monarchies of the auncients cannot bee compared in greatneſſe, much leſſe the empire of Fraunce at any ſeaſon. And to increaſe their greatneſſe, wee may adde vnto theſe reuenues the rights which they haue gotten to the empire of Conſtantinople, not only as ſucceſſors to the earls of Flanders, but by cõtracts made with the *Paleologues*, expelled by the Turks, & in like maner to Ieruſalẽ, which euery one holds to be the chiefe
E in dignitie among al the Chriſtian realms. The gifts of nature are alſo verie conſiderable, where there is any queſtion of the preheminence of realms and countries; wherein Spain excels France without contradiction: for there is no Region in the world more temperate than Spaine, nor better indowed by nature, be it in fertillitie of the land, in bountie of the fruits, or in any commoditie it doth produce, and as for the men, they are actiue both of body and mind, induſtrious, warlike, and fit to commaund, as the world hath found by experience. Spaine hath beene alwaies knowne to be a nurſerie of good ſouldiers, and the mother of great Captaines, and wee need not doubt, but that *Hanniball* (who made the Romans to ſweat and tremble) if hee had any magnanimitie and courage, hee retained it from the inſtruction and breeding he had in Spaine in his youth. Spaine hath in former
F times giuen vnto Rome a *Traian*, an *Adrian*, two *Theodoſius*, all emperours, valiant and tryumphant, with many holy and learned Popes, guiders of the church, among the which *Damaſus* was great and admirable. As for the Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine which raigne at this day, it is incomparable, for they be ſucceſſours to the kings of the Gothes, and allyed to them in bloud, and are as it were graft into the ſtockes of the famous families of the *Baltes* and *Hamales*. But to draw their Genealogie neerer and more perſonally;

Tubal father to the Spaniards.

Situation of Spaine.

Greatneſſe of the king of Spaines dominions.

Right of the kings of Spaine.

Felicitie of the land of Spaine.

Emperors and Popes, Spaniards.

Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine.

Authors

1563 Authours agree that they deſcend fromthe Merouingiens and Carlouingiens, the founders of the eſtate of the French, whereby it followes that they haue right vnto the realme of France, ſo as they cannot be taxed of fraud when as they ſhall ſeeke to ſettle themſelues there to aduaunce their monarchie. If you conſider their proweſſe and victories, wee haue no need to go beyond our owne age: for the emperor *Charles* the fift, king of Spaine, hath alone wonne more famous victories, than all the other princes of Europe. The French are witneſſes to their coſts, and that mightie and fearefull Germane Nation, which hee ſubdued in leſſe than tenne moneths, and brought all the Princes, Towns and ſtates of the Germane empire vnder his obedience: he repulſed the Ottomans forces both by Sea and land, and conquered the realme of Tunes in Afrik. But it is verie remarkable, that notwithſtanding any warre which Spaine hath endured ſince it was freed from the Romane yoake, being inuaded by the Gothes, Moores, Arabians, and other nations, yet the Spaniards haue alwaies preſerued their libertie, and retained their manners, their language, and their religion, and haue drawne others vnto it, with whome humane changes haue made them to liue and conuerſe. Seeing then by antiquitie, nobilitie, largeneſſe of dominions, power, victories, generous actions, and finally by all that may purchaſe greatneſſe and temporall dignitie to nations and their kings, Spaine is to bee preferred before all; it followes, that the firſt place is due to the kings of Spaine before all other Chriſtian kings, and by conſequence before him of France. But for that the queſtion of this precedence hath beene mooued in a generall Councell and diſputed before the Pope and the ſacred Senate, it is no leſſe requiſit to ſet down the teſtimonies which Spaine and her kings haue of the ſpirituall fauour of God in his Chatholike Church, wherein they ſhall bee found to exceed in graces, and ſpirituall gifts, the kings of France, and all other kings, and their realmes, as alſo in deuotion and merits to the Popes, and to the Sea of Rome, the onely iudge of this controuerſie. It is certaine that Ieſus Chriſt hauing finiſhed the worke of mans redemption, and aſcended into heauen, Spaine among all other Pagan nations was firſt aduertiſed of this great benefit; as alſo by ſignes and wonderfull prodigies, ſhee had the firſt feeling of his comming and birth: for the Spaniards had firſt of all this credit to ſee the Apoſtles perſonally among them, and to heare the Goſpell preached by them, and to beleeue, the which is confirmed by many graue and faithfull authours, and by the ancient and vndoubted traditions of the churches of Spain, ſaying that S. *Iames* had been ſent by the Apoſtles to the Spaniards, had preached among them, and made many diſciples, who returning to Ieruſalem, had led ſome with them, who aſſiſted at the third General Councell, (whereof mention is made in the fifteenth of the Acts of the Apoſtles) and had their voices there, this holy Apoſtle being preſident: who hauing beene put to death by *Herod Agrippa*, and his bodie caſt vnto the dogs, it was gathered vp by the ſaid diſciples, and tranſported miraculouſly into Spaine: and by their peaching infinit families had beene conuerted, where afterwards many receiued the Crowne of martyrdom, whoſe memorie is famous in the church: the authoritie whereof commaunds euerie man to beleeue that the virgin *Mary* being liuing, appeared to Saint *Iames* in the Citie of Saragoſſe before hee parted from Spaine, exhorting him to cauſe that church to be built, which is there dedicated to her, which is the moſt ancient of the Countrie, and it was not long before the Princes of the Apoſtles, S. *Peter* & S. *Paul* came into Spaine, where with an incredible zeale in a maner al the people were conuerted, vnto the Aſturies; wherof *Torquatus* the Aſturian, was one of the firſt to giue teſtimony of their conſtancie in the faith, for the which he was executed at Rome. The Prelates of Spain, were at the firſt coũcels, eſpecially at the firſt at Nice, wheras *Ozius* that famous biſhop of Cordoua ſigned the decrees thereof, before *Nicaſius* biſhop of Gaule: The church of Rome is beholding to this *Ozius* a Spaniard, for the donation made vnto it by the emperor *Conſtantin*, who had beene inſtructed by him in the catholike faith. After this ſacred general councell, there were many others held in Spain, of the which that of *Illiberi* in Granado is famous, wheras *Helene* the emperors mother was with her grand-child *Conſtantin*. But ſince there haue bin frequent Councels in that nation, namely in Toledo, during the Goths raigne, where the kings did aſſiſt, & ſhewed themſelues ready to execute their decrees. There is no contradiction, but the

Spaine firſt inſtructed in the Goſpell.

Virgin Mary ſeene in Spaine.

Councels in Spaine.

A but the kings of Spaine were made Christians before them of France: the memorie of king *Ricaredo* is and shall for euer be honourable, who chased Arrianisme out of Spain, & did persecute heretikes, of which Catholike Prince the kings of Spaine which raigne at this day are true successors, for that they suffer not any one within their dominions to speake against the holie Catholike Apostolik and Romish church. To maintein the which without blemish vpon earth, there is nothing like in all the Christian gouernment to the inquisition of Spain, exceeding in holie seueritie and profitable rigour all the inquisitions of other kingdomes and estates. There the lawes and constitutions of Popes are receiued, reuerenced and practised, the which are not in France, whereas the Canon law is abrogated, and whereas they haue often resisted Popes and Councels, censuring their decrees, which are irreprehensible, vnder color of certain pretended liberties of the French church wherof their kings make themselues protectors to the preiudice of the sea of Rome. The first princes which opposed themselues against the spoiles of the Moores inuading Spain, abandoned by the defeat & death of king *Roderike* the last of the Gothes, haue been holy & wel beloued of God, wherof there are most autentik signs in many places. To D. *Garcia Ximenes* first king of Sobrarbre, the deliuerer of Spain, was giuen frō heauen for his arms ared crosse vpō a green tree in a field argēt. D. *Inigo Arista* one of his successors, by the like fauor receiued a crosse argēt in a field Azure. Many miracles are reported to haue hapned at the Christenings of kings of Spain. Some of thē haue cured the kings euil, & many haue expelled diuels. In the citie of Leon, is kept a holy standard brought from heauen by S. *Isidorus*, one of the Patrons & protectors of Spain, in the which there is painted a bishop on horseback, holding in one hand a crosse, & in the other a sword, vnder which the kings and catholike princes of Spain fighting against the Moores, haue obtained many victories. By the constancy of the kings of Spaine, especially of them of Castille, who haue neuer varied in religion, since king *Ricaredo* aboue mentioned, they haue had the honor to root the Moores out of Spaine, & to clense the countrie of those blaspheming Iewes. In acknowledgement of which graces, they haue alwaies freely giuen the first fruits of the conquests and glorious victories which they haue obtained against Infidels to Popes and churches, building more goodly abbies, Cathedrall churches, Monasteries and Colledges, than any countrie in the world, and giuing them large indowments; wherof that of Toledo is a strange president, for the archbishop hath aboue 300000 ducats of yearely rent, besides that which concerns the church & chapter, & the rich dignities & Prebends, the reuenues of which archbishoprick exceed the ordinarie of many kings. In Spain, the Ieronimitans haue had their beginning, with the order *de la merced*, of the redemption of captiues, & many other orders of holy knights, which haue been a terror to the Moores and Infidels. But aboue al, the Iesuits are a worthie brood of Spaine, couragious defenders, & aduācers of the Catholik Apostolike and Romish religion cherished by the kings of Spaine, in fauor of the holy Sea, and continually entertained by them, & sent into all the parts of the world, to make war with their spiritual armes, whilest that they did valiantly, with their materiall armes fight against infidels, & root out heretiks: for which good offices, they do rightly carry the name of Catholike, the which is much more excellent than that of most Christiā which the French kings vse, for sectaries, & they that are straied from the church dare boldly cal themselues Christians, but not Catholiks; the which were absurd for that this appellation is not proper but to those that are of the true familie of Iesus Christ, euer distinguished by this name of Catholik, receiuing no other superlatiue note, and therfore of greater dignity, the which hath been confirmed in the house of Castille & Leon, since the king D. *Alfonso* the first, who raigned in the yere of our Lord 737 for a marke of their piety & merits. By the which they are both by law and priuiledge from the Pope worthily aduanced to the first seats among Christian kings, and therefore to be preferred before them of France, in all assemblies, both spirituall and temporall.

Richaredo a Catholike king.

Inquisition of Spaine.

Kings of Spaine Saints.

Armes from heauen.

Church of Toledo rich.

Iesuits first bred in Spaine.

Name of Catholike.

Against these reasons the French and their partisans mainteined, that the French king shold haue the precedency, not only for that they had been long in possession, but also by right, hauing wel deserued it, and for many reasons answering those which the Spaniards had obiected. The embassādors of Frāce complained much that the fathers of the Councel had done wrōg vnto their king, in admitting of this action, althogh they had surceased, and

Preiudice done to the kings of France by the Councell.

1563 and would not decide it, the which they ſhould haue reiected, hauing alſo allowed them of Spaine to ſit alone out of ranke, by way of prouiſion, vntill that the Pope and the Conſiſtorie of Rome had determined, calling thereby in queſtion the precedence of the kings of France, ouer all other Chriſtian kings, the which had beene ſo many yeares practiſed, & confirmed by the Iudgement of Popes, and the teſtimony of the moſt famous Lawyers, and ancient writers. For Saint *Gregory* the Pope ſaith, that the king of France doth as much exceed al other kings, as a Royaltie doth a priuat man. Pope *Stephen* the third ſaith, that the French nation ſhines aboue all others. *Baldus* doth mainteine that the kings of France carrie the crown of liberty & glory aboue all other kings; That they are as the day ſtar in the middeſt of a cloud cõming from the South, which cannot be darkned. That the banners of France march firſt, ouer the which no other king can pretend any aduãtage of honor. *Boniface* of Vitalianis an Italian, *Auditor de Rota*, *Suidas* a Greek author, & many others haue left in writing, that whẽ they named a king ſimply, it was ment by him of frãce. Beſides, the ranks of Chriſtian kings is ſeen in the Regiſters of the court of Rome; and in thoſe which they cal prouincials in all the Cathedral churches, in which the king of Frãce precedes, & they of England & Spain are ſet after. That it was vnworthy after theſe holie & learned iudgements, to bring it again in queſtiõ: & they held it for an inſupportable iniurie to the kings of France, who in effect are not ſubiect to the Popes iudgement, nor to any other iuriſdiction in this matter, nor in any thing that cõcerns the rights, preheminences & prerogatiues of their crown, which they were to maintain by the means which God had giuen them: whereupon they made a ſharpe inuectiue in open Councel againſt the Pope, by reaſon of ſome former opinions he had declared at Rome: yea they did taxe him bitterly, for that he did chalenge vnto himſelf all power aboue the Councel, ſuffering nothing to be determined but what had bin allowed by him at Rome: That he ſhewed himſelfe too vnthankful & vniuſt to France and to her kings, who had alwaies bin benefactors to the holy Sea, ſeeking to put them from their lawful rank; and cruel to all Chriſtian people, in that he reiected the iuſt demands of all Catholike princes which was, a neceſſarie reformation of the maners of the Clergie, & of that which was corrupted in the diſcipline of the Church, & eſpecially of the abuſes of the court of Rome, That inſtead of bread of health, he gaue Scorpions, ſowing diſcord betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, vnder colour of theſe importune precedencies, tending to cauſe a pernitious warre in Chriſtendome: wherefore they ſaid, that reſeruing the reuerence that was due to the holy Sea of Rome, wherein France and her king meant to continue, they could not acknowledge *Pius* 4 for a common Father, nor true Pope, but for an vnlawfull vſurper of that dignitie; they proteſted nullity of the acts and decrees of the Councell, which were but repetitions of that which *Pius* had ſet down; declaring that they had cõmandement from the king their maſter to retire, with all the Prelates of France, leaſt by their preſence they ſhould ſeeme to allow of his attempts againſt the dignities of the kings of France, the priuiledges of their crowne, and the liberties of the French Church.

Teſtimonies of the prehemineuces of the kings of France

People an incorruptible Iudge.

The Partiſans of the French nation both at Rome and at Trent diſcourſed at large both by word & writing: ſeeking to ſatisfie the curious multitud (which it may be is the moſt incorrupted iudge in ſuch cõtrouerſies.) And for that the Spaniards wold bring their nation from *Tubal*, one of the neere deſcendents of *Noah*, they to pay them with the like money, laied for a foundation of the antiquitie of the French Nation, that the Gaules and the French were one nation, and one people, iſſued from *Gomer*, grand-child to *Noah*, and that this nation of the Gaules did extend from the riuer Tanais, vnto the Weſtern & Atlantik Ocean, in which circuit at this day is contained Spain, France, Germany, Polonia, Ruſſia, with the Gottike & Britiſh Ilands; and theſe people were generally called Gommerians & Gaules, a name taken from their progenitor, *Gomer*, who was alſo ſurnamed *Gal*, which ſignifies eſcaped from the waters, that is to ſay, the Deluge. But ſince to diſtinguiſh their troups & mẽbers, as they diſperſed thẽſelues, they took other names, as of Galates, Albins Theutõs, Germãs, Cimmeriãs, Cimbres, Cicãbrians french &c. drawn frõ their aduẽtures or the ſituatiõ of the regions where they lodged, or frõ the princes & captaines which did lead thẽ: yet the name of Gaules hath bin alwaies retained by them which haue held the country on this ſide, or on the weſt part of the riuer of Rhin, for a perpetual marke of their antiquity,

People comprehended vnder the Gaules.

A antiquitie, taken as is ſaid, from the deluge, that all the foreſaid people were in old time of the ſame maners, that is to ſay, free, open, warlike and conquerous, courteous to their friends, fierce to their enemies, vſing for a long time one language, taken at the diuiſion of Babell, which was the Teutonicke, more pure at that time than it hath beene ſince, by reaſon of the mixture of nations: And thereupon the Gaules which dwelt on this ſide, and the Germanes or Teutons, which remained on that ſide the Rhin called Brethren. That the inhabitants of Spaine at this day could not attaine to this antiquitie, although they ſay they are deſcended from *Tuball* the brother of *Gomer*, for *Gomer Gal* was the eldeſt of *Iaphets* children, as they are ſet downe 1563

B in the holy Scripture, and *Tubal* was the fift, who made another branch; the which came but late into Spaine, hauing taken another way. That one *Iberius* iſſuing from him, had giuen the name to Iberia Aſiatica, which at this day is the Countrie of the Georgians, from whence out of doubt the Iberians Spaniards are come, but long after the Deluge: And that on the other ſide ſome wandring troupes came into Spaine vnder the conduct of one *Sepherad*, whoſe deſcent the Rabins bring alſo from *Gomer*, of whom there is no other record, but that hauing croſt Afrike, which was held by the poſteritie of *Cain*, hee had entred by the ſtrait into Spaine, and that hee had called that continent by his name Sepheride, turned ſince into Speride, and in the end into Heſperide. *Iberians Spaniards.*

C Moreouer (ſaid they) that the names of theſe two ſtemmes or fathers of nations are verie conſiderable in this queſtion of antiquitie and nobilitie, being moſt certaine, that in all the names of theſe firſt men, there was ſomething myſteriall and propheticall, which gaue a note vnto poſteritie. But the word *Gomer* ſignifies a man perfect and finiſhed, and *Tubal* ſignifies ſeed, which begins to ſpring. There is an honourable mention made of *Gomer*, and his deſcendents in all authors, as giuen to religion and ſciences: And if wee ſhall beleeue *Beroſus*, as wee haue him at this day, and drawe the Gaules from one *Samothes* brother to *Gomer*, hee commends him to haue beene the wiſeſt man of his time: whereas there is no worthy mention of *Tubal*, to ground nobilitie on. When as the Scipture ſpeakes of the children of *Tubal*, it puts them in the rankes of

D mercers, pedlers, & horſe courſers, frequenting the Tyrians faires & markets. The Spaniards themſelues ſay that *Tubal* and his people were firſt ſeated in Iberia Aſiatica, from whence they without doubt came, which haue peopled the greateſt part of Spaine, who were therefore called by the Greekes and Latins Iberians, which is the true and moſt ancient name which we find of that region of Europe, which wee call Spaine, which name was broght from Aſia. Before this tranſmigration of the Spaniards or Iberians out of Aſia into Europe, the Gaules, who were alſo called Celtes, had run beyond the Pyrenees, and being as it were in poſſeſſion of Spaine, did this honour to the Iberians that were new come, to giue them paſſage through Gaule, and a dwelling beyond the mountains: and although that afterwards growing inſolent againſt their benefactors, there grew con- *Ezechiel 27.* *Name of Spaine come out of Aſia*

E tention and warre betwixt them, yet they were reconciled, and thence comes the name of Celtiberians, a people famous in the war, with whom the Romanes had to do in Spaine; the which were long ſubiect to Princes and Captaines, Gaules and Celtes, whereof the name of *Brigus* one of their ancient kings (which word is of the ancient Gaule) makes mention: and the names of Celtiques and Callaiques or Galliques haue beene for many ages preſerued among the people of Spain, whereas now the Countries of Portugal, and Gallicia are, for aſſured teſtimonies that the Celtes and Gaules had been ſeated in Spain before that euer the Iberians Aſiatikes had ſet footing there. As for the name of Franc or French, which their nation carries now, they were agreed that it was new, but with all they mainteined that it was moſt honourable, for Franc ſignifies fierce and valiant, free *Name of Frace or French.*

F from all ſeruitude, actiue, noble, and an honeſt man; and for that they had giuen it to the nation of the Gaules, not conquered by them, but rather freed from the tyrannie of the Romanes, and of the barbarous nations which did ſpoile it, it did nothing derogate from the antiquitie and nobilitie thereof, nor to the fraternitie which they haue alwaies had with the Gaules, ſeeing that both theſe names are ſtill in vſe, and common to the Nation, that of Gaule and Gaulois being much vſed in ſolemne acts both ſpirituall and ciuill.

It

1563 It is certaine that Gaules is as it were the generall name, and French a particular, ſo as the Spaniards in the ſearch of Antiquities cannot find any other, but that the French being ſomewhat diſperſed from the bodie of the Gaules, by the violence of the Romanes, who preſt them, and to whome they would not yeeld but by extremitie, were in the end vnited againe vnder one Crowne, whereas by their vertue they erected a realme in Gaule, of the French familie of the *Merouingiens*: And they may read in Hiſtories that the Romanes poſſeſſing Gaule, found alwaies them of that nation, dwelling vpon the bankes of Rhin and Meuſe, whereas now bee the Prouinces of Cleues, Iuliers, Gueldres, Holland, Zeland, Frizeland, and the neighbour Countries, knowne to all Authors by the name of Sicambrians, who were hard to mannage, alwaies contending for their libertie, vntill they had freed themſelues from the yoake and tyrannie of the Romanes, which Sicambrians of the Rhin did afterwards take the name of Frances or French, and haue imparted it to others: So as wee may by good prooſes conclude, that when as in the time of the emperour *Valentinian*, the Sicambrians French erected a realme in Gaule, that they were no new people, but of the ſame nation, whereof a number became more eminent than the reſt, not for any deſire to rule ouer them, but in hatred of the Romanes tyranny, and to repulſe the Bourgongnians, Gothes, and other barbarous Nations, which ſpoiled the Countrie, and held their brethren in ſeruitude.

Sicambrians are French people of Gaule.

Hauing freed them, and ioyning all in one bodie, they erected this French monarchy, which hath exceeded all others in dignitie and valour, adding to the name of Gaule that of Fraunce, in honour and remembrance of their deliuerers, who held the Scepter and Soueraignetie as due vnto them; but the Belges, Celtes, French, Acquitanes, and finally all the Gaules made the bodie of the eſtate, vnder one common bond of ciuill libertie, one honouring another by mutuall courteſies, for as the Gaules had reuerenced the French armes which had freed them from ſeruitude and oppreſſion, ſo the French for their part, had receiued with honour the ciuilitie, lawes, and religion of the Gaules, & made an equalitie of free right betwixt them.

Spaine a prey to the Barbarians.

The Spaniards haue no memorie to brag on, for as *Pharamond* made warre in the lower part of Gaule Belgike, Spaine was then a prey, and torne in peeces by diuers cruell and barbarous nations, hauing neither feare nor courage to reſiſt them. The Gothes beganne to ſhew themſelues on this ſide the Alpes, and to frame a royall eſtate in Gaule, making their ſeat at Tolouſa, but they held it not long, for the French ſent them ſoone beyond the Pyrenees, to contend with the Vandales, Alanes, & Sueues, who had already wholy ſubdued Spaine, and hauing diuided it among them, fell to iarre about their portions, at the comming of this Gotike nation, who had no cõformitie nor acquaintance with the Spaniards, as the Sicambrians had with the Gaules, but was a meer ſtranger & an enemie, ſeeking nothing but ſpoile. The Spaniards hauing beene conquered by the Gothes from the Romanes, and the aboue named nations, they fell out of one ſeruitude into another, which continued aboue one hundred and twentie yeares; and their condition was very miſerable from *Wallia* the Arrian king vnto *Ricaredo* the Chriſtian: for all that time was a meere conqueſt full of deſolations and ruines, without any forme of good gouernment, whileſt that the raigne of the French Gaules was ſetled in pietie and juſtice, and did proſper in armes, ſubduing the Burgongnians, forcing the remainder of the Gothes which were on this ſide the Pyrenee mountains, to goe to their companions in Spaine, and rooting out the reſt of the Romanes in Gaule. *Ricaredo* and ſome other kings following him held ſome better order in their gouernments, and made lawes grounded vpon naturall equitie & juſtice, the which are at this day in price: There paſt ſome raigns in this natiõ, in the which the princes being made Chriſtians, did willingly take counſell in Spirituall things, of the Clergie in national councels which were often held, and namely at Toledo.

In like maner the Clergie did reuerence the royall authority, and did freely receiue fit orders for their eſtate, in temporal things: & we muſt confeſſe that whileſt this harmony laſted, the Spaniards & their affairs did proſper: but when their Councels were conuerted into aſſemblies of the ſtates (where alſo the Clergie would euer haue moſt authoritie) when as inſtead of treating of the doctrine of Ieſus Chriſt, and the due diſpenſation of

Abuſe of Councels in Spaine.

A of his heauenly bleſſings among Chriſtians, ſtudying to refute errors with knowledge and charitie, and to reclaime the manners and affections of men, to the rule of true Iuſtice. By holie Conſtitutions they did handle with contention the preheminences of Prelats in their dioceſſes and iuriſdictions, diſpoſed of the eſtate of Kings houſes, of the honours and offices thereof, and of the gard of their perſons, reconciled quarrelles among great men, and dealt in other ſuch worldly affaires, all vnder the authoritie of Councells, whereby all was corrupted, euery man forgetting his ranke, in the end they found proud and obſtinate Kings in that State, who in diſdaine of the impertinencie and exceſſe of ſuch paſtors (and for their cauſe of religion it ſelfe) abandoned themſelues to all vice and impietie, ſo as God to puniſh them gaue way to the Moores and Arabians, who entred into Spaine, and made ſuch a ſpoile, as both Clergie and Laie men, King and Subiects, Noblemen and Clownes, finally all degrees ſmarted many yeeres. That from theſe lamentable calamities the defenders of the Spaniards preheminence and of their kings, ſeeke I know not by what Art to draw glorie, ſaying with oſtentation, that their nation hath always preſerued (among the Gothes and Sarazins which haue ruled ouer them) their Language, Religion, and Libertie: wherein they ſhew themſelues verie vaine; for as for their libertie, the Hiſtories ſhew the contrarie, neither had they kept their religion pure: And as for their language, they of the French partie ſaid, that the Spaniards had vrged it to no purpoſe, yea if they would conſider it well, they ſhould find, that it gaue them no grace, but did rather blemiſh them. If they will ſay, that in Spaine they neither ſpeake the Gothike, Arabic, nor Africane tongues, they muſt alſo adde that they ſpeake not Spaniſh there. The French doe freely confeſſe that the true Languages of the Gaules and French are not much vſed now in Fraunce. Doe wee not know that either of them ſpake the Roman tongue in thoſe daies? for hauing beene long ſubiect to the Empire of Rome, they were forced to learne the tongue, and to vſe it by an expreſſe Lawe, as all other people did, which were ſubdued by this proud Nation.

1563

B *Moores the ſcourge of Gods iuſtice.*

Vanities of the Spaniards.

C

This Roman tongue was retained both by the Spaniards and French to this day, yet mingled and corrupted by other tongues: but there is one notable difference, which giues the aduantages to the French, which is, that although they haue ſome words and termes remaining of the Roman tongue, yet haue they very few that are meerly ſtrange,

D but are of the old Sicambrian, German and Teuton tongues, which is the common language of the French, and of all the auncient Gaules, whereas that which the Spaniards vſe at this day, conſiſts of the Roman, Gothike, Arabic, Mooriſh, and African tongues, a perpetuall note (vnleſſe they change it) that they haue ſerued the Gothes, Moores, Arabians, and Africans; the which is yet freſh: And therfore it appeeres that the Gaules being deliuered from the Roman yoake, by the French their Country men, hauing made one body, and one people, haue ſince preſerued their language better and more generouſly than the Spaniards: and (which doth more import) increaſing ſtill in power, dignitie and good gouernement, they haue alwayes maintained their eſtate and libertie, keeping any other nations from ſupplanting them either in al or in part, were hee Chriſtian or

E Infidell, and therein they doe much exceed the Spaniards, who haue ſuffered themſelues to be controlled by the Infidell Moores aboue 800 yeeres.

And whereas they thinke to extoll Spaine by reaſon of her ſituation, aboue all the regions of Europe, for that ſay they, it repreſents the head in the Geographicall Maps: they anſwered, that it was a friuolous induction, grounded vpon the ſpeculation of children and idle perſons. That in trueth Spaine makes a chiefe part of Europe, but that proues not that it is the beſt part. If in the deſcription of Authors it be ſet before France, that giues it no preheminence: for by this reaſon Ireland ſhould be preferred before Italie and Spaine it ſelfe, for that *Ptolomie* and other Coſmographers after him ſet it firſt in

Argument taken from the ſituation of Spain vaine.

F their geographicall deſcriptions.

And for that there was no contradiction but to the greateſt Princes greateſt honours are due, they were agreed vpon this point: But the French ſaied, that the honourable greatneſſe which conſiſts in dignitie muſt not be meaſured by the greatneſſe of his dominions, nor the multitude of his ſubiects, as the Spaniards would doe. That ſeeing they did confeſſe that the Realme of Ieruſalem, which did neuer equall the fourth part of

1563 Spaine, ſhould be preferred before all Chriſtian realmes if it were ſtanding, they ſhew plainely that this greatneſſe which giues preheminence, doth not conſiſt in quantitie of ground, but by pietie and iuſtice, by the valor & vertue of kings, and of their ſubiects, & by their bounty, they and their eſtates increaſe in reputation: In all which it is very apparent that France hath the better. But diſcourſing of this greatnes which conſiſts in quantitie, they ſaid that the number of realmes which they reckon within the continent of Spaine, is a vanitie and euident ſigne of the weakenes of that nation and of their ſhame; witneſſing that Spaine hath beene diſmembred into many parts, which hath not hapned in France, ſince it was a realme, in the which they might haue made a doſen better realms than thoſe of Arragon, Granado, Gallicia, and the Caſtilles, being reduced to their auncient limits, the other foreine eſtates, where they commaund, are no profitable acceſſaries to Spaine, as Sicilie, Naples, Sardynia, the Netherlands, no nor the Indies: Theſe members lie too farre off, and doe more trouble than aduaunce their kings affaires. Let the Spaniards then heape together all the realmes, duchies and counties which are of the iuriſdiction of Spaine in Europe, and let them adde thereunto Peru, and new Spaine, and for an increaſe let them bring their pretended rights to the Empire of Conſtantinople, and to the realme of Ieruſalem, France will alwayes ballance all this euen as a ſmall bullet of gold, and will equall in weight a greater maſſe of other mettall. This greatneſſe, ſaid they, of that Spaniſh Empire, is too new to be eſteemed, and too yong to preſume to goe before Fraunce, the which is venerable for his luſtie age, and hath maintained her Crowne aboue 1200 yeeres, with ſo great honor, as it were follie to repeat the attempts of her feudataries and vaſſals, the which ſhee hath happily calmed and quenched. This Spaniſh pride, glorious but of late, is too delicate to ſtand of it ſelfe, the which time will diſcouer. This arrogant preſumption is like vnto the gourd, which being growne in few nights, aduaunced it ſelfe before the Pine tree which had indured many a ſharpe winter, but it withered away with the firſt wind, the Pine ſtanding firme and immoueable.

Dignitie and greatneſſe of ſtates wherein it conſiſts.

The Spaniards Empire is a charge to it ſelf.

Spaine hurtfull to all Chriſtendome.

But as for the commodities which the Spaniards ſay that the greatneſſe of their kings Empire brings to the reſt of Chriſtendome, they anſwered, that it was quite contrarie, & that there was no nation in Chriſtendome but complained of the wrongs & iniuries they receiued from Spaine, neither was there any one pleaſed with any good was brought frō thence, vpon which tearmes France ſtood. The commodities, ſaid they, which people receiue one from another, proceed either from meere liberalitie, or by way of commerce and traffike, or elſe caſually, and as it were by reflection of that which a nation doth for it ſelfe, which notwithſtanding redounds to the profit of their neighbors. They know not in France, what the Spaniſh liberalitie is proceeding from charitie. The commerce and and traffike which theſe two nations haue together, doe without doubt incommodate France, and cauſe a dearth of victualls and other commodities, beſides it doth daily withdraw the labouring people & Artiſans (which are ſaid to be the riches of a country, being inticed with the Indian gold) which hath courſe in Spaine. And it were difficult to find a preſident of any deed or enterpriſe of the Spaniards, which hath turned to the profit or eaſe of the French. But what benefits and good offices haue not the Spaniards receiued of the French nation? ſince the time of the Gothes raigne in Spaine, theſe people being alwayes in the pawes of ſome tyrant, the French were forced to goe and deliuer them. Vpon this occaſion King *Dagobert* paſſed the Pyrenees, chaſed *Suintilla*, a diſordered and cruell man, from the royall throne, and ſetled *Sizebut* a good prince. *Lewis* 8, and his ſon S. *Lewis*, to the end they might not diuert the weake kings of Spaine from their warres againſt the Moores, they did charitably diſſemble the wrongs, and the affront which (ſaid they) was done vnto them by D. *Berenguela*, wife to D. *Alphonſo* 9 king of Leon, whenas ſhe ſeazed vpon the realme of Caſtille, the inheritance of her eldeſt ſiſter D. *Blaunch* mothkr of S. *Lewis*, cauſing her ſon D. *Ferdinand* to be inueſted, the French being buſied in greater affaires. They will ſay, they haue made warre againſt the Sarazins, the vſurpers of Spaine, when they threatned to inuade Fraunce, and the other regions of Europe; That they haue ſtaied them with their owne forces, and in the end expelled them: It is their cuſtome to bragge, but they cannot giue the lie to ſo many worthie Authors of all nations, and to their owne Annales which ſhew the contrarie. The French are not ſo ma-

French alwaies benefactors to the Spaniards.

litious

litious to deny that the Spaniards haue not caried themſelues valiantly in many incounters againſt the Moores, holding their country and houſes, but to ſay that they alone had ſubdued them, that were not fit. Let them for euer thanke the French, who haue giuen them the means: Let them acknowledge, that to attaine vnto their deliuerie, the French made the way, and brought the ladder, mounting with them, yea before them: whereunto they had neuer attained without the French. Did not *Charles Martel* prince and gouernor of the French defeat the barbarous Africans, whenas being maſters of all Spaine, they paſſed the Pyrenees, preſuming to deuoure France? Euery man knowes that in two memorable victories, which he obtained againſt them, the one in Touraine, the other in Languedoc, he ſlew aboue 400000, by which routs they were ſo weakened, as the petie Kings of Spaine, who had begunne to lay the weake foundations of the realmes of Ouiedo, Leon, Arragon, and Nauarre, in the mountaines, had ſome leiſure to fortifie themſelues. The ſame *Martel*, did not he keepe the country of Cattelogne with the forces of France, whereof he made a bulwarke againſt the Sarazins of Saragoſſe, Valencia, & thoſe that were lodged in the neere countrie of Nauarre? They would gladly deface the memorie of ſo many painfull voyages and worthy exploits done for them by the French during the raignes of *Charlemaine* and his ſonne *Lewis*, who did ſo long keep the Moores on this ſide the riuer of Ebro, that the Aſturians and Caſtillans might on their ſide aduance againſt the Barbarians, for that it may be they would bluſh at the report of theſe things whereof we cannot ſpeake but to their great diſhonour. They ſhould remember, & can not diſſemble it, that D. *Alphonſo* 2 of that name king of Leon and Ouiedo, ſurnamed the Chaſt, for that (although he were married) he would not haue any children, ſeeming to haue a deſire to recompence *Charles* the great for ſo many good offices which hee had receiued, inuited him to come into Spaine, vpon a voluntary promiſe, that he would cauſe him to be acknowledged by his ſubiects, for the lawfull ſucceſſor of his eſtates: then hauing lightly changed his opinion by the perſuaſion of his courtiers, hee did forget both Gods honor and his owne, making a league without any ſcruple with the Moores: whom hee did arme againſt the French, beeing vpon the way, for that ſaid the Spaniards they would not ſubiect themſelues to a ſtranger. This was the cauſe that the French armie receiued a notable rout in their retreat. The French being incenſed at this bad vſage, beganne to neglect the affaires of Spaine for a time, which gaue meanes to the Moores to increaſe their power, and to ſettle themſelues for many yeeres, God letting them know by this ſeuere and long puniſhment, how much he was diſpleaſed with their treacherie & ingratitude, the which ſhewed a manifeſt contempt of religion: Notwithſtanding the French did not forbeare to ſuccour the Spaniards many times at their great neede. Read the Annales of Spaine, you ſhal find, that King D. *Alphonſo* the firſt of that name in Caſtille, and the 6 of Leon (it is he which took Toledo from the Moores, and vnited it to Caſtille) was vertuouſly aſſiſted by great troups of French, led by the Earles *Raymond* of Burgundie, *Henry* of Bezanſon, and *Raymond* of Tolouſa, who purchaſed him the ſurname of Braue, by reaſon of many goodlie victories, obtained againſt the Moores attributed to this king, although that moſt were done by the French, and their commanders, to whom he was not vnthankfull. For in requitall of their vertues, he married all three to his owne daughters. *Raymond* of Bourgundie left vnto his ſonne D. *Alphonſo Raymond* the Royall ſcepter of Caſtille, by the right of his wife D. *Vrraca*: and *Henrie* of Bezanſon was the ſtemme of the royall houſe of Portugall. The ſame Spaniſh Hiſtories make mention, that at the ſiege of Saragoſſe, in the yeere of our Lord 1118, being held by the Moores, D. *Alphonſo* the ſeuenth, who called himſelfe Emperour of Spaine, for that he held all the Chriſtian Realmes in that country, had in his armie the earles *William* of Poitiers, *Rotron* of Perche, with them of Cominges and Bigorre, the vicount of Lauedan, the biſhop of Leſcar, with many other French noblemen and knights, by whoſe valour the citie was taken, & made the chiefe of Arragon, and many routs giuen vnto the Infidelles. It was not by the ſole forces of the Spaniards, although they were all vnited, that the famous battel of Muradal was won: it were too great ingratitude, or ſenſleſſe malice, not to acknowledge it, the which their owne Writers doe witneſſe, that in the army of king D. *Alphonſo* the fourth of that name in Caſtille, there were aboue 100000 ſtrãgers, & moſt French:

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Treacherie and ingratitude of the Spaniards to the French.

Generoſitie of the French to the Spaniards.

1563 and in like maner at the battell of Salado, at the ſiege of Algezires, and ſuch like actions, G
it is moſt certaine that the Kings of Fraunce, and they of Nauarre, who then came from
the French, neither ſpared men, nor treaſure, no not their perſons, witneſſe *Philip* of Eu-
reux king of Nauarre, who died at Seuile or Xeres. They did confeſſe that the Spaniards
predeceſſours had fought valiantly againſt the Moores, according to their meanes, but
it was for themſelues, and their owne priuate commodities, and to return into their hou-
ſes, the which did not much concerne the profit of other chriſtian people. Whereas the
French without any priuate deſigne, moued with the only zeale of religion at the ſimple
perſuaſion of Popes, and at ſuch time as they did aſſiſt the Spaniards, haue enterprized
moſt holy and difficult warres, againſt all the forces of the Eaſt, drawing vpon them the
warrelike nations of the Turks, Arabians, Chaldeans, Egiptians, and others of Mahumets H
ſect, from whom they took the city of Ieruſalem, all Paleſtina, and Syria towards the ſea,
erecting a realme there, which they held and defended valiantly, to the good of all Chri-
ſtendome, wherein the Spaniards cannot ſay that they gaue any aide; and yet they intitle
themſelues Kings of Ieruſalem, and aſpire to the Empire of Conſtantinople, which eſtates
haue coſt Fraunce ſo much bloud, ſo as they haue no reaſon to quit their rights, beeing
grounded vpon a donation and inueſtiture of the Empire of Conſtantinople, made by
Pope *Leo* the tenth to King *Francis* the firſt, and to his ſucceſſors, when theſe Potentates
had enteruiew at Bolonia.

Enterpriſes of the French for the publike good of Chriſtendome

Experience doth teach vs daily, to what vſe the forces and treaſure of the Kings of
Spaine are imployed, and of what import they be to the ſtate of Chriſtendome. The na-
uigation of the weſt Indies, and the poſſeſſion of thoſe great and vaſt deſarts ſeeme verie I
honourable and fruitfull vnto them, and they make great oſtentation of the gold, ſiluer,
and pearle that comes from thence. Theſe things, which are not worthie to bee put in
the ranke of things to be wiſhed for by vertuous men, ſeeme to giue content, and to bring
ſome eaſe to this common life, the which we paſſed more ſincerely, and it may bee more
commodiouſly before the diſcouerie of theſe countries. In one reſpect they are verie a-
uaileable for the Spaniards and their kings; for they are as it were ſinkes and common
ſewers, to draine away and confine all their baniſhed men, bad husbands, bankrupts, in-
famous perſons, and finally all men that are hurtfull to their other ſubiects, for with ſuch
men the weſt Indies are for the moſt part peopled. Moreouer, it is certaine, and it doth K
plainely appeere to thoſe that conſider things rightly, that all other regions and ſtates of
Europe, yea and Spaine it ſelfe are hurt in many reſpects: for ſince the plentie of Indian
gold, al things are more deere and impaired. By this mettall which paſſeth currently with
the armes of Spaine, Inuention and Induſtrie are made dull and ſleepie, and thereby
Trueth and Honeſtie are corrupted. By this Indian gold, the Kings of Spaine, who were
wont to entertaine friendſhip with other Potentates their neighbours, are now growne
full of contentions. They entertaine many ſouldiers, and make continuall leuies, beeing
neuer without quarrells, ſo as they and their ſubiects are in continuall troubles; as it hap-
pens alwayes to thoſe, who to afflict others, looſe their owne quiet and reſt. By this gold
the Kings of Spaine preſumed to haue away made to a monarchie in Europe, and haue L
ingaged themſelues in vnneceſſarie warres vpon diuers pretexts, which haue kept backe
the Chriſtians forces, whileſt that the Turke got Hungarie, and made other lamentable
breaches into Chriſtendome; and by this holie or curſed gold, *Charles* the fift Emperour
or King of Spaine, made warre againſt the Germans, vnder colour of religion, though
the true cauſe was to force them to ſuffer the Empire to be hereditarie in his houſe. Hee
vanquiſhed them, but not without the aide of other Germans, corrupted with his gold,
hee triumphed ouer all the princes, eſtates, and townes of the Empire, and thought hee
had attained to the height of happineſſe; but behold *Henrie* the ſecond the French king,
ſtaies him ſodainely, with the valour of his Armes, accompanied with Iuſtice, and ma-
keth him deſiſt; hearing that the French army approached neere vnto the Rhine: the
Germans receiued this good turne at that time of the French their friends, neighbours,
and brethren, to recouer their libertie and the dignitie of the Empire. A worthie and
freſh example, to ſhew that Fraunce precedes Spaine in qualities which giue ſplendor
and dignitie to Kings; that is, in valour accompanied with iuſtice, and in a charitable

Diſcommodities by the diſcouerie of the weſt Indies.

Germany freed frō ſeruitude by the French.

prote-

A protectiõ of the oppreſſed: & that true riches conſiſt in ſufficiẽt, which is always found in France. But who could forbeare to ſmile, to heare the ſcorching aire, & the drie & barren ground of Spaine preferred before the milde and temperate climate of Fraunce, whereas the Spaniards ſeek reliefe in all their neceſſities, as euerie man knowes: what good compariſon can be made of the men and fruits which Spain produceth with them of France? whereas ſo many religious, actiue and ready wits are bred, ſuch goodlie and nimble bodies, ſo curteous and pleaſing in behauior, of ſuch inuincible courages in all great and difficult enterpriſes? whereas ſo many great captaines were borne, who planted colonies throughout all the world? a nation which hath made the Turke to tremble, hearing only the name of Franc or French, which hath furniſhed ſo many Popes & ſoueraigne paſtors B to the Church, and ſo perfect, as the Spaniards cannot compare with them, be it in regard of their vertue or number: which hath produced ſo many great emperors, fathers of nations, & amplifiers of the Chriſtian religion, ſons to ſo many noble kings, & of ſo great antiquitie, as no others can attaine vnto it. Let the kings of Spaine glorie of the families of the *Bilthes* and *Hamales* raigning among the Gothes, fatall nations, which haue brought nothing but miſeries and ruines into Europe, where in the end they themſelues haue bin ruined and extinct, but that the Spaniards would now make them liue againe amongſt them: But that they are deſcended by iſſue male, frõ the Merouingians or Carlouingians as ſome of their feed chroniclers ſuggeſt, & they themſelues vant, ther is not any but they that ſpeak it, & their profes are very obſcure & vain, and ſubiect to many inuented fables.

C The princes of the familie of Auſtria, from whence the kings of Spaine at this day are deſcended, are iſſued (as the French ſaid) from the earles of Habsbourg, the which Earledome was a verie ſmall thing in that part of Germany, which is now called Ergow, amõg the Suiſſes in the yeere 1272. This place of Habsbourg, wherof they intitled themſelues earles, is now a ruinous caſtle, & hath often changed maſter. As ſome report, it was one *Rapat* or *Ratboth* which layd the firſt foundations, as alſo of the Abbey of Murre, where they find ſome charters, from the which they haue drawne their genealogie ſince this *Rapat* vnto *Racul* or *Rodulphus* the fift of that name among thoſe Earles, who was choſen emperour of the Romans, at ſuch time as there was a great ſchiſme among the Germans; & D they found that this houſe had bin firſt brought into credit by a biſhop of Strausbourgh, brother or neere kinſman to the ſaid *Rapat*. They alſo ſhewed by the teſtimony of ſome writers, that this *Rodolphus* Earle of Habsbourg was ſo poore, as he was forced for a time to ſerue as ſteward to *Ottocaire* the titularie king of Bohemia, and that afterwards ayming at the commodities of the Church, he did inſinuate himſelfe into the fauor of an archbiſhop of Mentz, whom he did accompany in a voyage which he made to Rome, and was ſo gratious with him, as at their return, finding the princes of Germany ſtrangely diuided into factions, for the imperiall dignitie which had bin void aboue 25 yeeres, this archbiſhop cauſed *Rodulphus* to be choſen K. of Romans, by his credit which was great, and by means of the princes contentions, who would not yield one vnto another, & by the ſame fauour he was eaſily confirmed by pope *Gregory* 10, who was then at Lion, at a generall E Councell. *Rodulphus* hauing attained to this dignitie, imployed himſelfe happily to pacifie the quarrels of Germany: and as he was politike, he neglected no occaſion to aduance his owne affaires, mannaging his good fortune in ſuch ſort, as he cauſed the duchies of Auſtria, Sueuia, Stiria, and Carinthia to fall into his houſe, with the realme of Bohemia for a ſeaſon, and the Landgrauiat of Alſacia, with other lands and fees of the Empire, the which fell void during the ſaid troubles, moſt of the which haue remained to his poſteritie. So by theſe vnexpected euents, and contrary to all mens expectations this houſe of Habsbourg grew famous, as God doth ſometimes raiſe the poore, and make of a Sheepheard a King, when he pleaſeth. There was ſome light (ſaied they) vnto that time of the F houſe and familie of *Auſtria*, iſſued without contradiction from the eſtates of Habsbourg, but whereas Writers ſeeke to draw their aunceſtors from the Princes of Auſtracia, of the French race of *Merone*; It is a meer vanitie & raſhnes for thẽ, to wander through the deſarts of theſe turbulent times, where there is no path, nor way to lead them to the knowledge of ſuch auntient beginnings. For the ground whereof, they ſuppoſe one *Sigebert*, (who it may be neuer was) frõ whom they would draw the families of the Erles of Habſ-

Beginning of the Kings of Spaine iſſued from the houſe of Auſtria.

1563 bourg and others: and they ſay that he was ſonne to *Theodebert* king of Auſtraſia, he that G
was diſpoſſeſt of his eſtate, and ſlaine at the inſtigation of Queene *Brunhalt*, by *Theodoric*
king of Burgondie, ſhe being grandmother to theſe 2 princes. That *Theodebert* and all his
ſonnes being ſlaine, except *Sigebert*, who hauing eſcaped the maſſacre, was ſent into high
Burgondie, beyond Mount Iura, where he begat ſonnes and daughters, and that his iſſue
was diſperſed into diuers families of Germanie: but the French maintained that this pre-
tended *Sigebert* was fained and fabulous, as doth appeare by the beſt French writers, who
ſay that *Brunhalt* her ſelfe ſlue all the ſonnes of *Theodebert*, caſting her ſelfe a little one, be-
ing in his ſwathing cloths, againſt the ſtone, whoſe name was *Merouee*, *Theodoric* hir other
grandchild being alſo poiſoned by her, & ſhe puniſhed by *Clotaire* king of France; hauing
alſo rooted out the vnlawfull race of *Theodoric*, he vnited the realmes of Auſtraſia & Bur- H
gondie to his crowne: afterwards hee gaue Auſtraſia with the title of a realme to his ſon
Dagobert, who comming to that of France, inueſted his ſonne *Sigebert*, who dying king of
Auſtraſia, left one onely ſonne called *Dagobert* in the garde of *Grimoald* Maior of his
palace, who ſent his Pupil into Scotland, where hee cauſed him to bee made a monke,
and ſoone after died, and then hee cauſed his owne ſonne *Hildebert* to be crowned king.
But the French to reuenge this diſloyaltie, brought an armie againſt him, ſlew *Hildebert*,
and carried the father to Paris, where hee died in priſon. Since which Auſtraſia and
Burgundy were gouerned by Maiors of the Palace or Viceroyes, vnto *Pepin*, who was
crowned King of Fraunce, by reaſon of the idleneſſe of *Childeric* the laſt king of the I
race of the Merouingians, not by fraud nor violent vſurpation, and much leſſe through
the fauour, approbation, or counſell of any Pope, as ſome ſay, but by the election & con-
ſent of the princes and eſtates of France, and therefore with a more iuſt title (if there be
any compariſon) than that by the which the kings of Spaine doe now hold the realme of
Nauarre: for it is a fundamentall right which neuer dies among the French, to haue li-
bertie to chooſe their kings (prouided alwayes that they goe not out of the maſculine
line of the blood royall) in caſe of ſome great incapacitie, or for ſome other important
accident, which concernes the publique good, and preſeruation of that crowne & ſtate:
which nation among other good humours cannot endure a ſtrangers commaund, no not
of their owne princes, when they ſeeke hatefull alliances elſewhere, and that contemning K
the honors and ſweetnes of their owne country, they affect the manners and faſhions of
ſtrangers: whereof *Charles* of France duke of Lorraine made trial, after the deceaſe of king
Lewis the 5 his nephew, before whom *Hugh Capet* was preferred, being alſo a prince of the
blood, but not ſo neere: whom the French reiected, for that he was wholie giuen to the
faſhions of the Germans, which are much more tollerable to the French than thoſe of
the Spaniards, who ſeek at this day to pretend a right vnder fained genealogies, to quar-
rell for the crowne of France, if opportunitie ſerue: whereupon they did conclude, that if
their anceſters could not indure a prince of France Germanized, they ſhould hardly e-
uer accommodate themſelues with princes of the German race, but Spaniolized, yea
transformed into meere Spaniards, both by nature and education, if they ſhould prooue L
directly that the houſe of Auſtria come from the Earles of Habsbourg, were deſcended
from the Merouingians and that pretended *Sigebert*. They added moreouer, that if the
hiſtorians of the houſe of Auſtria could prooue, that their fained *Sigebert* had beene in
the world, and could trace out his poſteritie directly to *Philip* King of Spaine now raign-
ing, yet could they not make it appeare, that either he or *Theodebert* his father were ca-
pable of the crowne of France, by reaſon of the vncertainty of their blood, for that queen
Brunhalt reported that *Theodebert* was a ſuppoſed childe, and that hee was not brother to
Theoderic, nor ſon to king *Childebert* of the blood of France. Moreouer, they demanded
of theſe curious ſearchers of the rights of the houſe of Auſtria, where theſe princes deſ-
cending from the pretended *Sigebert* were hidden, whenas the ſcepter of the French was
transferred into the familie of *Charles Martell* to *Pepin*, and then to *Hugh Capet*: why did
they not ſhew themſelues then, or at the leaſt make ſome ſolemn proteſtation to preſerue
their pretenſions & rights to the crown of France, if they thought they had any. For they
might haue done it ſafely, eſpecially ſince that they of Habsbourg came vnto the empire
and were growne mighty: but it is ſtrange that neuer any prince of that race opened his
mouth,

A mouth,nor imploied any Chronicler to colour this imaginarie title,no not the emperor *Charles* 5,who wanted no ambition,ſeeking to lay hold of it by force only,and the right of cõqueſts.D.*Philip* his ſon is the firſt of his family that talks of this antiẽt Merouingian nobilitie,& hath begun to cauſe inſtructions to be drawne to entertain his greedie deſire to deuour France,imploying alſo with the like deſigne the aliances made by them of his race with the blood of France,by mariages,thinking thereby to maintain in the houſe of Spain ſome hereditary pretẽſions to the realm of France,if he had no other ſupport. The which in good termes of Law is called,to ſlaunder or to cauill, which is when one contends for that which is notorious : for euery man knows that the realm of France is no inheritance, but a ſucceſſion of the males, by reaſon of the blood,and that it reſpects not the women, 1563

B being contrary to the inueterate cuſtome of the French. Thus the French and their partiſans reſtrained the Antiquity & the Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine, & brought them to the houſe of Habsbourg in Germanie , ſaying notwithſtanding that they of Habsbourg and Auſtria haue great reaſon to commend the aliances contracted by marriages with the houſe of France : for if they haue drawne any luſtre from the Germane empire in *Rodulphus* the firſt , and other Emperours of their familie , they haue made it perfect by the marriages which ſome of them haue contracted with the Princeſſes of the blood of Fraunce : witneſſe the Emperour *Maximilian* , who hauing married the heire of Burgondie, had ſo great lands and poſſeſſions by her,beſides the companie of a noble ladie,as he made a waie thereby for *Philip* his ſon, and his deſcendants to attaine vnto their greatnes.

C But comming now to the chiefe points , which ſhould be decided in this queſtion propounded in a generall Councell,which are,the pietie and religion of people & their princes ; and their duties and merits to the church of God,and to his miniſters.The Spaniards (ſaid they of the French partie)tell wonders and miracles vpon the relation of their Writers, and their Spaniſh traditions : That if God hath giuen preheminence in theſe things to their nation, it ought to be allowed and confirmed among men , yea in eccleſiaſticall aſſemblies . They bragge that they firſt ſaw and heard the chiefe Apoſtles in their countrie, and that they had beleeued the Goſpel before all other Gentiles. Hereof they giue no better proofe than the French might doe, if they ſhould ſay that theſe great lights S. *Iames*, S.*Peter*, and S.*Paul* going into Spaine had paſſed through Gaule,going by land ra-

D ther than by ſea,deſiring to profit more,as it is likely, according to their dueties and commiſſions , and that in paſſing they had preached and made Churches. That by this probable reaſon the Gaules had beene inſtructed before the Spaniards, and had ſeene the Apoſtles firſt. As for the Apoſtles diſciples,it is moſt certaine that Gaule did ſee the firſt,& the moſt renowmed,according to good Authors, the which was *Creſcentius* diſciple to S. *Paul* : and if we ſhal beleeue traditions,*Lazarus*,who was raiſed from death by our Sauior, came & preached at Marſeille,*Nathaniel* in Berry,& *Denis Areopagita* at Paris. There haue bin councels in Gaule ſince the time of pope *Victor*, about 180 yeres after our ſauior *Ieſus Chriſt*,wheras that great doctor *Irenæus*,gouernor then of the church of Lion,did preſide. *Councels in Gaule.*

And there is an Epiſtle yet extant written before that time by the Martires of Vienna

E vpon Rhoſne,& from thẽ of Liõ,to cõfort them of Galacia & Phrigia in Aſia,during the perſecutions of the Emperor *Commodus*. As for the Councell Elibertin(that is Eliberris) that neither the time nor the place where it was held are not verie well quoted by them that haue written , and it is probable that it was not in Spaine , but rather at the foote of the Pyrenean mountaines , vpon the ſtrait of Gaule, where there was alſo an other good towne of the ſame name , reduced to a village in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great : the which was called in regard of the portion which hee had giuen to *Conſtantine* his eldeſt ſonne, in the which Gaule and Spaine was comprehended, to which two great prouinces this place confining was commodious: but admit (ſaid they) it had bin held in Spaine, it

F would no more aduãce the Spaniards cauſe, thã the councels of Arles that of the French, aſſembled in a maner at the ſame time , to compound the controuerſies of the Biſhops of Afrike,by the authority imperial of *Conſtantine* the great,in whoſe empire & long before, Gaule was full of goodly churches,at Arles,Vienna,Lion,Autun,Treues,Angers,Poitiers,in Berry, Auuergne & elſewhere,which were furniſhed with learned & catholike Paſtors,famous by the writings of the learned that were neere that age, the which are come

vnto

1563 vnto vs, and that Synodes were as frequent then and ſome ages after in Gaule, and more then in Spaine, but they were all nationall, or called vpon ſome priuate ſubiects, where if they beleeue that the kings, Gothes, comming into Spaine did aſſiſt, we may beleeue that the kings of France haue done the like in their country. But to maintaine as the Spaniards doe, that the kings of the Gothes raigning in Spaine, were Chriſtians and Catholikes before them of France, there is no ground, vnleſſe they will ſay, that the Arrians were Catholikes and Chriſtians: with which vice all the Gothiſh kings in Spaine were infected vnto *Ricarede*, who was conuerted by the catholike Doctors, among which was *Nigith* of Narbona, and hee abiured Arrian hereſie, at the third Councell of Toledo in the yeere 589, a whole age after the conuerſion of *Clouis* king of Fraunce to the true Chriſtian faith; in the which the kings of France, and the French in generall haue always perſiſted, vnleſſe they will impute to the whole nation the priuate blemiſhes of ſome, which will be found trifles in regard of thoſe which haue beene raiſed in Spaine, for the which it hath bin often troubled, as by the hereſie of *Baſilides* & *Martiall* mentioned in S. *Cyprians* epiſtles, wherof the one was biſhop of Legio Gemina, & the other of Emerita, & that of *Priſcilian* a Spaniard, which was condemned at the councell of Burdeaux, and him ſelfe with other his confederats executed at Mentz: and in like maner by that of *Felix*: the which ſhews that hereſies haue been leſſe countenanced in Gaule than in Spaine.

Kings chriſtned in France before them in Spaine.

Hereſies in Spaine.

But leauing theſe old things, ſeeing that prioritie of time doth not carrie it, being ſaid, That in the kingdome of heauen the firſt are many times found laſt; it is requiſit to know, how both Spaine and France haue gouerned themſelues for matter of beleefe and godlie works during theſe later raignes. It were not fitting for the French to contend of the holines of the kings of Spaine, who did riſe firſt after the inuaſion of the Moores; nor to diſpute if their Armes came from heauen, whether *S. Iſidores* ſtandard be true or a fiction, nor in like maner the graces and gifts which they maintaine to haue been in ſome of their princes, to cure diſeaſes, and to caſt out diuelles. For by the ſame grounds they beleeue that *Charlemaigne* & *Lewis* 9, kings of France, are Saints, and their feaſts are celebrated by the Church, that the flowers de Luce of gold, with the holie oyle are gifts from heauen, and that it is moſt apparent the Kings of Fraunce cure the Kings Euill, which things the French would not haue any man call in queſtion. Wherefore let them be allowed of eyther part without preiudice to their rank: but (ſaid the French) the Spaniards ſhould ſhew themſelues hollow hearted, if they ſhould deny that they had not been often retained in the true doctrine, and inſtructed in the exerciſes of Chriſtian religion by the Prelats, and Doctours which Fraunce hath ſent them from time to time, whileſt that the nobilitie of Spaine, and their Kings alſo, defiled themſelues with the too familiar conuerſation of the Moores, when they were not in armes, alying themſelues vnto them by marriages, as D. *Alphonſo* 5 of Leon did, who without ſcruple gaue his ſiſter D. *Thereſia* in mariage to *Abdala* the Moore king of Toledo: and an other *Alphonſo* 6, of that name at Leon, and 3 of Caſtille maried *Caida* a Moore. They wil not make any doubt, that by the diligence of D. *Bernard* Archb. of Toledo a Frenchman borne, and other clergy men of the ſame nation which did aſſiſt him, the exerciſes of the Romiſh ſeruices was brought into that Church, inſteed of the Muſarabic, which they had vſed in Spaine vnto the yeare 1086. Wherfore the exerciſe was called Gallican. And they muſt confeſſe, that for want of worthy men to gouerne the churches of Spaine, the ſaid D. *Bernard* was conſtrained to furniſh his biſhopriks of Braga, Ozma, Siguenza, S. Iames, Segouia, Palenza, Valencia, Zamorra & others, with Prelats which he had brought from France, in his returne from Rome. And that an other *Bernard* of Agen ſucceeded him in the archbiſhopricke of Toledo: all learned and holie paſtors, and ſo reputed in their owne Annales.

Marriages profane of the kings of Spaine.

Churches of Spaine gouerned by French Prelates.

The kings of Spaine haue built ſtore of monaſteries and churches, & do entertain many orders of religions, wherof the heads be in Spaine, & haue giuen the firſt fruits of their victories to popes as to Chriſts vicars. The French contradicted it not, ſeeing by the effect that the prelats & clergy men of Spain are very rich: but wil they ſay that they are poore in Fraunce, whereas they finde by a true computation, that of twelue parts of the lands they hold ſeuen, and receiue the reuenews, beſides the tithes, the deuotion of good men, and other caſualties? And as for the heads of religious orders, it is well knowne that the chiefe

Riches of the clergie of France

A chiefe and moſt auncient are in Fraunce much honoured, and that the kings of Fraunce, and other princes of that nation, haue not onely giuen the firſt fruits of their victories to Popes, but they haue giuen them whole realmes. 1564

Whereas the Spaniards brag that by the diſcouerie of the weſt Indies, they haue encreaſed the number of Chriſtians, and gotten a new world vnto the church: The French confeſſe, that doubtleſſe this deſigne in the beginning was royall, and that the reſpect wee owe vnto princes, and Chriſtian charitie doth bind euerie man to beleeue, that ſuch was the intention of the catholike kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabella*, whenas they firſt gaue meanes to *Chriſtopher Columbus* to vndertake this voyage: but they maintained that there were neuer Commiſſions worſe executed, nor more malitiouſly diuerted than
B thoſe by the Spaniards which haue beene ſent ſince to the Indies, and that in all their gouernement there is not any ſhew of good zeale nor of true religion. If they will ſay, there are many religious men of all Orders, and eſpecially Ieſuites, well entertained, they replied, there were many reapers, ſeeking harueſt to feed them, reaping where they had not ſowen: That ſo many religious men went not thither daily to inſtruct the Indians, but to gather the fat of the earth. That it was well knowne there were few naturall Indians left at the weſt Indies, and that the Spaniards, as well ſouldiers, as fermers, and officers of the mines, had ſlaine and murdered them by millions, and did ſeeke to root out the race of them, vſing them like bruite beaſts, and cauſing them to burſt vnder the burthen of an inſupportable labor, in ſearching into the bowells of the earth to find gold, &
C into the depths of the ſea to draw forth pearles. It is not the way to increaſe the number of Chriſtians, and to get a new world vnto the Church, to captiuat ſo many poore ſoules ſo tyrannouſly, and to take away their liues without reaſon, againſt all humanitie, by ſuch cruell, vile and miſerable ſeruices. That theſe things were not ſpoken at randon, nor inuented; for the cruelties vſed vpon theſe poore Indians, had beene verified by good informations made by the commaundement of the Emperor *Charles* the fift, vpon the complaints which had beene made by certaine good religious men, who were eie witneſſes of thoſe inſolencies, but yet there followed no great reformation: Finally, that great number which liue there in religious habits, vnder a colour of deuotion, be at leiſure enough, hauing no cure of ſoules, wherewith Spaine and other countries of that iuriſdiction on
D this ſide the ſeas, are ouercharged, and cannot well entertaine them without the weſt Indies; and that is the chiefe mark of religion which they can ſhew in regard of thoſe Indies. For it is neither pietie nor charitie which drawes them thither, it is couetouſneſſe and an inſatiable greedines of gold, which entertaines this nauigation; and without doubt this traffike will ceaſe, the memorie of thoſe places, and the name of Ieſus Chriſt will be forgotten, if others than the Spaniards do not raiſe it, as ſoone as their mines be dried vp, as they are in ſome places, and therefore abandoned.

Exceſſe of the Spaniards at the Indies.

As for the Inquiſition which is an other great trophie of the Spaniards reputation with the Church and Chriſtendome, for that (ſay they) it keeps both great and ſmall in obedience: whereunto the French anſwered, that it is hatefull to the beſt Catholikes, &
E to all men of honour in Spaine, by the report of thoſe which haue frequented that countrey; for that it is iniurious vnto them, and by extreme rigour doth ſeeme to note them with infamie, making the world beleeue, that they are not Chriſtians, but by a ſeruile cõſtraint. Beſides, the abuſes which are daily committed, to fill the treaſorie, & to inrich the Inquiſitors, and their miniſters & ſpies, by fines and confiſcations, procured vpon fained & ſuppoſed crimes, make it vnprofitable in it chiefe duty, which is to maintaine the puritie of doctrine, & holines of maners; and therefore this Inquſition practiſed after the maner of Spaine, is abominable to euerie honeſt man. That many haue held this bridle neceſſarie in former ages in Spaine, where there was a great medley of nations, & of diuers
F religions, which made many to beleeue what they thought good of the diuinitie, yea vnto our fathers times: in the which (as it is related in the hiſtorie of the wars which were in Italie during the raigne of D. *Ferdinand* the fift, and of the emperour *Charles* his graundchilde) many of the Spaniards which were ſlaine in any incounters or battelles, beeing ſtripped, were found circumciſed: but it may bee the nation beeing now ſomewhat ſetled and reſolued in the religion of Ieſus Chriſt, it ſeemed high time to moderate this

Inquiſition of Spaine iniurious and abuſiue.

ſharpe

1563 ſharpe rigour of the Inquiſition of Spaine, and that it ſhould be practiſed with more charitie and modeſtie, if it had no other end, but the glorie of God, and the health of mens ſoules. That in France the vſe is more free and ſincere, to edifie mens ſoules, and not to ruine them, and that the French had no need of ſuch ſpurres; for there was no nation that did more willingly obey the Sea of Rome. The kings of Fraunce haue alwayes ſhewed themſelues moſt deuout; they reuerence the Popes and their authoritie: the holie Decrees and Conſtitutions of lawfull Councells, are in great recommendation with them, reſeruing the dignitie of their eſtate and crowne, which bindes them to be protectors of their clergie, & of the immunities & liberties of the French church. It is an article of their duty, office, & roial charge. Theſe are old rights without diſpute, wherat the ſea of Rome was neuer offended, but when as it hath bin held by ſome, who forgetting all fatherly duty towards France, would adhere too much to the paſſions of their enemies: yet notwithſtanding the kings of France haue bin alwayes ready defenders of the church of Rome, & benefactors and deliuerers of Popes, and their ſole and ſafeſt refuge in all afflictions. And therefore they do rightly carry the ſurname of Moſt Chriſtian, ſince the time of king *Clouis*, yea of the eldeſt ſon of the catholike church, the which can not be diſputed but by inconſiderate raſhnes, nor ſuppreſt but by ignorance or malice. That the Spaniards did not defend his Holines predeceſſors from the inſolencies of the ſix gouernors, lieutenants to the emperors of Conſtantinople in Italie: nor from the violences of the Kings of Lombardy. It is not by any benefit of the kings of Spaine, that they are lords of the citie of Rome, & that they enioy ſo great a country, and ſo many faire townes. That they are not the forces of Spaine which haue chaſed the Sarazins out of Sicile and Calabria. That the goodlie realms of Naples & Sicile are not come vnto the church by the bounty of the kings of Spaine: but the French made them theſe rich preſents, and haue maintained thē in it. That it was a princeſſe of the blood of France, which gaue vnto the popes that which they hold in Prouence. That Spaniards hands are more accuſtomed to ranſome Popes & cardinals, and to ſpoile, burne & deſtroy the patrimony of *S. Peter*. Finally, the church of Rome muſt acknowledge all her bountie vpon earth to come from the French nation, and from their kings, & ground vpon theſe new & vndoubted titles, the rights & poſſeſſions of her lands and ſeigniories, & not colour them with a donation from *Conſtantine*, nor frō the fauour of ſuch a mediator as *Ozius* biſhop of Cordoua might be, the which haue no ground but vpon Spaniſh reports which are not autentike. By theſe benefits, by the continuall obedience, & by the ready ſuccors ſo often tried, the dignity and preheminence of the crowne of France ſhould be maintained at Rome, in the Councel, & in all places, ſo much the more iuſtly & neceſſarily, for that by long acquaintance, it hath bin made as it were eſſentiall & ſubſtantiall with the Popes dignitie, ſo as for the ſupport thereof, they haue no need but of the crown of France, to reſiſt the attempts of her bad children, which are frequent & dangerous. Moreouer, if they ſhould preſume to put the kings of Fraunce from their ranke, it could not be done but very difficultly, & by a forgetfull & very hatefull ingratitude, which doth not befit the holie Sea, & could not in their opinions fall into the Popes thought, who did then preſide. Concluding, that for the beſt and moſt wholeſome expedient for Chriſtendome, he ſhould containe himſelfe in his paſtorall office, which is, to iudge of cauſes concerning the faith, religion & the diſcipline of the church, & to abſtain (ſpecially during the general aſſembly) to enter into knowledge of a controuerſie, which is meerly temporal, in the which ſoueraigne princes doe not willingly acknowledge any other Iudge but their owne ſwords, & ſo leauing euery one in his poſſeſſion, to admoniſh the king of Spaine, to giue peace vnto the Church, and not to trouble the Councell, nor the publike peace.

Title of Moſt chriſtian.

Office of Popes wherein it conſiſts.

Queſtion of precedence vnde-cided at Rome.

Thus did the French maintaine the precedence of their king, with their naturall freedome and vehemencie againſt the pretenſions of the Spaniards & their partiſans: but the Pope to whom this controuerſie was ſent, would not take vpon him to iudge it, but left it vndecided, as it is at this day; which made the impatient ſpirits of the Spaniards to purſue this queſtion, & to maintaine their pretended rights of prioritie, by writing, wherof there are great volumes printed, with priuiledge from their kings, which the French doe not teouble themſelues to anſwer.

The

A The yeare following 1564 the Acts of the Councell were confirmed by the Pope at Rome, in the open Conſiſtorie of Cardinalles, yet againſt the aduice of ſome fathers, who held this confirmation to be needleſſe, and all Chriſtian princes were commaunded to cauſe the Decrees thereof to be publiſhed and obſerued. At theſe laſt Seſſions of the Councell, D. *Claudio Ferdinand* of *Quignones* Earle of Luna, was embaſſador for the king of Spaine, to whom by reaſon of this difference there was a place appointed apart, out of ranke, by prouiſion and without preiudice. 1564

This yeare D. *Iohn de Benauides* marſhall of Nauarre died, and at the ſame time there died alſo D. *Francis* of Nauarre, Biſhop of Valentia, who was brother to D. *Pedro* of Nauarre, the laſt marſhall of the bloud royall deſcended from D. *Lyonell*. The intereſt to this *Nauarre.*

B Realme remained in Queene *Ioane* of Albret, widow to *Anthonie* of Bourbon, by whom ſhe had two children, *Henry* and *Katherine*: In the meane time there were Viceroyes or Lieutenants for the King of Spaine to gouerne it, and about that time D. *Gabrieli de la Cueua* left the gouernement of Nauarre, to the Licentiat D. *Michel Ruis* of Otalora, Regent or Preſident of the Iuſtice in that Countrie, and paſſed into Italy to gouerne the eſtate of Milan, but D. *Alphonſo* of Cordoua and Velaſco Earle of Alcaudete, who had beene gouernor of Oran, and had defended againſt the Turkes which held Alger and the Moores, was ſent thither for viceroy, where at the end of 3 months he died, yet hee cauſed an aſſemblie of the eſtates to be held at Tudele, where it was concluded to make an Vniuerſitie in that towne, that the Nauarrois might haue meanes to ſtudie, and not goe

C out of the Country. After the Earles death D. *Ioſeph* of Gueuara came to gouerne the Realme of Nauarre. And in the yeare 1565 D. *Lewis* laſt earle of Lerin of the houſe of Beaumont, and Conſtable of Nauarre died, leauing one onely daughter and heire called D. *Brianda de Beaumont*, who was maried to D. *Diego de Toledo*, ſonne to D. *Ferdinand Aluarez de Toledo* duke of Alba; who in her right was Erle of Lerin, and Conſtable of Nauarre. D. *Ieronima* of Nauarre, widow to the marſhall of Benauides, being married againe to D. *Martin* of Cordoua and Velaſco, brother to the Earle of Alcaudette, ſhe brought him the title of Marqueſſe of Corces, and the eſtate of Marſhall of Nauarre. *Vniuerſitie at Tudele in Nauarre.*

The Pope hauing delayed, during the Councell, to ſatisfie the king of Spaines demaund, touching a ſubuention from his Clergie toward the maintenance of his war, the

D king ſent *Lewis d'Auila* great Commander of Alcantara to Rome, to ſolicite the diſpatch of this ſupplie from the Clergie, towards his preparation, which was graunted to be 400 thouſand ducats yearely for fiue yeares onely, giuing him hope, that if they might ſee anie good effects, they would continue to aſſiſt him. And the king hearing in what eſtate they ſtood for matters of religion in Fraunce and Flanders, fearing ſome alteration alſo in the ſtate of Milan, he cauſed this embaſſadour to demaund leaue of his Holines, that he might with more ſeueritie reſtraine the curioſity of his ſubiects, & their liberty in matters of faith, the which he might do, bringing the Inquiſitiō into thoſe prouinces, according to the cuſtome of Spaine. And for that he had ſeen what an alteration it had cauſed ſome yeeres before in the realme of Naples, and that being a remedy of great violence it

E could be eaſily applied, he ſought to attēpt it firſt in the ſtate of Milan, for that he doubted that as the Netherlands being ſo much altered, would make ſome great reſiſtance, ſo in like he did hope, that when they ſhould ſee it plāted in the duchie with good effect, they would be moued by their example. The Pope not onely ſeemed difficult to yeelde vnto this demaund, but the whole colledge of Cardinalles proteſted that it was a verie dangerous thing, not only for fear of ſome inſurrection in the beginning, but alſo that in proceſſe of time the miniſters of the office might conuert their extraordinarie authoritie to their owne profit, ſo as not onely a bad conſcience, but great wealth might bring anie man in danger both of life and honour. Notwithſtanding at the kings great inſtance the *Clergie of Spain help the King with money.*

F Pope did gratifie his Maieſtie, and preſently the duke of Seſſe gaue them of Milan to vnderſtand how deſirous the King and the Pope their countryman were, to ſee that important buſines of the faith firmely ſetled in that duchie. But the gouernor was not willingly heard by them, who ſeemed reſolute not to ſubiect themſelues to ſuch a ſeruitude, ſaying that they would ſend embaſſadors both to the Pope & King, whereupon the duke of Seſſa promiſed to write and diſſuade his Maieſtie, as he did. *Inquiſition of Spaine attempted at Milan.*

About

1563

Princes of Auſtrio goe into Spaine.

About the end of this yeare there came two ſonnes of *Maximilian* King of Romans into Italie, *Rodulphus* and *Erneſtus* beeing much deſired by their vncle in Spaine, that they might ſpend ſome yeares in that realme, and know the great men of his court, but aboue all to be bred vp with prince *Charles*, who did trouble his father, for that hauing much wit, hee could hardly be gouerned: ſome ſaying, that this froward diſpoſition, grew by reaſon of the hurt hee had in his head. Theſe two Princes beeing called by the Catholike King, and ſent willingly by the father for diuers reſpects, arriued in December (beeing accompanied by manie German Barons, and by the Cardinall of Auguſta) in the ſtate of Milan, being feaſted in many places.

The King of Spaine hauing beene diſquieted, for ſome alteration which had beene growing among the Moores, who ſince the taking of the realme of Granado, had liued diſperſed in thoſe countries, and were ſuſpected to haue intelligence with the Moores of Afrike and with the Turkes, and that they practiſed ſome notable rebellion: wherefore it was thought fit to diſarme them, and to forbid them to haue anie, vpon grieuous penalties, yea they that were become Chriſtians of that race, ſhewing themſelues not to be ſound in the Faith, retaining much of their firſt breeding. About the ſame time news came vnto the King, that *Dragut* had beene ſeene at Sea with ſome thirtie gallies and galeots, in the which hee had many ſouldiers with twentie peeces of batterie, whileſt on the other ſide the King of Alger went by land with tenne thouſand foot Moores, and ſome Turkes, and Renegados to beſiege Oran, the which they brought to great extremitie for want of victuals, ſo as they could not haue held out many dayes when as the kings fleet arriued to ſuccour them. The King hearing in what extremitie the beſieged were, wrote firſt into Italie, and into all parts of his dominions, where there were anie gallies, that being preſently furniſhed with victualls, men, and munition, they ſhould come to Barcelone, where he meant to make his fleet vnder the commaund of *Iohn Andrew Doria*, and then ſend it to ſuccour Oran. *Doria* and the kings other miniſters went from place to place to gather them togither, the viceroy of Naples ſent 25 gallies to Barcelone, vnder the conduct of *Sancho de Leyua*: *Doria* ſtaying ſomewhat long, the King feared hee could not come in time to ſuccour the beſieged, and therefore hee gaue the charge vnto D. *Franciſco Inigo de Mendoſa*, (others write that it was D. *Iohn de Cordoua.*) *Doria* arriuing, was much diſcontented, who hauing ſatisfied the King with good reaſons, went as a priuate man in this action, giuing the command of his gallies to his brother *Pagano*. There met in the port of Barcelone 34 gallies, and ſome of Spaine, that were repaired ſince the laſt ſhipwracke, ſo as in all they were aboue 40 which bent their courſe towards Afrike, whereat the Turkes and Moores were ſo amazed, as they preſently vpon ſight of them, ſet ſaile, and the armie at land fled to their houſes, abandoning their artillerie and baggage very baſely, ſo as in an inſtant they were freed from that great danger. Some write, that before the army arriued, they fed only vpon horſes and aſſes, ſo as they muſt either haue ſtarued, or yeeld vp a very important place. The Admirall purſued them in their flight, and took 25 galeots and 3 great Moriſco ſhips, forcing the reſt to caſt their ordnance ouer-board, that they might be the lighter to flie; yet they threatned to return the next yeare with forces from the great Turke.

Oran beſieged and well defended.

The catholike King had made great preparation of ſhipping to defend the coaſts of his owne kingdomes from the inuaſions and ſpoiles of Pirates, who hauing a retreat at *Pegnon de Velez*, might eaſily ſet vpon the ſhippes which paſſed from the ſtrait of Gibraltar into diuers other parts. This rocke ſtands almoſt in the middeſt of the gulph of Velez de la Gomera, which was ſometimes called Bedis or Bilis. And for that in former times Spaine was much annoyed thereby, for that from this rocke which is very high, and diuided by a ſmall diſtance from the land, they diſcouered the ſhippes a farre off at Sea, comming from Spaine, ſo as the Pirats, who had their galleots and frigots ready below, went forth with aduantage to meet them, fought with them, and ſpoiled them, King *Ferdinand* reſolued to fortifie that place, to reſtraine thoſe theeues which retired into the port of Velez, whither he ſent an army, where they built two caſtles vpon that rocke, putting into them ſufficient men and ordnaunce to gard them: The which the King of Fez ſeeking afterwards to recouer from the Spaniards, they were repulſed with great loſſe, and

Pegnon de Velez how ſituated.

A and it was kept for the Spaniards, vntill that in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and twentie, it was betraied by a Spaniſh Souldier, who brought in the Moores to bee reuenged of his Captaine that had taken away his wife. 1564

King *Philip* to recouer this place, being verie prejudicall to their nauigation, cauſed a fleet to be made readie of about one hundred and 30 ſaile, among the which there were aboue forty ſhips of burthen, Galleots, and leſſer veſſels, with one great Galeon of Portugall: There were eightie and ſeuen gallies, that is, two and twenty of Spaine, eleuen of Naples, ten of Sicile, eight of Portugal, twelue of *Doria*, eight of Florẽce, three of Sauoy, ſixe of *Marc Antonio Colonna*, three of Malta, and foure of *Marco Centurioni*. There was *Armie ſent againſt Tegnon de Wels.*
B in them aboue ten thouſand Italians, Spaniards and Dutch, among the which were many Noblemen and Gentlemen voluntaries; the chiefe, beſides the General D. *Garcia de Toledo*, were *Franciſco Baredo*, who cõmanded the ſhips of Portugal, *Sancho de Leyua* thoſe of Naples, the Lord of Plombin the duke of Florence galleyes, *Iohn Andrew Doria* his owne, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, *Chiappin Vitelli* commander of the foot of Tuſcaine, *Hanibal Altemps* with his Germans, *Fernando de Sylua* and others.

They came not to the port of Malaga, which was appointed for the Rendez-vous, vntill the end of Auguſt, and then the army parted, meeting with the aides of Portugall: being all vnited together, they arriued neere vnto the port of Velez, where they had ſome trouble to vnſhip their ordnance and men: for the reſt they had no great difficultie, for the
C Moores and Turkes fainted, when as they ſaw the artillerie (planted in two batteries) began to annoy them, the which would ſoone haue ruined that fort being but ſmall, & therfore they ſtudied rather how to fly than to defend themſelues. So, in the night the greateſt part of them eſcaped in barks; there remained about 25 who yeelded. The Moores came down in great troupes of Horſe, and did skirmiſh with the Chriſtians. The generall *Toledo* hauing taken this place, furniſhed it with all things neceſſarie, & left a garriſon in it of 800 Spaniards. After which they conſulted if they ſhould vndertake any thing elſe, this conqueſt ſeeming but ſmal in reſpect of the great charge; & they propounded that of Bugia, but conſidering that the ſeaſon of the yere was far ſpent, being in the middeſt of Septem. & that their men had endured much at ſea, eſpecially the galley-ſlaues of Tuſcaine, being
D vnacquainted with thoſe ſeas, & the Germans who were much waſted, ſo as they held it not fit to ingage themſelues in an action which would require time, whereupon they returned with their galleys to winter, and D. *Garcia de Toledo* went to be Viceroy of Sicile.

King *Philip* remembring that the emperor *Charles* his father had ſent *Ferdinand Magellanes* in the yere 1519, to diſcouer the Moluques and other Ilands thereabouts, ſome of which were more plainly diſcouered in the yere 1542, he gaue order this yeare to D. *Lewis de Velaſco* viceroy of Mexico, to make ready a great fleet, with the which entring into the *Ilands of Philippina diſcouered*
South ſea, and ſayling towards the weſt, he ſhould diſcouer thoſe places better, whereof they had yet but a generall knowledge, which they held were inhabited by good ſenſible men. But for that the preparation was long, and the charge great, they parted not till to-
E wards Chriſtmaſſe. The fleet being commanded by *Velaſco* ſailed towards the Moluques, he had with him *Michel* of Legaſpo, who by order from the king ſhould be gouernour of the firſt place he ſhould diſcouer & hold worthie to leaue a garriſon and to plant a Colony there. They therefore found out Tendaia or Tendain, Punel, Bohol and Pauilogen, all which foure in honor of the king were called Philippine: they alſo ſet footing in the Iland of Luzon, which is bigger than all the reſt, being more towards the North, where the city of Maniglia is built, by the which the whole Iland is alſo called. It was not difficult for the Spaniards to become maſter of thoſe places, for that they of China hauing abandoned the gouernement which they had enioyed, there was not any Lord, but they that had moſt power, did tyrannize ouer the weaker. They found the Countrie fertill, and
F abounding in many things neceſſarie for the vſe of man; but it was a verie commodious dwelling for the great traffike of gold, ſilke, and other rich Merchandize, which they had with them of China, wherefore they planted diuers Colonies in a ſhort ſpace, finding the inhabitants inclined to ciuilitie, eſpecially in the Iſland of Luzon, and the citie of Manigila, *Michel Lopes* of Legaſpo, remained Gouernour of thoſe places, where hee dyed twelue yeares after, with the title of Adelantado.

1565 The king of Spain being aduertiſed of the great preparations the Turke made at Conſtantinople, to ſend a great fleet to Sea, gaue order for the fortifying of thoſe places which were moſt in danger. But *Solymans* intent was to attempt Malta, & it did behoue king *Philip* to defend & preſerue it, for the intereſt of his neer eſtates of Naples & Sicile, this Iland lying verie cõmodiouſly to annoy them, if the Turks ſhold take it and keep it as he might eaſily do, by the care and diligence of the kings of Algier & of Tripoli, mightie Pirates, & his tributaries, who are alwaies in armes, & ready to furniſh it vpon any ſudden occaſion; beſides his own means which are great: whereof hee might make there a good ſtaple, or ſtore-houſe for his warres againſt Europe.

Malta beſeeged by the Turkes.

Deſcription of Malta.

The Iland of Malta is a great and ſpacious rock, about 60 miles in compaſſe, lying betwixt Sicile & Afrik, from the which it is aboue 50 leagues or 200 miles diſtant, & from Sicile 60 miles, or 15 leagues, accompting 4 miles for a good league: towards the North, it looks to Cap Paſſaro in Sicile, and on the South to the towne of Tripoly in Barbarie. This rock is couered ſome ſix foot thick with earth and no more: it doth yeeld excellent fruits, feed ſome cattel, brings hony & cotton which is the inhabitants wealth; it hath many ports & landings, which are reaſonbly ſafe for their ordinary trade, but not to receiue any great fleets. The names of the chiefe are Marſamuſſet, Marſa Scala, Marſa Sirocco, Cala S. Georg, & Cala of S. Paul: Marſa in the Moors tõg ſignifies a port, Cala is a ſhore or ſtrond. The citie is almoſt in the middeſt of the Iland, carrying the name thereof, being inhabited by them of the countrie, but the aboad of the knights who are Lords thereof, is about the port of Marcamuſſet towards Sicile, wheras the ſea makes many ſmal gulphs leauing tongues of earth or rock betwixt both, where they are lodged and well fortified. Vpon one of theſe points which made a paſſage to one of the gulphes, was built a fort called S. Herme, which kept that entrie, & defended the Maltois gallies which lodge within the gulph: right: againſt it on the other ſide towards Sicile is the caſtel S. Ange, the which was ſtrong & wel furniſhed, cõmanding towards the Sea: vnder it was the Borogh (where the knights were lodged, and there make their aſſemblies) wel walled and flanked, to the which is ioyned an other Caſtell called S. Michael. *Iohn de la Valette* was at that time great maſter of the order, French by nation, a man of great courage & wiſdome, who being well aduertiſed of the furious tempeſt that threatned him, made all prouiſions neceſſarie in ſuch a danger: he ſent for all the knights of his order to come to Malta, he had recourſe to all Chriſtian Princes for aid; he cauſed the Borough and other places of the Iſland to be viewed and fortified; he bought armes, munition, victuals & al other things which hee held neceſſarie to defend a great ſeege. Wherein the Princes of Italy did aſſiſt him liberally, and the Viceroys of Naples and Sicile, had commandement from the king of Spaine to aide him: eſpecially D. *Garcia de Toledo* of Sicile had charge to keepe the gallies of Sicile and Naples in a readines, with whome ſhould ioyne the gallies of Spaine, the Popes, the duke of Florences, thoſe of Genoua, and the duke of Sauoys, and make a ſufficient power to hinder that ſeege.

Iohn de la Valette great maſter of Malta

The reaſon which made the Turks to vndertake this enterpriſe with ſo great preparation, was a ſurpriſe attempted by the great Maſter of Malta vpon the town of Malaoiſie in Morea, which the ancients called Epidaurum Limeria, but it ſucceeded not.

Turkes army at Malta.

The 28 of May, in the yere 1565 this great armie of enemies came to the Iland of Malta, about the port of Marſa Sirocco, being in number 145 gallies, 8 Maones, which are veſſels which do both ſaile and row, hauing 5 men to euerie oare, but they are not ſo big as the galleaſſes, many foiſts & galleots, with a number of ſhips and veſſels to carrie artilerie, horſes, victuals, pouder & al prouiſion for war; with which *Draguts* forces ſhold ioin and the gallies of Algier, of *Vluccialy*, and of all the Pyrats in the Mediterranean ſea, vpon the coaſts of Afrik, Aſia, the Ilands of the Archipelagus, and other places; all which were ſent for to come & ſerue there vnder the great Turks banner, vpon great penalties for thẽ that ſhold faile. *Pialy* Baſſa had the chief command at ſea, it is he who chaſed the Chriſtiãs from the Iland of Gerbe; and *Muſtapha* Baſſa was generall at land. At the ariual of this armie the great maſter had with him 500 kinghts of his order, men of reſolution and experience, & 8000 ſoldiers, as wel of the Iland, as others leuied in Italie, and ſome companies of Spaniards & French: whom he diſtributed into the citie, the caſtel of S. Ange, the forts

of

A of S.Herme,& S.Michel,the Borough & other places.D.*Garcia* being doubtful whether the Turk would ſet vpon Goulette by Tunis,ſent a ſupply of 700 old ſoldiers, Spaniards, thither, beſides the ordinarie garriſon that was entertained. At the Turks landing, which was ſomewhat difficult,for that the ports were ſmal,& the banks of the Ilands ſteep,they were incoũtred by ſome knights & ſoldiers,who ſlue many,but they retired ſoon,for their number was but ſmal; hauing in this skirmiſh loſt *Nicholas Delbene*,and two other valiant knights.But the Turks landed at this firſt time 30000 fighting men,ſome Ianiſaries, ſome Spachi, who ſerue cõmonly on horſeback,but at that time they had bin imbarked as foot-mẽ, hauing with thẽ great ſtore of ordnance for batterie, among which there were Baſi-
B liſks,whoſe bullets weied aboue 120 poũd.At their lãding they diſarmed al their gallies, except ſome 60 which they kept for their gards, and came & lodged before the fort of S. Herme,by the aduice of *Pialy*,who deſired to take the port of Marſamuſſet, the which was couered with this fort, that he might lodge his gallies which lay diſperſed in diuers parts of the Iland,for want of commodious ports,and therfore expoſed to many dangers. The camp being lodged & fortified with a rampar, & a fort of earth which they ſuddenly caſt vp,S.Herme and the other places were diligently viewed,the which coſt many Turks and Chriſtians their liues: In the end there was a batterie plãted againſt S.Herme,the which plaied furiouſly,& was often changed & renued and many aſſaults giuen & valiantly de-
C fended. The commander *Broille* was within the place,but he was changed by reaſon of his age, & *Monſerrat* an Arragonois ſubſtituted in his place: *Broille* had behaued himſelf valiantly, yet the Turks had won a Rauelin which was without the fort, where they fortified,& filling the ditch which was betwixt both,they gaue raſh and deſperat aſſaults, not making any ſpare of their men.They caſt the yards of their gallies vpon the breaches to ſerue the Aſſailãts for bridges,they had deuiſes to couer their ſhot when they went to an aſſault,and they planted many ladders,but all was in vain for a time,for the defendants ouerthrew or burnt their engins;& repulſt them with great ſlaughter; ſo as ſeeing how difficult it was to take this fort, they were doubtfull whether they ſhould leaue this place, and diſcharge their rage vpon the reſt, into the which all the victuals, cattell and other commodities of the Iland were drawn,eſpecially into the citie,which was not farre from
D the fort of S.Herme,where the inhabitants had fortified themſelues with ſome troups of horſe & foot,which had bin giuen them for their gard,cõmanded by the knight *Meſquile* a Portugal,who made many ſallies & attempts to diuert rhe Turks, who for their part repulſt them roughly into their town: for there was not a hamlet nor houſe there abouts, where they had not planted a gard to ſtop their courſes.Hauing ſpent many daies about the fort of S.Herme,*Dragut* arriues with a great troup of Turks,in 12 gallies & 3 galleaſſes,the which did much incourage the beſeegers,for he was in great credit among them. He did not allow of their beginning to make war by the ſiege of this ſtrong place,the cõqueſt wherof wold be lõg,& difficult,wiſhing they had firſt attẽpted the city,where there was more hope & more ſpoile, but it was now too late ſaid the Baſſaes, wherfore the bat-
E terie againſt Saint Herme was renued, & diuers new aſſaults giuen,the which were more obſtinately obtained than before,with the loſſe of 4500 turks,& *Dragut* himſelf was mortally wounded in the head with a ſtone which was driuen by a great ſhot,wherof he died ſoon after; which made the Turks retire. There was alſo come vnto the camp *Aluc-Ali*, whom wee cal *Vluccialy*, a renegado of Calabria, who afterwards was made king of Tripoly in the place of *Dragut*,a great ſoldier.During theſe attẽpts in the Iland of Malta, the great maſter foreſeeing that in time he might be vãquiſhed by the Turks force, which increaſed daily by new ſupplies,& contrariwiſe their men decreaſed by their continuall aſſaults and skirmiſhes, ſo as in the end their number wold grow verie ſmal,he ſent often to Meſſina,where they made ſlow preparatiõ to relieue thẽ,to acquaint D.*Garcia* with their
F eſtate,& in what dãger they were to loſe S.Herme,& afterwards the whole Ilãd,beſeeching him to make haſt, but he neither anſuered his requeſt, nor the neceſſity which preſt thẽ,for D.*Garcia* beſides that he was tedious & graue after the maner of Spain,he eſteemd himſelf too weak to make any attempt that might auaile the beſieged,ſaying that he muſt gather forces together conſiſting of many peeces,according to the time & will of thẽ that did cõtribute, the which was true,wherfore the Turk hath a great aduantage ouer vs,ha-

1365

Dragut comes to Malta.

Death of Dragut.

1565 hauing alwaies a great nũber of veſſels armed belõging to himſelf, hauing no need to beg G
or borrow them of any other, as we do, with great charge & loſſe of time, the which is ve-
rie preiudiciall in warre; whereas the Turke hath the aſſignations of his treaſure certaine
which may not be diuerted: and in this war of Malta, he had an extraordinarie aduantage,
Roſa Sultana his beſt beloued, being dead a little before, ſhe had left a great maſſe of trea-
ſure to be eſpecially imploied in war againſt the Chriſtians, for to helpe her ſonne. D. *Gar-
cia* beſides his naturall ſlownes was growne into a conceit, that it was good to ſuffer the
Turke to waſte & conſume themſelues in the Iland of Malta, about thoſe places which
he held to be ſtrong and well furniſhed, and that hee ſhould come time enough to aſſaile
them, when they were weakened with hunger, which did alreadie preſſe them, and with H
other diſcõmodities which follow long ſieges. This was to make war by diſcourſe, but in
the mean time he held his arms a croſſe, which is againſt the rules. With much preſſing &
importunitie, he did hazard ſome gallies to put certain knights and ſouldiers, which came
late, into the borogh of Malta, the which attempting often, ſome entred, and others were
many times forced to return from whẽce they came. He alſo ſent to ſea to cut off the vic-
tuals that went to the Turks army. The two commanders were not very ſory for *Dragut's*
death, whom they hated deadly: wherefore to haue the honor to haue taken the fort of S.
Herme without him, they doubled their battery with 32 Canons, with the which they ſo
ruined the fort as the defendants lay open, & then preſently they gaue a generall aſſault
S. Herme taken by the Turkes. both by land and Sea, the which was ſo cruell and bloudie, as they were forced to yeeld. I
Thus the fort of S. Herme was won by the Turkes, the which had coſt the liues of 10000
of their men, & 20000 canon ſhot, in diuers batteries and aſſaults. All that were found li-
uing in it, were put to the ſword, & among others, 30 valiãt knights, who had bin reſerued
by the Ianiſaries to draw a ranſom from them, but others comming in murthered them
cruelly: they found 24 canons & culuerins within the place, with ſome remainder of mu-
nition, which they imployed againſt the other forts. This loſſe was grecuous to the great
Maſter, & to al thoſe that were with him, their number being much decreaſed; for they
had loſt aboue 1500 of their beſt men, & among them many knights. Wherefore the reſt
being grown mercileſſe, hearing what cruelties the Turkes had ſhewed to them of S. Her-
me, they reſolued not to take any more to mercy, & ſo it was ordained by the great maſter, K
who had reſolued to dy with al his company; but to ſel their liues dearly vnto the enemy,
diſpairing in a maner of all ſuccours from Italie. But theſe deſperate men were ſomewhat
reuiued by the vnexpected cõming of *Hen. Pariſot* the great maſters nephew, who broght
him about 500 good ſoldiers, with ſome knights; they had bin 14 daies at ſea, before they
could find an oportunity to recouer the Iland, the which they did in the end on the 29 of
Iune, landing at a place called Pietra Negra, from whence they ſlipt without diſcouerie
into the citie of Malta, and were from thence conducted with a conuoy to the Borough,
& receiued there with great contentment & ioy. Some of this new ſupply were put into
S. Michels fort, which they thought would be preſently attempted. The loſſe of S. Herme
being vnderſtood in Sicile, many made offer to D. *Garcia* to hazard themſelues to lead ſuc- L
cours to Malta, through the Turks gards, the which could hardly be effected by ſea; for
hauing taken S. Herme they were maſters of the entrie which went vnto the Bourg, vnder
caſtel S. Ange. *Iohn Andrew Doria* was confident, that with ten gallies he wold land as ma-
ny men as he could carry in ſome part of the Iland, & lead them himſelfe into the Bourg:
which D. *Garcia* would not ſuffer, for that hauing not any newes of the gallies of Spaine,
(which was his beſt excuſe in his dilations) he wold not hazard thoſe he had, which were
for the ſafetie of Sicile, & the realm of Naples. The Turks hauing clenſed the ruins of the
Batteries made by the Turkes at Malta. fort which they had won, they lodged 300 Ianiſaries in it, & then they planted 60 canõs in
ſix ſeueral batteries at la Grotte, Coraaſin, Mandraſſe, at Sancta Maria du Secours, at San-
cta Marguerita, & elſewhere, making ſo wonderful a thunder, as they were heard into Si- M
cile beyond Meſſina, aſſailing the Bourg, and fort of S. Michael both together, by ſea and
land, but it pleaſed God ſo to ſtrengthen the beſeeged, as they had alwaies the better a-
gainſt the Turks ſince the taking of Saint Herme, who in the end did not fight but with an
obſtinate deſpaire, battering the houſes of the Bourg, more than to make a breach to en-
ter: their pouder began alſo to waſt, for at their comming to this ſeege, they had loſt a
great

A great ſhip at Sea, in the which were ſixe thouſand barrels of pouder, with ſix hundred Ia- 1565
niſaries, and they had ſent into the Leuant to haue new , with other things which they wanted. In the meane time *Haſcen* king of Alger, ſon to *Barberouſſe*, came vnto the campe with ſeuen great gallies, many foiſts and other veſſels, carrying many Turkes and other good Souldiers; for whoſe welcome *Mattapha* ſeeking to doe ſome extraordinarie exploit againſt the fort of Saint *Michael* towards the ſea, and againſt the Bourg by land, was repulſt, and loſt aboue fiue and twenty hundred Turkes, ſome were drowned with their barkes, and ſome were ſlaine with the canon and the ſword: at which charge there dyed alſo about two hundred Chriſtians, and many were hurt: yet the Turks fainted not
B for all this, but increaſed their batterie againſt the fort and Bourg, ruining the flankes & courtines, and leauing the beſeeged almoſt naked to the ſhot of the canon, from whome notwithſtanding they could not take any thing, although they did aſſaile them fiercely by all meanes and deuices, caſting bridges made of their maine yardss, ouer their ditches, & vpon their ruines, as they had done at Saint Herme, with many other inuentions, all which were ouerthrown by the Chriſtians, who couered themſelues as wel as they could, but they could not preuent the death of many of them: among others *Henrie de la Valette Pariſot*, the great maſters nephew was ſlaine: but there hapned an accident which did much fauour the beſeeged, the noiſe of the canon was ſo great, as they of the citie being ſome ſeuen miles off, heard it as eaſily as if it had beene neere them, which made them
C reſolue to ſallie forth with all the men they had able to carrie armes, both horſe and foot, and came and charged a gard of two thouſand Turkes, which was ſet towards the Sea: the which caſt forth ſo great a crie, as their companions which fought at the breaches being amazed, fearing that ſome great ſuccours were arriued and came to compaſſe them in, retired in diſorder, leauing aboue fifteen hundred of their men dead vpon the place, and they of the citie had meanes to retire themſelues before they were diſcouered. In the end newes came of the ſo much deſired and ſo long expected ſuccours, for D. *Garcia*, being aduertized that thirtie and ſeuen gallies were parted from Spaine, with ſouldiers, to come and ioine with him in Sicile: hee reſolued not to ſtay their comming, making his accompt that if they found him gone, they would ſtay in his place and aſſure Sicile and
D Naples at all euents. Hee commaunded that all the Ships laden with Souldiers which attended in diuers ports of Italie, ſhould come to *Meſſina*, which was the Rendez-vous for the whole army, which being met, the queſtion was how they ſhould lead theſe ſuccors, wherin there appered many difficulties to men that were not aduenturous like vnto D. *Garcia* and his Spaniſh Councell. Hee had gathered together ſome twelue thouſand good ſouldiers, and fifteene hundred voluntaries of the nobilitie of Italie, who were deſirous to ſhew themſelues and to winne honor, but they wanted gallie ſlaues and mariners for ſuch a number of veſſels, whereof the Turkes had double the number: ſo as there was no meanes to aſſaile the enemies fleet at ſea; and to land men in any part of the Iſland, to make the bodie of an armie, and to giue battell vnto the
E Turkes, they feared alſo in this Councell to doe it vnſeaſonably, not knowing what forces the Baſſaes had yet remaining, hauing vnderſtood that, as well at their firſt landing, as afterwards by thoſe that came from Barbarie, and the Pyrats which had ioyned with them, they had had vnder their enſignes aboue fortie thouſand men of *Mahumets* ſect. They feared alſo they ſhold want victuals in a ſmall, barren & ruinous Iland; and to carrie with them, there was alſo danger how to conuey it ſafely: and they fell into the difficultie to be forced to fight, hauing a conuoie, with diſaduantage, againſt a greater number of enemies.

Beeing in theſe dangerous ſpeculations, in the neceſſities of warre, which require ſpeed and hazard, there was a Spaniard called *Andrew Salezar* preſented himſelfe, hee
F was an old politike captaine, and could ſpeake the Turkiſh language, who offered to goe as a ſpie into the enemies Campe at Malta, and to bring them certaine newes. Whereupon hee was ſent with two gallies of Malta, which were then at Meſſina, who landed him in ſo commodious a place, as hee got into the Citie without any incounter, where haning remained ſome time, he went diſguiſed into the Turkes campe, & there liued among them ſome daies where he diſcouered the eſtate & neceſſities thereof, & then

Death of Pariſot.

1565 returned in ſafetie to D.*Garcia*, to whome hee reported that there was a great amaze- G
ment among the Turkes by reaſon of thoſe ſuccours, that the Souldiers were tyred with
thoſe troubleſome ſeeges, and that there were many ſicke men; that their numbers were
not ſo great but tenne thouſand freſh men might winne an honourable victorie, and that
they kept gard onely by night; for the Baſſaes fearing theſe ſuccours, they cauſed euerie
night two great Squadrons of gallies to goe about the Iſland, the which going from the
port of Marcâuſſet, one on the right hand, & the other on the left, they met on the backe-
ſide thereof towards the weſt, and paſſing on made the rouud and came to the ſame port,
where they remained, all the day after and ſtirred not. Vpon this report the fleet went
forth, with an intent to land their men in the Iſland, and hauing recouered the citie, to H
Succours come to the Iland of Malta. march in battell againſt the Turkes. *John Andrew Doria* was ſent before to giue aduice
vnto the great maſter, but hauing contrarie windes the fleet was forced to put to Sea, and
was driuen to the Iſland of Fauignana, aboue two hundred miles from Malta, and then it
returned, toucht at Sicile, ſailed towards Goze, and in the end came to the aboue mentio-
ned place of Pietra Negra, whereas the men were landed, and in their landing they lay-
ed vpon euerie ſouldiers backe a bag of biſcuit, weighing aboue fifty of our pounds, be-
ſides their armes, with ſufficient ſhot and pouder, and ſo they marcht in three battailons,
two of Spaniards vnder D. *Aluaro de Sandy*, and one of Italians, vnder *Chiappin Vitelli*, and
all vnder the Marſhall generall of the field, *Aſcanio de la Corne*, towards the Citie of Mal-
ta, where after two reſtings, they arriued, the Maltois going forth to meet them with hor- I
ſes, and cattell to eaſe them of the burthens which they did beare.

This done, *D.Garcia* returned into Sicile, and paſſing in view of the enemie, hee cauſed
euerie one of his gallies to diſcharge three peeces, to buſie the Turkes, that they ſhould
not goe to incounter the ſuccours, or to diuert them from giuing an aſſault to Saint Mi-
chaels fort, if they continued: wherein doubtleſſe hee erred, for if he had gone away and
not giuen them this aduertiſement, they had not made any haſt to imbarke, and had vn-
doubtedly beene ſurpriſed, with great aduantage to the Chriſtians, and the gain of their
artillerie and baggage, the which they ſhipt preſently vpon the diſcharge of D. *Garcias*
canon. They had a will to retire, but it ſhould haue beene after a generall aſſault, being
reſolued to giue it the ſame day they had this aduertiſement, or the next. The Baſſaes K
were in a maner reſolued to fight with the ſuccors, not thinking them to be ſo ſtrong, but
hauing ſent fiue hundred of their men forth to skirmiſh with them, they were almoſt all
ſlaine, and the reſt of the armie fled to their gallies which they had drawne out of Marca-
muſſet, and other places, and ioyned together towards Cale of Saint Paule with ſuch diſ-
order, as many were drowned being preſt by the Chriſtians.

They retired towards the Leuant: where ſome ſaid, that D.*Garcia* loſt a goodly oppor-
tunitie, for hauing furniſhed his Gallies with new Souldiers, & being come to Siracuſa, he
ſaw this Turkiſh armie retyre cloſe together, & neuer followed them. His excuſe was that
he had not ſouldiers enough to fight with them, and therefore hee returned to Malta for
his Spaniards, where hauing manned fiftie of his beſt gallies, hee directed his courſe after L
the Turkes armie, hoping it would diuide it ſelfe, and that hee might get ſome bootie, but
Retreat of the Turkes armie from Malta. he returned empty handed to Meſſina; ſending ſhipping to tranſport the Italians and the
reſt of the Spaniards, which he had left at Malta, into their Countries, but ſome of them
were caſt away in a tempeſt. Thus Malta was deliuered in time, for they that defended
it were reduced to extremitie by a great diſorder which ſeemed to bee in the Councell of
Spaine, ſo as the blame ought not to be attributed ſolely to *D.Garcia de Toledo*, if it had bin
taken, for if he ſhewed himſelfe ſlack, and of a ſmall courage to ſuccour the beſeeged, and
if hee were not faithfull in the diſpenſation of the treaſure, as ſome would accuſe him, the
irreſolution of king *Philips* Councell, and the malice and croſſes of his enemies in Court,
did bring Sicile, Naples, and all Italie in danger of ruine if the Turkes had depriued him of M
this aſſured rampar. But God fortified the great Maſter, his knights and ſouldiers, and all
the people of the Iland, arming them with patience, courage, and conſtancie, for by hu-
man, reaſon they had bin all loſt. They that did aduenture to come out of Sicile, & to en-
ter into the Bourg, haue their ſhare in the honor, neither are they that broght the ſuccors
to be excluded. The conſtancy of the great maſter, the reſolution of *Pariſot* his nephew,
the

A the vndaunted courage of *Romegas*, the brauerie of *Barragan*, a Nauarrois, *Monſerrat*, *Miranda*, and others which defended the breaches, the willingneſſe of *Iohn Andrew Doria* to ſuccour them, if they would haue ſuffered him, the reſolution and good conduct of *Aſcanio de la Corne*, of D. *Aluaro de Sandy*, of *Chauppin Vitelli*, and other captaines of the ſuccours, and their ſouldiers, are remarkable in this warre: the which continued foure monethes, from the middeſt of May to the middeſt of September, whereas three hundred and thirteene knights loſt their liues honourably, 3600 ſouldiers, and aboue ſix thouſand of the people, men, women, and children. The Turkes ſpent aboue foureſcore thouſand canon ſhot, and loſt at the leaſt thirtie thouſand men. The great 1565
B Maſter after the retreat of the remainder of their armie, gaue God thankes for this deliuerie, and in like manner the Princes and Eſtates which had aſſiſted him; but he was not without great apprehenſion of the returne of the Barbarians, fearing hee ſhould not be able to reſiſt them, by this former experience: ſo as it was often propounded to abandon the iſland, and not ſeeke obſtinatly to repaire and keepe thoſe lamentable ruines: for except the caſtle of Saint *Ange*, and the old citie, all the reſt was reduced to powder. But in theſe difficulties their generous reſolutions were comforted, incouraged, and aſſiſted, as well by the Pope, the duke of Florence, and other Princes and States of Italie, as by the king of Spaine, who among other prouiſions appointed three thouſand Pioners, which hee cauſed to bee leuied in Sicile and Naples, to repaire the ruined forts,
C and alſo to begin the new citie which was alreadie proiected, and had beene traced out vpon that peece of ground, at the point whereof had beene the fort of Saint *Herme*, and which diuides the port of Marcamuſſet from that of the gallies of the religion. This new towne was called Valette, to be a memorie to poſteritie of the vertue and valour of that great knight *Iohn de la Valette*, who liued not long after his worthie exploits in the defence of this ſiege: to whom there ſucceeded *Peter de Monte*, who was Admirall of the Order, and had behaued himſelfe valiantly.

Valette a new towne built in the iſland of Malta.

The gouernours of Prouinces, with the Nobilitie of the Netherlands, ſubiects to the king of Spaine, ſeeing the generall diſcontent of all men, tending to a lamentable confuſion, they beſought the ducheſſe of Parma, their Gouerneſſe, to preuent theſe inconue-
D niences, which grew from the crueltie of the Edicts and rigorous perſecutions, from the new biſhops, and feare of the Spaniſh Inquiſition: Whereupon they reſolued to ſend one into Spain, with ample inſtructions, to acquaint the king with all thoſe inconueniences, and the apparent daunger. The earle of Egmont had that charge, hee went into Spaine, he told the king, That mildneſſe was the beſt meanes to preuent this miſchiefe; and was ſent backe with hope and promiſes conformable to his inſtructions; which gaue great content to the Netherlanders at his returne, but the effect proued contrarie, and their hope was turned into deſpaire: For this yeare 1565, in December, the king ſignified his pleaſure to the Gouerneſſe, by his letters, what hee would haue obſerued in the Low Countries, touching matters of religion. He commaunded, That all Edicts made
E by the Emperour his father, or himſelfe, touching matters of religion, ſhould bee duely executed: That the Inquiſitors ſhould bee fauoured in their charges, for the good of religion, it being his pleaſure that the Inquiſition ſhould be put in practiſe: And laſtly, That ſhe ſhould aſſiſt the biſhops to haue the Councell of Trent ſetled: all which was contrarie to that which he had promiſed to the earle of Egmont, and to the expectation of the poore Netherlanders. And for that the Inquiſition was the cauſe of ſo great troubles, and the ſhedding of much innocent bloud, I haue thought it fitting the ſubiect of our hiſtorie, to relate it ſomewhat particularly, as it is now practiſed in Spaine, and its beginning.

Earle of Egmont ſent into Spaine.

D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabella*, kings of Caſtille and Arragon, hauing wholly ſubdued
F the Moores and Saraſins of Spaine, and being aſſured of them, they ſuffered them to liue quietly vnder their obedience, paying a certaine tribute, liuing but a toyling life for them that were of a free condition, but yet tollerable, ſeeing they were not queſtioned with for their religion. But as all things in this world are inconſtant, and ſubiect to change, king *Ferdinand* was perſuaded to chuſe ſome men that might look into the ſuperſtitions and infidelities of theſe Moores, leaſt in the end the Iewiſh and Mahometane religion

Beginning and progreſſe of the Inquiſition.

1565 ligion ſhould ſuppreſſe the Catholike: whereupon hee imployed himſelfe with great G
zeale to religion. Wherein he was ſo happie, as, in teſtimonie of his pietie, he was ho-
noured by the Pope, as well for himſelfe, as for his ſucceſſors, kings of Spaine, with the ti-
tle of Catholike, which *Gregorie* the third had in the yeare 1230 giuen vnto *Alphonſo*
king of Caſtille. Whereupon many of the Moores, Saraſins, Africanes, and Iewes,
were either forced to confeſſe Chriſt, or to abandon the countrey: ſo as many thouſands
retired themſelues into Africke, and other places. But they that deſired rather to liue in
Spaine with their wiues and children, did either willingly, or by conſtraint, quit their re-
ligion, and were baptiſed. But the Spaniards finding afterwards of what force the opini-
on of a diuinitie grauen in the hearts of men is, be it good or bad, true or falſe, and how H
hardly it is rooted out, they being bred vp in it from father to ſonne, they did forbid the
Iewes the exerciſe of their religion; and as they could not ſincerely forget, nor leaue the
ſaid exerciſe, the Spaniard had recourſe to perſecutions (but with ſome forme of juſtice)
to root them out: But king *Ferdinands* meaning was, to draw them to religion by inſtru-
ction and doctrine, which ſhould conuict them in their errours. And as the Order of
Iacobins firſt Inquiſitors. Saint *Dominike* was then newly inſtituted, and they were called Iacobins, being then in
credit for their pietie, ſinceritie, learning, and zeale, before all other Monkes, Preachers,
and Doctors, the charge of matters concerning conſcience and religion, was commit-
ted to them. And although there were ſome forme of Inquiſition before, yet was it
confirmed by theſe Iacobins, who ſeeing that they could not conuert the Iewes neither I
by prayers, perſuaſions, nor preaching, they tooke the materiall ſword in hand, to force
them to the Chriſtian religion; holding, That any thing which is practiſed (eſpecially re-
ligion) although it be by force and conſtraint, turnes to a cuſtome, which growing aun-
cient by ſucceſſion of time, is allowed by them that did not feele the firſt conſtraint and ri-
gour. This ſword which the Iacobins vſed then, and continues to this day in Spaine, was
the cauſe that they ſaid the Inquiſition began in the time of D. *Ferdinand* king of Arra-
gon, for that this manner of reclaiming them was more rigorous than the firſt, againſt the
heretikes, whom they called Marans. Thus the Iacobins were the authors of the Inqui-
ſition, which the king allowed, and Pope *Sextus* confirmed. The king had reaſon to doe
it, to root out the curſed doctrine of the Mahometans and Iewes, who committed great K
impieties in Spaine.

Theſe Iacobins for the inſtitution of the ſaid Inquiſition, were called defenders of the
Chriſtian religion. Their firſt Commiſſions extended but to Iewes and Mahometiſts,
but ſince they extended their authoritie ouer all in generall, calling themſelues Inquiſi-
tors of hereticks, to perſecute all them that did not punctually obſerue the orders of the
Church of Rome. Whereby in the end they did purchaſe ſuch hatred, as king *Ferdinand*
Iacobins looſe the title of Inquiſitors. was forced to ſet learned Clergie men in their places, who before had beene fauourers of
this Inquiſition. But leaſt the Iacobins ſhould take this depriuation ill, the king gaue them
authoritie to be preſent at the deliberations and judgements of the Inquiſitors of the
Faith: ſo as the examination of ſuch as they call heretikes, is at this day taken by them. L
And although the ſaid Inquiſition were not ſo rigorouſly executed in thoſe dayes, as it is
Inquiſition reiected by the Arragonois. now, yet in ſome parts of Spaine the Spaniards themſelues would not receiue it, for the
Eſtates of Arragon oppoſed themſelues againſt it (yet reuerently) firſt by words and ad-
monitions; but when he ſought to force them, they fell to armes, and would by no
meanes receiue it, the Eſtates conſidering that it would be prejudiciall to the liberties and
priuiledges of the realme: ſo as they did not receiue it without great force and effuſion
of bloud of either ſide, as appeared by the death of *M. Æpile*, who being ſent with com-
miſſion from the king to ſettle it, was murthered in the Cathedrall church of Sarragoſſe,
the chiefe citie of the realme of Arragon.

Inquiſitors what they be. Experience hath taught vs what men theſe Inquiſitors bee, who by their wickedneſſe M
peruert all; againſt whom no lawes, priuiledges, ſtatutes, nor cuſtomes of the countrey
can preuaile; proceeding in all things againſt the accuſed according to their paſſions, be
it right or wrong, by all cruell executions vnworthie of Chriſtians, obſeruing no ordina-
rie courſe of juſtice, but preſuming to deale both with ciuile and criminall cauſes; citing
ſometimes before them men of grauitie and authoritie, noblemen and gentlemen, for
trifles

A trifles vnfit for children. When any one is accuſed, they ſend a Sergeant (whom they call a Familiar) to cite him to appeare perſonally before the holy office of the Inquiſition; whereunto he muſt of neceſſitie obey. If he denies that wherewith he is charged, they ſuffer him to goe to his houſe, but one of their flies followes him, who obſerues his countenance: if he finds by word or ſhew, that he hath any bad impreſſions, they declare it to the Inquiſitors, who make a new Proces. When as the accuſed appearing at the day appointed confeſſeth freely, or by intricate examinations (to make him forget his firſt aunſwers) they draw any thing from him, the accuſer, or flie, is hidden behind the hangings, to heare if he confeſſed the truth. If he be a towne dweller, they ſend him home to his
B houſe, if he be a ſtranger, they ſend him to priſon. Then they write vnto the curat or biſhop of the dioceſe where the accuſed is reſident, to the end (ſay they) they ſhould not raſhly lay hands vpon the ſheep of a ſtrange paſtor, ſending him word, that they haue one of his flocke in their priſons. 1565 *Manner of the Inquiſitions proceeding.*

He that hath a dwelling houſe in the towne, being ſent for againe, and committed to priſon, they demaund of him the keyes of his coffers and cloſet, to deliuer them to a publicke Notarie, who muſt take an inuentarie of all his mouables, writings, jewels, or what elſe is in his houſe: which inuentarie is deliuered into the hands of ſome rich neighbour, who keepes it vntill the end of the Proces, all the ſaid goods being forfeited to the king, if the accuſed be condemned: for their cuſtome is (although the ſentence be not capitall) to
C make a prey of his goods, declaring the accuſed to bee vnworthie to enjoy any of them. The accuſed being once in priſon, the keeper ſearcheth him if he haue no knife, papers, or any other thing, ſtripping him to his verie ſhirt. Eight daies after the Inquiſitors will the Gaoler to aduiſe the priſoner to demaund audience: whereupon the poore man intreats him to aske it for him, the which, after much preſſing, he promiſeth, and in the end, after ſome delayes, doth it. Being come into the Auditorie, he intreats them to diſpatch his Proces: then they admoniſh him to diſcharge his conſcience, and to acknowledge his faults, promiſing him all fauour and mercie, ſo as he will conuert. If hee confeſſeth, he is not freed therefore, and if he doth not confeſſe, they ſend him backe to priſon, and tell him that they will diſpatch his Proces. It is in vaine for him to demaund audience againe,
D neither will they tell him whereof he is accuſed, but he muſt diuine it, ſeeking to conuict him by his owne confeſſion. Then they bring him againe before the Inquiſitors, who tell him ſharply, That if you will not otherwiſe diſcharge your conſcience, you ſhal be deliuered into the Atturney generals hands, who will intreat you after another maner, by torture. But when the craftie admonitions of the Inquiſitors cannot ſhake his conſtancie, then they haue recourſe to another practiſe. They cauſe a croſſe and a booke which they call the Meſſall, to be brought, whereon they will haue the accuſed to ſweare: if he refuſeth, he is conuicted, if he ſweares, they inquire firſt of his countrey, kinſmen, profeſſion, companions, and other ſuch like things, from the which they draw great arguments: but they that are well aduiſed will anſwer nothing, if they haue not firſt ſeene the informati-
E ons whereof they are accuſed. In the end they giue it him in writing, to defend himſelfe by his Aduocate, who vndertakes his cauſe, after that his Proces is in queſtion, according to the cuſtome (the which is only to get money from the poore priſoner) on the third day after the Inquiſitors ſend for the priſoner with his Aduocate; then they commaund him to ſpeake the truth, ſeeing in that Auditorie they require nothing elſe: If he doth not confeſſe, then they ſend him backe to priſon. In the end they acquaint him with the depoſitions, but doe not name the witneſſes. But if any man will charge him with any thing, the priſoner, if he be well aduiſed, will inquire of the qualitie of the perſon which hath beene heard againſt him: When as the priſoner can diuine of his accuſer, and doth remember with whom he hath diſcourſed of religion, they grant a confrontation with him. They
F that are beſt aduiſed demaund a copie of the concluſion, to make anſwer thereunto by writing: but if there be two witneſſes, they judge to death, or otherwiſe: one witneſſe alone is ſufficient to put him to the racke.

The kings Atturney is his aduerſe partie, and the witneſſes be his accuſers. Two or three dayes after the priſoner hath beene called before the Iudges, his Aduocate comes and declares vnto him the chiefe points whereof he is accuſed, and doth propound vnto him

the

1565 the moſt pregnant reaſons, and the teſtimonie of his accuſers, to vnderſtand if they bee G
true or not. He wils him to conſider what the witneſſes may be, to the end he may take
exceptions againſt them; giuing him ſome daies of reſpite, to call to mind what his ene-
mies may be, that haue witneſſed againſt him; if he cannot coniecture who they be, he is
conuicted; if he doth name any, they doe not tell him they be they, but his Aduocate doth
ſecretly aduertiſe him, and they aske him before the Inquiſitors, what he can reproach a-
gainſt them. When as the priſoner will juſtifie himſelfe, and can proue that he hath al-
wayes beene a friend to Churchmen, that he hath obſerued all Popiſh ceremonies, that
he hath frequented Maſſe, gone often to confeſsion, honoured the croſſe, and images,
and that he is contrarie to that which his accuſers haue depoſed (the which he muſt com- H
monly doe within nine dayes) his cauſe is much bettered; but no juſtification will ſerue
if he wants authenticke witneſſes. Afterwards ſome Iacobine Friers, or Doctors of Di-
uinitie, examine him of his faith, interpreting his aunſwers according to their owne fan-
taſies. If he hath ſaid well, in their opinions, they iudge him free, but not without loſſe
and preiudice.

Proceeding to the torture. When they haue ſufficient matter, as they thinke, to condemne a priſoner to be extra-
ordinarily rackt, they lead him into a caue through many doors, where he finds the judge
with his aſsiſtants ſet, being all masked with blacke cypers, the executioner preſents him-
ſelfe in a caſſocke of blacke linnen cloth (ſuch as the Spaniards weare the Thurſday be-
fore Eaſter, when they whip themſelues) with a blacke hood ouer his head and face, ha- I
uing but two holes before his eies; being thus attired to terrifie the priſoner, as if the di-
uell himſelfe ſhould torment him. Then doth the Iudge admoniſh him to tell the truth,
proteſting, that if otherwiſe any member of his be broken through torture, the fault ſhold
lye vpon himſelfe. Then they ſtrip the poore priſoner naked, hauing nothing couered but
his priuie parts. After which they make a ſigne vnto the executioner, what torture hee
ſhall ſuffer, the which he is often put to, ſometimes in one ſort, ſometimes in another,
vntill that he confeſſe. If he continue conſtant, and confeſſe not any thing, they carrie
him into a church, where there are Chirurgians, to put his joynts againe in their places,
the which doth double his torments. The patient being in this miſerable eſtate, they wiſh
him to confeſſe, where if they find of what religion he is, confeſsing himſelfe, there is a K
Notarie hidden, to write his confeſsion; for they make him ſpeake with a lowd voyce, the
prieſt telling him, that he hath power to deliuer him out of the Inquiſitors hands. Some-
times poore men, deceiued with theſe words, confeſſe things which make them puniſha-
ble. Whereupon the Inquiſitors giue it out, That this priſoner hath confeſt much, and
accuſed ſome of his companions, although there be no ſuch matter: wherewith ſome be-
ing terrified, come and accuſe themſelues, before they be called in queſtion, to reconcile
themſelues to theſe Inquiſitors.

Proceeding of the Inquiſition to execution. Two daies before that ſentence is to be giuen, they ſend for the priſoners which are con-
demned to die, whom the Inquiſitors command to declare vnto them all their goods mo-
uable & immouable, and that they conceale not any thing: to the end that they that are L
in their houſes be not taxed of theft; or that they themſelues by the will of God do not fal
dead to the ground, like to *Ananias* & *Saphira*, who fell down dead at the Apoſtles feet, for
that they had cõcealed part of their goods. On the day of execution (the night before they
that will being confeſſed) the officers of the Inquiſition bring them in the morning, the
Sant benita, which is a kind of mandillion, whereon are painted great heads of diuels, and
on their heads they weare a miter of paper, whereon is painted a man ſitting ouer a fire,
Pompe at an execution of the Inquiſition. which a diuell doth kindle, & torment him. When they lead him to execution the ſchoole
boyes go before ſinging Lettanies. Thoſe which are condemned to die, follow them with
two Sergeants of the Inquiſition, & ſome Monks and Ieſuites, which exhort the people.
The chanons and prieſts of Cathedrall churches, abbots, priors, & other of the clergie, aſ- M
ſiſt at theſe executions. The Aduocate fiſcall, & the Atturney generall, are on horſeback,
with one that caries the banner of the Inquiſition diſplaied, being of crimſon damask rich-
ly imbrodered, hauing on the one ſide the name & arms of the Pope which confirmed the
Inquiſition, & on the other the name and arms of D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, & on the
top of the banner a ſiluer croſſe gilt. The Fathers Inquiſitors of the Faith, and all the
officers

A officers are there alſo on horſebacke. This troupe is followed by a great multitude of people, which come running in great troupes from farre, to ſee this feaſt, vnto the field, where there are two ſcaffolds made, one for the accuſed, the other for the Inquiſitors; whereas one makes an oration in praiſe of the Inquiſition, and condemnation of hereſies: which being ended, they pronounce with a lowd voyce the ſentences of theſe poore condemned men in order, beginning with them that haue the mildeſt ſentence, and the eaſieſt puniſhment. After the publication of theſe ſentences, the Inquiſitor Major ſings the Collects of *Oremus* and *Quæſumus*, for them that are conuerted, praying God to ſhew them mercie, and that they may perſeuere in the Catholike Romiſh Faith vnto death. 1561

B This done, all the Clergie ſings *Miſerere mei Deus, &c.* which ended, the Inquiſitor Major ſings certaine verſes, and all the other ſinging men anſwer him in Muſicke. Then the Inquiſitor ſings abſolution, by the which the penitents are abſolued from the ſinne of hereſie, but not from the pecuniarie fine, the which is executed without mercie, yea againſt all right and equitie. This abſolution being giuen, the Inquiſitors cauſe them to ſweare vnto the people, That they will liue and die in the Faith, obedience, and religion of the Romiſh Church, and that they ſhall defend it and the Inquiſitors againſt all men, hazarding their bodies and goods againſt them that ſhall offer to reſiſt them: and moreouer, that they abjure all things contrarie to the doctrine, inſtitution, and ceremonies of their Church; and will defend with all their power the ſaid holy office, with all the offi-

C cers or Sergeants, calling them all to witneſſe, for aſſurance of the oath which hee had taken. If there be any Churchman among theſe conuerts, which hath deſerued leſſe puniſhment than death, he is degraded onely by words: but if hee be condemned to dye, then they degrade him as followeth. Firſt they put on him his prieſts habit, as if he were to ſay Maſſe, whereof he is preſently diſrobed, the biſhop (being in his Epiſcopall robes) vſing certaine ceremonies vpon euerie peece they take from him, with words directly contrarie to thoſe which they vſe in giuing the order of prieſthood: then they ſcrape the ends of his fingers, his lips, and his ſhauen crowne, with a peece of glaſſe, or a raſor, to take away the oyle wherewith he was annoynted at his conſecration. Theſe ceremonies are publikely done in the view of all the world. When the ſentences are pronounced, *Degrading of a prieſt by the Inquiſition.*

D and the prieſt degraded, the temporall officer receiueth them that ſhould die, according to the judgement of the Inquiſitors, and brings them to the place of execution, hauing Iacobines, Ieſuites, or others crying in their eares, to diuert them from the Faith which they haue confeſſed: but when as the Inquiſitors vnderſtand, that they are not truely penitent, they deliuer them into the hands of the ſecular power, beſeeching them to intreat them mildly, and not to breake any member, nor to ſhed one drop of bloud: and to the captiall ſentence they inſert: *Seeing the paine we haue taken to conuert this man from his errours is vaine, we deliuer him into the hands of the temporall magiſtrat, to be puniſhed according vnto law and iuſtice, yet we intreat, in caſe that he acknowledge his errours, and turne, that they ſhew him mercie.* But the officer proceeds, and cauſeth them to be burnt aliue, being tied to *Hipocriſie of the Inquiſitors.*

E ſtakes. Such as are not condemned to die, are carried backe to priſon, being conſtrained to looke vpon them that haue dyed conſtantly: but the next day they whip ſome through the ſtreets, ſome are condemned to the gallies, ſome to perpetuall priſon, or for a time, and others to carrie the *Sant-benita* during their liues, or for a ſeaſon: but if any of them fall into a relapſe, there is no more hope of mercie. And after this cruell maner the Inquiſition of Spaine is practiſed.

30 This yeare there was an enteruiew betwixt *Charles* the French king, and D. *Iſabella* his ſiſter, queene of Spaine. This princeſſe parting from Madrid, came by Areualo, Medina del Campo, and by Vailledolit, to Burgos; in all which places ſhe had ſumptuous and ſtately entries made her: then continuing her journey, ſhee entred into Nauarre by *Enteruiew betwixt the French king & the queene of Spaine.*

F Tudele, Valterre, Caparoſa, Tafalla, and ſo to Pampelone; and paſſing from thence to Huerta, Araguil, and Alſalua, the laſt place of Nauarre, ſhee came into Guipuſcoa, whereas the gentlemen and people did her all the honour they could; for ſhee found deputies well accompanied in nine ſeuerall places, to kiſſe her hand, and to make her thoſe offers which ſubiects are accuſtomed to doe vnto their Queene. The Duke of Anjou, her brother, went to Hernant to meet with her, and paſſing by

Saint

1565 Saint Sebaſtians, la Renterie, Ocarſon, Yrum, and Vranſu, they came vnto the riuer which diuides France from Spaine, where there were boats prepared, into the which the queen mother came to receiue her, and led her vnto king *Charles*, who attended her on the other banke, at the end of the bridge. After their imbracings and complements, they went all towards Bayone, with a great traine of lords and ladies of both realmes. The queene mother and her three children marcht in one ranke, ſhe holding the right hand, the queene of Spaine next her, the French king joyning to his ſiſter, and the duke of Anjou on the left hand. She ſtayed at Bayone ſeuenteene dayes, and at her returne the queene mother did accompanie her vnto the riuer, and the duke of Anjou vnto Segure. The cauſe of this enteruiew was knowne by many effects which followed: with whom the duke of Alba was ſent, with full authoritie from his maſter. This princeſſe of France hath left vnto king *Philip* her husband two daughters, D. *Iſabella*, and D. *Catherina*. The Spaniſh hiſtories ſay, that ſhe was brought in bed of her eldeſt daughter on the twelfth of Auguſt 1566, in the royall palace of Segouia, who was named D. *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, and was baptiſed by the biſhop of Roſſano, the Popes Nuntio, by reaſon of a contention growne betwixt the Archbiſhop of S. *Iames*, and the biſhop of Segouia; the Archbiſhop ſaying, That hee ought to Chriſten the kings child, being chiefe chaplaine of the kings houſe, and that all that concerned the Spiritualtie in the kings palace, belonged to his charge, the biſhop on the other ſide maintained, That this act belonged vnto him, for that it was done in his dioceſſe. G H I

D. Garcia de Toledo in diſgrace.

31 There were great complaints made in the Court of Caſtille, againſt D. *Garcia de Toledo*, Viceroy of Sicile, where he had many enemies which taxed him of arrogancie, malicious negligence, and neglect of all good occaſions, yea he was accuſed to haue retained three hundred thouſand crownes, which were ſent him for the war of Malta, and the laſt prouiſion thereof, and that he had ſuffered the remainder of the Turkiſh armie to eſcape, who fled in diſorder (ſaid his ill willers) whom he might eaſily haue defeated. He ſought to purge himſelfe of theſe imputations by his friends, and ſent *Alphonſo Ruis*, Secretarie of State for that realme, expreſly out of Sicile; but his diſgrace increaſing, he was forced to come in perſon. He was there diſcharged by the king, and ſent home to his houſe, being depriued of all his offices and eſtates. D. *Iohn de Auſtria* was made Generall at ſea, and the marqueſſe of Peſcare Viceroy of Sicile. K

THE

THE 29 BOOKE OF THE Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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TOwards the end of the laſt yere Pope *Pius* the fourth died, in whoſe place was choſen Frier *Michael Giſlieri*, of the Order of S. *Dominicke*, cardinall *Alexandrino*, and he was called *Pius* the fifth. He had beene bred vp in diuers charges of the Inquiſition, and therefore he ſought to aduance it being come to this dignitie. The people of Rome knowing him to be of a ſowre and ſeuere diſpoſition, were ſomewhat troubled at his election: which being reported vnto him, We hope in God, ſaid he, ſo to behaue our ſelfe, as they will bee more grieued to heare of our death, than they are now at our creation. But the king of Spaine rejoyced much at this election, commending the authours thereof. He did obſerue him with great reuerence, commanding all his miniſters with whom the Pope was to treat, not to oppoſe themſelues againſt his Holineſſe juſt demaunds. And this yere *Bartholmew Caranza*, Archbiſhop of Toledo, being called in queſtion by the Inquiſition of Spaine, for misbeliefe, requiring to be judged at Rome, as his Holineſſe ſhould determine, he being not well ſatisfied with his Spaniſh judges, the king wold not refuſe him to the lord of Camojano, who was ſent vnto him to that end, notwithſtanding that it was againſt the priuiledges of the Inquiſition in that realme: wherein the cardinall *Sanſiſto* being ſent the yere before by the Pope, to judge the cauſe, could not preuaile, the Spaniards ſeeking to maintaine their juriſdiction, and to determine it abſolutely. Notwithſtanding the Archbiſhops perſon was granted to *Camoiano*, who was caried priſoner to Rome, with his Proces which had beene begun there.

1566 *Election of Pope Pius 5.*

Archbiſhop of Toledo drawne in queſtion by the Inquiſition.

1566 Pope *Pius* the fift hauing beene made cardinall by *Paul* the fourth, a *Caraffe*, in requi- G
tall of this fauour, being aduanced to the Papacie, he cauſed the proces of cardinall *Ca-*
Carraffas proces reuiewed. *raffa*, and others of that houſe, which had beene executed by his predeceſſors commande-
ment, to be reuiewed, reſtoring the familie of the *Caraffas* to their honor and fame.

The Pope perſiſting in his accuſtomed rigour againſt them that did ſeeme to decline from the obedience of the Church of Rome, did not faile, after his aſſumption, to admo-niſh all Chriſtian princes to obſerue the decrees of the Councel of Trent, and did quicken the diligence of Inquiſitors in all places: But he had no need to reiterate his commande-ments in that point in Spain, where they had for a long time vſed hard perſecution againſt them whom they called Lutherans, whom king *Philip* was preſt to root out in other pla- H
ces of his obedience, eſpecially in the Low Countries, and to publiſh this Councell, which was ended ſo fauourably for him, as it was rather called the king of Spaines Coun-cell than a generall.

Cauſes of hatred betwixt the Spaniards and Flemings. Betwixt the Spaniards and the nobilitie of the Netherlands, yea betwixt theſe nations there raigned an inueterat hatred, ſince the Infancie of *Charles* their king; which grew as well by the diuerſitie of manners, as by occaſions which ſprang from charges in Court, being alwayes accompanied with enuie, and many times with attempts of courteors one againſt another, abuſing the fauour of their princes: For the Flemings had been in great credit with the Emperour, and had made their profit of the commodities of Spaine, yea againſt the lawes of the countrey, during his raigne: And at this time in the Court of I
king *Philip* his ſonne, the Spaniards had the aduantage, and were in moſt credit. From
I this ſpring grew the priuat diſlikes betwixt the duke of Alba, and other noblemen of
Troubles in the Low Countries. Spaine, and the earle of Egmont, prince of Orange, and other great men who had the chiefe gouernments and charges in thoſe hereditarie countries of king *Philip*. Of whom they thought they might well be reuenged (as reuenge is ſweet and pleaſant to men of that ſort) by reaſon of the publication of the Councel of Trent, and the obſeruation ther-of, and of the Edicts which they called Placards, which the Emperour had made in re-gard of religion, containing many articles of extreame rigour, in imitation of the Inqui-ſition of Spaine, whereof notwithſtanding at the inſtance of the Eſtates of the Coun-trey, he did moderate much of the rigour, and, giuing ouer the gouernment, he did ad- K
Aduice giuen by the Emperour Charles to his ſonne. moniſh D. *Philip* his ſonne, to intreat his ſubiects liuing vnder diuers climats, according to their naturall humors; letting him vnderſtand, that it might be auſteritie was neceſſa-rie for Spaniards, but that the Netherlanders muſt be gouerned with a certaine familiari-tie and mildneſſe. Againſt this good and wholeſome aduice king *Philip* had other coun-ſell as ſoone as he came into Spaine, being animated as well by them of his Councell that were about him, as by *Anthonie Perrenot*, cardinall of Arras, who concurred with the king and them in that point, to ſettle a ſoueraigne abſolute power ouer that nation, and to take their priuiledges from them: whereof they had made ſome triall by the creati-on of new biſhops, without the conſent of the Eſtates. Wherein he found great oppoſi-tion, as we haue formerly ſhewed, and as you may read at large in the Netherland Hiſto- L
rie, to the which this ſubiect doth more properly belong.

Moſt of the prouinces of the Netherlands being in combuſtion, it was bruted, That the king of Spaine would goe in perſon thither, carrying peace and mildneſſe with him: but the chiefe of them that fauoured religion, were ſoone aduertiſed of a contrarie reſolution
Reſolution in Spaine touching the gouernment of the Low Countries. taken in the kings Councel, which was, That the king would not come among them, but that the duke of Alba ſhould be ſent with a great armie, to enter the countrey in hoſtile manner, as you ſhall heare in the following yeare. King *Philip* was doubtfull indeed, whe-ther he ſhould goe in perſon into the Netherlands, but he knew not well to whom to leaue the gouernement of Spaine, in his abſence, being due to D. *Charles* his ſonne, whom
Charles prince of Spaine vnpleaſing to his father. he truſted not: for whether it were for want of vnderſtanding, as the brute was, or that M
he had too much, as hee preſumed, his father had conceiued a bad opinion of him, which ſome of his Counſellours did feed, for that it ſeemed vnto them, that this young prince, both in his words and actions, did ſcorne them, or at the leaſt did not eſteeme them as they deſired. Aboue all, the Inquiſitors were no friends vnto him, as you ſhall heare.

2 Whileſt

A 2 Whilest they consulted in the king of Spaines Councel, how to punish the Netherlanders, the Moores of Granado were called in question, being pursued by the Clergie, and accused of many crimes, especially of secret impietie, as retaining in their hearts the precepts of the law of *Mahomet*, & hauing their exercises secretly in their houses, although that publikely they aduowed themselues to be Christians, went to Masse, and to other offices and ceremonies in the parishes where they dwelt. Their spleene was chiefly against the inhabitants of the Albaizin, which is a quarter within the citie of Granado, being then peopled with a great number of families of that nation, who were rich and well accommodated; being people which imploied their time in the trade of marchandise, in B making of silkes, and in many gainfull trades: and among them there were some knights, professing nobilitie and armes. Moreouer, in other townes, and in the countrey and mountaines of Granado, and thereabouts, there were aboue an hundred thousand other families of Moores of diuers conditions, some rich, but most labourers and shepheards, liuing vnder the protection of lords which enjoyed the castles, fees, and seigniories, to whom they paied rents & dueties, as subiects, descending from them that remained in the countrey since the realme of Granado had beene conquered by the kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Isabella*, who had promised in capitulating with the last king of the Moores, That they and their successors might remaine there with all assurance and libertie, and not be forced in their religion, obseruing the lawes in generall, and paying the rights and tributes to the C king, like to his other subiects, yet the same kings breaking their promise by the persuasion of some Prelats, they would force them to be baptised, and receiue instruction in religion, by reason whereof they fell againe to warre against them that dwelt in Alpuxarra, a mountaine countrie, rough, and of hard accesse, joyning vnto the sea, the which after many hard incounters, with diuers euents on either side, was ended by another cõposition: by the which it was concluded, That they that would be Christians should remaine in the countrey, and the rest should passe into Barbarie, whom they should furnish with shipping for their passage. They that remained were called Madejares, and they that passed were tearmed Moores Andaluzes, by the inhabitants of the prouinces depending vpon the realmes of Fez and Marroc, whither they retired themselues. Notwithstanding, D howsoeuer the Moores which remained in Spaine behaued themselues, they were still hated, and held to be vile and abiect persons by the Spaniards, who called them, in reproach, New Christians, and in stead of making them receiue the religion of Iesus Christ gently, they tormented them both in word and deed; which the magistrat could not remedie, or, it may be, would not: for the Clergie, who are exempt from aunswering before any ciuile magistrat, and haue their justice apart, being wonderfully fauoured in Spaine, were they that committed the greatest insolencies against them: yea these poore wretches were continually troubled to giue an account vnto the Inquisitors of their actions, and to vse all meanes possible to obtaine some rest of them that were ordinarily in the countrey: But their superiours, and the Prelats which were of the Coun-E cell at Court, gaue them no rest; so as since the time of D. *Ioane* the Emperours mother, queene proprietarie of Castille, Arragon, &c. and the Emperours raigne, there had many seuere Edicts beene made against them, and strange restraints in their conuersations and manner of liuing, whereof notwithstanding they had suspended the execution, at their humble suit, and protestation of their innocencies, purging themselues reasonably well of all the imputations wherewith they were by them charged.

1566

Tumult made in Spaine by the Moores of Granado.

Moores ill intreated in Spaine.

At this time in the kings Court and Council, all the old accusations against the Moors were reuiued, and to set an order to the content of the Inquisition, and the Prelats which pursued them, there had beene Commissioners deputed, which were D. *Diego d'Espinosa*, F President of the Councell, who was afterwards made a cardinall, D. *Fernando Aluares de Toledo*, duke of Alba, D. *Anthonie de Toledo*, Prior of the Order of S. *Iohn*, D. *Bernard de Borea*, Vicechauncellor of Arragon, the bishop of Origuela, D. *Pedro* of Desa, of the Councell of the generall Inquisition, the Licenciat *Mechaca*, and Doctor *Velasco*, Auditors, or Councellors. These hauing met, made an Edict containing many articles, wherof the chiefe were: That all Moors, new Christians, were commanded to leaue their

Commissioners appointed to order the Moores.

Edict against the Moores Mudeiares.

1566 Arabike or Mooriſh tongue, and to vſe the Spaniſh; and therefore they ſhould ſend their G
children to ſchooles which ſhould be erected for the vulgar Spaniſh tongue, and to the
maſters which ſhould be appointed to teach them. That they ſhould keep no books writ-
ten in the Arabike tongue in their houſes. That they with their wiues & children ſhold be
bound to aſſiſt at ſeruice in their pariſh churches, on Sundayes and other feſtiuall dayes
celebrated by the Church. That on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, they ſhould keepe
their doores open in the day time, and to a certaine houre of the night, and ſuffer them
to enter to ſee what they did. That they ſhould keepe no other armes but their ſwords,
and if any were ſuffered through fauour to haue any, they ſhould be markt by the gouer-
nours. That all Moores, men and women, of what age and condition ſoeuer, ſhould leaue H
their Mooriſh habits and attire, which they had been accuſtomed to vſe, and attire them-
ſelues like other Spaniards. That they ſhould leaue off the vſe of bathes after their man-
ner, and their Mooriſh daunces, which were vndecent, laſciuious, and ſcandalous to Chri-
ſtians. That the Moores reſiding in the Albaizin ſhould not flie into the villages and ju-
riſdictions of other lords: for thereby the decrees of juſtice were made void. There were
other articles contained in this Edict, confirming the former old ordinances made againſt
them, or newly inuented, with rigorous penalties vpon euerie one. This Edict being ſig-
ned by the king, and put into forme, D. *Pedro de Deca* was diſpatcht to be Preſident of the
Chauncerie of Granado, being injoyned to cauſe it to be executed from point to point,
according to the forme and tenor thereof, without delay or fauour, not reſpecting the I
admonitions of any whatſoeuer. All the Commiſſioners were of this opinion, except
the duke of Alba, who aduiſed them to proceed in the execution thereof article after ar-
ticle, after ſome pauſe, and not all at one inſtant. And ſoone after the duke parted to goe
into Flanders, to gouerne there according to the ſeuere and injurious inſtructions which
he carried with him, and thoſe which he procured to be ſent vnto him.

Scio taken by the Turke.

3 During theſe troubles in the Weſt, the great Turke *Solyman* ſeiſed vpon the iſland
of Scio. The Baſſa *Mehemet*, vpon a priuat grudge hee had againſt the inhabitants of
that iſland, thinking that by their helpe a ſlaue of his was fled, and had carried away a
good ſumme of gold, hee perſuaded *Solyman* to make it ſubiect, making his owne pri-
uat reſpect an apparent reaſon; ſaying, That many ſlaues fled daily away by their fa- K
uour and aid; and beſides, they were ſpies to obſerue what was done at the port, and in
thoſe ſeas, giuing aduice to Chriſtian princes, and eſpecially to the king of Spaine, the
chiefe of that nation being Genouois, and confederats with the ſaid king. Moreouer,
he pretended, That they ought two yeres tribute, of ten thouſand ducats a yere, the which
had happened by the fraud of their Agent, who kept in Conſtantinople. The Turke
was not verie well prouided that yeare at ſea, for his loſſe had beene verie great before
Malta, whereas hee had not onely loſt many men of commaund, and eſpecially that fa-
mous pyrat *Dragut*, but alſo the beſt of his forces: And his gallies were ſo weakened,
as he could hardly draw foureſcore gallies with ſome galliots together: Yet for that hee
would with the ſhew of a great fleet diuide his enemies forces, he yeelded to *Mehemets* L
perſuaſions, commaunding him to annoy the Chriſtians where they might moſt conue-
niently, after the taking of Scio. This iſland lyes in the Archipelagus: it is almoſt an
hundred miles in circuit: about two hundred yeares ſince it was taken by the Genouois,
and giuen to the *Iuſtinians* their citizens, for their charges, who afterwards had the inue-
ſtiture from the *Paleologui*, paying a certaine rent, which was increaſed to tenne thou-
ſand ducats, by *Mahomet* the ſecond, king of the Turkes. Thus they had liued at libertie
vnto this time, without any annoyance, being gouerned in forme of a commonweale, the
gentlemen hauing the chiefe command. *Pialy*, who was Generall of the fleet, directed his
courſe thither, where he arriued on Eaſter day in the morning, and landed vnder a ſhew
of friendſhip. Then with a practiſe he drew the gouernor of the towne aboord the Admi- M
rall, with 12 men which were euerie yere choſen to be moderators of publike buſineſſe:
Theſe being ſtaied by him, the publike palace and the fort were preſently ſeiſed on by the
Turks, who carried away all the chiefe men, and appointed another forme of gouernment
for them that did remaine, depending vpon the Turkes Empire. *Pialy* leauing that iſland,
ſailed towards the Adriatike ſea, which put the Venetians into a great jealouſie.

King

A The king of Spaine vnderſtanding that there was no feare of Malta for that yeare, hauing a great fleet & an armie readie, commanded they ſhould attempt Alger. Wherfore they began to ſend certaine ſhips laden with ſouldiers, artillerie, and munition, towards Malaga, whileſt that *Garcia de Toledo* prepared the gallies, to paſſe with all their power. It happened notwithſtanding, that thoſe ſhips were taken by certaine galliots of Alger, which kept thoſe ſeas. This loſſe was of ſuch importance, as it diſappointed the reſolution for Alger. 1567

Loſſe receiued by the pyrats of Alger.

4 It had beene reſolued the yeare before in the Councell of Spaine, that the duke of Alba ſhould go with an armie into the Low Countries. This Spring he was diſpatcht a-
B way with an ample cõmiſſion, or rather with an vnlimited authoritie; the which was pleaſing vnto him, for the hatred he bare vnto the Netherlanders. As for his armie, there was commaundement giuen to the dukes of Alcala and Terranoua (the one being Viceroy of Naples, and the other of Sicile) to ſend into the duchie of Milan the old regiments of Spaniards which they had in thoſe realmes, and in Sardinia: and commaundement was alſo giuen to *Gabriel de la Cueua*, duke of Albuquerque, gouernour of Milan, That hee ſhould not only haue the regiment of Lombardie in a readineſſe, but alſo the light horſemen, increaſing their companies from fiftie to an hundred; and that *Lopes Zapata*, and *Sancio d'Auila*, ſhould raiſe two more, beſides two of harquebuſiers on horſebacke, Spaniards, leuied by *Pedro Montagna*, and *Gonſaluo Montero*. The king had alſo giuen or-
C der in Germanie, that *Alberico*, earle of Lodron, ſhould raiſe a regiment of 12 companies of foot, and 300 in euerie cõpanie, according to the cuſtome of that nation, & in the county of Bourgondie there ſhould be leuied 300 lances, and 100 harquebuſiers on horſbacke. *Franciſco d'Ibara* was victualer generall, and D. *Garcia de Toledo* had charge to tranſport in his gallies the ſaid Spaniſh footmen, vnto the ports of Genoua, that they might be readie in Lombardie at the duke of Albas arriuall. This order being taken in Spaine for the voyage of Flanders, and new ſouldiers (whom they call Beſognes) being ſent into Sicile and Naples, to ſupplie their places that ſhould goe in that action, in the beginning of May the duke of Alba imbarked at Carthagena, in the gallies of *Iohn Andrew Doria*, and of the duke of Florence: he carried with him ſeuenteene companies of Spaniſh foot, to
D fill vp the garriſons of Lombardie, from whence he drew the old ſouldiers, making alſo choiſe of foure companies of theſe new ſouldiers, to lead with him into the Low Countries. He arriued late at Genoua, hauing beene troubled with a feuer vpon the way. He muſtered his army betwixt Alexandria and Aſti, where he found 8800 Spaniſh foot, and 1200 horſe, Italians, Spaniards, and Albaneſes: and the foot were thus diuided; of the regiment of Naples 3230 in 19 companies, vnder *Alphonſo Vlloa* their colonell; in the regiment of Sardinia (in the which the foure companies of Beſognes were put) were 1720 men in ten companies, commaunded by *Gonſaluo de Bracamont*: the regiment of Sicile was of 1620 ſouldiers, in ten companies, vnder *Iulian Romero*; and that of Lombardie, being but 1200 foot, in ten companies, was commanded by *Sancio de Londogno*. There were ſe-
E uen companies of horſe, Spaniards, wherof fiue were lances, and two harquebuſiers, three of Italians, and two of Albaneſes, all light horſemen. Beſides theſe troupes, and their captaines, he led with him many men of knowne valour, to imploy them in this ſeruice, and to aduance them to charges as they ſhould fall: among which were his baſe ſonne called alſo *Fernando Aluarez*, who was a knight of Saint *Iohn*, and Prior of a rich commaunderie, *Chiappin Vitelli*, marqueſſe of Cetona, *Gabriel Serbelloni*, a knight alſo of Saint *Iohn*, *Sancio d'Auila*, *Girolamo de Salinas*, *Iohn* of Epuccia, and *Andrew de Salezar*, one of which foure laſt was Caſtellan of Pauia, the other of Portercole, the third of Piombyno, and the laſt of Palermo. And beſides theſe, hee led with him *Paciotto de Vrbino*, an excellent Enginer, hauing gotten him from the duke of Sauoy, whom hee then ſerued. Hee
F made his ſonne *Fernando* Generall of the horſe, *Vitelli* was Marſhall of the field, and *Serbelloni* (beſides the charge of the Artillerie) was made Counſellour at Warre. How hee entred into the countrey, and what his proceedings were, that Hiſtorie doth relate at large. After which they hauing certaine informations ſent them into Spaine, from the duke of Alba, and the aduice of the holy Inquiſition taken therein, all the lay people of the ſaid countries, both noblemen, gentlemen, townes and 5

Duke of Alba ſent into Flanders.

Armie led by the duke of Alba into the Low countries.

1567 comminalties were by the kings ſentence condemned as heretikes, or fauourers of heretikes, or in ſome other ſort guiltie of high treaſon in the higheſt degree, without exception of eſtate, qualitie, condition, age, or ſex; except ſome which were particularly named in the information, which made the inhabitants to flie into diuers other countries.

This yere, in May, there was great ioy and feaſts in Spaine, and in all the kings dominions, for the birth of his ſecond daughter, who was baptiſed, and called *Katherine*.

1568 But whileſt the warre grew hot in the Low Countries, there happened a tragicall accident in the royall houſe of Spaine. We haue before made mention how that D. *Charles* was in diſgrace with the king his father: the cauſe (as the Spaniards ſay) was, for that he was viciouſly giuen, and that he ſpake ill of the preſent gouernment: that he had a meaning to attempt againſt the kings perſon, and to raigne in his place, hating him, for that he had often reprehended him, and threatened him, for his diſordered courſes: or, if that ſucceeded not, that he would ſteale away, and flie ſecretly, with ſome of his confederats, into Italie, or ſomewhere elſe, and trie, by confuſion and tumult, to depriue the king of his Eſtates. That he carried himſelfe arrogantly, and incompatible to them that had the chiefe offices in Court, and that he diſdained all thoſe that were appointed to attend on him, yea hee would outrage and ſtrike them. The Inquiſitors expected no good from this prince, neither did the kings Councell, of the which thoſe that were then moſt hated of him, were D. *Ruis Gomes de Sylua*, a Portugal, the earle of Feria, and D. *Anthonie de Toledo*. The king was aduertiſed by them of many particularities concerning the princes carriage, and entertained in dislike of him. By their counſell the king reſolued to come from the Eſcuriall to Madrid, where the prince was, and to ſurpriſe him in his chamber in the night, they attending on him, and to take him in his bed. They came, and found the chamber doore ſo well barred, as they were forced to breake it open. The prince hearing the noiſe, leapt out of his bed, and ſeeing the king his father, hee was much troubled, beginning to crie out, What is the reaſon that you will kill me? The king willed him that he would pacifie himſelfe, and that he ſhould goe againe to his bed, telling him, that what he did was for his good. They ſeiſed on his ſword, and ſome ſay that hee had a piſtoll charged and bent: He complained, that they meant to bind him, as if he had beene madde. His chamber and clothes were ſearched, and they left no inſtrument of yron, wherewith he might hurt himſelfe: all his papers and writings were carried away, among the which there were found many copies of letters written to ſome princes, full of complaints of hard vſage which hee receiued from the king, whom he accuſed of crueltie and bad gouernement in his affaires, and it ſeemed hee did inuite them to aſſiſt him, by compaſſion, making great promiſes vnto them. His whole deſigne was alſo diſcouered by certaine remembrances which were found, being reſolued to eſcape away in the gallies, which ſhould paſſe into Italie, whereby they might eaſily ſee whom he loued, and whom he hated in Court, whom he truſted, and whom he would imploy in his enterpriſes. Hee had beene ſeene ſome daies before, to diſcourſe long and verie earneſtly with D. *Iohn* of Auſtria, Generall at ſea; and it was thought, that hauing acquainted him with his deſignes, hee reuealed them vnto the king, which made him reſolue to put him in gard. The earle of Feria, and D. *Ruis Gomes*, had that charge, who watcht him carefully in their turnes; and hee was ſerued by two gentlemen, who carried no armes, and vpon the paſſages to his chamber there were gards, who would not ſuffer any other to goe vnto him. This continued ſome dayes: but the king who obſerued all that hee ſpake, cauſed him afterwards to be put into a ſtrong tower, giuing the whole charge and care of him to D. *Ruis Gomes*: it was the ſame priſon whereas king *Francis* had beene kept. There hee attempted many times to kill himſelfe, as they ſaid, and being preuented, hee forbare to eat any thing eight dayes together. The king aduertiſed all the noblemen, townes, and comminalties of Spaine, of this impriſonment, that they ſhould not take it ill, letting them vnderſtand, that it was for the good and quiet of them all, forbidding them all expreſly, not to ſpeake nor mediate for the prince. He imparted as much to the embaſſadours, and did write vnto their maſters.

Obiectiõ againſt the prince of Spaine.

Enemies to the prince of Spaine

6
Impriſonment of the prince of Spaine.

Deſignes of the prince diſcouered.

The emperour *Maximilian* being aduertiſed of this fact, imputed the cauſe to D. *Iohn*, and

A and was offended with him: for he meant to make the prince D. *Charles* his Son in law, & (if this accident had not happened) to haue conſummated the marriage within few daies, as the fathers had concluded: & he was ſo much diſcontented, as hee would haue called home the Princes *Rodulphus* and earneſt his Sonnes, who were bred vp in the Court of Spaine, but the king D. *Philip* would not ſuffer them to depart, but ſought to pacifie the Emperour with reaſons, either true or probable. But in the end he perſuaded him that the cauſe was moſt vrgent and iuſt to aſſure himſelfe of his Sonnes perſon, whome hee ſhould loue and ſpare if it might be, hauing at that time no more Sonnes. Whatſoeuer was the true cauſe of the Sonnes detention by the father, being not well manifeſted from B Spaine, the prince D. *Charles* the preſumptiue heire of ſo many realmes, dyed in Iulie; ſome ſay he was poiſoned, others write that he was ſtrangled by foure ſlaues: He was buried in the Monaſterie of S. Dominike, the royall at Madrid, whereas the king D. *Pedro* the cruel had beene interred. *Peter Mathew* in his French Hiſtorie, writing of the life and death of king *Philip* the ſecond, he ſets downe a formall proceeding of the father againſt his Sonne in this action: the which for that this ſubiect is ſo rare and memorable, I haue thoght good alſo to inſert. 1567

Death of the Prince of Spain

After the Princes reſtraint, as wee haue ſaied the king (ſaith hee) propounded to his Councel of conſcience, what puniſhment a kings ſon deſerued, that had made leagues a- C gainſt his eſtates, and conſpired againſt his fathers life, and whether hee might be called in queſtion? His Councell laied two remedies before him, both iuſt and poſſible, the one of grace, and the other of Iuſtice and puniſhment, ſhewing him the difference betwixt the mercie of a father, and the ſinceritie of a king, ſaying, that if by his clemencie he did pardon them which loued him not, hee muſt of force pardon that creature which ſhould be moſt deare vnto him. They deſired him to imitate the emperour *Charlemaigne*, who imputed the firſt conſpiracie of his Sonne *Pepin* againſt him, to the follies of youth, & for the ſecond he confined him into a Monaſterie, proteſting that he was a father not a king, nor a iudge againſt his Sonne. The king anſwered that by the law of nature he loued his Son better than himſelfe, but by the law of God the good and ſafetie of his ſubiects was to be preferred. Moreouer hee demanded, if knowing the miſeries which the impunitie of his D Sonnes offences would breed, whether he might with a ſafe conſcience pardon him, and not be guiltie of theſe miſeries. Whereat his Diuines ſhrunke in their ſhoulders, and with teares in their eies ſaid, that the ſafetie and health of his ſubiects ought to be dearer vnto him than his ſonnes, and that hee ought to pardon offences; but ſuch crimes ſhould bee ſuppreſt as abhominable monſters. Hereupon the king committed his Sonne to the cenſure of the Inquiſitors, commending them not to reſpect his authoritie, no more than the meaneſt within his kingdome; and to regard the qualitie of his Sonne, as if he were borne a king, making no diſtinction thereof with the partie accuſed, vntill they found that the exceſſe of his offence would no more admit of this conſideration, remembring that they E carried in their ſoules a liuelie image of the king, which had iudged Angels, and ſhould without diſtinction iudge kings and the Sonnes of kings like vnto other men; referring al vnto their conſciences, and diſcharging his owne.

Mathews vpon the death of Prince Charles

The Inquiſitors, for that he was charged to haue practiſed with *Caſtillion* Admirall of France, the prince of Orange, and other enemies of the Romiſh Religion, declared him an heretike, and for that hee had conſpired againſt his fathers life, they condemned him to die. The king was his accuſer, and the Inquiſitors his iudges, but the ſentence was ſigned by the king, which done, they preſented many kinds of death in picture vnto the prince, to make choiſe of the eaſieſt. In the end he demanded if there were no pitie in his father, to pardon him, no fauour in his Councell for a Prince of Spaine, nor any wiſdome to excuſe the follies of his youth: when as they told him that his death was determined & could F not be reuoked, and that all the fauour was in the choiſe of the eaſieſt death, hee ſaid that they might put him to what death they pleaſed: that there was no choiſe of any death, ſeeing that they could not giue him that which *Cæſar* held to be the beſt. Theſe words deliuered with paſſion, were followed with a thouſand imprecations againſt his fortune, againſt the inhumanity of his father, and the crueltie of the Inquiſition, repeating theſe words often: *O miſerable Sonne, of a more miſeable father.*

Iudgement of the inquiſitors againſt the Prince of Spain

He

1568 He had ſome daies giuen him to prepare himſelfe for death. One morning foure ſlaues entred into his chamber, who awaking him, put him in mind of his laſt houre, and gaue him ſome time to prepare himſelfe vnto God: He ſtart vp ſuddenly and fled to the bed poſt; but two of them held his armes, and the third his feet, and the fourth ſtrangled him with a cord of ſilk. Many hold that he died of letting blod, his feet being put in warm water. But *Campana* in the liſe of *Philip* 2 writes, that being in priſon he fel verie ſick, by reaſon of his diſordred diet, and drinking too much cold water, wherewith his ſtomack grew ſo weake as he could not digeſt any meat, which the Phiſitions could not helpe ſo as hee died (as he affirms) of this ſicknes, verie religiouſly and penitenly, to the great griefe of the king & the whol ſtate: & moreouer he writes, that the king being much perplexed for this great loſſe, retired himſelf into his chamber with two ſeruants, & wold not giue any audience, & then for many daies into the monaſterie of S. *Ieroſme*, a mile without the town, ſequeſtring himſelf of al affairs, writing only to princes & potentates, & cauſing his ſecretaries to write vnto all his realms & ſtates of the death of his deare & only ſon. Thus writers diſcourſe diuerſly of the death of this Prince: the which I leaue to the iuditious Reader to beleeue what he ſhall thinke moſt probable.

Death of the queen of Spain.

Within foure months after the death of the Prince D. *Carlo*, the Queene D. *Iſabella* his mother in law died alſo, being broght in bed of her third child before her time, the Phiſitiõs hauing ignorãtly cauſed her to take too much Phiſick, fering ſome other infirmitie; this was the brute of the court of Spain. But in France they had reaſon to think that the life of this princeſſe was ſhortned like vnto that of D. *Charles*, by ſome notable malice, & by the ſame inſtruments. For they to whom D. *Iſabella* did belong in bloud, had been verie careſull to auer the cauſes & maner of her death, but not ſo reſolute to call it in queſtion, as *Clouis* ſons were to reuenge the iniurie done vnto their Siſter in Spaine, where ſhe alſo had beene maried.

Turkett.

As for the Prince, it was verie cõmon in Spain, that the great hatred the king bare him, grew rather from the ſuggeſtions and reports of others, than from his own miſdeeds, for by nature he was neither giuen to any odious vices, neither was he of ſo harſh and ſower a diſpoſition as commonly great men of that coũtrie be. It is true, that D. *Charles* kept his grauitie to courtiers, that he ſhewed himſelf verie ambitious, & too deſirous to mannage affaires, and to be imploied; and was giuen to ſome kindes of pleaſures. Such as would excuſe him, ſaid, that it was ſeemly and befitting his ranke to be graue, being the ſon of ſo great a king, ſworn prince and acknowledged for ſucceſſor to ſuch rich and great eſtates, and alſo that it is the firſt leſſon & moſt recommended inſtruction of fathers in Spaine, to their children, to ſhew thẽſelues graue in their words & actions, & that it was a cõmendable thing eſpecially in thẽ that were of great houſes. If he were ambitious & deſirous of honor, they were affections incident to princes, & were ſo neceſſarie in them that were to goueme people, as if any had not theſe motions in them, they were the leſſe eſteemed, both in Spain and elſewhere. If he deſired to know & learne by practiſe how eſtates ſhold be gouerned, and juſtice duly adminiſtred, that it is a thing wherein kings children ſhould be bred from their youth, & practiſed therein all their liues, and that it is the nature of all men well bred, feeling the ſeeds of vertue in their minds, to aduance it by their actions; wherein all men know that vertue doth conſiſt. And yet all theſe things commendable in other men, were blamed in Prince *Charles*, by them who (it may be) would not haue their miſdemeanors diſcouered by the Infant of the houſe. As for worldlie pleaſures, they be, ſaid they, appetites which doe commonly accompany yong noble men, eſpecially being bred vp in the idlenes of court; vices which are tollerable in many of mean condition, & therefore were leſſe ſtrange in great men: but, ſaid they, there was no better means to diuert this prince from delights which are ſuperfluous and hurtfull, than to imploy him betimes in the gouernment affaires; what greater bond, ſaid they, had the king his father to his ſubiects, than to faſhion his onely Sonne, (hee that ſhould raigne after) to command wel, & to make him knowe both by reaſon and experience what the duetie of a king is, both to God and men, that they be not as dum Idols among their Councellers, hauing not iudgement to diſcerne the good from the bad. The thing wherein the Prince was moſt to be blamed, was an inconſiderate raſhneſſe to attaine vnto his intentions, and could

Diſpoſition of the prince D. Charles.

Ambition a vice of great men.

Vices common to yong Noblemen.

A could not obserue time nor fit occasions to make his poursuit. The which they thought 1568
proceeded onely from the heat of youth, which might easily haue been corrected by conuersing with men of state, if hee had beene accompained by some men of respect, wise, and willing to moderate these fumes which did rise through the heat of youth. And they complained that the meanes that might haue made D. *Charles* a vertuous Prince, were hindred by the practises of the kings bad Councellors; who also for his part had shewed himselfe too credulous, & in the end blind in that action, by some secret iudgement of God. These were the ordinarie reasons of temperate spirits, who thought affaires of state might well be managed, and not stray from pietie nor humanity. Adding, that admit the Prince D.
B *Charles*, had bin found inflexible to all proofes of reason, so as hee had been held incapable to raigne, yet should they not haue taken away his life. That there were Monasteries in Spaine, whether they might haue sequestred him, and sought by the conuersation of some good religious men, to draw him to a contempt of worldlie greatnesse which perisheth, and to the contemplation of heauenly things, and the life to come: whereof both Spaine and other Countries could furnish the like examples.

But the Councell of Spaine consisting of Clergie men and secular, did not like of these old maximes in matters of consequence, and especially they that had more particular knowledge of that which past in the kings house, did greatly apprehend what this tryumphant crowne would come vnto, if king *Philip* dying, it should fall into the hands of such
C a man as D. *Charles* his Sonne was, whom they held to bee vnable to vndergoe so great a burthen; & there was great probabilitie that this prince had both his bodie & his spirits, weakened since his fall at Alcala of Henares, whether hee was gone to pay a vow after a long quarten ague, by which fall his braine was somewhat crazed, so as his iudgement did sometimes faile him, not being able to containe himself with the respect which he ought vnto the king, and to them that had the honour to be of his Councell. *Considerations of the Councell of Spaine.*

Moreouer, whether it were by accident, or by some defect of nature, the facultie of generation was in a maner quencht in him, so as he was held vnable for women: the which did also import the state. All these things gaue a great apprehension to the chiefe of the kings Councel, being guided by worldlie wisdome; the which could not suggest a better
D expedient than to be rid of him, and to find out some fit meanes to effect it. It is certaine that the beginning of the kings hatred to his sonne, was throgh jealousie of State, taking an occasion for that the Prince seemed verie desirous to goe from Court, and to bee imployed in forein expeditions, at the least to accompany them that were sent with charges, to the end, said he, that hee might learne. Whereupon they presently made D. *Charles* a monster of ambition, who would presently seaze vpon the Prouinces, and take away the kings crown & life to raigne: & yet on the other side they taxed him that he was dull and wanted iudgement, contradicting themselues, for such actions are not attempted by fooles and madmen: the which the king should haue duely considered; but not doing it, he did blemish his house with the most fatal misfortune that could happen vnto it: for he did so
E readily receiue these suspitions, and did so graue them in his heart, as he detested his Son, & he neuer saw him, but he sent him away with sower vsage and threats: and that which did most trouble the Prince, some of the Councellors and mignons of court, presumed (in imitation of the father) to contemne him. He gaue them a great aduantage ouer him, for that when as the Marques of Berghen & the Lord of Montigny came to court, being sent frō the estates of the Low-countries, to present their petition vnto the king touching the breach of their priuiledges by the Cardinall of Granuelle, hee became a solicitor for thē, being moued as he said with the zeale of Iustice, and hatred of ciuil wars, which hee foresaw and detested, blaming them openly which persuaded the king and his Councel thereunto; saying that they were practises of insatiable and cruel vultures, who would gorge
F themselues with the losse of the kings subiects. *D. Charles prince of Spaine vnable for women.* *Zeale inconsiderat of the prince D. Charles.*

By these free speeches vsed often when as they treated of the warre of Flanders, and against the Moores of Granado, whereas religion was made the pretext, at the poursuit & by authority of the Inquisition, D. *Charles* made himselfe odious to them that were the motiues, giuing them great meanes to confirme the king in the opinion wherewith they had seasoned him, that he sought all meanes to trouble the state, & to make himselfe plea-

sing

1568 ſing vnto the Netherlanders, that he might haue a refuge there, and by that means begin G
to make a breach in the Crowne of Spain; adding with all to ſeaſon their imputations,
that he was a fauourer of Heretikes, ſo as hee was ſharply and diſdainfully reprehended,
Inquiſitors ſharp perſecutors of Prince Charles. and namely by the Inquiſitors, the which did wonderfully incenſe him: ſo as beeing van-
quiſhed with impacience, and griefe, he preſumed one day to enter boldly into the priuy
Councell chamber, with admiration of all them that were there, but eſpecially of the
king, who did preſide, for he feared to ſee or heare ſome impertinencie from his Sonne in
that place where he neuer had acceſſe, nor was not then called. Hee demaunded of him
with a ſeuere countenance, what hee had to ſay, and what had moued him to come thi-
„ ther. It is ſaid he, my Lord, to beſeech you to giue me leaue to aske you one thing, and H
„ that it will pleaſe you to ſatisfie me before the lords that are here preſent.

The king who feared to heare ſome importune curioſitie, ſought to diſmiſſe him in-
„ ſtantly, telling him that hee had other places to heare him, and that hee ſhould re-
„ tire for that time. But the prince inſiſted, ſaying that it was onely to know if he tooke
„ him for his Sonne, and lawfull ſucceſſour: what demands of a Sonne are yours? ſaid
Vertuous admonition of a Son to a father. „ the king; yea you are my ſonne, and depart in the name of God. Seeing then, replyed
„ the Prince, that I am your ſonne, and that by nature I ſhall one day ſucceed you in the
„ gouernment of your realmes, I beſeech you take it not in ill part, if in this honourable
„ aſſemblie, I let you vnderſtand that I haue not yet found that you haue thought of my
„ future condition: for you bred me vp as a ſtranger, giuing me neither cauſe nor means I
„ to bee inſtructed in matters of gouernment, or juſtice, importing the good of your
„ ſubiects, hauing not yet libertie, being of this age, to come where it is treated, nor to
„ conuerſe with ſuch men as you imploy, who rather ſeeke to eſtrange me; which
„ giues me iuſt cauſe to complaine vnto you, and to beſeech you my Lord to conſider
„ thereon, and to excuſe mee: and then hee departed. Hee was then full two and
„ twentie yeares old.

This action miniſtred matter of diſcourſe to them of the Councell, whereas there was no good concluded for Prince *Charles*, for that the opinions of his enemies, which were the greateſt number, ſwaied it, and the king continued in his conceit that his Sonne was a franticke young man, without iudgement, and that hee had K
an intent to inuade ſome Countrie, to put all into Combuſtion, for which cauſe hee deſired to be imployed.

Speech of the Prince to the Duke of Alba. The Prince not content to haue made this bad triall of his fathers inclination to-
wards him, hee continued his courſe, hearing that the duke of Alba had beene ap-
pointed to goe to bee gouernour of the Low-Countries: for hauing ſent for him,
hee told him that hee deſired nothing more than to goe from Court, intreating him
inſtantly to aſſiſt him in ſo honourable and reaſonable a deſire, and to get leaue from
the king that hee might goe with him, whome hee did reuerence as a great Com-
mander in the warre, and one of the greateſt ſtateſmen in the world, in whoſe Schole
he ſhould thinke himſelfe happie to take inſtruction. L

The Duke vſing many complements, ſeemed alſo to deſire it, ſaying that he could not receiue a greater honour than to commaund vnder him in that trouble-
ſome charge, where hee might aſſure himſelfe of his humble ſeruice and aſſiſtance,
yet hee gaue him ſome admonitions, knowing well how the king ſtood affected to-
wards him: wherewith hee was diſcontented. This being auoided (for the Duke of
Alba, what ſhew ſoeuer hee made, had no will to be troubled with ſuch a Scholer)
hee adreſt himſelfe a while after, to increaſe his miſeries, to D. *Iohn* of Auſtria his vncle,
who it may bee had more ambition in his head than he, to whoſe deſignes which were
D. Iohn de Auſtria contrarie to Prince Charles. great, thoſe of the Prince D. *Charles* muſt needs bee preiudiciall, yet hee diſcoue-
red himſelfe freely vnto him, being Generall at Sea, ſaying, that hee would ſteale M
away, and paſſe with the Gallies into Italie, perſuading D. *Iohn* to aſſiſt him, but
hee deceiued him; for hee preſently aduertiſed the king, which made him to cauſe
him to bee watcht, and his actions to bee obſerued.

But behold, the Queene was ingaged in theſe miſeries: The prince in all his afflicti-
ons had often recourſe vnto his mother in law, who being mild and courteous, did wil-
lingly

A lingly heare his complaints, did pittie him, comfort him, and ſought by all meanes to reuiue his hopes, perſuading him to vanquiſh his paſſions, and to yeeld vnto the rigour and choler of the king his father, and to let time moderate them with patience, the which paſt not from the Queene without ſome free inuectiues, after the French maner, againſt them that were enemies to her and to the Prince, threatning one day to be reuenged on them that were authors of of her croſſes, and namely againſt D. *Ruy Gomes*, and a Confeſſor of the kings, who poſſeſt him aboue all others, and were the chiefe practiſers of theſe Tragedies. The which was reported vnto them, for they had ſpies euen in the Queenes Cabinet, by whom they were aduertiſed, and the king by them, 1568

B of all the ſpeeches which paſt betwixt the prince and her. They fearing that by the force of coninguall loue, ſhee ſhould put ſome conſideration into the kings heart, by the which hee might bee moued to examine this buſineſſe with iudgement, and that diſcouering their bad offices, hee ſhould take reuenge, they reſolued to preſſe the princes ruine, and to draw the Queene into the ſame hatred, that the king had conceiued againſt the prince his Sonne. *Practiſes of the court of Spaine.*

Theſe men wrought ſo by their practiſed and coloured reports as they drew that heart alreadie vlcered into a deadlie iealouſie of his wife, ſlandering her with looſſneſſe, adding that crime to the impreſſion which they had giuen him, that ſhe fauoured the princes deſigns, tending to open rebellion againſt God & the king. Moreouer to omit no impoſture

C which might ſerue to tranſport this king beyond the bounds of humanitie and reaſon, they let him vnderſtand, that, by the reports of Phiſitions and women attendants, vnto his Confeſſor, who made relation, and to whoſe words he gaue great credit, there appeared on the bodie of this Princeſſe certaine markes and ſpots, which ſhewed an impuritie and corruption of the bloud, which might infect the kings perſon, if hee did accompany with her, and ſo diſperſe it ſelfe into all the royall familie, which was to be auoided.

All which paſſions together, were of ſuch force with the king, as he beleeued the Inquiſitors (without whoſe aduice there is nothing of importance done in Spaine) and others which were of that Councel, perſuading him that it was lawfull & expedient to make a- *Inquiſitors chiefe of the Councell of Spaine.*

D way the prince his ſon, and the Queene his wife, and the child ſhee went with, which they held to be a ſon, but it proued a daughter, whereof they cauſed her to be deliuered with drinks. This Hiſtorie was thus reported to queene *Catherine*, dowager of France, mother to D. *Iſabella*, by ſuch as ſhe had imploied to vnderſtād the truth therof, & by ſome which had ſerued the prince D. *Charles* when he was committed to priſon, who retyring themſelues into France, ſhe would heare.

The ſuſpition the king had of the loyaltie of queene *Iſabell* his wife, was not for the prince his Son, as many haue beleeued: for he was (as wee haue ſaid) inſufficient for women. And although he would be idle in ſpeech, and that there were found among his papers ſome notes of his owne hand touching that ſubiect yet carnall pleaſures were the

E leaſt of his deſires, and as for the Queene there was nothing more modeſt in Spain, by the report of Spaniards themſelues, who haue written bookes. But it hath beene verified by credible informations, that her ill-willers which ſought her ruin, made vſe of the notable malice of a French gentlewoman, one of thoſe which was ſuffered to ſtay with her, when as ſoone after her comming into the countrie, they did order her houſhold, and limit her traine. They ſay that this vnworthie woman (for that the Queene had giuen away a place which was void to one of her companions, hauing promiſed it vnto her) to be reuenged of her Miſtres, had giuen it out, that ſhe had been indiſcreetly and ſcandalouſly familiar with the Marqueſſe of Poza, who according to the cuſtome of Spain, termed himſelfe ſeruant in ſhew to her that had bene preferred before her. *Treacherie, a diueliſh reuenge*

This comming to the kings eares, was eaſily beleeued, for hee was alreadie in

F ſome doubt, hee beeing informed by ſome wayward ſpirits, that this Marqueſſe who was of the houſe of Rojas, being a gallant knight, did talke more familiarly vnto the queen than any other, & entertained her with pleaſant diſcourſes, whereat ſhee did laugh after the maner of France, more freely than it ſeemed fit for their Spaniſh grauitie: This wound being now again toucht, the king ſought an occaſion to haue this Marqueſſe apprehended, commanding him to keepe his houſe being in Madrid; where going one night

1568 night forth to viſit his mother, and an vncle of his that was a biſhop, retyring verie late G
home in a night-gowne and ſlippers, being accompained by two pages which carried torches before him, he was ſet vpon by men vnknown, and ſlaine vpon the place. There were diuers opinions concerning this murther, but moſt thoght it was done by the kings ſecret commaundement, although hee ſeemed to bee much offended: For there being a great ſum of money promiſed by proclamation to them that ſhould diſcouer the authours and doers of this murther, there were many bils ſet vp in the Portugall tongue, declaring that it was the king himſelf which had cauſed the Marqueſſe of Poza to be ſlaine: challenging him, by way of mockerie, to pay the money which hee had promiſed, but they had not ſet to their names.

Death of the Marqueſſe of Poza.

H

Hereupon there was great ſearch made, and ſome Innocents taken, and ſo cruelly tortured as they died: being onely ſuſpected for that they were Portugals. The Queene ſoone after the death of the Prince D. *Charles*, began to find herſelfe ill, with accidents and apparent ſignes of poiſon, whereof notwithſtanding ſhee did in no ſort doubt, but tooke light remedies, as one that was with child, by the order of ſuch as had bin accuſtomed to giue her phiſick. The buſineſſe proceeding ſlowly contrarie to that which they expected, the king hauing one night diſcourſed long with her touching her infirmitie, hee told her plainly that ſhe muſt take ſome ſtrong purgation, and that his Phiſitions (who by his commandement did looke vnto her) had told him that they deſpaired of her life, if ſhe tooke no other phiſicke than that ſhe vſed. But as ſhe tooke no delight to change her I
vſuall maner, nor to be phiſicked by any other than her owne, truſting aboue all others in an Apothecarie of hers borne at Blois, ſhe excuſed her ſelfe vpon her being with childe, ſaying that ſhee thought it was a Sonne, for that ſhee found herſelfe otherwiſe diſpoſed then ſhe had beene, and that they muſt conſider well thereon. But being much preſt by the king, ſhee ſaid vnto him that ſhee would doe what hee pleaſed, not thinking that what they intended was ſo readie.

But earely the next day in the morning they brought her a drinke, a bole and tablets, all of one compoſition as they ſaid, but ſo varied in form, to the end ſhe might take that which was leaſt diſtaſtfull vnto her. She tooke the poiſon, not diſtruſting any thing vntill ſhe felt her ſelfe oppreſt with great pangs, which made her be deliuered of a daughter, K
that was ſome fiue moneths olde, after which ſhee had vomitings and ſtrange voidings which quencht all the force and vigour that remained in her. Being neere her end, the king came to viſit her in a mourning weed, ſeeming to be much afflicted; whome ſhe comforted, and among other words, ſhee ſaid vnto him, That ſhee reioyced that ſhe was going to a quiet kingdome, not ſubiect to alteration, as worldlie ſtates be, that ſhee did not craue pardon of him, knowing in her conſcience that ſhee had neuer willingly offended him. She recommended her waiting women and ſome French officers, whome ſhee had not meanes to recompence for the ſeruices they had done her, and in the end of October, on Saint *Francis* eue ſhe dyed, Chriſtian like, She was lamented of all Spaine, where they did beleeue that this Princeſſe was a Saint, ſhe L
was aſſiſted in her ſickeneſſe for matters of conſcience by the Cardinall of Eſpinoſa, Inquiſitor generall, D. *Bernard* of Freſueda biſhop of Cuenca, the kings Confeſſor, Frier *Dominicke de Chauas*, another of the kings Confeſſors, who had alſo beene to the prince D. *Charles*, and others: She was interred in the Monaſterie of las Deſcalſas built at Madrid by the Infanta D. *Ioane*, Mother to D. *Sebaſtian* king of Portugall. The Gentlewoman which had ſlaundred her, and was the cauſe of her misfortune, was married in the Countrie, and died there: the lady of honour ſerued her daughter D. *Iſabella Clara Eugenia:* the reſt were ſent backe into France, from whome they vnderſtood theſe particularities.

Speech of the Queen D. Iſabell dying to the king.

A notable example of the practiſes of Princes Courts, of the vanitie and inſtabilitie M
of worldlie greatneſſe, and of the miſeries wherein kings plunge themſelues by ſuſpitions and bad impreſſions lightly receiued, and eſpecially how they ſtray dangerouſly from the dutie which they owe to God and nature, when they enterlace religion with their human policies to countenance their actions. Whilſt the duke of Alua ſeeks to afflict the towns of the low countries by ſtrange & intollerable impoſitions, exacting the tenth

peny

1568

A penie of all marchandiſe that was ſold, and the twentieth penie of euery mans eſtate. He began to quarrell with the Queene of England, pretending that ſhee had ſtaied a great ſumme of money, which was ſent by ſea out of Spaine into the Lowe Countries, the which (ſaid the Duke) did belong vnto the King of Spaine his maſter, whom ſhe ſhould intreat with all brotherly loue. Whereunto the Queene anſwered, that ſhee was duely informed, the ſaid money did belong to certaine Merchants of Genoua, and hauing then occaſion to vſe it, ſhee would ſtaie it for a time, and pay them reaſonable intereſt. *Deſpes* Embaſſadour in England for the Catholike King, made great inſtance for this money, but he could get no other anſwer. Whereupon the Duke of Alba did preſently arreſt all the Engliſh merchants, with their ſhippes and goods that were at Antwerp, or

B within his gouernment. Whereupon all commerce was broken betwixt the king of Spaines ſubiects, and the Engliſh, who left the trade to Antwerp, and carried their goods to Hamborough. The Queene of England publiſhed a declaration of her proceeding in this buſineſſe, complaining that the Duke of Alba had dealt vniuſtly with her and her ſubiects; but all this could not procure any reſtitution for the Engliſh Merchants, who had letters of repriſall granted them againſt king *Philips* ſubiects, to recouer the loſſes which they had ſuſtained by theſe arreſts, both in Spaine and the Lowe Countries. The Engliſh Merchants became men of warre, and ſo many went to ſea, ſome with a deſire of gaine, and others with hope to recouer what they had loſt, as not a ſhippe could paſſe betwixt Spaine and the Lowe Countries, to the ruine of many poore men: wher-

C of great complaints came to the Court of Spaine. The Duke of Alba ſeeing what a breach he had made betwixt thoſe two States, to the preiudice of his maſters ſubiects; ſeeking to repaire the errour which he had committed, he ſent *Chriſtopher d'Aſſonuille*, a Counſeller of Eſtate, to the Queene of England to reconcile this quarrell; but ſhee refuſed to heare him, vnleſſe he came from the king his maſter, and had letters of credit, ſigned with his owne hand: but comming from the Duke of Alba, her Maieſtie ſent him to treat with her Councell; which hee hauing no warrant to doe, returned without audience. Yet ſhee let him vnderſtand, that although ſhee found her ſelfe much wronged, ſhee would not take Armes vnleſſe the Duke of Alba began. The like ſhee wrot to the king of Spaine, complaining of the Duke of Alba's preſumption. Soone after, the Duke

D ſent *Chiapin Vitelli* Marquis of Cetone, with ſome others, to demand the money, and to free all arreſts of either ſide, but they effected not any thing: whereupon the Duke ſold all the Engliſh mens goods that were vnder arreſt. Theſe were the ſeeds of warre betwixt the two Princes, which continued vnto their deaths, to the ruine of many of their ſubiects, eſpecially Spaniards and Portugals.

Quarrell betwixt the duke of Alba and the Engliſh.

Engliſhmen and their goods arreſted in the Lowe Countries and Spaine.

Queen of England refuſeth to heare the duke of Albas Embaſſador.

The Princes of Germanie hearing what cruelties and ſpoiles the duke of Alba and his Spaniards committed in the Lowe Countries, they preſt the Emperour *Maximilian* to deale in thoſe matters, betwixt the king and his ſubiects there; yea to take knowledge thereof as Emperour: ſaying, that without doubt the Prouinces which are beyond the riuer of Eſcaut, towards the Eaſt, were of the Imperiall Iuriſdiction; as thoſe that are on

E this ſide were of the ſoueraignetie of France. But the Emperour did not thinke it fit to vſe his Imperiall authority, but prayers and interceſſions. Whereupon he ſent the Archduke *Charles* his brother into Spaine, vpon colour to aske the king of Spaines aduice for the mariage of his two daughters: and withall hee had giuen him ample inſtructions to treat with him touching the affaires of his Netherlands, and to intreat him by all faire meanes, to grant a generall pardon to his people there, and to call home the duke of Alba and his Spaniards; aſſuring him that in ſo doing, he ſhould be obeyed: but if he did perſiſt in that cruell perſecution, they would be releeued both with men and money from Germanie, the which he could not preuent.

Charles Archduke of Auſtria ſent into Spaine

F The Archduke came to Genoua, where he imbarkt in the duke of Sauoys gallies, and was receiued by the king of Spaine with great honour: his embaſſage was very pleaſing touching that which concerned the mariages of his two neeces, for he found the king diſpoſed to marrie the elder, the which had bin appointed for the vnfortunate Prince *D. Charles* his ſonne. And as for the ſecond, which the Emperour deſired to match with the king of Portugall, who was yet very yong, hee had a promiſe from king *Philip* to imploy

Treatiſe of mariage.

1568 himſelfe to haue the French king marrie her, although he had alreadie demanded the other; and they were entred into treatie, by the means of the Cardinalles of Guiſe and Eſpinoſa. But as for the affaires of the Netherlands, the Archduke could not obtaine anie thing in fauor of them that were baniſhed, nor of the poore prouinces afflicted. For making relation vnto him of the ſpeeches held by the Princes Electors to the Emperor, and that they pretended he had a right of protection ouer thoſe people, and that hee ſhould make himſelfe iudge of their quarrels, as depending of the Empire, it did much incenſe the king, who anſwered, that the Germanes were much deceiued in their conceptions in that regard, and that he had ſufficient right and power to ſhew that he was a ſoueraign Prince, and did not acknowledge any other ſuperior on earth. He knew well that the duke of Alba had vſed ſome exceſſe, but he was woont to ſay, that he had rather looſe all thoſe Prouinces, with others, than to haue rebellious ſubiects, eſpecially in matters which concerned religion. G H

Thus the Archduke was diſmiſt, hauing receiued a preſent of 100000 crownes, to helpe him to furniſh his frontier places againſt the Turke, with many iewels of price. And he had commiſſion when hee came into Germanie, to doe the ceremonies of their contracting, in his name, with his future Spouſe. Returning by Italie he did viſit his ſiſters and neeces, the ducheſſes of Ferrara, Florence, and Mantoua, and then he came vnto the Emperour, to giue him an account of his negotiation with king *Philip*, whom hee had left ingaged in a warre againſt the Moores of Granado, almoſt as difficult as that of the Netherlands. I

8

Moores.

Cauſes of the rebellion of the Moores of Granado.

Wee haue formerly made mention of the diſcontents of the Mooriſh nation, dwelling in the mountaines, plaines, and valleyes, and in ſome of the good townes in the countries of Granado and Murcia; which was by reaſon of the contempt they were in with the naturall Spaniards, whom they call old Chriſtians: among whom they liued in continual vexation, eſpecially by the Clergie, and officers of the Inquiſition, and alſo by them of the Iuſtice, which was not equally diſtributed vnto them. But that whereof they moſt complained, was the kings Edict, whereof we haue made mention, tending to alter their manners, their apparell, and their language: whereof the Preſident *D. Pedro de Deſa* was appointed to ſee the execution, with the aſſiſtance of the Gouernour *Domingo Lope de Mendoſa* marquеſſe of Mondejar, and the aduice of the Auditors & Counſellers of the Chancerie in the Parliament of Granado, and of the Archbiſhop if need were, wherein they found no ſmall difficultie. K

To begin therefore by gentleneſſe, the Preſident gaue charge to *Alphonſo de Horoſco*, Chanon of S. Sauior, which is a Collegiall Church in the quarter of Albayzin of the citie of Granado, beeing in a manner wholly inhabited by Moores, to perſuade them to receiue the Edict, yea to demaund it themſelues: but hauing imparted ſome copies vnto them, they reiected it, ſending vnto the Preſident and Gouernour, *George de Baeſa* Proctor general of that nation, and *Francis Nugnes Muley* a knight, one of the moſt auncient among them, to intreat them to deferre the publication of the Edict, vntill they had acquainted the king with their reaſons, and the inconueniences that might growe by the execution thereof. But notwithſtanding all their ſayings and allegations, the Edict was proclaimed the firſt of Ianuarie, 1567; and to ſhew the diligence of officers, all the baths and hot-houſes of the citie were inſtantly forbidden, and moſt of them beaten downe: yet they vſed ſome moderation, for that during the yeare 1567 there were not any penalties leuied of them that did infringe it. In the meane time they ſent their deputies to Court, where by the meanes of ſome noble men, they procured audience of the Councell; and there were ſome of opinion, that if they would haue the Edict ſtand in force, the execution ſhould be ſuſpended, as it beene in the time of the Emperour *Charles*, and of his mother. The Cardinall of Eſpinoſa was of another opinion, and brought all the reſt to concurre with him; which was, that the Edict ſhould bee ſpeedily executed in all points, and the penalties exacted vpon them that ſhould not obey. There was among the new Chriſtians, ſome that were deſcended of the blood of the auncient kings of the Moores, the which were honoured in Spaine, & well reſpected in Court; among which, *D. Alphonſo* of Granado *Venegas* laboured by good perſwaſions to hinder this raſh execution, L M

Counſell raſh of Cardinall Eſpinoſa.

A cution, but he was willed to deſiſt, for ſuch was the kings pleaſure. So as all the Moores of the citie, townes and mountaines of Alpuxarra, of the boroughs and villages towards the Sea, were brought to deſpaire, apprehending this ſtrange alteration, euen in their language & habites, which perſuaded thē that they were thereby reduced into ſeruitude, and confuſion of their houſes and families: for this nation is verie curious to keep remembrances and regiſters of their families as by a tradition of their anceſtors, after the maner of the Arabians and Iewes. And then beganne to appeare the diſtruſt they had of them, all the Moores hauing beene commaunded by proclamation to keepe themſelues within their dwellings and pariſhes, and for all them that were come out of the villages into the Albayzin to depart: the which was grieuous vnto them, for that the inhabitants of that B place being moſt Marchants and Artiſans, they had need of many labourers and workemen for their ordinarie works, which they did vſually draw out of the Countrey, and of their owne nation. They ſaw that the marqueſſe of Mondejar had leuied 300 ſouldiers for the ſafetie (ſaid he) of the towne, and to haue better aſſurance of the Moores reſiding there; if anie one of them did owe anie thing, he was preſently ſubiect to arreſt, and in like maner they that were cautions for auy other, and by this means the priſons were full: The officers of juſtice vnder colour of ſeeking for ſuch as hauing no meanes to pay, were retired into the villages and mountains, they entred into the houſes where they ſaid they were hidden, & cōmitted many inſolencies, yea they ſought out old actiōs, for the which the Moores had compounded with their parties, and drew them into new ſuites. Finally, C as ſoone as they heard that this Edict was reſolued in court, this nation was ſo baſely reſpected by all the old Chriſtians, both clergie and others, as euerie man preſumed to vex & oppreſſe them, eſteeming them no better than bruit beaſts; wherfore ſeeing themſelues reduced to that miſerable eſtate worſe than if they had bin common ſlaues, & yet fearing worſe, they concurred all in one mind to reuolt. Thoſe of the Albayzin who had more to looſe, incited the reſt to begin, & they expected meanes from them of the Albayzin, and councel how they ſhould behaue themſelues, for they were men of vnderſtanding, ciuill, and better experienced in the world, than the inhabitants of the mountaines, whereas the force lay, but they needed councel: yea there did ordinarily cōuerſe among them thieues, baniſhed men, and ſuch as were condemned by juſtice, who deſired nothing more than D to ſee ſome diſordred ſeditiō. There was a bold audacious Moore dwelling in the Albayzin, his name was *Farrax Aben Farrax*, a dier by his trade, yet he ſaid he was deſcended frō the *Abencxaraces* ſometimes famous knights among the Granadins. This man was as a trumpet to ſtirre vp the reſt, he went & came to the mountaines, townes & villages where the Moores dwelt, & carried them aduice and aduertiſements, how they ſhould gouerne themſelues in a generall reuolt, which was intended the 1. of Ianuarie 1568, the ſame day that the city of Granado had bin yeelded vp to the kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Iſabella*, but being impatient to attend, he called before the time a troup of thieues diſguiſed after the Turkiſh maner, & made them to enter into the Albaizin by certain places where the walls were low & ful of holes, on Chriſtmas eue at night, when making a great noiſe, he awaked E them, ſhewing an enſigne diſplaied inuiting thē to come with their armes into the ſtreet, for the time (ſaid he) is come that we muſt ſhew our ſelues men of courage, for that there were a good number of Turks arriued in Alpuxarra, which were come to fauor them out of Barbarie. This alarme did trouble all the other quarters of the town, for that they were in jealouſie touching the execution of the Edict: for otherwiſe they had not bin moued, being no ſtrange thing to heare a noiſe in the Albaizin, the Moores being accuſtomed to make all their ſports with tumults. Notwithſtanding all this, *Farrax* could not draw anie one out of his houſe, they thinking he had been drunke, but they cried to him out of their windowes, that he ſhould go ſleep, and that they had nothing to do with his follies. This F troupe of thieues had walked vp and downe all the night, and no man durſt goe & view them. In the end *Farrax* led them to the place from whence they came, and they were not followed: the next day it was ſaid they were thieues that were come to ſpoile. There were ſome informations taken, and there was an order made that there ſhould be gardes throughout the citie, whereunto the Moores ſhould contribute. The ſuſpition increaſing, and ſome inſolencies being done to them of this nation, they came vnto the Preſi-

1568

Farrax Aben Farrax firſt motiue of ſedition.

1568 dent, beſeeching him not to ſuffer them to be outraged, proteſting that they neuer had G
will nor thought to rebell, that there was no reaſon to intangle them with other mens
crimes, with whom they had no intelligence, and for caution of the innocencie of the In-
habitants of the Albayzin they offered, if it pleaſed him, that 200 of the chiefe amongſt
them would yeeld themſelues priſoners: the which being at the firſt refuſed, was after-
wards accepted, when they had ſomewhat diſcouered that they were all conſpired toge-
ther, and that they had intelligence with the Turkes of Alger, by a packet which was ſur-
priſed: where there was found a book and letters which diſcouered much of their practi-
ſes.

Superſtitions amõg the Moors.

Among theſe people there were certaine fantaſtike and frantike ſpirites, which diſ-
perſed certain prophecies amõg the people, which they ſaid were old, by the which they H
had a deliuerer promiſed them, who ſhould deliuer them from the oppreſſions of the
Chriſtians, the which indeed were great and intollerable, to men whom they made bt-
leeue were free, and that they enioyed the Lawes equally with others. This nation thus
tired, ſuperſtitious by nature, and nothing inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, had a ſud-
daine deſire in this perſecution to call backe *Mahomet*, and to abhorre the name of *Ieſus
Chriſt*, whereupon they fell into open rebellion againſt the King and his magiſtrates, and
the firſt murders which they committed vpon the Chriſtians, were certaine Clerks yong
practizers, which came from Vxiear in the Alpuxarra, to Granado, to paſſe the holydaies
there, as they had vſually done euerie yeere, and paſſing by the villages, they made good

Murders done by the Moores.

cheere, vnder colour that they did belong to the Iuſtice. Of the which they diſpatched I
ſome, and then they did ſet vpon a troupe of 50 ſouldiers of the garriſon of Adra, who
went alſo to Granado with the like inſolencies, whom they ſlue in a maner all. The mar-
queſſe of Mondejar, who was gone to Court to aduertiſe the King of the eſtate of the af-
faires, returned with commaundement to ſuppreſſe the rebellion by armes, and the go-
uernours, lords, knights, townes and comminalties thereabouts had charge to aſſiſt him.
Wherefore hauing taken aduice of the magiſtrates of the royall Audience and others of
the citie, and eſpecially of the archbiſhop, hee prepared himſelfe to ſet vpon them that
were alreadie riſen in confuſion, and without order; but there being among them the a-
bouenamed *Farrax*, one *Daut*, and *Ferdinand* of *Cordoua*, and *De Valor*, a knight of the
Moores, who ſaid that hee was of the royall race of *Aben Humega*, deſcending from the K
prophet *Mahomet*, they aſſembled at Breſnar in the Alpuxarra, to make election of a
head, where after much contention, they did chooſe this *Ferdinand*, to whom hauing gi-

Aben Humeia made king of the Moores rebelles.

uen the title of a King, he called himſelfe *Muley Mahomet Aben Humeia*. *Farrax*, who
would gladly haue beene, and had in a maner promiſed it himſelfe, could not attaine vn-
to it, but was content to be Alguazil maior, which is the ſecond dignitie, like to that of
Conſtable. This *Aben Humeia* was verie wel known in the city of Granado for his vani-
tie and other vices, which decreaſed not in this great aduancement. If we conſider wel (by
the report of ſuch as had ſeene this war) the number of them that had rebelled, the expe-
ctation that infinite others would rebell, being of the ſame mind, if they had well mana-
ged the meanes which they had gathered together, as of Churches and Chriſtians hou- L
ſes which they ſpoiled, the neereneſſe of the kings of Fez and Marroc, and of the Turkes
of Alger, together with the bad agreement which was betwixt the gouernours and the
royall Iuſtice of Granado, and the neighbour prouinces, who contended without all rea-
ſon, touching their manner of proceeding againſt theſe mutines, euerie one ſeeking to
make vſe of his office, and to fil his purſe with ſo many goodly confiſcations, & rich preies
which fell daily. Without doubt there was matters in this warre ſufficient to haue ouer-
throwne the Crowne of Spaine, if it had beene managed by men of more diſcretion and
iudgement than *Aben Humeia*, and *Farrax Aben Farrax*.

It is not to be imagined what inſolences they cõmitted in the firſt furie of their raigne. M
They ſlew all Chriſtians males aboue ten yeres old that they could get, eſpecially clergie
mẽ, with al Iudges & officers of iuſtice; the womẽ & children they made ſlaues, they ſpoi-
led churches & fired them with moſt of the houſes, yea their owne: ſo as they made the bo-
roughs & good villages inhabitable, & in a ſhort time grew ſauage, liuing among woods
and rocks, where they made their retreats, being almoſt inacceſſible, drawing their wiues

and

and children after them, and abandoning them vpon any difficultie or let, without any feeling of loue or charitie. He might tearme himſelfe happie among the Spaniards, who beeing ſurprized in his houſe by *Aben Humeias* men, did meet with ſome Moore of his acquaintance: and truely there were ſome, though very few, who mooued with compaſſion, did hazard their liues to ſaue Chriſtians, from whom they had receiued ſome pleaſure, the which is not ſtrange among reaſonable creatures, ſeeing it is often ſeene among bruit beaſts. *Farrax Aben Farrax* hauing had charge to gather together the gold, ſiluer, and mooueable goods which had beene abandoned to the ſpoyle, to make a ſtocke for the warre, and to buie armes in Barbarie (whereof they had great want) he committed ſo many inſolencies and thefts, as afterwards he was not imployed in any buſineſſe, neither durſt he ſhew himſelfe before king *Aben Humeia*, who hauing paſt like a violent ſtream, or rather a lightning by Locrin, Lanjaron, Orgiba, Pugneyra, Ferreyra, Iubiles, Vxicar, and other places of the valley of Sierra Neuada, hee was confirmed king at Andarax, whereas he made *Aben Zigni* Alcaide or Captaine, and *Michel de Roxas* his father in law his Treaſurer generall, and *Hernando Caguer* one of his Lieutenants or Marſhals: it is hee who ſaued moſt of the Chriſtians from ſlaughter, and ſpared their goods in this warre. This tumultuarie king ſeeing himſelfe followed, hee threatned the citie of Almerie, hee made Salobregna to wauer, with other maritime places, whither the mountaines and the valleys ſtretch, and in like manner all that coaſt which is vpon the declining of Sierra Vermeja, vnto Gibraltar and Maruela, ſo as in leſſe than fifteene daies this miſcheife ran aboue ſixtie leagues, and the law of *Mahomet* was openly profeſt among them. Then the Moores dwelling in the Albayzin at Granado were in extreme danger, there beeing a great garriſon, and ſouldiers comming thither daily from all parts: and (that which moued the Granadins to choler and compaſſion) many men and women came naked thither, hauing eſcaped the cruell hands of the Moores, for in all places both champane and mountaines, the old and new Chriſtians had their dwellings mingled, but the Moores were more in number, and ſtronger. The Moores about Salobregna contained themſelues long, for that their ſeat was not ſtrong, as within the mountaines, neither did they reuolt, but through the violence that was done them by the kings ſouldiers, and by his Lieutenants, who were moſt inſolent and diſobedient to their Commanders in all this warre. 1568

Farrax Aben Farrax diſappointed.

Salobregna and Motril are vpon the ſea, where there growes much good wine, the riches of the inhabitants. In the citie of Almerie neere vnto them were aboue ſixe hundred families of the Moores, who did not ſtirre, and were preſerued by the Gouernour: notwithſtanding that, one *Marc Ramir* a Moore, with ſome other indiſcreet men thereabouts ſought to murther him. The Lords of villages, who had no houſes of ſtrength, did wiſely to retire themſelues, for wherſoeuer they were the weaker, they were ſet vpon and ſlaine: as it happened to *D. Iohn Zapate*, who ſought to make it good in the Church of Guejares de Fondon, where he was forced and burnt with 150. men.

The Marqueſſe of Mondejar, and he of Velez, raiſed either of them an armie, by order from the Councell, and inuaded the Moores, one by Granado, and the other by Baſa, the Marqueſſe of Zenete bending towards the ſea to Almerie. Theſe two Commanders neuer ioyned during all this warre, although they came neere together vpon the declining of the mountaines that were betwixt them, which were in a manner plaine towards the Weſt, for they were of very different humors; *D. Lewis Faiardo* marqueſſe of Velez was proud, ambitious, impatient of all ſuperioritie, and bloodie: and hee of Mondejar was milde and courteous, ſeeking rather to perſuade, than to force the rebels: the marqueſſe of Velez was ſuddaine in his exploits, he of Mondejar was ſtaied, and did not aduance without great deliberation, and therefore he was taxed to be ſlowe, and to regard his owne priuate intereſt, for that he was Lord of many places in thoſe mountaines, and other parts of the countrie, which were vnpeopled by this warre, to the preiudice of his rights and reuenewes. The firſt lodging his campe made beeing gone to field, was at Alendin, and from thence to Padul, which is the firſt borough of the valley of Lecrin, hauing with him the nobility and the troupes of Granado and Andaluſia: he of Velez, that of Murcia, Baſa, and the neighbour places. In the abſence of the marqueſſe of Mondejar

Diſpoſitions of the marqueſſe of Mondejar, & he of Velez, Generals againſt the Moores.

1568 the Earle of Teudille his ſonne commaunded in Granado for martiall matters, beeing G
lodged in the Alhambra, the Caſtle and royall Palace there. At Dureal a league from
Padul *Laurence d'Auila* was lodged with the bands of ſeuen Townes of the iuriſdiction
of *Granado*, and *Gonſal d'Alcantara* with a company of horſe, making as it were the fore-
ward. They were charged in the night by a multitude of Moores, whereof *Michel de*
Granado de Xaba was the chief, thinking to diſorder them, but the ſouldiers made it good,
and repulſed their enemies, of whom there were two hundred ſlaine, whereat *Aben*
Humeia was in ſuch a rage for this bad ſucceſſe, as hee had a deſire to cut off *Xabas* head.
Theſe two marqueſſes were not ſole Commaunders of the warre in that Countrey, for
euerie Gouernour or Captaine of a place would make enterpriſes of his owne head, im-
parting nothing vnto them, nor attending their commaundements, for euery man aimed H
at ſpoile. *D. Garcia de Villaroel* gouernour of Almerie went to field to ſurprize a troupe of
Moores, which were aſſembled at Benahaduz, and threatned to beſiege Almerie, whom
Alphonſo Habis de Vanegas a faithfull Moore he diſperſed, and ſlue many of them, among other *Brahen Cacis* their captaine. There was
with *D. Garcia*. *D. Alphonſo Habis de Vanegas* a Moore, of the bloud of the auncient kings
of Granado, who had beene ſolicited by the rebells to be their King, the which hee reie-
cted, and perſiſted faithfully in the ſeruice of king *Philip*.

The marqueſſe of Mondejar paſſing on into Alpuxarra, tooke the pace of Tablado by
force, a place of importance for the paſſage, being betwixt two mountaines, where hee
built a bridge ouer a very deepe valley, the which being broken, or kept, they cannot go
from the one to the other, but muſt fetch a compaſſe of foure great leagues. The gard of I
this bridge was committed to *Pedro d'Arroio* with certaine companies, and then the ar-
mie marched towards Orgiba, the which was abandoned by the Moores being amazed.
Many women and children were freed, and they that had defended the Tower of that
place ſeuenteene dayes, where the Moores had giuen diuerſe aſſaults, and reduced them
to great want of victualls. There was the like deliuery of priſoners with the gaine of ſome
booty made at Poqueira, where *Aben Humeia* had lodged with a great number of Moors,
but they durſt not ſtay. There they had newes that the garriſon which they had left at Ta-
Defeate and death of Pedro d'Arroio of the Moores. blado had been ſurpriſed and cut in peeces with their Captaine, who was found yet pan-
ting amongſt the dead, two daies after, whenas the marqueſſe recouered this paſſage a-
gaine, without the which they cannot come nor goe from the campe to Granado. *D. Al-* K
phonſo de Reynoſo was left there to keepe a more carefull gard, and had expreſſe comman-
dement to ſtaie the ſouldiers which retired with their bootie without leaue: The greateſt
diſorder which hindered this warre, was the diſobedience of the new leuied ſouldiers to
their Commaunders, who longed ſtill to be at home when they had gotten any ſpoile:
and it was a hard matter to ſtay them, for they had no pay. The Moores in like manner
were without diſcipline, being ignorant of warre, and nothing apt to armes, yea moſt
of them were vnarmed, labourers, ſhepheards, and Artiſans, who could caſt ſtones, and
handle ſlings well; their captaines were not much more skilfull in their charges and due-
ties, but being once acquainted with the Turkes they recouered Croſſebowes, and har-
quebuſes, and did learne to vſe them. Their greateſt feare in Spaine was, that they ſhould L
haue intelligence, with the Turkes of Alger, and the Moores of Barbarie their neigh-
bours, the which they could not preuent. The marqueſſe of Mondejar purſuing *Aben*
Humeia, hee brought his armie to Pitres de Ferreira, whereas *Ferdinand Caguer* made of-
fer of an accord, and continued it vpon all occaſions; for hee was the leaſt deſperate a-
mong all the Captaines of the Moores. At this place of Pitres, the Moores fought and
ſlew many of the marqueſſes men, but they preſently left the place, and retired to Iubiles,
whereas *Aben Humeia* committed great cruelties, euen vpon the Moores of that place,
who did not ſodainely ſatisfie his deſire. There was an old caſtle which they had rampi-
red, with an intent to make it a fort, and their ſtore-houſe for the warre, and had carried M
moſt of their ſpoyles thither, the which notwithſtanding they could not defend: for al-
though the greateſt part of their forces were there, yet they had not the hearts to fight,
and being to diſlodge, they were readie, beeing purſued, to kill a great number of Chri-
ſtians, priſoners, of all ages, women and children, whoſe husbands and fathers they had
ſlaine before, but ſome that had more humanitie hindred it; their retreat was to Ver-
cheul.

A cheul. This miſerable troupe of women and children came and preſented themſelues before the Marqueſſe, hideous, leane, bare, and halfe naked, praiſing God with teares for his comming and their deliuerance. The Moores which kept the caſtle fledde alſo, where they found three hundred men, and a thouſand and fiue hundred women, who were in like manner ſet at libertie: but it was vnhappie for many, yea for moſt of thoſe poore women; for the campe beeing lodged, hauing placed moſt of thoſe women in a Church, and ſuch as could not enter beeing laid before it for that night, it happened that a diſordered ſouldier comming about midnight among them, ſought to take away a maiden to abuſe her, who being ſtaied and defended by the other women, one of them drew the ſouldiers ſword and hurt him: this villaine leauing his hold, began to crie out to B armes, ſaying, that there were Moores diſguiſed and armed among thoſe women which had hurt him in that manner; whereupon they came running in diſorder, and without any further inquirie, diſcharged their peeces vpon theſe poore creatures, ſo as in a manner all they that were before the Church, were either ſlaine or ſore hurt, thoſe within it were preſerued by the ſhutting of the doores: in the meane time the captaines came, and cauſed the maſſacre to ceaſe. The truth of this fact beeing knowne, the marqueſſe was very much grieued, and cauſed many of theſe murthering ſouldiers to bee hanged; and then he ſent the reſt of the women and children with a conuoy to Granado, where they receiued them, and gaue them great almes. This pittifull ſpectacle increaſed their hatred againſt the Moores dwelling in the Albayzin, whom they diſtruſted much, for they C were held to be ten thouſand men able to beare armes; and therefore the Earle of Teudilla, to be better aſſured, lodged ſouldiers in their houſes: whereof thinking to complaine, they were ſharpely reprehended, ſo as they repented that they had not reuolted when as *Farrax* did ſolicite them.

1568

Exceſſe of a diſordered ſouldier.

Moores of the Albayzin in great numbers.

Whileſt that the Marqueſſe of Mondejar imployed himſelfe vertuouſly, to chaſe the Moores and their king, who were in the mountaines and ſtrong places of Alpuxarra, hee of Velez with ſuch men as he had, gathered together in the territories of Valencia, Murcia, Baſa, Lorca, and other neere places, entred into the realme of Granado, by Tauernas, hauing fiue thouſand foot and three hundred good horſe, and came and charged a troupe of Moores, who had fortified themſelues at Guecija, vnder D a diuelliſh captaine called *Gorri*: who, in viewe of the marqueſſe campe, cauſed many Chriſtian men to be beheaded, whom he had kept priſoners, to expoſe them as a ſpectacle to them that ſhould come firſt to aſſayle him, and then he diſlodged without fighting.

Exploits of the marqueſſe of Velez.

The Chriſtian armie marching towards Filix to beſiege it, they were preuented by *D. Garcia de Villaroel* gouernour of Almerie, who would haue the honour to free this place, preſuming that the Moores which held it, would abandon it as ſoone as they ſhould ſee him approach, thinking it to be the marqueſſe his fore ward: but he was deceiued, for hee found them ready to make head againſt him, beeing many; wherefore he retired with all ſpeed to the marqueſſe his campe, to whom hee made his excuſe, and E gaue him to vnderſtand, that among theſe Moores, there were Turkes come out of Barbarie to ſuccour them: and then he gaue him a conuoy to returne vnto Almerie, from whence he might not long bee abſent. The marqueſſe paſſing on, found the Moores which were come forth in battell, to incounter them which came to diſcouer them; beeing come to fight, they found they were not thoſe whom they ſought, and knowing that it was the marqueſſe of Velez, who was a reſolute man, and was called among them, *Ybilis Arraezel Hadit*, that is to ſay, a deuill with an iron head, their courage was ſomewhat quailed, yet they did fight, and did rallie themſelues thrice together, but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire to the mountaines, F hauing loſt about ſeauen hundred men, and among them ſome women, which had fought deſperately, three captaines, *Fulcy*, *Tezi*, and the ſonne of *Porto Carrero de Xergal*, where two of his ſiſters, maidens, died alſo. On the marqueſſe de Velez ſide, there were both ſlaine and hurt, but they did not publiſh the number.

Incounter at Filix.

The fort of Filix by this retreat was wonne, where they found much good ſtuffe, gold, ſiluer, ſilkes, pearle, victualles, and a great number of women and children

Moores,

1568 Moores, whom they had abandoned, wherewith the ſouldiers being enricht, they disbanded by troupes to carrie their booties to their houſes; wherefore the Marqueſſe was forced to retire to fortifie his armie. They of Guadix defeated a troupe of Moores at the ſame time at Deyre, moſt of which had come out of the Marquiſate of Zenete: they ſlue 400 men, and tooke aboue 1000 women & children, with great ſpoiles. The chief of this enterpriſe was *Pedro Arias d'Auila*, and they ſaid it was one of the beſt exploits of all this warre. G

King *Aben Humeia* being purſued by the marqueſſe of Mondejar, and was then at Vxixar, a place ſituated in the middeſt of Alpuxarra, the which he had fortified as an aſſured retreate, and had about him 6000 men; yet at the approach of the marqueſſe, this man who was neither valiant nor of any commaund, retired with his troupes to Palerne. *Fernand el Caguer* continued ſtill his practiſes of peace, ſo as he had conference with *Ierome d'Apont* and *Iohn Sanches*: And *D. Alphonſo* de Granado, *Venega*, wrought ſo vpon the marqueſſe word and promiſe, as he drew *Aben Humeia* to a parle with him, but at the noiſe of ſome ſhot inconſiderately diſcharged, hee was ſo amazed, and fell into ſuch diſtruſt, as he fled away, neither was it poſſible to bring him backe againe; and in this perturbation he ſlew his father in law *Michel de Roxas*, and cauſed ſome other chiefe Moores to be ſlaine, ſaying that they would haue betraied him: he put away his wife, and ſware that he would not leaue one of the familie of *Roxas* aliue, the which did purchaſe him many enemies, and he blemiſhed his reputation more, when he abandoned the fort of Palerne, and all that hee had, retiring into the moſt deſart places of the mountaines. The marqueſſe being come to Palerne, he took the mother and ſiſters of the baſe king, with many other women of qualitie Moores, and ſet free a great number of Chriſtians that were captiues, & from thence hee led his armie towards Andarax. That of the marqueſſe of Velez being ſomewhat repaired, was then at Ohanes, neere vnto the other, where there were many Moores gathered together, whom hee did fight withall, and diſperſt: and it was thought that the two armies ſhould haue ioyned, and that the marqueſſe of Velez ſhould haue beene ſole commaunder, whereunto hee did aſpire, and the ſouldiers deſired it, but either of them went his courſe. The marqueſſe of Mondejar returned to Vxixar. One of the goodlieſt booties of this warre, fell into the hands of D. *Garcia de Villaroel*, and of D. *Franceſco de Cordoua*, being ioyned with the forces of *Almerie*, and others whom they led againſt the Moores, who had fortified at Inox, in rockes that were almoſt inacceſſible: for hauing diſlodged them they found to the value of aboue 500000 crownes: but the diuiſion of this prey bred great diſſention among them. H I K

Aben Humeia killes his father in law and other Moores.

Bootie taken from the Moors

Profit was the matter they chiefly aymed at that went to this warre, except the Marqueſſe of Mondejar, who tended to peace, and to ſaue the Moores that were reuolted, ſoliciting them rather to acknowledge their faults, and to ſhew themſelues worthie of pardon, than to ruine them by armes, and therefore hee was not pleaſing to the ſouldiers. Hauing led his armie to Guajares of the iuriſdiction of Salobregna, whither many Moores had retired themſelues, and fortified among the rockes and precipices (which were they that firſt receiued the Turks and Moores that came to ſuccour them out of Barbary) hee ſent to diſcouer them, but to their loſſe that went, being in a manner all ſlaine; thoſe of name and qualitie were *Lewis Ponce de Leon*, *Auguſtin Venegas*, *Gonſalo de Orugna*, the viſitor *Ronquillo* and *Iohn de Villaroel*: being charged, the next day they made great reſiſtance, but at night they retired, leauing their old men in that lodging, with many women and children, whom the marqueſſe (being incenſed with the loſſe he had the day before) cauſed to be ſlaine in his preſence, contrary to his maner. The rocks, woods, & caues (beeing vnfurniſhed of all prouiſion for victualles) were no fit places to entertaine great numbers of Moores, who had ſuch great troups of women, children & ſlaues with them, as if they had bin preſt by arms, hunger & cold, with other neceſſities, would haue forced them often to haue changed their lodgings; & they that came out of Barbary might eaſily foreſee, that the end of their reuolt muſt needs be death or captiuitie: ſeeing they had no means to prouide better retreats to keepe their goods, wiues, & children, nor any good fort neere vnto the ſea, with victuals and artillery to maintaine a ſiege at all euents, and in the meane time to refreſh themſelues there, & to retire ſuch as were wounded, & to repaire themſelues L M

Defeat of Chriſtians.

Crueltie of the marqueſſe of Mondejar.

A thẽſelues after any loſſe: war is maintaind by this means,& when there is queſtion of any accord,it is concluded with better cõditions. Theſe defects being knowne,was the cauſe that theſuccors which they had frõ Afrik,being al volũtaries,were weak & came ſlowly: & they that came once to ſee it,were ſoon diſtaſted,& being once returnd came no more, & diſſuaded others. Finally,there appeared no other end in this natiõ,of their reuolt,but to powre forth their malice in reuenging themſelues moſt cruelly vpon the Chriſtians which they met,for the wrongs and iniuries which they had receiued, killing, burning, and murthering without iudgement or foreſight of that which might happen, and then they died content,without either loue, or naturall affection to their wiues and ſmall children,whom they made to trot after them like beaſts, and vpon the leaſt croſſe they did a- *Moores vnnaturall.*
B bandon them without griefe. This warre had continued three moneths, when as king *Philip* by ſome good inſpiration conſidering the deſolation of the countrie ,and the innocencie of many ſmall infants which could not diſtinguiſh the right hand from the left, he made a declaration,that his meaning was not that men children vnder tenne yeares old,and women vnder eleuen ſhould be reputed ſlaues, commanding them to receiue all *Pardon for the Moores proclaimed.*
Moores that would ſubmit themſelues to his mercie, and forbidding them to offer any violence to thoſe that had contained themſelues in peace. By theſe meanes many beeing forced by hunger and other diſcommodities,ſubmitted themſelues;who being inioyned to deliuer vp their armes,they brought old croſſe-bowes, halfe pikes, and ſuch like weapons,broken,and of no vſe: and when they demanded where there other armes were,
C which they vſed in incounters,they ſaid that the ſtrangers, and ſuch as would not ſubmit themſelues had taken them away. Notwithſtanding theſe good orders ſet downe by the king,the ſouldiers being inſolent and couetous, did them infinit miſcheifs, carrying many away,eſpecially women: not onely out of villages, but of thoſe which they found *Inſolencie of the kings ſouldiers.*
in the citie,euen in view of the magiſtrates,the which all men of honour blamed and deteſted;yea many ſtrangers which frequented in the citie of Granado, for the commerce, ſaid,that it would be a hard matter for Spaniards to make the Moores good Chriſtians, ſeeing they ſhewed in their actions, that they were not ſo themſelues, and that there was more inhumanitie in their behauiours, than in the moſt barbarous Pirats of Afrike.

D *Aben Humeia* hauing taken ſome breath, reſolued to continue the warre, ſending to intreat *Vluccyaly* to giue him ſome ſuccours. In the meane time, hee and *Fernand Caguer* came ſometimes in the night to ſolace themſelues with them that were reduced, and who had ſafegards to remaine in their houſes; whereof the marqueſſe beeing aduertiſed, he meant to haue them watcht and taken: but they had ſome notice thereof, and ſtood vpon their gards. They did foreſee that the Spring beeing come, the warre would bee more difficult,both for that the Moore ſhould find themſelues leſſe incommodated in their holes and ſauage retreats,as alſo for that the ſea would be more nauigable, and eaſie to paſſe the Moores and Turkes out of Barbarie, which prepared to come to their ſuccours; wherefore the marqueſſe of Mondejar ſent D. *Alphonſo de Granado Venegas* to
E Court,to acquaint the king with the eſtate of thoſe affaires, and to tell him what proviſions he thought neceſſarie to end thoſe warres;and that if it pleaſed his Maieſtie to come vnto Granado, it may be it would be of more force than any other thing, and that howſoeuer, hee muſt cauſe the ſea to be kept, and the paſſage to bee ſtopt. The king thinking that his preſence was not ſo neceſſarie, was counſelled to ſend D. *Iohn* of Auſtria his brother thither, the reſpect of whom would make the Commaunders agree better. The which beeing concluded, commaundement was giuen to D. *Lewis de Requeſens* great Commaunder of Caſtille, who was them Embaſſador at Rome for king *Philip*, beeing alſo Lieutenant at ſea vnder D. *Iohn*, that hee ſhould come with
F the galleys into Spaine, and bring with him the regiment of old ſouldiers which were at Naples;that beeing ioyned with D. *Sancho de Leua*, hee might ſtoppe the paſſage of the Turkes and Moores which came out of Barbarie.

As ſoone as it was knowne at Granado,and in the countrie where the warre was, that D. *Iohn* of Auſtria was appointed lieutenant for the king there,all the captains of towns & caſtles,& thoſe that were in the armies,with their ſouldiers, ſought to make worke for D.

Iohn

1568

Diſobedience and inſolencies of Chriſtian ſouldiers.

Iohn, committing all exceſſe, by ſpoyling, ranſacking, and murthering: for they thought G
that D. *Iohn* would haue better diſcipline obſerued in the armies. D. *Aluar Flores*, and
Anthonie d'Auila of Madrid, vnder colour of going to ſurpriſe *Aben Humeia* at Valor,
whither they ſaid he ſhould come in the night to a certaine mariage, they ſpoyled all the
places where they paſt, notwithſtanding that the Moores which inhabited them had
ſafegards, and made them the beſt cheere they could. Being come to Valor, they found
not *Aben Humeia*, but they did ranſome all the Moores of that place, notwithſtanding
that they had ſubmitted themſelues to the kings obedience, carrying away their wiues

Defeat of Chriſtians.

and children as ſlaues, in contempt of the Kings Proclamation. In their returne they
were charged and defeated, and the priſoners reſcued. There were loſt aboue a thou-
ſand ſouldiers with their captaines, whereof the Moores ſent to make great excuſes to the H
marqueſſe of Mondejar, offering to yeeld vp the armes which they had taken: the mar-
queſſe anſwered them, that they had done well, and that they ſhould doe ſo to all them
that ſhould offer them violence, againſt his Maieſties protection and ſafegard. *Diego
Gaſca* a cholericke captaine, being incenſed that they of Turon had ſlaine ſeuen of his
ſouldiers which had gone forth to ſteale, led his companie thither to diſarme them, and
to be reuenged: ſearching in a darke caue of a houſe, where there were certaine Moores
hidden, he was ſlaine; whereupon his ſouldiers ſpoyled and ſet fire of the borough, ſlue
a hundred and twentie Moores, and carried away the women. A Curat of Tortujos be-
ing grieued to ſee the Moores of the mountaine of Filabres liue in peace, for they had I
not reuolted, he led certaine leud perſons with him, who ſurprizing them on a ſuddaine,
ſpoyled them: others did the like at Bayarca, and at Picena, whereas they ſlue three of
the marqueſſes gards, being ſent thither to preſerue them: but as they retired, carrying
away many women and children, and much cattell, the Moores which had eſcaped,
and had giuen the alarme to their neighbours, croſt them in their waies and ſlue them all.

At Granado hatred did ſo tranſport ſome of the Iuſtice, as they ſuffered the priſoners
in the gaole to be armed, to kill the Moores of the Albayzin, who had put themſelues in-
to priſon, as hoſtages in the beginning of the troubles, as wee haue ſaid, to whom they
carried ſwords and other weapons ſecretly in the night, and bruted it abroad that *Aben
Humeia* had intelligence, with the Moores of the Albayzin, to ſurprize the citie: and af- K
terwards in the night they cried to armes, for that towards Sierra Neuada, they had ſeen
a fire, to anſwer a ſigne which had beene giuen out of ſome houſe of the Albayzin:
whether it were true or not, the people ranne to the priſons, where finding the Chriſtian

Maſſacre of Moores which were in priſon.

priſoners armed, and in fight with the Moores, who had no armes, ioyning with them
they ſlue a hundred and tenne, which were of the chiefe and richeſt Moores of the citie:
yet they durſt not ſet vpon the Albayzin, for that in euery houſe there were ſouldiers
lodged, which were not of that partie. It was ſaid, that ſome of them that were murthe-
red, were found circumciſed, which made the Atturney generall demand confiſcation of
their goods, whereby their wiues and children were depriued. It was thought for cer-
taine that this exceſſe had beene committed by the inſtigation of the ſuperiours. A good L
part of the Alpuxarres was in a manner pacified, but the captaines of the garriſons which
were there, and in other neigbbour places, as at Almerie, Salobregna, and ſuch like forts,
gouerning themſelues, as hath beene ſaid, committed ſuch cruelties and theſts indiffe-
rently vpon the one and the other, attending the comming of D. *Iohn* of Auſtria, as they
that had laied aſide armes, and ſubmitted themſelues, reuolted againe, and ioyned with
Aben Humeia, who became ſo ſtrong and glorious, as hee bragd that he would not onely
defend the mountaines, but alſo beſiege the citie of Granado.

1569

D. Iohn de Auſtria comes to Granado.

D. *Iohn d'Auſtria* made his entrie the ſixt of April, 1569, being accompanied by the
marqueſſe of Mondejar, by D. *Iohn de Caruaial*, D. *Tello Gonſall d'Aguilar*, *Gonſalo Chacon*,
the Earle of Miranda, with many other noble men and knights: the marqueſſe of Ve- M
lez would not bee there. Before his lodging there preſented themſelues about foure
hundred women, widowes, and many poore orphans, Chriſtians, which had beene in
the Moores hands, crying and lamenting in moſt miſerable manner, and demanding iu-
ſtice and reuenge for their fathers and husbands which had beene murthered, ſo as they
could hardly make them retire; but it was done of purpoſe. The Moores dwelling
in the

A in the Albayzin deputed ſome vnto him, to make their innocency knowne, and yet they were ill intreated; but eſpecially, they made great complaint of the maſſacre committed of their kinſmen in the priſons, as it were in the kings boſome, into the which they had willingly put themſelues. *D. Iohn* heard them, and made ſhew that this act diſpleaſed him, comforting and aſſuring them. He had a Councell appointed him, whereof were the Duke of Seſſa, the marqueſſe of Mondejar, *D. Lewis de Quixada* Preſident of the Councell of the Indies, *D. Pedro de Deſa* Preſident of the royall Audience of Granado, and the Archbiſhop of Granado, in caſes of conſcience: all theſe reſolued how they ſhould proceed in this warre. The marqueſſe of Mondejar perſiſting in his opinion, ſaid, that they muſt drawe the Moores to the Chriſtian religion by inſtruction and good exB amples, and to the Kings obedience in doing them iuſtice, and that they ſhould end the warre by ſome good accord: hee held it fit they ſhould drawe them out of the mountaines, and places of ſtrength, and giue them dwellings in the champane countrie; or if they left them in their auncients habitations, they ſhould place good garriſons there at their charge. The Preſident *Deſa* ſaid, that firſt of all they ſhould cleanſe the citie of Granado of the Mooriſh nation, and to ſend them with their families to dwell farther off, to the end they ſhould not aide the rebels, as they had done ſecretly, with armes, counſell, and other things, and that they ſhould take exemplarie puniſhment of ſome that had ſlaine Chriſtians, and ſpoyled Churches, and begin firſt with the inhabitants of Albunuela, a place from whence the Moores were releeued, with victuals and other commoC dities. Moſt were of opinion, that they ſhould continue the warres, and that occaſions would giue them neceſſarie and fit aduice. There were three regiments leuied vnder *Antonio Moreno*, *Hernand de Orunna*, and *Francis de Mendoſa* of Alcala de Henares. There was order taken alſo for the gouernment of the townes and forts, by new Election, or confirmation of thoſe that were in charge, all beeing commanded to containe their ſouldiers, and to obey the ordinances vpon great paines. The marqueſſe of Velez, who was not come to *D. Iohn*, ſent him a note what he had done in his diuiſion, and what hee thought remained to be done: hee had ſtaied with his armie at Terques, and had a deſigne to march toward Andarax, but *D. Iohn* ſent a Poſt to ſtay him. He had begunne a fort at Rauaha, the which was ouerthrowne by the Moores, who ſlue D. him, a hundred and threeſcore ſouldiers, and tooke an Enſigne; whereat *D. Iohn* was very much diſcontented. *Aben Humeia* was aduertiſed of all the conſultations and reſolutions which were taken at Granado, by them of the Albayzin, and accordingly made prouiſion for the warre, and for thoſe places which hee had an intent to defend. Hee alſo made three regiments vnder *Hanon de Cucuijar*, *Futey de Lautera*, and *Zezca de Cuiar*, Captaines Moores. Hee made his ſtore-houſe for the warre at Orgiba, hee appointed a market at Vxixar of Albereta, whither they did bring victuals and marchandiſe, and marchants came from Tetuan in the realme of Fez, to ſell armes and other commodities. He made *Rio d'Almanſora* Gouernour of that Quarter which ioyned vpon the Marquiſate of Zenete, and *Ieromo Malech* of the frontier of Guadix and Baſa. At PoE queira and Ferreira *Diego Lopes Aben Aboo*, vpon the frontier of Orgiba *Michel de Granado Xaba*, on the iuriſdiction of Luxar and Marchena *Sierra de Fitabres Gidoi*, and of the riuer of Almeric *Aben Meguenun* was gouernour, in the valley of Locrin, and the frontier of Almunexar, Salobregna and Motril, he placed *Gironcillo* and *Rendal* for gouernours: to all which hee giue Letters Patents ſigned by himſelfe, and with a royall ſeale. There were of his priuie Councell, *Don Ferdinand el Caguer*, *Dalay Moxarraf*, *Calderon* of Vxixar, and *Hernand Habagui*: *Farrax Aben Farrax* was in diſgrace, and came no more in the Kings Preſence, who had threatned to haue him hanged as a thiefe.

Counſellors about D. Iohn of Auſtria.

Aduice of the Marqueſſe of Mondejar.

Aduice of the Preſident Deſa.

Def. at of Chriſtians.

Captaines and Counſellers to the Mooriſh king.

F Beſides theſe prouiſions, *Aben Humeia* did hope to bee fortified by the *Xeriffe Abdalla* king of Maroc and Fez, and by *Vluccyaly* gouernour of Algier, whom he did ſolicite and intreat, making them great promiſes, and aſſuring him that hee ſhould bee ſuccoured by the great Turkes armie, which charge *Vluccialy* had taken vpon him. Hee beganne the warre againſt *Don Iohn* by the taking of Peca, whither hee ledde fiue thouſand men, but hee could not take the Caſtle; and there were

1569 were many light skirmiſhes made on either ſide. The great Commander who had charge to bring the gallies, and the regiment of Naples into Spaine, had drawne together 24 gallies, in the port of Genoua, with ſome other veſſels, & went to ſea in a doubtfull time, contrarie to the aduice of the Mariners; for that (ſaid he) they had need of him in Spaine: but he was no ſooner at ſea, but hee was ouertaken with ſo furious a tempeſt, as ſome of his veſſels periſhed with their burdens, and the reſt were ſo diſperſed, ſome into Sardynia, ſome into Sicilie, and ſome elſe-where, as all that preparation prooued vnprofitable. The great Commander was by chance caſt vpon the Iſland of Maiorca, and ſo he paſt from Palamos into Cattelogne, ſo as the paſſage was open for ſome daies out of Barbarie into Spaine. G

Shipwracke of the great Commanders fleet.

The mountaine of Bentonis is in the countrie of Veles Malaga, vpon the ſea towards the South, a countrie fertill in wines, which they tranſport into England, and Flanders; by which trafficke the inhabitants were rich: moſt of which had their beginning from Moores, and they did reckon 22. Burroughs well peopled and inhabited: the which had not riſen vntill that vpon certaine reports the officers of Iuſtice began to vexe them; ſaying, that they were aduertiſed they had commerce and intelligence with *Aben Humeia*: Canilles of Azeitunes is in this countrie, a ſtrong place and of importance, belonging vnto the Marqueſſe of Comare, and there is a certaine Rocke, called Fregiliana the old, whither a good number of Moores were retired, and had there fortified themſelues: whom *Arcualo de Cuaco de Veles* would go and aſſaile, but he was repulſt with the loſſe of moſt of his men. H

Defeat of Moores.

The Marqueſſe of Velez beeing at Verja in the country of Almerie with a good ſtrong armie, *Aben Humeia* who had ten thouſand men, and among them ſome Turkes, came and charged him couragiouſly, and forced the firſt gards and lodging of his campe, putting all into diſorder: the which was repaired by the diligence of ſouldiers well diſciplined, who recouered their places of armes, and repulſt this violence of the Moores valiantly, killing aboue a thouſand and fiue hundred as they retired in diſorder. There were among the Turkes of *Aben Humeias* armie, many which carried girlands of flowers vpon their heads, ſaying, that they were ſent thither to reuenge *Mahomets* Martyrs. I

Armie of Aben Humeia defeated.

The Marqueſſe had aboue twelue thouſand fighting men, and beeing lodged at Adra, he had commandement to enter into Alpuxarra, where hee came to fight with the Moores at Vxicar, and then he charged *Aben Humeia* at Valot, who was not much weaker in number then he, yet he was put to rout; but the Marqueſſe was preſently forced to retire: for the miſchiefe was, that as ſoone as the ſouldiers had taken any ſpoyle, they ſtole away to carrie it to their houſes. Through this diſorder there remained not three thouſand men in his campe. *D. Anthonie de Luna* ſackt Albunuela, according to the aduice of the Preſident *D. Pedro de Deſa*, where he made a great ſpoyle of goods, and tooke aboue a thouſand and fiue hundred priſoners. According to the auncient cuſtome, the kings of Spaine ſhould haue the fift of all the ſpoyles, but they made him bad reckonings. The commander of Caſtille came in the end to the road of Velez Malaga, with ſuch Spaniſh foot as he could bring out of Italie, and did preſently inueſt Pegnon de Fregiliana: there were ſome good Captaines with him, *D. Pedro* and *D. Martin de Padilla*, *D. Iohn de Cardenas* brother to the Earle of Miranda, *D. Pedro de Zuniga*, with others. The Moores which were lodged there, in a manner without armes, defended themſelues notwithſtanding couragiouſly, and at the firſt aſſault ſlue *Pedro de Sandoual*, and foure hundred ſouldiers, and wounded double the number: but the Spaniards continuing their aſſaults with great obſtinacie, in the end they forced it, and of foure thouſand Moores that were within the place, there were neere two thouſand ſlaine, the reſt eſcaped, caſting themſelues deſperately downe the rockes, and many women with them, leaping downe the precipices like goates, hauing their infants tied at their backes. There were women ſlaine in theſe combats which made head againſt the aſſaylants as couragiouſly as if they had beene old ſouldiers. There was alſo found within the fort three thouſand ſoules, old men, women, and children, with much cattel, and great ſtore of bootie. K L M

Pegnon of Fregiliana taken by the great Commander.

The riuer of Almanſora is alſo a good and fertill countrie, but the Moores which dwelt there had not rebelled, vntil that they were forced by the inſolency of the ſouldiers, who

who ſought nothing elſe but to make them diſobedient, by ſome oppoſition or de- 1569
fence againſt their inſolencies and villeines.

Inſolencie of the Spaniards makes the Moores reuolt.

This riuer takes its beginning from a fountaine called Fuen Caliente, and falles into the Sea a league from Vera: Veles Rubio and Veles Blanco are in this Countrie, which is great, and hath many habitations bordering vpon Baſa on the North ſide, it hath the Sea vpon the South, full of old Caſtles and ſtrong by ſituation. There entred into this Countrie in Iune foure thouſand Moores, of the rebels, to countenance them that would reuolt, and to root out the reſt. Firſt they came to Porcena, where they found not any Chriſtians of the inhabitants, for being aduertiſed by a certaine Prieſt, they were fled away.

Ieromo Maleche and *Hanon* of Cueillar aſſailed the Caſtle of Seron, which did belong to the Marqueſſe of Villena; this place, that of Oria, and las Cueuas had held good, all the reſt being reuolted. Seron being beſeeged, D. *Anthonie Henriques*, brother to the Lord of that place, attempted to reliene it with fiue hundred foot, and ſixtie horſe, but hee was chaſed away, loſt two hundred men vpon the place, and reyred in rout. In this charge the Moores got great ſtore of armes, whereof they had good need. *Diego de Mirones* who was Captaine of the place went forth to ſeeke ſuccours, but he was taken, the which being knowne to the beſeeged, they yeelded to the Moores, who ſlue one hundred and fiftie men that were within it, and made eightie women ſlaues. D. *Iohn de Auſtria* furniſhed Veles and Oria, and gaue the charge to D. *Iohn de Haro*. And for that they were out of doubt, that the Moores which inhabited in the Albayzin, and other parts of the citie, gaue intelligence to them that made warre in the Alpuxarres and other places, they put them out of the Towne the three and twentieth of Iune. All were gathered together in the royall Hoſpitall, which is a great building, made by Queene *Iſabell* of Caſtille without the citie, and there a Regiſter was taken of their houſes & goods, which they left to their great greef, for they were very well lodged, being men of means: and they were deſperſed into Andaluſia: the which bred a great confuſion in their affaires. *Aben Humeia* came neere vnto Almerie, threatning to beſeege it, he made many skirmiſhes about it, & towards Saſobregna; but he had not one peece of Ordnance. Hee wrote vnto *D. Iohn* of Auſtria, intreating him to ſend him his father & his brother who were priſoners in Granado, and in a manner threatning him, but he did not much regard it.

Seron taken by the Moores.

Moores put out of Granada.

To haſten the Turkes ſuccours, without the which no enterpriſe could ſucceed well, hee ſent *Ferdinand Habaqui* to Alger, whereas *Vluccialy* made a proclamation, that all men that would might goe freely to this warre, and many preſenting themſelues, hee ſtaied them to carrie them to Tunis. Yet hee pardoned all malefactors and baniſhed men: and of this ſort of people *Habaqui* ledde foure hundred Harquebuziers with him, vnder the commaund of a Turke called *Hoſcein*, and of a brother of his, who imbarked in eight foiſts laden with munition and armes. *Hoſcein* who was an aduenturing Souldier, cunning and politike, viſited the riuers of Almanſora, and of Almerie, Sierra Filabres, and all the Alpuxarres; hee found meanes alſo to enter into the Citie of Granado, hee was at Guadix and at Baſa without diſcouerie and then returned into Barbarie, laden with preſents: for hee promiſed to goe to Conſtantinople, to make report vnto his Lord what hee had ſeene of the oppreſſions and miſeries of the Moores in Spaine. *Aben Humeia* had a deſigne vpon the towne of Vera, being commodious for the Turkes deſcent, but it was releeued by them of Baſa; He ouerranne the Countrie, burnt Cueuas, and ſpoyled the gardins of the Marqueſſe *de Velez* Lord of that place, hauing aboue ten thouſand men in his traine. But whileſt he doth theſe exploits with more preſumption and vanitie to his own then hurt to the enemie, ſeeking his pleaſures without reſpect of perſon, letting them know that his will was a Lawe, certeine Captaines were offended therewith, whereof hee that was moſt incenſed was *Diego Alguazil*, whoſe couſin *Aben Humeia* held by force for his Concubine, both hee and the reſt calling to minde the manie cruelties which hee had committed, namely the murther of *Michel Roxas*, his father in law, of *Raphael Arcos*, and other Moores of name: whereupon they conſpired to kill him

Turkes comes to ſuccour the Moores in Spaine.

1569 and to doe it with more colour, they publiſhed certaine letters which hee had written to *D. Alfonſo de Granado*, and other negotiators of a peace, the which they had kept and opened, accuſing him that hee would abandon the Moores, and betray them. They did alſo counterfeit a letter in his name, directed to *Aben Aboo*, commaunding him to kill the Captaine of the Turkes, that were come out of Barbarie to his ſuccours, vpon certaine counterfeit reaſons: they ſhewed this letter vnto the Turkes, whereat *Aben Aboo* was amazed, who thought verily that hee had written them, whereat the whole company being incenſed, they went to Andarax (where hee was with his Concubine, who was acquainted with this plot:) there they tooke him, and ſtrangled him, publiſhing in an aſſemblie of the Captaines the cauſes of this execution, the which they diſguiſed in ſuch ſort, as it was allowed by them, chooſing in his place *Diego Lopes Abeni Aboo* to raigne ouer them, a cruell man, but hee had more iudgement and gouernment than the other, ſo as D. *Iohn de Auſtria* had more cauſe to thinke ſeriouſly of the affaires of the war.

Death of king Aben Humeia.

Aben Aboo choſen king of the Rebels.

Hee gaue the charge of the Riuers of Almerie, Bolodui, Almanſora, Sierra de Baſa, and Filabres, and of the Marquiſate of Zenete to *Ierome Maleeh* and to *Xoabi*; and Sierra Neuada, the land of Velez, the Alpuxarres, and the Valley of Montojo of Granado, to *Haſcien de Gueiar*. Hee ſent preſents to *Vluccialy*, and to the Moſti of Conſtantinople, to keepe him in grace with the great Turke, and to bee a meanes for ſome ſuccours: he made a regiment of foure thouſand men for his gard, whereof a thouſand ſhould be alwaies in gard. At his election he found tenne thouſand men in the armie, and among them ſix hundred Turkes.

The Marqueſſe of Mondejar at that time left the affairs of Granado, & went to Valentia, where he was appointed viceroy, in which charge he continued not long, but paſt to Naples to gouern there with like dignitie. The duke of Seſſe was chief of the army which the marqueſſe was wont to lead; who releeued the Garriſon of Orgiba, which *Aben Aboo* the new king beſeeged, and kept the pace of Lantjaron, where there was a great skirmiſh, the which continued long, through the Turkes valour, in the which there were many ſlaine of either part. Orgiba was abandoned by the commandement of D. *Iohn*, who ſent the Captaine of that place with his men to Motrill.

In the Dukes armie, there were many Noble men of marke, as *Pagan Doria*, brother to *Iohn Andrew*, D. *Gabriel*, and *Lewis de Cordona*, D. *Lewis de Cardone*, and others, which armie was appointed to cleanſe the Alpuxarra. In the other part whereas the marqueſſe of Veles made warre, D. *Iohn* would commaund in perſon; hauing *Maleeh* and *Xoabi* to make head againſt him. In theſe Chriſtian armies there were certaine couragious Monkes marching in the head of the troupes, who held a Crucifex in one hand and a naked ſword in the other.

Galere taken by the Moores.

Moores defeated.

The Moores attempted Galere, a ſtrong place of ſituation, belonging to Eurigue, a league from Gueſcar, and tooke it. They went to beſeege Oria, but they of Lorca their neighbours (who were alwaies good ſouldiers) came thither, ſlue foure hundred Moores, raiſed the ſeege, and carried away fiue Enſignes. *Maleeh* marcht with the bodie of his armie by the riuer of Almanſora, D. *Iohn* led his by that of Xenil: this Riuer runnes by Piuillos, and enters into an other called Aguasblancas, which together paſſing by the village of Cene, runne towards Granado, and betwixt theſe two riuers is the Mountaine of Guejar, one of the deſcents of Sierra Neuada, in the which there kept about foure thouſand Moores vnder the Captaines *Xoabi*, *Choconcillo*, *Macox*, and *Moxixar*, who ranne euen to the gates of Granado: D. *Iohn* made them diſlodge and retire farther into the mountaines of Sierra Neuada.

Farrax Aben Farrax, his miſerable eſtate.

Farrax Aben Farrax was among the Moores that were at Guejar, in poore and miſerable eſtate, of whoſe aduentures it is fit to make ſome little mention. Being in diſgrace with king *Aben Humeia*, and put from all affaires, his miſerie had brought him to that deſpaire, as hee was ready to yeeld himſelfe to the Marqueſſe of Mondejar, who without doubt had put him to an exemplarie death: being in ſuſpence, and hauing changed his minde, hee thought it better to yeeld himſelfe vnto the Inquiſition, thinking that making his accuſtomed ſubmiſſions, he ſhould haue his life ſaued at the leaſt. There was a Moore

A Moore with him which had beene his companion in the art of dying, to whom hauing imparted this his deſigne, exhorting him to doe the like (for hee was no leſſe culpable than he) he liked well of it, and was content to go before to treat with them of the Inquiſition for them both. *Farrax* hauing inſtructed him, being to depart that night, and therfore they were retired into a valley couered with wood to keepe their buſineſſe more ſecret, after that he had diſcourſed long, & reiterated his inſtructions to this Moor, he fel a ſleep in the wood, the other ſeeing him faſt, thoght that he ſhould make his peace better if hee ſlue him, and being reſolued, hee tooke a great ſtone wherewith he gaue him ſo many blowes vpon the head, face, and bodie, as hee left him for dead, and B then he went as it is to bee coniectured to Granado. 1569

Farrax being thus pittifully handled, remained two daies neither dead nor aliue in that Vallie, whereas two Moores paſſing by, found him, whileſt hee yet breathed, and not knowing what hee was, but onely finding that hee was a Moore, they laied him for pittie ſake vpon one of their horſes, and carried him to Guejar, where hee was lookt vnto and cured; but hee remained ſo disfigured as his viſage had ſcarce any ſhape of a mans, and in this eſtate hee followed the troupes, liuing of almes, being known of few men. This was the reward of the chiefe authour of the Moores rebellion.

Returning to *Aben Aboo*: he had a intent to gather the Oliues vpon the riuer of Boldui, hauing ſent a number of Mooriſh women thither, with a gard of eight hundred ſouldi- *Defeat of Moores.*
C ers; but they were no good gardians, for being charged by the Marqueſſe of Velez, they fled with the loſſe of two hundred of their men, ſlain vpon the place, and all their women were taken. Gueſcar was alſo relieued by the Marqueſſe, who ſlue about fiue hundred of the Moors. Winter broght many diſcommodities both to the one and the other, yet the Marqueſſe of Velez held Galeres alwaies inueſted; but ſeeing in the Spring that D. *Iohn* would come and beſeege it himſelfe, he retyred: for he was ſo ambitious as he would haue the honor of euerie thing that was done where he was. The body of D. *Iohns* armie which was intēded againſt the fort of Galere, was made at Gueſcar, D. *Iohn* being at Baſa, which is 7 leagues off, where he prouided for all things neceſſarie. Galere was but a borough without any wall, but ſeated among rockes which couered it, being enuironed with
D deep precipices, the which the Moors by trauerſes and barracadoes had made in a maner impenetrable, and in theſe deep bottomes the riuer ran, wheras they of the Borogh were forced to fetch their water; and to the end they might goe thither without danger, the Moores had made a way like a wall, and by this meanes they did water ſafely. There were *Galere beſieged and taken.* three thouſand Moores and Turkes to defend this fort. The church without the borogh had a high Tower, which ſerued them both for a watch and a Citadell. D. *Iohn* brought his armie thither, and hauing made there batteries, he preſently took this church by one of them. But when he came to the Borough, there was great difficultie to batter it, by reaſon of the rocks which did couer it. It was ſo well defended, as the Spaniards were many times out of hope to take it: but obſtinacy ſtaied them, and made them to continue their
E aſſaults furiouſly, ſo as in the end they took it by force, being fauoured by three mines, which plaid happely to the great loſſe of the beſeeged, who abādoned the place, & ſought to eſcape by the rockes and precipices; there were 2400 Moores and Turkes ſlaine, and a great booty taken of gold, ſiluer, and other moueables, with great ſtore of corne. There were many women Moores found there, but for that the Souldiers lingred after them, D. *Women Moores maſacred.* *Iohn* cauſed them all to be ſlaine in his preſence. There were 4500 Chriſtian women and Children ſet at libertie, as well thoſe of the Borough, as others which they had brought from Oria, Caſtileije & other places thereabouts: This victorie was dearly bought, for D. *Iohn* of Auſtria loſt many men, but the number is not ſpecified; but of captaines and men of mark, there were ſlaine at ſundry aſſaults, *Martin de Lorite*, *Iohn de Magueda*, *Baltazar*
F *de Aranda*, *Alfonſo Beltram*, *Charles* and *Frederike* of Antillon, D. *Iohn d' Caſtille*, *Spaniards of accompt ſlaine at Galere by the Moores.* D. *Anthony d' Gourmas*, *Abarca* and others. Of wounded were *Pedro d' Padilla*, *Pagan Doria*, the Marques of Fauara, D. *Lewis Henriques*, D. *Lewis d' Auila*, D. *Pedro de Sotomaior*, D. *Diego Vaſques de Acugna*, *Bernardin* of Quixada, with many Lieutenants and Enſignes. This place being wonne, D. *Iohn* ſent to view Seron, but hee loſt aboue fiue hundred men. D. *Lope de Figueroa* maſter of the Campe, was charged in another

place by ſixe thouſand Moores, led by *Habaqui* and *Malech*, who got armes to arme aboue G
a thouſand men. *Lewis de Quixada* was wounded there, whereof hee dyed ſoone after: D. *Iohn* had a ſhot on his Caske: but it was of good proofe.

1570 The duke of Seſſes armie entred the Alpuxarres, in March one thouſand fiue hundred and ſeuentie, by *Padul*, to goe vnto Orgiba. The Moores chiefe ſtrength was at Andarax with their king *Aben Aboo*, who had ſet good gards at Lanjaron, and in the Weſt quarter were *Rendal* and *Macox*, two Captaines, with foure thouſand Moors. The duke had diuers skirmiſhes about Lanjaron, which the Moores held, but in the end they abandoned it. After which hee led his army to Albacete of Orgiba. In theſe incounteres there was a Turkiſh Harquebuſe taken, the Canon wherof was ten ſpannes long, carrying a bullet which H
weighed an ounce and an halfe.

The Moores which were in the Caſtle of Velez of Benandalla ſeeing themſelues inueſted by the Dukes armie, they corrupted ſome Souldiers of his campe, who ſuffered them to eſcape with their women and what elſe they could carrie away. But being in a place of ſafetie, they returned vnto the paſſages betwixt Velez and the campe, where they ſpoiled and ſlue many paſſengers, and ſo recompenſed themſelues largely of their loſſes. The fort of Lontegi was alſo taken from them, but ſome troupes going from *Aben Aboos* campe, charged a conuoy which came to the dukes campe, and carried away many beaſts with their burthens, and had made ſpoile of all, if they had not been relieued in time. I

Conuoy defeated by the Moores.

The two armies coaſted one another for a time amidſt theſe mountaines, skirmiſhing vnto Campuxan, the Moores bending towards *Iubiles*, and the duke to Portillo and Vxixar. The duke had in his Campe about eight thouſand men, *Aben Aboo* had twelue thouſand. The duke to diſcharge his armie of many vnprofitable mouths, as ſouldiers that were hurt, whome hee ſent to Guadix to be cured, with ſome women and children, whome hee had reſcued from the Moores, and a good number of Moores priſoners, ſent away the Marqueſſe of Fauara, with a thouſand foot, and one hundred horſe to gard them, and to bring backe certaine horſes, and mules laden with victuals to the campe: but the Marqueſſe fell into an ambuſh which K
Piceni and *Martel de Zenete* Captaines among the Moores had laied for him, where hee loſt all his baggage, and eight hundred of his ſouldiers, the which fell out vnhappily, for the dukes armie was in ſome extremitie for want of victuals, and therefore ſought to paſſe to Adra, being alwaies coaſted by the Moores, who began to growe ſouldiers vnder this new king. D. *Iohn* of Auſtria had better ſucceſſe: for he fought with *Habaqui*, who was come with ſeuen thouſand Moores to raiſe him from Seron, and defeated him. At that time *Ierome Malech* one of their beſt captaines died of ſicknes. Throgh the fauor of this victorie D. *John* took Seron and Tyole; he chaſed the Moores from Porchena, and then marcht towards Andarax, to ſeeke out the Moors king with their armie: betwixt theſe two armies there were many skirmiſhes with diuers euents.

Chriſtians defeated by the Moores.

Moores defeated by D. Iohn.

In the meane time king *Philip* came vnto Cordoua, being very deſirous to haue this L
warre ended in one ſort or other: for hee was aduertiſed that the Turke had great deſignes vpon Italie, and for this cauſe had broken the peace with the Venetians, the king being ſolicited by them and other Potentates in Italie, and by continuall letters from the Pope to ioyne in league with them. Wherefore being forced to ſend his gallies, hee muſt of neceſſitie ſend his Brother D. *Iohn*, whome hee was deſirous to aduance. The Moores who were alſo aduertiſed of theſe things, and therefore out of hope to be relieued by the Turke, who had other enterpriſes in his braine, deſired, no leſſe than the king, to enter into ſome treatie of peace. The Gallies and Foiſtes of M
Barbarie came no more to ſuccour them: three galeots which had diſcharged, come armes, & Arabian books, Alcarons and other, in the road of Dalias, had bin diſcouered and taken by the inhabitants of the countrie: ſeuen other galeots or foiſts being come to the ſame coaſt with ſouldiers, which *Haſſem* a Turke brought out of Barbarie, they returned vpon a falſe brute of peace, which had beene ſpred abroad, both the Moores and the Chriſtians being deſirous of reſt. Beſides, enuy, diſloyalty, and other vices raigning among the Moors cauſed a diuiſion among thē, ſome of the captains hauing bin ſent into Afrike,

A Afrike, ſtaied there, and would no more return; many of the common people did the like king *Aben Aboo*, and others which held good, were ſolicited and tempted by promiſes, that they ſhould receiue all fauour and good vſage from King *Philip*, and they were well pleaſed alſo to keepe their pillage, ſo as they yeelded to enter into treatie, but there was no ceſſation of armes. *Habaqui* and ſome other knights of the Moores were at Fond of Andarax, where hauing conferred with king *Philips* deputies they made an accord vpon theſe articles. 1570

That *Habaqui* in the name of *Diego Lopes Aben Aboo*, and others of whome hee had power, ſhould kneele at D. *Iohns* feet, and demaund pardon of king *Philip*: That they *Treaty of peace with the Moores.*
B ſhould yeeld vp their armes and Engines: That they ſhould bee receiued into grace, and all that was paſt forgotten: That they ſhould not be wronged by word nor deede, nor moleſted by the Inquiſition: That they that were reduced ſhould bee ſent withall ſecuritie, with their goods, wiues and children, to ſuch places as ſhould be aſſigned them to liue in, for they muſt leaue the Alpuxarres. Aecording vnto this accord a ſubmiſſion was made by *Habaqui* to D. *Iohn* at Padules, and the Enſignes being deliuered D. *Alfonſo de Granado Venega* went to *Aben Aboo*, to giue him better aſſurance; paſſing by Alcolea where hee found *Xoaibi* they went together to Cadiar, where hee was well entertained by *Aben Aboo* and *Habaqui*, and hauing had much conference vpon the aſſurance which D. *Alfonſo* had charge to promiſe them, ſuch as they
C ſhould demaund, they proceeded ſo farre in their accord, as moſt of the Turkes that were in the army were diſmiſt, and ſent home well ſatisfied.

But after *D. Alfonſos* departure, many of theſe Moores conſidering better of the importance of this reduction, began to diſtruſt, paſſing into Barbarie and returned not; *Moores after the accord retrait.*
and for that they had left *Aben Aboo* in mind to retract, they did ſolicite the Turkes and Moores of Afrike, not to forbeare to ſuccour them of Spaine, whereunto they found many Lords among the Moores verie willing, So as in a ſhort time there came many veſſels to that Coaſt, bringing ſouldiers, armes and munition from Barbarie. The which confirmed *Aben Aboo*, and others in the reſolution they had neuer to put themſelues into the hands of the king of Spaine, nor of his Lieutenants,
D beginning to hate and curſe them that had dealt in this treatiſe, and eſpecially *Hernand Habaqui.*

This confuſion among the heads did ſo amaze the common people of the Moores, as they came in great troupes to yeeld themſelues to the kings mercie, and to his Gouernours and Captaines, who had commandement to receiue them, and not to ſuffer any outrage to bee done vnto them. Others that could eſcape did more willingly paſſe the Sea, for they did not ſubmit themſelues but through hunger, and by an opinion they had conceiued that they could not proſper vnder their heads, nor bee freed from their miſeries by them, ſeeing they were continually in diſcord. The armies were ſtill on foot during theſe Ambiguities, yet ſomewhat neglected and weake, for
E they ſtill expected when they ſhould bee diſmiſt.

The Duke of Seſſe broght his armie before the Caſtle of Fer, which was a ſtore-houſe of Turkes to ſuccour them, and tooke it: D. *Sancho de Leua* did alſo take certaine foiſts. The Captaines of places ranne whereſoeuer they heard there were any Moores in armes, which made many to haſten their reduction. Many ſouldiers being disbanded did not forbeare the Moores that had ſubmitted, but did ſpoile them and make their wiues and children captiues, to keep them, or ſell them, for ſlaues; to preuent the which, they vſed all diligence to draw them from their ancient habitations to liue farther off in places aſſigned them according to the accord, and certaine diuiſions which had beene made. The more to incite the Moores to ſubmit themſelues, the Preſident D. *Pedro de Deſa* wrote a
F letter of exhortation to the nation of the Moores, in the Arabian tong, as if it had beene ſome Morabite or Hermite of the law of *Mahomet*, who perſuaded them to harken to a peace, and to free themſelues of ſo many miſeries, cauſing many copies therof to be made, the which being diſperſed among that nation, did haſten the reduction of many. *Habaqui* ſeeing that *Aben Aboo* wēt back, & that the party was much diminiſhed, being diuided among theſelues, went to *D. Iohn*, & told him with great aſſurance that if he wold giue him

1570 fiue hnndred ſhot, hee would bring *Aben Aboo* bound vnto him: D. *Iohn* would not giue him any men, but hee canſed eight hundred Crownes to bee deliuered him, to leuie them where hee ſhould thinke good, and to performe what hee had promiſed. G

Habaqui being reſolute to imploy himſelfe for the performance of the accord, came to Vercheul where his wife and children were, to haue them prepare themſelues, for hee meant to take them from thence, and to carrie them to Guadix: paſſing by Ieſſen, hee ſaw certaine Moores walking idlely vpon the place, of whome hee demaunded proudly why they ſtaied to goe vnto thoſe places which were aſſigned them, by the treatie of peace. To whome they anſwered, that they attended the commaundement of *Aben Aboo*. And I tell you (replyed hee) that if *Aben Aboo* be ſo tedious and vnwilling, I will lead him to D. *Iohn* of Auſtria bound at my horſe taile. Theſe words were told to *Aben Aboo*, by ſome one of theſe Moores, whereat being much incenſed, hee ſent one hundred and fiftie Turkes, which he had reſerued for his gard, and two companies of Moores, in whome hee truſted, to goe and take him at Vercheul. *Habaqui* hearing a noiſe in the night, got out of his lodging, and beganne to flie away, who without doubt had eſcaped, had not his white Turban diſcouered him a farre off, which was the cauſe that they purſued and tooke him. H

Boldnes of a Moore.

Being brought before *Aben Aboo*, hee reproacht him with his preſumption and proud threats againſt him that was his king; telling him that hee knew well hee was a Traitour, and that hee ſought to make his peace apart with the Chriſtians and bring all the reſt of Moores to the ſlaughter, or ſlauerie: whereupon hee cauſed him to bee preſently led into a ſecret place, and there to be ſtrangled by his houſhold Seruants, and then hee cauſed his bodie to bee bound vp in a fagot of reedes and to bee caſt into a precipice, where it remained many daies, and no man knew what became of him. I

Habaqui ſtrangled.

Being rid of this man, hee ſent into all places where the Moores were not reduced, to aduertiſe them that they ſhould not ſubmit, putting them in hope by counterfeit newes of ſuccours by the Turkiſh armie, and other ſuch meanes, yet hee did not leaue to write to D. *Alfonſo* of Granado, and to D. *Fernand* of Barrades, the Mediatours, that hee continued ſtill in the ſame minde; but the effects ſhewed the contrarie, for a brother of his called *Galipe* hauing beene defeated, as hee went towards Ronde and Bentomis with two hundred Souldiers to maintaine the Moores of that quarter in rebellion, they vnderſtood all his practiſes, how hee did ſollicite the Turkes and Moores of Affrike: That hee made an accompt to haue twelue thouſand men; that hee made prouiſion of corne; that hee had put eight hundred men into Pitres, and that hee fortified himſelfe and prepared for warre. Finally to free them from all doubt, being preſt by letters from *Hernand de Barredes*, and by mouth by *Hernand Valles de Palacios*, who was ſent expreſly vnto him, to make declaration if hee would ratifie the Capitulations; hee anſwered plainely, and after a proud and diſdainefull maner, that they were deceiued who thought hee would put himſelfe into the power of king *Philip*, or truſt to his promiſes: for the Moores of thoſe times had ſufficient proofes, beſides thoſe which their predeceſſors had left, in what maner the kings of Caſtille were accuſtomed to keepe their faith. This being reported, the king commaunded they ſhould continue the warre with all violence, and not pardon any Moore that was armed, but preſerue them that were quiet. The duke of Arcos had the charge to preſſe them of Ronde and of Sierra Vermeille. The great Commander was to enter againe into the Alpuxarres, whereas many defended themſelues. But in the end the Moores finding that their head was deſtitute of means and Counſel, moſt of them ſubmitted themſelues, and *Aben Aboo* found himſelfe ſo abandoned, as he had no care but how to ſaue himſelfe in Barbary, being reſolued neuer to trie king *Philips* clemency, flying from caue to caue, & from rock to rock betwixt Vercheul & Treuelles, which are the rougheſt parts of thoſe mountaines, hauing ſcarſe 400 men which followed him: being notwithſtāding like a troubleſom thorn, wherof the king deſired much to be free. Whē as it pleaſeth god to take away al difficulties, wherwith men are troubled K L M

Warre renued; with the Moores.

A troubled, he ſuddenly raiſeth occaſions, and can giue vnexpected ends to great affaires, many times by meane inſtruments. There was a Goldſmith at Granado, called *Barrero*, a pleaſant man, and well knowne to the Moores and Chriſtians dwelling in the Alpuxarres, where, before the warre, hee was woont to goe and ſell rings of gold and ſiluer, and other toyes of his trade, and tooke in exchange from them ſilke, pearles, and other things. *Barrero* returning to his woonted traffique, vpon the reduction of ſome burroughes in thoſe mountaines, hee came to Cadiar and to Vercheul, at ſuch time as the captaine of the garriſon, called *Galas Rotulo de Villa-Real*, hauing taken certaine Moores, theeues, of *Aben Aboos* traine, was readie to haue them ſhot: One of them B knowing *Barrero*, came and ſaluted him, and reported his misfortune vnto him, intreating him to bee a meanes for his deliuerie. The Goldſmith knew this Moore, and demaunded newes of *Aben Aboo*, who were about him, and his chiefe counſellors? The priſoner told him what he knew, and that his moſt familiar friends were a Secretarie of his, *called Bernardin Aben Amer*, and a captaine whom they called *Seniz* of Vercheul, but he gaue moſt credit to *Aben Amer*. *Barrero*, who in former time had beene verie familiar with *Aben Amer*, thought it fit to write vnto him touching the reduction of his maſter, asking the Moore if hee could find meanes to carrie a letter and not be diſcouered, and hee would cauſe him to bee ſet at libertie. The Moore did promiſe and ſweare it: Wherefore *Barrero* hauing acquainted captaine *Rotulo* with his enterpriſe, hee C intreated him to keepe this priſoner vntill his returne from Granado, whither he would goe and aske leaue to conferre with the Secretarie of *Aben Aboo*, whom he had knowne long, hoping to draw him to perſuade his maſter to yeeld. The great Commaunder gaue him leaue to write and conferre, and being returned to Vercheul, hee diſpatcht this Moore with a perſuaſiue letter to *Aben Amer*. This meſſenger could not ſo paſſe the rockes and caues of Vercheul, but hee fell into the hands of *Seniz* men, who led him to their maſter. Beinng examined whence he came, and whither he went, hee aunſwered, That he had eſcaped the hands of the captaine of the garriſon of Vercheul and Cadiar, who held him priſoner. *Seniz* not beleeuing him, threatened to racke him: wherewith being terrified, hee ſayed, That in truth hee was a priſoner, and that D to ſaue his life hee had taken vpon him to carrie a letter to *Bernardin Aben Amer*, but hee knew not what it contained; and ſo hee gaue it him. *Seniz* hauing read it, was verie well pleaſed, ſaying vnto the Moore, That it was happie for him hee had fallen into his hands; for if hee had gone to *Aben Amer*, he would haue hanged him aſſoone as he had giuen him this letter: That hee meant to ſend him backe to him that had written it, willing him to bee faithfull, for hee ſhould bee well rewarded. This poore Moore being glad, promiſed to doe any thing that hee ſhould commaund him.

1570 *Practiſes of a Goldſmith to end the warre with the Moors*

Seniz and *Francis Barrero* met at a certaine place appointed, and concluded betwixt them, That *Barrero* ſhould returne to Granado, and bring a generall pardon in good forme, to all thoſe that had beene in armes ſince the treatie made with *Habaqui*, in the E which *Aben Aboo* ſhould bee expreſly named. Theſe letters were diſpatcht with all fauour, wherein nothing was omitted. *Barrero* hauing brought them, and deliuered them to *Seniz*, it happened that *Aben Aboo* was aduertiſed of this conference, wherewith hee was much diſcontented, and came in the night with a ſmall traine to the caue where *Seniz* retired himſelfe, leauing his people a little way off, in a paſſage vnder the rocke, keeping two Moores onely with him, whom hee made to ſtay at the entrie of that naturall caue, which was in the top of the mountaine of Huzun, aboue Vercheul and Mecine of Bombaron. Hee demaunded verie diſdainfully of *Seniz*, Who had giuen him leaue to treat with the enemie? You, aunſwered *Seniz*, and it is in conſequence of former conferences, the which, I tell you, wee muſt contiF nue and end; and therefore let vs not looſe the opportunitie to recouer king *Philips* fauour, and let vs not through bad counſell ſeeke our owne ruines: putting inſtantly into his hand theſe letters of pardon, the which *Aben Aboo* reiected, crying out, That it was nothing but villanie and treaſon, offering to goe forth to call his men. One of them which hee had left at the entrie of the caue would haue come in, but he was

put

1570 put backe, and throwne downe a Precipice, the other fled, and hee himſelfe was G
ſtayed to reaſon with him; but he was in ſuch a rage, as hee would not heare any thing:
ſo as *Seniz* ſeeing his obſtinacie, reſolued to kill him, and lifting vp a long harquebuſe
which hee had in his hand, hee gaue him ſuch a blow on the head, as he ouerthrew him,
Aben Aboo king of the Moores ſlaine. and then he and his men ſtabd him with their daggers. They which attended him, be-
ing aduertiſed by the Moore which had fled, That they had ſlaine his companion, and
that he thought they had done as much vnto the king, retired. This done, *Seniz* ſent
to aduertiſe *Francis Barrero* thereof, and that hee ſhould ſend a moyle to carrie the kings
bodie to Vercheul; the which was done, and *Seniz* inuited to come with all aſſurance
to the garriſon, where hee was entertained, and much made of by *Leonard Rotulo,* H
brother to captaine *Galas*, then abſent; and then hee and *Barrero* went vnto the citie,
whither they cauſed the bodie to be carried, where they had a joyfull entrie made
them.

The head of *Aben Aboo* was put in a cage of yron, and ſet ouer the citie gate which
lookes towards the Alpuxarres: The bodie, being quartered, was hung vpon the high-
Troubles of the Moors ſpecified wayes. After which there was not any Moore found to make head; all layed aſide
armes, and ſubmitted themſelues to the kings mercie, according to the generall par-
don which was graunted to *Francis Barrero*. But they were all drawne out of the moun-
taines, and the townes of Granado, and thereabouts, and ſent into plaine countries, and
more acceſſible, to inhabit; as the Emperour *Traian* did with the auncient Spaniards, I
who were accuſtomed to rebell often, vpon the aſſurance of their townes and caſtles
built vpon the edge of the mountaines, the which he cauſed to be raſed, and comman-
ded by an Edict, that they ſhould not build any more but in the plaines.

Thus ended the warre of the Moores of Granado, in Nouember 1570, hauing conti-
nued neere two yeares, verie daungerous and difficult, being raſhly cauſed by the
ill vſage of them that they call old Chriſtians in Spaine, by the importune purſuits
of the Clergie and Inquiſition, and by the bad adminiſtration of juſtice, and inſo-
lencie of the miniſters there of; and no leſſe inconſiderately entertained by the impati-
encie of the Moores, and augmented by their obſtinacie and ignorance, which ſuggeſted
wicked and monſtrous conceptions. The charge and loſſe was great, for there was aboue K
fiue millions of crownes of the kings treaſure ſpent in this warre. The intereſt of pri-
uat men, and the ſpoyle and vnpeopling of the countrey, was ineſtimable, in the which
aboue thirtie thouſand Chriſtians loſt their liues. As for the Moores that were ſlaine
of all ages and ſexes, the number cannot be ſaied; for a great realme might haue beene
peopled therewith. If they had beene intreated with more mildneſſe and humanitie,
without doubt they might eaſily haue kept them in obedience, and by little and little
might haue made them leaue that which was vnpleaſing or ſcandalous in their manner
of liuing: and as for religion, they ſhould bee inſtructed with more care and charitie,
cauſing that injurious contempt which is ordinarie in Spaine and other places, of
them that are newly come to the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt, to ceaſe, being vnplea- L
ſing vnto God.

9 King *Philip* being ſomewhat freed from cares by the end of this warre with the Moores
Mariage of king Philip with his neece. of Granado, hee would haue his mariage conſummated with *Anne* of Auſtria, his
neece, daughter to his ſiſter and to the Emperour *Maximilian*, for the which he obtai-
ned a diſpenſation from the Pope, according to the vſe of that holy Church. She paſt
through the Low Countries, and was receiued by the duke of Alba at Nymeghen
with great honour, who conducted her to Bruſſels, and ſo to Fleſſingue, where ſhee im-
barked in October, and within eight dayes arriued happily in Biſcaie, being accompa-
nied by the Archdukes *Albert* and *Wenceſlaus*, her brethren, being verie young. Shee
was receiued there by the cardinall of Seuille, whom the king had ſent thither to doe M
that office. The king entertained her at Segouia, with that ſtate that was befitting
the greatneſſe; then paſſing on to Madrid, whereas the widow Queene of Portu-
gall met them, they were maried with great ſolemnitie.

The king of Spaine (as wee haue ſaid) was ſolicited to enter into league with the

Pope

A Pope, and the Venetians, againſt whom *Selym* the great Turke, picking a quarell, had de- 1570
clared warre. And for that the danger of this warre required aid, the Pope ſent a Nuntio into Spaine, which was *Lewis Torres*, clerke of the chamber, with ſpeciall order from him to draw the king into this league, but aboue all, to craue the aſſiſtance of his gallies for that preſent yeare, that being ioyned with them of Venice, they might goe and make head againſt that mightie fleet which the Turke had ſent to ſea. The king knowing how much it did import himſelfe and the whole ſtate of Chriſtendome, being moued with many ſpeciall conſiderations, hee graunted his gallies, which were then readie in Italie. Wherefore he ſent a ſpeciall commiſsion to *Iohn Andrew Doria*, That according
B to the Popes pleaſure he ſhould go, as head of thoſe gallies, to Meſſina; but he gaue him no direction, that hee ſhould goe from thence to Corfu, to ioyne with the Venetian armie, and with the Popes gallies, which were commaunded by *Marc Anthonie Colonna*, and that hee ſhould leaue the commaund of all vnto *Colonna*, being lent by the king vnto his Holineſſe: the which being not well ſpecified, was a great prejudice to the armie that yeare. But the buſineſſe of the league being treated of in the kings Councell, with great deliberation, was not ſo eaſily concluded, notwithſtanding that *Torres*, and *Leonardo Donata*, a Senator of great worth, ſent from the State of Venice into Spaine, did ſolicite it verie earneſtly: but the importance of the buſineſſe, the ordinarie diſagreement which is found in all Councels conſiſting of men of diuers complexi-
C ons, and the naturall ſlowneſſe of that nation, made thoſe embaſſadours to ſpend many monethes in vaine, and did ſomewhat coole the ardent deſire the king had to ſatisfie the Pope and that Commonweale, as he did afterwards ſhew by the effects.

King of Spaine ſends his gallies to aſſiſt the Venetians.

But to come to the cauſe of this warre. The Turke had ſent a Chaous to the Venetians, that they ſhould, without delay, deliuer vnto him the iſland of Cypres, which did belong vnto him, as hauing ſucceeded to the rights of the Emperours of Conſtantinople, the kings of Ieruſalem, and of the auncient kings of Syria and Ægypt, the which (ſaid hee) they had gotten away. The which hauing refuſed, he denounced warre againſt them, wherein they had great difficulties, being ſurpriſed, for that it was before the ſuccours came which they had begged from the king of Spaine, the Pope, and other prin-
D ces, who performed not their promiſes but verie late, after the loſſe of Nicoſia, and all they had in that iſland; euerie one ſelling the ſuccours which hee had promiſed in balancing the intereſt they had to oppoſe againſt the Turke, and ſeeking to contribute with ſome aduantage for his owne particular. But the next yeare there was a league made, as you ſhall heare, by the which D. *Iohn* of Auſtria, the kings brother, was choſen to be Generall of the confederats armie againſt the Turke.

Warre denounced by the Turke againſt the Venetians.

The enterpriſe which the Turke made vpon Cypres, and the battell at ſea, which happened vpon this occaſion, is memorable, and merits a particular relation in this hiſtorie of Spaine, for that the power and meanes of king *Philip* did much auaile, and D. *Iohn* of Auſtria, his brother, had the honour to be Generall of the armie at ſea, and woon a
E famous victorie.

The iſland of Cypres was in truth a remainder of the Empire of Conſtantinople, and of the realme of Ieruſalem, erected by the French in their holy warres, and came by the gift of *Richard* king of England, who had conquered it from the Emperours of Conſtantinople, or rather by purchaſe or exchange, to the famous houſe of *Luſignan* in France, who enioyed it ſome generations. Among the kings of this familie, there was one *Peter* the firſt of that name, who was valiant, and went into diuers parts of the world; but for ſome tyrannies, and by the conſpiracie of his vnchaſt wife, who was of the houſe of Arragon, he was ſlaine by his ſubiects: to whom *Peter* the ſecond ſucceeded; in whoſe time there grew great contention, with notable murthers, betwixt the Conſuls of the Vene-
F tian and Genouois, nations traffiking in Cypres; and the Conſul of the Genouois was by his commaundement caſt out of the windowes of his palace, in fauour of the Venetian: wherefore the Genouois being then ſtrong at ſea, ſent a great armie to Cypres, ſackt the iſland, and ſeiſed vpon Famagoſta: falling to an accord, the Genouois carried *Iames* the kings vncle with his wife, away in hoſtage. *Peter* being dead, *Iames* was deliuered, and raigned in Cypres, and vpon ſome rights, cauſed himſelfe to bee crowned, and called

Cypres an iſland and a realme.

1570 called king of Ieruſalem and Armenia, although that he poſſeſſed not any thing. His ſon named *Ianus*, for that he was borne a Genoua, which they cal in Latin *Ianua*, ſucceeded him, who was taken by *Melech Sala*, Sultan of Ægypt, to whom he paid for his ranſom 125000 ducars of gold, and a yerely pention by way of tribute. After him *Iohn* his ſonne raigned, a man of no value, who, among other wiues, had maried one of the bloud royall of the *Paleologui*, named *Helene*, by whom he had a daughter called *Charlotte*, who was maried to a prince of Portugal: he tooke the gouernment from his mother in law *Helene*, and therefore ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned. *Charlotte* tooke to her ſecond husband *Lewis* of Sauoy earle of Genoua, and ſeeking to raigne, a baſtard brother of hers, called *Iames*, oppoſed himſelfe, ſaying, the women did not raigne in Cypres.

Lewis of Sauoy king of Cypres.

This quarell being debated before the Sultan of Ægypt, who (as ſuperour of that realme which payed him tribute made himſelfe Iudge) gaue ſentence in fauour of *Iames*, and put him in poſſeſſion, chaſing *Charlotte* and her husband out of the iſland. This *Iames* maried with *Katherine Cornari*, a Venetian, who was adopted by the Seigniorie of Venice for the daughter of S. *Marc*, and had an hundred thouſand ducats for her dower. This *Iames*, being the ſecond of that name, dyed in the yeare 1473, leauing the queene his wife with child, hauing ordained by his Will, that his after birth, if it were a ſonne, ſhould bee heire to the realme. It was a ſonne, and hee was named *Iames* the third, being acknowledged and crowned by the nobles and people of Cypres, for their king, as ſoone as hee was borne; but hee died at the end of the yeare: and then there grew a diuiſion in the realme for the Regencie and gouernement thereof, the which was ended by a reſolution taken by the Eſtates, That the widow Queene ſhould raigne and gouerne with the counſell of eight men that ſhould bee choſen; the which continued fifteene or ſixteene yeares. Conſidering afterwards with what difficultie they ſhould maintaine themſelues againſt the enterpriſes of the Sultans raigning in Ægypt, and in all Syria, the Queene and the Councell hauing againe aſſembled the Eſtates and the feudataries of the countrey, they concluded to make donation of the iſland to the Seigniorie of Venice, which was rich and ſtrong, and had meanes to defend them, ſending the Queene to Venice, to ſignifie the decree, and to carrie this goodly preſent, in the yeare 1489, where ſhee remained: and then they ſent onely a Lieutenant, and certaine officers, for the Seigniorie.

10 *Right of the Seigniorie of Venice to Cypres.*

Thus this donation is found written in the Annales of the Cypriots: But others ſay, that when as king *Iames* the ſecond was dead, the Venetians being aduertiſed, that he had appointed the infant which ſhould be borne, and the mother together, to be heires vnto the realme, and the one if the other failed, the Venetians ſent ſome of their Senators thither, as tutors to the king, and at the intreatie of the Venetian queene, who had a deſire to quit her right vnto the Seigniorie: and that this young king being dead within the yeare, ſhe retired her ſelfe to Venice. Howſoeuer it were, they enioyed it aboue foureſcore yeares. Although that this commonweale be famous for their wiſedome in the gouernement of their Eſtates, yet they had in time ſuffered the nobilitie of the countrey to vſurpe a certaine authoritie ouer the common people, which exceeded, ſo as their condition did not differ much from ſlaues, for they were beaten, ſold, and ſlaine, at the pleaſure of great and couetous men, without mercie: the which had bred a deſire in the people to change their maſter. Whereunto they adde another quarell, which was often made vnto the Senat by the great Maſter of Malta, That ſome priuat men among them had appropriated vnto themſelues the Commaunderies of the Order of S. *Iohn*, in that iſland, and had made them hereditarie to their houſes, whereof they gaue them no ſatisfaction. Which had made the great Maſter, *la Valette*, to countenance an enterpriſe, which was made to take that iſland from them, and to make a Maltois borne king there, who had his beginning from Greece, named *Baſilic*, much fauoured by the great Turke, and who for his valour and merits had beene made by him Vaiuode, or Prince of Tranſiluania. But the matter being diſcouered, it was diſappointed, and quenched, by the puniſhment of ſome, and a better gard ſet; and yet they did not ſuppreſſe the tyrannies of the nobilitie ouer the poore people. Who for that cauſe did ſtill animate the Turke to ſend an armie into Cypres, with aſſurance of good ſucceſſe; for he ſhould find the inhabitants of the countrey

Tyrannies of the nobilitie ouer the people in Cypres.

Vſurpations vpon the religion of Malta.

A meyar his deuotion. This was then the cause which had moued Sultan *Selym* to 1570
make this conquest this yeare, the which hee coloured with his old rights of Ierusalem and Ægypt, and other such vanities, sending forth his armie (after the returne of his Chaous *Gubal* from Venice) to inuade this island, where they landed a great number of Turkes, horse and foot, in Aprill, at a port called Sulmes, finding no resistance, so *Armie of Turks in Cypres.*
as within few dayes they were aboue foure score thousand fighting men: for the trayned bands, the Tymariots of Syria, Ægypt, and of Natolia, which were neere vnto the sea, and in like manner the higher prouinces, euen vnto the riuer Euphrates, had beene commaunded to come vnto certaine ports, whereas thirtie gallies which *Aly* Bassa had left
B after his first landing, and some boats to carrie horses, went to receiue them, and to transport them into the island: The which continued many dayes, and the Venetians could not hinder it, notwithstanding that they had sent about an hundred and fiftie sayle to sea, vnder the commaund of *Ieronie Zane*, who lay about Corfu and Dalmatia, which was opposite, there being an infectious disease fallen among their gallie-slaues and souldiers that were newly leuied, and not accustomed to the sea, whereof a great number died. Afterwards *Iohn Andrew Doria* being come with fiftie gallies of Spaine and Sicile, and *Marc Anthonie Colonna* with the Popes and others, hauing commaundement to fight with the Turkes armie before they landed in Cypres, they joyned with that intent with those of Venice, which were in the island of Candie: but they vsed such delayes, as the Turkes
C had landed in Cypres, and besieged Nicosia, battered and taken it before they weighed anker, or had any newes of the taking thereof, and being aduertised, there was then no question to fight with them at sea, but rather to land, and to giue battell to the Turkes; but the partie was not equall. Wherefore *Doria*, *Colonna*, and the other Commanders of the succours, tooke counsell to returne into Italie, the Commaunders of the Venetian fleet contenting themselues to keepe their ports and other islands: yet they suffered much in this retreat by tempests, in the which the Venetians lost eleuen gallies, and *Marc Anthonie Colonna* two, whereof the one, being the Admirall, was burnt with lightning. They had fortified Nicosia reasonably well, but it was ill furnished with men of defence, although it were full of people; for they made an estimate, that there liued in that citie aboue foure-
D score thousand persons, but there were not fifteene hundred souldiers, and verie few horse *Nicosia ill prouided.*
of the nobilitie of the countrey: yet they maintained the siege fiue and fortie dayes as well as they might, but they neuer made sallie nor skirmish, as is vsuall when a towne is inuested by an enemie: so as being battered, and an assault giuen, it was not forced, but in a manner taken without resistance. There was a great slaughter made of all them that were found in armes, but there were more made slaues, and the towne was abandoned to the spoile, whereas the Turkes found an incredible wealth. Aboue all, the Turkes had a great bootie of faire women and maids, among the which there was a gentlewoman, who *Resolution of a gentlewoman.*
for despight to see her selfe reduced into seruitude, had the courage to set fire on the pow-
der in a ship into which she and many others were put, so as they were all burnt, and two
E other vessels that were joyning vnto it.

Mustafa, who was Generall of the Turkes armie, hauing taken Nicosia, he left *Musafe* Bassa with 4000 men for the gard thereof, and then he marcht with his armie towards Famagosta, the onely place that was fortified in the whole island, the which was held to bee much richer than Nicosia, and therfore it drew so many Turks thither from all parts, as by the common opinion there were at this siege aboue 200000 men. He made his first lodging three miles from the towne, on the 18 of September. There was no hope to win this *Famagosta besieged.*
place by threats or promises, wherein they vsed great art. They found greater difficulties in their approches than they had done at Nicosia, they of the towne sallying forth & skirmishing with them continually. But in the meane time they had receiued aduertisement,
F that the Christian armie was joyned in Candie, which made the Turkes feare, that they would soone offer to succour Cypres, & that they would land an armie: so *Mustafa* going to counsel with *Pialy* and *Aly* the other cõmanders, it was resolued, That *Mustafa* should fortifie his lodgings at Famagosta, & then passe to Nicosia, to repaire the ruines, and augment the garrison; & that *Pialy* should go to sea with the fleet, maintaining the reputation

of

1570 of the victorie gotten at Nicoſia, and the honour of the great Turke with a new victorie at ſea: but they were ſoone after aduertiſed by two fregats, That the Chriſtian armie being come to Caſtelrazo, and hearing of the ſucceſſe of Nicoſia, were returned to Candie: Whereupon their fleet alſo returned, to giue better order for their affaires, both for the wintering of their men at land, and for the returne of the fleet to Conſtantinople, *Pialy* deſiring to enter triumphantly into that citie with the ſpoyles gotten in Cypres, where he arriued the ſixteenth day of December. G

King of Tunis expelled by Vluccialy.

In this time *Vluccialy* king of Alger had fallen into warre with the king of Tunis, who (as wee haue ſaied) was feudatarie to the king of Spaine; and being come to fight, *Vluccialy* was victor, and the other flying away, with great difficultie, recouered Goulette, with his wife and ſonnes: and the enemie, being fauoured by this occaſion, and by the inconſtancie of the Moores, made himſelfe lord, without any toyle, of the citie of Tunis, and of Biſerta; the which did afterwards draw the king of Spaine into a new warre, to reſtore him to his realme, flying to his Maieſtie for aid, as his father had done to the Emperour *Charles* the fift. H

1571 11

League concluded betwixt the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Venetians.

The king of Spaine deſirous to ſatisfie the Popes deſire, and to auoyd tediouſneſſe in the concluſion of the league, had referred the treatie thereof to Rome, giuing the charge in his name to *Anthonie Perrenot*, cardinall *Granuelle*, and to *Francis* of Toledo, cardinall *Paccheco*, joyning with them *Iohn de Zuniga* his embaſſadour at Rome. In the end, after many difficulties, the league was concluded the twentieth day of May, with theſe articles: That the king of Spaine ſhould furniſh an hundred gallies, the Venetians ſhould arme as many, and the Pope (vnder whom marcht the other princes and potentates of Italie) ſhould enter for their part, That they ſhould entertaine fiftie thouſand foot, and foure thouſand and fiue hundred horſe; and with this power they ſhould goe and aſſaile the Turke in his owne countrey, but eſpecially in the iſland of Cypres. That towards the charge of this armie and the equipage, the king of Spaine ſhould contribute a moitie, the Venetians a third part, and the Pope a ſixt: and if the Pope ſhould not be able to furniſh it, whatſoeuer ſhould be wanting the king ſhould beare three fift parts, and the commonweale of Venice two: and that D. *Iohn d'Auſtria* ſhould be Generall of the whole armie. I K

Cardinall Alexandrino ſent Legat into Spaine.

After the concluſion hereof the Pope ſent cardinall *Alexandrino*, his Legat, into Spain, to treat with the king as well touching the execution of the league, and ſome other priuat buſineſſe, as to goe into Portugal, to procure aid from that king. The king of Spaine receiued him with great honour, and treated with him touching the execution of the league, ſeeming to bee reſolued to bend all his forces againſt the Turke: and therefore he commaunded D. *Iohn* to ſtay in Italie, after that yeares nauigation, to be more readie with the armie in the Spring, and that his miniſters at Rome ſhould reſolue in euerie occaſion concerning the league, as they ſhould thinke beſt, without expecting any new order from Spaine. From thence he paſt into Portugall, to treat in like manner with the king D. *Sebaſtian* concerning the league. This young prince was bred vp in generous thoughts to purchaſe much glorie by making warre againſt Infidels, and therein to exceed his predeceſſors, hauing in himſelfe a naturall diſpoſition to warre, an able bodie, and practiſed in thoſe painefull exerciſes which belong vnto warre, hauing beene alwaies laid before him, by the Ieſuites which inſtructed him, That all his enterpriſes ſhould bee for the ſole benefit of Chriſtendome, they had made his mind as religious as his owne nature and the exhortations of his noblemen had made him warlike, ſo as hee did not thinke or reaſon of any thing but of warre. And for that the example of his predeceſſors did repreſent vnto him in his ſleepe the honourable victories and glorious conqueſts they had made in Afrike and the Eaſt Indies, hee in like manner directed all his thoughts to that end.

Diſpoſition of Sebaſtian king of Portugall. L M

The Legat *Alexandrino* finding him in this diſpoſition, did eaſily draw him to enter into this league againſt the Turke: who not onely promiſed to ſend his gallies well appointed, to the Chriſtians armie, but he would alſo annoy *Selym* with another great nauie at Suez, and other places held by the Turkes in the red ſea, and in the gulph of Perſia: and

more-

A moreouer, the Pope deſiring to breake the marriage betwixt *Marguerite* of Valois, and the king of Nauarre, he gaue commiſſion vnto the Cardinall to moue this marriage vnto the King of Portugall, the which would haue beene ſomewhat difficult, if the king had not beene much deuoted to the Pope, who at his intreatie layed aſide a ſtrange reſolution; which was, that he would not heare ſpeake of a wife, becauſe he would not be held effeminate, to the great griefe of his grandmother, his vncle, and the wiſeſt of his Nobilitie, who deſired to ſee ſome iſſue of him, and the ſucceſſion of the realme aſſured. In the end he was content to take this French ladie, neither deſired he any other dowrie, but a generous reſolution in king *Charles* to enter in the league. Matters beeing thus ſetled in Spaine, the Cardinall, according to his commiſſion, paſt thorough France, for the B league and marriage, but he found no meanes to effect either: whereupon he returned into Italy. 1571

King of Portugal content to take Marguerit of Valois to wife.

Don *Iohn* of Auſtria being much pleaſed with this honorable charge, came from Spaine to Genoua, where he ſtayed not long, but arriued on the ninth of Auguſt at Naples, bringing with him from the Court, the great Commander of Caſtile, with the title of his Lieutenant, and chiefe Councellor, *Fernando Cariglia*, Earle of Pliego, his chiefe Steward, D. *Franciſco d'Ibarra*, D. *Pedro Velaſco*, D. *Michell Moncada*, *Gil d'Andrada*, *Carlo Spinelli*, who had followed him as an aduenturer againſt the Moores, with many others. With theſe there ioyned the Dukes of Parma and Vrbin, Don *Antonio Carraſa*, duke of Mondragon, the Marquis of Carrara, D. *Pompee* of Lanoy, *Vincentio Carraſa*, Prior of C Hongary, the Earle of Sarno, the Marquis of Auila, *Paul Iourdain Vrſin*, the Earle of S. Fleur, *Aſcanio de la Corne*, and *Paul Sforza*. Beeing in Naples, Cardinall *Granuell*, the Viceroy, who in that action had the authoritie of Legat, deliuered vnto D. *Iohn* the Standard, as Generall of the Church, the which the Pope had bleſt, who ſolicited his departure towards Meſſina by many embaſſages, where the whole fleete ſhould ioyne, and whether *Marc Antonio Colonna* was gone long before with twelue gallies of Florence, armed by the Pope, and three of the Order of S. *Iohn*.

Noblemen with Don Iohn in the army.

But to returne to the ſeege of Famagoſta, *Muſtapha* ſought by all meanes poſſible to get the counterſcarpe, the which was valiantly defended by *Marc Antonio Bragadino*, and *Aſtor Baglioni*, the one hauing charge of the gouernement, the other of the garriſon, but D in the end the Turkes wonne it. About the midſt of May, they planted fiue batteries, and had made ten forts. They had in the beginning aduertiſed the Seigneury of Venice in what ſtate they ſtood, who ſent them a ſupply of ſeuenteene hundred men, with victuals and munition by *Marc Antonio Quirini*, who paſt valiantly through the Turkes gards, and returned: theſe ſuccors were commanded by *Lewis Martinengo*. The Turkes continued their batteries with great obſtinacie, and had giuen foure aſſaults, where the beſeeged repulſt them valiantly, but with great loſſe of either ſide: the beſeeged hauing held out till the 20 of Iuly, beeing now preſt with great hunger and want, the number of their ſouldiers beeing diminiſhed to eight hundred, and thoſe much tyred; moſt of the Grecians beeing dead, either with fighting, or with the continuall toyle. Beeing terrified with ſo great miſeries, and out of hope of any more ſuccors, ſome of the chiefe of the ci- E tie beſought *Bragadino*, that he would incline to ſome accord, ſeeing he had made ſo good proofe of their faith and conſtancie in that ſeege: No man would euer hold them vnworthie of commendation, if (after they had endured ſo many aſſaults, and ſuffered ſo much penurie, with want of munition, after the loſſe of ſo many ſouldiers and citizens, and finally, beeing without all hope of ſuccours, they had prouided at the leaſt, for the liues of their children which remayned, and for the honour of poore miſerable women: that he would not in recompence of their deuotion, which they had alwaies ſhewed to the common-weale of Venice, be the cauſe of the totall ruine of their citie, and ſuffer their wiues and children, who had ſpent ſo much bloud, and offered their bodies to death F for their ſeruice, to become a ſhamefull prey to their Turkiſh luſt, there remaining no hope of health, but by the meanes of ſome accord: That it was a thing worthie of a wiſe Nobleman (as he was) to chooſe the leaſt of euils: And laſt of all to remember, that it was held a brutiſh crueltie, and no valour, to runne headlong to a certaine death, where there is no hope of life.

Batteries of Famagoſta.

Speech to Bragadino at Famagoſta.

1571 *Bragadino* knew that their requeſt was juſt, and that their extremities were great: yet G
forcing his owne nature, and deſiring to preſerue the realme, which depended wholly vp-
on the loſſe of that place, he did not thinke it poſſible that the Senat would neglect ſo
weightie a buſineſſe, and not ſend the ſuccours which had beene promiſed. Wherefore
hee would not yeeld to their demaund, but fed them with good words, putting them
in hope of preſent ſuccours, diſpatching a fregat preſently into Candie, to aduertiſe the
Seigniorie of their extremities.

12 In the end of Iulie the Turks gaue an aſſault which continued fiue houres: but the be-
Famagoſta yeelded to the Turkes. ſieged ſeeing there was no meanes to endure another, hauing but ſeuen barrels of pow-
der left, they began to treat of an accord, and hauing made a truce the firſt of Auguſt, the H
next day they gaue hoſtages of either ſide. The conditions were:

That the citie ſhould be yeelded to the Turkes, the perſons, armes, and goods of ſoul-
diers and citizens being ſafe, who might remaine there, and liue in the laws of Chriſt, and
not be wronged in their honours nor ſubſtance.

That ſuch as would depart might haue free paſſage into Candie, and three yeares re-
ſpite, and that the ſouldiers ſhould be garded by the Turkiſh gallies, that no outrage
ſhould be done them, and that they might carrie with them fiue peeces of ordnance, and
three of their beſt horſes.

That they ſhould not make any Moſques of their churches, nor charge the citizens with
any carriages or tenthes. I

Muſtafa ſigned theſe conditions, and the ſouldiers began to imbarke in the gallies and
other veſſels which the Turks had ſent into the port, and on the fift day at night *Braga-
dino* hauing ſent the keyes to *Muſtafa* by cont *Neſtor Martinengo*, he went himſelfe in perſon
with *Aſtor Baglioni*, *Iohn Antonio Quirini*, *Andrew Brigadino*, cont *Lewis Martinengo*,
with other Commaunders of great worth. *Muſtafa* receiued them, in ſhew, with
great honour, and cauſing them to ſit downe, hee diſcourſed with them of diuers
things, at laſt he ſaid, That the Chriſtians which had imbarked to goe from Famagoſta,
the night before they meant to paſſe into Candie, and to other places belonging to the
Venetians, had cruelly and treacherouſly ſlaine all the Turkiſh ſlaues which they had, and
that three had eſcaped with great difficultie out of the citie, to aduertiſe the Baſſa there- K
of: And therefore he had giuen order, that the Turkes ſhould not goe out of the hauen
with their veſſels, before they had good caution for their ſecuritie, that they ſhould
not be ſlaine, or made ſlaues in Candie, or any other place. Whereunto *Bragadino* an-
ſwered, That it was not in the accord to giue any hoſtages, and therefore he meant not
to doe it, denying abſolutely that there were any Turkes ſlaine, as he had ſaid. *Muſtafa*
was much altered with this anſwer, and made a ſigne with his hand, that he ſhould come
neere him; then he cauſed his interpreter to ſpeake certaine words vnto him in his eare,
which were not heard, nor yet *Brigadinos* anſwer: but he ſeemed more furious than a Ti-
gre, and ſtriking *Marc Antonio* vpon the head, he and all the reſt were preſently taken, be-
ing all vnarmed: for it is a cuſtome among the Turkes, that no ſtranger comes vnto them L
Men of worth treacherouſly put to death by Muſtafa. with his armes. Then cauſing them to be led out of the tent, he cauſed *Aſtor Baglioni*,
Andrew Bragadino, *Iohn Antonio Quirini*, *Lewis Martinengo*, and the knight *del
Haſte*, to bee cut in peeces in his preſence, one after another, *Marc Antonio* being reſer-
ued for a more horrible death. Cont *Hercoles Martinengo* being there in hoſtage, was
ſaued by one of the Baſſaes Eunuches, who tooke him for his ſlaue. The ſouldiers
which were in the campe, to the number of three hundred, were all ſlaine, and thoſe
that were imbarked were made ſlaues.

Death of Marc Antonio Bragadino. Two dayes after *Muſtafa* entred into Famagoſta, and hauing cauſed *Bragadinos*
eares to bee cut off, when hee was taken priſoner, hee made him to bee ſet vpon
the maine yard of the Admirals gallie of Rhodes, to bee a ſpectacle to the Chri- M
ſtians that were there in captiuitie. In the end hee cauſed him to bee ſet vpon the
pillorie in the market place, and there to bee flayed aliue by a Iew; this lord ſhew-
ing ſtill a noble reſolution, and full of Chriſtian pietie, neither did hee, during
all his torments and diſgraces which they did vnto him, ſhew any ſigne of feare
or baſeneſſe, ſtill reproaching that treacher with the breach of his faith euen vnto
his

his death. Then hee cauſed him to be quartered, and one of them to bee ſet vpon either batterie: his skinne was ſtuft with ſtraw, and hung at the yard of one of his galliots, being firſt a miſerable ſpectacle to all the coaſt of Soria, and then to *Selim* in Conſtantinople. Thus after threeſcore and fifteene dayes batterie, and many aſſaults, the Turkes hauing ſpent an hundred and fiftie thouſand ſhot of great ordnance, Famagoſta was taken. 1571

D. *Iohn* of Auſtria came the foure and twentieth of Auguſt to Meſſina, being receiued by the two other Generals, *Colonna* and *Veniero*, with great honour; where, all the forces of the league not being yet arriued, he called the two Generals, with ſome others of greateſt judgement in martiall affaires, to counſell, to reſolue what they had to doe: but for that their opinions were diuers, it was ordered, that they ſhould ſet them downe in writing, with their reaſons; but the reſolution was deferred vntill the arriuall of the reſt of the gallies. On the firſt of September *Iohn Andrew Doria* arriued with twelue gallies, hauing imbarkt Germanes and Lombards at Spetie, after whom came the marqueſſe of S. Crux with thirtie gallies from Naples, and the next day *Quirini* and *Canale* with threeſcore from Candie: ſoone after there came ſome ſhips from Naples laden with men and munition, and ſome gallies from Palermo, conducted by *Cardona*; but ſome other veſſels could not come ſo ſoone, being left to imbarke three thouſand Italian foot, and 1000 Spaniards that were at Otranto. There were at Meſſina the eight of September twelue gallies of the Popes, 81 of the king of Spaines, with twentie ſhips of burthen (ſome ſay twentie fiue) one hundred and eight gallies of the Seigniorie of Venice, ſix galleaſſes, and two ſhips; three gallies of Malta, and three of the Order of S. *Lazaro*: ſo as there were in the whole fleet two hundred and ſeuen gallies, ſix gallnaſſes, and two and twentie ſhips, beſides foiſts and other ſmaller veſſels, and in them at the leaſt twentie thouſand fighting men, with victuals and munition ſufficient. Thoſe that had chiefe charge in this armie, beſides the Generals, were theſe, *Aſcanio de la Corna* was Campemaſter generall for the king of Spaine, the earle of S. Fiora was Generall of the Italians, the Colonels were cont *Paulo Sforza*, the earle of Sarno, and *Gaſper Toraldi*; the Colonels of the Dutch were the earle of Lodron, and *Vinciguerra* of Arco: And of the fleet, *Iohn Andrew Doria* was Generall of his owne gallies, which the king paied, D. *Aluaro de Baſſan*, marqueſſe of S. Crux, gouerned them of Naples with the like title, D. *Iohn* of Cardona them of Sicile, and D. *Ceſare d'Aualos* the ſhips: *Gabrio Serbelloni* was Generall of the ordnance. The names of the reſt of the Commaunders I omit to auoid tediouſneſſe.

D. Iohn d'Auſtria comes to Meſſina.

Number of Chriſtians fleet at Meſſina.

The Pope ſent *Iohn Paulo Odeſcalco* to Meſsina, to haſten their departure, and to inrich them with many indulgences, being to fight againſt the enemies of the holy Church. Then after a ſolemne proceſſion they went againe to counſell. There were many things propounded, whereon they diſcourſed long with great judgement; but in the end the exhortations of *Colonna*, and of the Venetian commanders, made D. *Iohn* reſolue, who had a deſire to do ſomething worthie of himſelfe, and the expectation which was of that great fleet, to goe and fight with the enemie. Wherefore they parted from Meſsina the 16 of September: at night they came to S. *Iohns* ditch, where he gaue order how they ſhould ſaile, ſtaying there the next day for certaine veſſels which had ſtaied behind for ſome neceſſaries, & alſo for D. *Giles d'Andrada*, whom D. *Iohn* had ſent ſome daies before to learne ſome newes of the enemie; by whom he vnderſtood, that they were gone towards Valona: but to be duely informed of his courſe, the ſame knight was preſently ſent backe againe. The Venetians were verie deſirous to aduance, fearing that the dangerous time for ſailing drawing neere, there would ſome ſtorme ariſe, and make all their attempts fruitleſſe for that yeare. After ſome foule weather and contrarie winds, they came to Cape S. Maria, hauing firſt met with a fregat, who brought them newes of the great need they of Famagoſta had of preſent ſuccours, and withall he did certifie them of the ſtate of Candie, and that the Turks armie was gone towards the gulph of Lepanto. Being come to Corfu on the 25 of the moneth, they were troubled to ſee many of their gallies behind, beſides thoſe that the marqueſſe of S. Crux had caried to Otranto for 3000 Italian foot, & the regiment of Spaniards in Naples. They wanted alſo their ſhips, who were ſent before with

Reſolutiõ of the Chriſtian armie

1571 ſouldiers, and other neceſſaries, parting from Meſſina a day before the reſt of the armie, G
but beeing hindered by foule weather, they could not come in time to the battell: within
two dayes the galleaſſes and ſome gallyes arriued, the which had beene ſeparated from
the armie by ſtorme, or by ſome other accident. And for that ſome were not of opinion
to fight with the enemie, *Veniero* feared ſome accident, which might diſturbe all, and
make Don *Iohn* to alter his reſolution, and therefore preſſing their departure, he had
cauſed great ſtore of corne to be put into the galeaſſes, to be ſent to the ſuccour of Fa-
magoſta, hauing not heard any thing of the loſſe thereof. It was bruted, that *Caracoſſa*
was gone with 18 gallies to Valona, to fetch Biſcuit: wherupon *Colonna* and *Veniero* per-
ſuaded Don *Iohn*, not to loſe ſo goodly an oportunitie; for going to incounter his ene- H
mies diuided, whereſoeuer he hapned, he ſhould obtaine a certaine victorie. Don *Iohn*
was not auerſe to that reſolution, but he deſired to be better certified than with rumors,
and vncertaine reports; and therefore it was reſolued, that *Canale* ſhould go before with
two good gallies, to learne ſome certaintie of the enemies Fleet. But he was ſtayed vpon
the arriuall of foure gallies, which by contrarie winds had beene ſeparated from the reſt;
they aſſured the Generals, that there was not any veſſell of the Turkes at Valona: for that
hauing paſt thereby, they had not ſeene any. Whereupon ſome thought, it was but an
artificiall inuention of ſuch, as deſired they ſhould fight with the enemie. D. *Iohn* beeing
at Gomenizze, a great port of Epirus, they were aduertiſed by *Giles d'Andrada*, that he
had heard for certaine at Zante, that the Turkiſh Fleet was entred into the gulph of Le- I
panto, as a place of ſafetie, that they might ſupply their wants, and to reſolue what they
had to do, ſending their ſicke and vnprofitable people to Corone, for that *Caracoſſa* hea-
ring of the comming of the Chriſtians into thoſe ſeas, was gone to aduertiſe the Gene-
rall *Aly*. There *Doria* hauing commandement from the Confederates, tooke muſter of
all the veſſels, obſeruing euery thing carefully, for that their opinions were diuers tou-
ching their fighting with the enemie.

Commander of Caſtille diſſuades them from fighting with the Turks.

The great Commander of Caſtile, who was of great authoritie with the Generall,
gaue aduiſe, that they ſhould not hazard a battell without ſome great aduantage, where-
of the hazard and danger was very great, not onely for the loſſe of ſo great an armie, but K
» for the great ruines which would enſue: for that Sicile, the coaſts of Calabria and Apu-
» lia, yea of all Italy and Spaine, would, in this caſe, be made deſtitute of all gard and de-
» fence: ſo as they did not ſee what aſſured hope of gaine might ballance the reaſonable
» feare of ſo great a loſſe; proteſting, that what he ſayd, was no more for the priuat intereſt
» of his King, than of the other Confederates, and eſpecially of the Venetians, who as nea-
» reſt to the enemie, might thinke to taſt the firſt fruites of this dangerous counſell. It is
» ſometimes to be held a great victorie, to hinder a mightie enemie, from doing any thing
» of importance, as they ſhould do, in curbing the pride, that yeare of the Turkiſh armie,
» growne bold by ſo many victories, hauing many gallies, and ſo well furniſhed, as it was to
» be preſumed, both of ſouldiers and ſlaues, being in its owne country, where they had
» great Garriſons continually in pay, and had of late reduced ſo many Chriſtians into ſer- L
» uitude in the Venetians countries.

» He added, that by the example of all famous Captaines, both ancient and mo-
» derne, from whom they are accuſtomed to draw ſecure inſtructions in militarie actions,
» there was no courſe held wiſer for them, that had the weaker power, and are in
» danger of the greater loſſe, than in delaying an enemie, to attend ſome aduantage to op-
» preſſe him, and tyring him, to make his attempts vaine.

» The condition of things were not equall, neither ſhould they hazard ſo much vpon M
» a moſt doubtfull fortune, onely with a deſigne to fight with the Turkes forces
» at ſea, ſeeing the gaine would be ſmall which they could promiſe themſelues, by that
» hoped-for victorie; beeing as eaſie for the enemie to returne the next Spring very
» ſtrong to ſea, although he were vanquiſhed, as it would be hard for the Confederates
» to repayre ſo great loſſes, if God, for the ſins of Chriſtendome, ſhould ſuffer them to be
» ouercome. Wherefore, I beſeech you, my moſt noble Lord, ſet before your eyes
» the ineſtimable loſſe which may happen to Chriſtendome, by the ruine of this ar-
» mie; if in nothing elſe, but of ſo many noble Captaines, and valiant ſouldiers,

which

which we may boldly ſay without bluſhing, is the flower of all the martiall men of Chriſtendome, of whoſe counſell and valour, I may truely ſay, depends the health of the beſt part of Europe; and ſo by conſequence by the loſſe of them, the means to reſiſt the Turks power now would faile vs, and all hope to vanquiſh him hereafter. I will not forget to offer to your conſideration, how dangerous it is for the winds and ſea, the time of the yeare being ſo far ſpent, and that to go and ſpend any time in ſeeking of the enemie in this dangerous ſeaſon of Autumne, were to tempt fortune doubly. There may be infinit examples produced, but the remembrance of the laſt yeare is ſo freſh, as wee need not to ſeeke farther: and you muſt vnderſtand, that he which in time recouers a ſafe port with his ſhipping, makes it knowne what counſell is moſt profitable, if an vnfortunat chance happen. But who can judge, if going ſo farre into the enemies countrey, to fight with him, being much weakned either by our loſſes in fighting, or by foule weather, whether we can with ſafetie recouer our owne ports: without doubt, in this caſe few would be ſaued, being knowne by experience (a dangerous doctrine of raſh men) what bad counſell it is, to follow a mightie enemie, and to fight with him in the midſt of his owne ſtrength. 1571

Both the Venetian Generals oppoſed themſelues againſt the opinion of the great Commander, ſo did *Aſcanio della Cornia*, S. *Fiora*, and *Serbelloni*, but eſpecially the Generall *Colonna*, who ſought to infringe with apparent reaſons, and with the Popes authoritie, whoſe expreſſe commandement was, to find out the Turks armie, and to fight with it. He ſaid, That he could in no ſort yeeld to the opinion of *Requeſens*, being a new propoſition, and contrarie to the articles of the league, where it was chiefly propounded to make an offenſiue warre, and he taught them how they ſhould ſtill ſtand vpon their defence; which was nothing elſe, but to confirme the enemie in the opinion which he had conceiued of the ſmall valour of the Chriſtians, whereby he was growne more inſolent. The confederat princes, ſaid he, haue had a ſpeciall care in their conuentions, to doe any thing that might daunt the pride of this enemie of Chriſtendome, and that he ſhould ſenſibly feele the valour of Chriſtians. He will neuer feare any ſuch power, if we, meaſuring all forces by the compaſſe of humane diſcourſes, dare not promiſe vnto our ſelues any thing from the help of heauen: and yet let vs remember that we are the ſouldiers of Chriſt, that we fight for Chriſt, and that being vnited vnder his banner, we need not feare that he will euer abandon vs, if we ſhew not our ſelues diſtruſtfull. But I will not lay the foundation of all our hopes vpon the miraculous helps of heauen, whereby I ſhould ſeeme to confeſſe, that humane force were not able to incounter, yea to vanquiſh this enemie. I ſhould ſeeme to want judgement, to counſell a battell without conſtraint, and with apparent diſaduantage, and to tempt the pleaſure of God with the dangerous euent of a battell. Our armie then, in my opinion, is not ſo weake, nor the enemie ſo vigorous, that matters ſhould bee brought to that deſpaire, ſeeing that we haue here aboue 200 good gallies, better appointed (according to the opinion of men of judgement) than the Turkes, the which would equall their aduantage of number, if the fame be true, that the Turkes haue three hundred veſſels. For gathering theſe veſſels from diuers parts, they haue, to make a number, aſſembled euerie ſmall barke of pyrats, fitter to ſteale, & run away, than to fight. Wee muſt thinke that our ſouldiers do exceed the Turks in valour, who often with many thouſands could not reſiſt hundreds of our, and now, it may be, are not inferiour vnto them in number, if we ſhall wel examine the qualitie of their veſſels and ours: and therein alſo we wil vſe your authority, who maintain, that we haue the flower of all the ſouldiers of Chriſtendome. And to what end then ſerues this multitude of gallies, theſe numbers of noblemen and ſouldiers, and ſo much treaſure waſted, onely to goe neere the enemie? nay, not to approach neere him, but to terrifie him with the fame of our forces, and ſeeing that he doth not flie, we to retire our ſelues into ſafetie. But if that be not to be thought on, yet to keep him from proceeding any farther in Cypres, nor to annoy any more thoſe miſerable coaſts, theſe vnfortunat illands which be ſubiect to the fire & ſword of their barbarous crueltie. But we are to attempt more, to reuenge ſo many injuries receiued from them, ſo as the religious arms of Chriſtians being as it were awaked from a long ſleep, may be imploied in thoſe actions which ſhalbe held worthie of their auncient glorie. And contrariwiſe, what greater imputation can there bee vnto the name of Chriſtians, than after two

Marc Anthonie Colonna perſuades them to fight.

1571 „ ſuch preparations within few monethes, not to dare to looke the enemie in the face? G
„ What hope will there then remaine to deliuer the realme of Cypres? What will the
„ world ſay of vs? Oh let there neuer any thought of ſuch feare come into our hearts:
„ let vs not ſhew our ſelues ſo weake: let vs not ſo little eſteeme the forts which are held
„ by the Catholike king, and the Commonweale of Venice: that in caſe any vnfortu-
„ nate ſucceſſe ſhould befall our fleet, they ſhould be a prey vnto the enemie. Princes
„ were woont to repoſe all their ſafetie in armies by land, or in fleets by ſea; but ſince that
„ they haue found meanes to ſecure their countries with ports and frontire places well for-
„ tified, they haue not much eſteemed the loſſe of a battell at land or at ſea, touching the
„ conqueſt of anothers dominions, for that the defence within walls is ſo long, as that H
„ prince which was a looſer may repaire his forces, and come againe to fight with his ad-
„ uerſaries. We haue now in hand the example of the realme of Cypres, the which al-
„ though it be farre from their lords forces, yet two forts, and thoſe not very wel furniſhed,
„ haue made reſiſtance aboue a yere, and there is yet hope to preſerue it, ſending ſome ſmal
„ ſuccours. And ſhall we feare, that ſo many ſtrong places vpon this gulph, and vpon the
„ coaſt of Naples and Sicile, ſhall be in an inſtant deuoured by the Turkiſh armie, if any
„ ſiniſter fortune ſhould befall our fleet, which God forbid. But if we (my Lord Com-
„ maunder) ſhall runne into ſuch apparent daunger, being at ſea in theſe tempeſtuous
„ times of Auguſt, why will wee ſecure our enemies from the like daunger, when as they
„ after that imagined victorie, will ſaile ouer (being farre from their ports) the Mediterra- I
„ nean and Tirrene ſeas, in that daungerous ſeaſon? And if you ſhall ſay vnto me, That
„ in the Spring they will attempt ſome conqueſt of importance, I will aunſwer, That our
„ forts, and the countrey which lyes moſt ſubiect to daunger, ſhall be the better fortifi-
„ ed. And for proofe hereof, this mightie Turkiſh fleet, although it hath not beene a
„ ny way hindered this yeare by our gallies, what matter of importance hath it attempted?
„ yea in Candie, and in theſe ſeas, they haue receiued great loſſes, comming neere vnto
„ fortified places. But let it ſuffice to haue hitherto diſcourſed, to ſhew that the daunger
„ is not ſo great, nor ſo apparent, in caſe we ſhould looſe a battell. Let vs now come to
„ the conſideration of the importance, and neceſſitie we haue to giue battell, and then of
„ the certaine hope of the conqueſt, if we be victors. It is impoſſible to bridle and tame K
„ the inſolencie of the Turke whileſt that hee is lord at ſea, the which hee will alwayes
„ hold himſelfe to bee, when as our nauie ſhall not dare to affront him with ſufficient
„ forces, and that it is all one to flie the enemies ſight, and to feare to receiue ſome harme:
„ but that feare doth not onely leaue him the poſſeſſion of the ſea free, and doth increaſe
„ his boldneſſe with his force, but doth quite diſcourage the ſubiects, and giues them occa-
„ ſion to attempt things verie prejudiciall to the commonweale. Let vs then goe and ſeeke
„ this armie, to daunt the pride of the Turks, and to giue courage to the Chriſtians: hauing
„ found it, let vs fight with it, hauing a firme confidence both in the helpe of heauen, and in
„ our owne forces, that we ſhall vanquiſh them. Let vs perſuade our ſelues, that the repu-
„ tation of the Chriſtian name, and the honour of our princes, cannot be otherwiſe maintai- L
„ ned; for that being knowne that they haue two yeares together prepared ſo great a fleet,
„ with their incredible charge, and giuen it out, That they would fight with the Turkes, if
„ we ſhould retire with ſuch apparent ſignes of feare, I doe not ſee how we can auoid a ge-
„ nerall imputation, either of want of gouernment, or of extraordinarie cowardiſe. It is re-
„ quiſit then by all the reaſons of warre, that for the importance of this action, and to auoyd
„ ſhame and diſhonour, we ſhould trie a battel, for that the loſſe thereof cannot be ſo preiu-
„ diciall as the Commaunder ſaith, and by a victorie we are to expect a great conqueſt, if
„ we will preſently imbrace the occaſion, & reape the honorable fruits of ſo great an aduen-
„ ture. For it is apparent, that all the Turkes dominion is gouerned by moſt cruell tyrannie,
„ & that his ſubiects (whether you wil make an attempt vpon Albania, Morea, or Soria, yea M
„ and in Thrace it ſelfe) as ſoone as they ſhal heare that his forces (who oppreſſeth them vn-
„ der the heauie yoke of barbarous ſeruitude) are ouerthrown at ſea, wil attempt ſome inno-
„ uation, if they ſhal but ſee the Chriſtians enſignes: ſo as the Turks ſeeing the enemie not
„ only round about them, but euen in their houſes, they will find themſelues in a verie hard
„ condition, & what remedy ſhal they find to eſcape, but they muſt endure themſelues to be

trium-

A triumphed ouer by many Noble victories? It is not any vaine hope grounded vpon deſire, that makes mee to ſpeake thus, ſeeing it is certaine that the Chriſtians in thoſe Countries which I haue mentioned are more in number than the Turkes, and although they bee vnarmed, yet are they not without courage, ſo as being armed by vs, they will doe great ſeruice in any thing that ſhall bee attempted. 1571

Beſides, thoſe coaſts hauing not of many yeares ſeene a Chriſtian Nauie, and not ſufficiently fortified for ſuch dangers, what reſiſtance can they make againſt our victorious armie? If theſe great hopes ſhould make vs reſolue otherwiſe than the Commaunder hath propounded, ſhould we not doe it the rather, for that it is the chiefe intent of
B your king and my Lord to free Chriſtendome from the oppreſſion of the Barbarians, & then to aſſure the Spaniſh Seas from the continuall ſpoiles, of Pyrats, Turkes, and Africans? But his Maieſtie ſhall neuer attaine to either of them, if their forces at Sea bee not firſt ſubdued: neither can they bee ſubdued, if wee doe not hazard a battell: wee haue no hope to bee ſtronger at Sea the next yeare than this, but rather to decreaſe both in number and courage, hauing twiſe performed ſo little, if wee ſhall reſolue as you aduiſe vs: what then remaines to bee done, but that being forced wee proceed with an aſſured hope, not of one, but of many worthy victories, and finding out the enemy, fight with him, like the ſouldiers of Chriſt? So may it pleaſe his diuine bountie, to abate their arrogancie, and to confound this their mightie fleet, the which I
C aſſure my ſelfe cannot bee ſoone repaired, if there bee the flower of the Turkes forces, as well of Captaines, as of priuate men, as wee ſuppoſe. But if our Princes, as hee pretends, looſing the battell, ſhould with all loſe the beſt of their forces: why ſhall not wee with the ſame argument augment our hopes, our enmies being ſo much afflicted, for that our Princes exceed them much in men of commaund; and for Sea-cauſes, I dare affirme that the State of Venice hath more valiant Captaines than the Turke. Let vs not for Gods ſake ſo much diſtruſt our owne forces,
D as our hearts ſhould bee ſurpriſed with amazement, and that depriued of all generoſitie, yea, of pietie and Religion, wee ſhould hold the enemie in that degree, and ſo baſely eſteeme of our ſelues, and of the dignitie of the confederate princes, hauing in a maner no faith, that the ſupreme power which hath giuen them theſe forces, will alſo preſerue and increaſe them; with their ruine that are his cruell enemies, for the propagation of which faith we haue put on theſe armes, the which being guided by his victorious hand, muſt needs yeeld glorious trophees, both in life and death, if wee will not defaud our ſelues of this certaine hope.

D. *Iohn* was in the flower of his age, and retaining that generous and warlike minde of his father, hee inclined to his Councell, who with ſo many reaſons propounded, ſo honourable a party, and worthie of ſuch a prince, notwithſtanding that the command had beene giuen him by his brother as a Schoolemaſter or guide: and with this reſolution hee cauſed the Nauy to bee diligently viewed and furniſhed, and gaue
E order how they ſhould goe forth in battell. But, there fell out an accident which had almoſt ouerthrowne the whole action, and depriued them of immortall glorie. Some of the kings Souldiers being placed in a Venetian Galley, they fell to quarrell with others that were in the ſame gallie, ſo as there were ſome hurt & ſlain. *Veniero* the generall ſent ſome officers with his admirall to bring the offenders vnto him, but they being diſtempered receiued the admirall with iniuries, wherewith *Veniero* being much incenſed, hee cauſed the offēders to be appehended, & wold haue two of thē with their captain *Anticatro* hāged at the main yard. After which *Paulo Sforza* their Colonel, going to ſpeake with *Veniero*, he wold not hear him, threatning him that if he did not depart, he wold turn his ordināce vpon him & ſink his boat. D. *Iohn* was wonderfully diſcontēted with the generall *Venieros*
F actiō, holding himſelf much wrōged; for that he had not referred the iudgement to him, as it was fit, but had chaſed away Colonell *Sforza*, whome hee had ſent, with threates and diſgrace The whole armie was ſuddenly in a mutinie, the Spaniards ſeemed to prepare themſelues to reuenge, and the Venetians ſtood vpon their gard. But *Colonna* with great dexteritie (although hee held himſelfe wronged therein by *Veniero*) ſought to preuent this growing miſchiefe. *Barbarigo* laboured in like manner, who with great eloquence and

Veniero incenſed againſt the Spaniſh Souldiers.

D. Iohn diſconted with the Generall Veniero.

1569 and iudgement, ſo pacified *Colonna* firſt, and then D. *John* as they were content to preferre the generall good of Chriſtendome, before their owne priuate reſpects; yet they would not that *Veniero* ſhould treat any more with them concerning any buſineſſe, neither as a publike perſon, nor as a priuate, but that *Barbarigo* ſhould ſupplie his place vntill they had further order from Venice. The third of October they went forth in the ſame order that they ſhould fight, and bent their courſe towards Cephalonia, where they had newes that did much trouble them, for that by a fregate diſpacht from Candie, they had letters brought them from *Marino Caualli*, wherein was related the loſſe of the Realme of Cypres, by letters intercepted in a Galeot the which were ſent after the taking of Famagoſta from the generall *Muſtafa* to *Aly*. whereof they preſently ſent aduice to Venice. Comming to Val d' Alexandria, which was the ancient Samos, they returned againe to Councell, where hearing for certaine that the Turkes were in the gulphe of Lepanto, they reſolued after much diſputation, to goe to the mouth of it, and not meeting firſt with the Turkes, to ſet vpon two forts called Dardanelli, to force the enemie to fight, or with the loſſe of their gallies to runne to land: with this reſolution they parted the ſixt of October, and came to the Ilands called Curzolares, where earely in the morning they had view of the Turkiſh armie, which came out of the mouth of the gulfe in good order. The generall *Aly* had beene informed by *Caracoſſa*, who had gone to diſcouer the Chriſtians, with what intent they ſailed that way, in what order, and how many veſſels they were: ſo as opening at that inſtant the great Turkes letter, which by his order ſhould be red as ſoone as the enemies fleet approacht, they ſaw it was his mind they ſhould fight, and ruin the Chriſtians forces. The Commanders of the Turkiſh Nauy being very reſolute to incounter the Chriſtians, and to ſhut them vp in the chanell of Cephalonia, being ſmall, whereas *Caracoſſa* had viewed them, had newly fortified their army with tenne thouſand Ianiſaries Spahies, & voluntaries, which *Mehemet Bei* had broght, with great ſtore of victuals & munition, and 100 Sangiacs & Alobei, which are men of title, a degree vnder a Sãgiac. But the Chriſtians parted from Cephalonia, and Val d' Alexandria, towards the Curzolares, where the ſea is verie ſtreit, & ful of ſhelfs, & rocks, which the Turks took for an aduãtage. Thus both armies were reſolued to fight, & were put in batel inform of a Croiſant. In the right wing of the Chriſtians armie where fiftie and three gallies, whereof *Iohn Andrew Doria* had charge, hauing before him two Venetian galleaſſes, and at his backe the admirall galley of Sauoy, in the which was the duke of Vrbin. On the left wing were the like nũber of gallies & galleaſſes, commanded by *Auguſtin Barbarigo* Proueditor general for the Venetians, being aſſiſted by the admirall galley of Genoua, in the which was the prince of Parma. Betwixt theſe two wings was the bodie of the battell, conſiſting of 70 gallies and two galleaſſes, and in the middeſt or center thereof, the three generalls with their royall gallies, *D. Iohn* in the middeſt, *Sebaſtian Veniero* generall for the Venetians on the left hãd, and *Marc Antonio Colonna* general of the Popes gallies on the right: behind thẽ, as it were in the reereward, where D. *Aluaro Baſſan* Marqueſſe of Saint Cruz with thirty gallies: and in the front of them was D. *Iohn* of Cardona with eight gallies as a forlorne hope. On the other ſide *Aly* oppoſed againſt *Iohn Andrew Doria* 96 gallies commanded by *Vluccialy*, againſt the Proueditor *Barbarigo*, he ſet 55 gallies vnder the charge of *Mehemet Bei* and *Sirocco*, and *Aly* himſelfe with *Portau* Baſſan (who was general of the land forces) were in the middeſt againſt D. *Iohn* with 96 gallies, and the reſt of the gallies were appointed in the reere to ſuccour them, with many foiſtes and brigandins, to paſſe from place to place with the Generals commandements. *D. Iohn* went in perſon to view the armie, being accompained by *Lewis de Cardona* and *Iohn Soto*: hee was in white armour, hauing in his hand a Crucifix, going from place to place in a moſt ſwift fregat animating the ſouldiers, and telling them, that they had not him for their Captaine and leader, but that great God alone, whoſe humane ſhape, being dead vpon the croſſe, to ſaue the whole world, they ſaw in his hands. Hee put them in minde that they did fight for the the great God of victories, to whome all humane powers yeeld obedience: that hee was their Generall and their guide, and the gouernour of euerie mans actions; promiſing to euerie man that day an honourable and glorious victorie, whereof nothing could depriue

Order of the Chriſtian armie.

Order of the Turkes army.

D. Iohns ſpeech to the armie.

A depriue them, vnleſſe they diſtruſted to obtaine it. His words were ſhort, but deliue- 1571
red with ſuch efficacie, as it made all them that heard him weepe for ioy, who with a preſage of their future ſucceſſe, beganne to crie victorie, wherewith hee was much contented; and ſo hauing ſaluted the Generall *Veniero* verie courteouſly, reioycing to ſee that reuerent old man of ſeuenty and fiue yeares old, in an action where hee muſt fight as well as command, hee retyred to his galley: and then hee ſet vp the ſtandard of *The battell of Lepanto.*
the legaue, which was a Crucifix in a red field, in ſigne of battell. Whereupon *Aly* did preſently diſcharge a canon, and D. *Iohn* anſwered him in like manner. *Iohn Andrew Doria* did an act of iudgement, ſtretching forth his right wing into the ſea, & gi-
B uing meanes to the reſt to doe the like, to the end they ſhould not be compaſſed in by the Turkes gallies, who were in all places more in number, the which did auaile them much. *Barbarigo*, *Anthonie Canale*, *Marc Anthonie Quirin*, and others which did aſſiſt him, kept as neere the land as they could, ſo as they could not bee charged in flanke but onely in front, the which *Sirocco* and *Aly* a renegado of Genoua ſought to doe; and when they were put to rout (which began among the enemies which *Barbarigo* had in front) hee kept them that they could not eſcape, and made a wonderfull ſpoile of them.

The fight grew hot, and the Canon of either ſide plaied furiouſly, wherein the Chriſtians were ſomewhat fauoured by the wind, the which in the beginning being in their faces, changed inſtantly as the battell begunne, and carried the ſmoake in- *Aly Baſſa ſlaine*
C to their enemies eies. In the beginning the two Generals Gallies, of D. *Iohn* and *Aly* Baſſa affronted one another, about the which the combat was very hot. In D. *Iohns* gallies there were foure hundred Harquebuziers and Musketiers, vnder D. *Lope de Figueroa* their Commander; in the prow were D. *Michel de Moncado*, D. *Bernardin de* *Victory of the Chriſtians.*
Cardines, and *Salazar*, Captaine of the Citadell of Palermo; in the middeſt were D *Francis Zapate* and *Lewis Carrillo*; and in the poupe D. *Iohn*, with the great Commaunder of Caſtille, the Earle of Plego, D. *Lewis de Cordoua*, *Roderigo de Benauides*, D. *Iohn de Guzman*, D. *Philip de Heredia*, *Ruy Dias de Mendoſa*, and others. In *Aly* Baſſas galley were foure hundred Ianiſaries, ſhot, and ſome Archers tryed men, who fought verie valiantly againſt D. *Iohns* Spaniards, who entred twice into the Turkes Admirall,
D and were valiantly repulſt by them, *Aly* being ſuccoured by diuers others gallies which were about him; but ſuch was the reſolution of the Chriſtians, as they became maſters thereof, *Marc Antonio Colonna* arriuing, in whoſe galley was the Commander *Romeias*, who wanted neither iudgement nor courage. *Aly* Baſſa was ſlaine, and in a maner all that were in his galley; his head was cut from his bodie, and preſented vnto D. *Iohn*, who cauſed it to bee ſet vpon the end of a pike for a ſpectacle to encourage the Chriſtians to purſue the victorie, and to daunt the Turkes, who began then to faint. *Iohn Andrew Doria* was alſo Victor on his part, but ſome ſaid that hee might haue done better if hee had liſt, for hee ſuffered *Vluccialy* to eſcape. In theſe actions there is no man troubled but ſuch as are in them, the reſt ſpeake at plea-
E ſure. The moſt furious combat was in the left wing of the armie, whereas the Proueditor *Barbarigo* commaunded, who left ſcarce any one of the enemies gallies, but was broken, ſunk, or taken. This wiſe and valiant Captaine was ſhot into the eye with an arrow, whereof hee dyed. *Portau* Baſſa fled away in a boat ſeeing *Aly* ſlaine and the battell loſt. *Caracoſſa* Gouernour of Valona a famous Pyrat, was ſlaine by *Honorat Gaietan*, Captaine of one of the Popes Gallies. The valour of *Martin de Padille* was great, who with his onely galley tooke three of the enemies. It was an horrible ſpectacle to ſee the Sea dyed with bloud, full of dead Carkaſſes and peeces of gallies. Many ſought to runne themſelues on gronnd, but they were preuented by the Venetian gallies: many Turkes caſt themſelues into the Sea, thinking to ſaue their liues by
F ſwimming, but they fainted and periſhed before they got to land. It was the greateſt victorie that had beene at Sea in many ages. The battell continued eighteene *Number of the dead.*
houres, wherein they ſpent ſome part of the night: there died about fiue and twentie thouſand Turkes, and almoſt all the Commaunders: others write that there were fifteene thouſand Turkes ſlaine, and ſeuen thouſand Chriſtian; and ſome write thirteene thouſand. There were taken and carried away one hundred and ſeuenteene gallies,

1571 gallies, and thirteene Galleots, and many were ſunke, the number whereof was vnknowne; there were ſome thirtie and nine gallies, galleots, and foiſts which eſcaped and came to Lepanto, which relikes *Vluccialy* had charge to conduct to Conſtantinople, yet they were ſo ill handled, as hee was faine to leaue ſixe of them behind. They tooke one hundred and ſeuenteene Canons, and two hundred fiftie and eight ſmall peeces of Ordnance: ſome number three thouſand eight hundred fortie and ſixe priſoners, and ſome 5000, among which were the two Sons of *Aly* Baſſa. *Sirocco* gouernor of Negrepont was taken, but he was ſo wounded, as he died ſoone after: his wife, who was exceeding faire, was alſo taken priſoner. There were 15000 Chriſtian ſlaues ſet at libertie. The Chriſtians, beſides priuat men, loſt 14 Captaines of gallies, and ſixty knights of Malta, and aboue eight thouſand that were hurt: of men of name, there were ſlaine *Auguſtin Barbarigo* the Prouiditor, with fifteene other gentlemen of Venice: *D. Bernardin de Cardine* a Spaniard, *Horatio* and *Virginio Vrſini*, with diuers others: and of wounded D. *Iohn* himſelfe, the Generall *Veniero*, *Paul Iourdain Vrſini*, the earle of Sancta Fiora, *Troilo Sauelli*, and *Thomas de Medicis*. They found in *Alys* galley two and twentie thouſand peeces of gold, called Soldamini, and in that of *Caracoſſa* forty thouſand. The whole prey was diuided at Port Caligiero, ſome write at Corfu, to euerie one of the confederates according to the rate: the king of Spaine had of ſix parts three, the ſtate of Venice two, and the Pope one; and all the captaines and ſouldiers were commended and rewarded for their good ſeruice. After which *D. Iohn*, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, and *D. Iohn Andrew Doria*, retyred to Meſſina, whereas they found that the Marqueſſe of Peſcara the Viceroy was newly dead, hauing frequented women too much. *Marc Antonio Colonna* went to Rome, & the great Commaunder of Caſtille with him, to treat with the Pope touching the next yeres ſeruice for the league, and to goe to his gouernment of the duchie of Milan, which the king had giuen him after the death of the duke of Albuquerque. This victorie was wonne the ſeuenth of October 1571 without any further pourſuit, for the opinions of the commanders depending of ſundrie maſters were diuers, and alſo for that the ſeaſon of the yeare was too farre ſpent.

Duke of Alba ſends to treat with the queene of England.

The duke of Alba being incenſed againſt the Queene of England, for that ſhe had ſtayed his money, and as hee thought fauoured the Rebels of the Netherlands vnder hand, he ſtudied how to croſſe her, and to cauſe ſome troubles in her Countrie, and to giue the better forme to that which had been begun by his practiſes, hee ſent *Chiapin Vitelli* vnder colour to treat with her of the compoſition of repriſals, and reſtitution of that which had beene taken from king *Philips* ſubiects, but hee gaue him ſecret inſtructions againſt that ſtate, if hee might conueniently effect them. There was no meanes to come to any accompt for the ſpoiles which were taken by the Engliſh from any of the king of Spaines ſubiects or adherents, for that they were either waſted by priuat men, or elſe the truth could not be verified. Wherefore *Vitelli* was ſent backe with good words, and could doe nothing in that reſpect. And as for the enterpriſes whereof hee had charge to conferre with certaine Noble men diſcontented with the preſent gouernment, hee could not worke any thing; for during his aboad in England, hee was carefully obſerued, yet the Pope had his Spies and Negotiators in the countrie, and did ſolicite king *Philip* to help to depriue the queen both of her crowne and life, and that the Roman Catholikes, and ſuch as vnder that pretext deſired innouations, might be the Maſters. To effect this, they had need both of men and money, but eſpecially of a ſtranger to bee their leader, ſuch a one as the duke of Alba, whome they held to be fitter than any other. The king whither through importunitie or willingly, being full of other affaires yeelded, and it happened that *Chiapin Vitelli* after his returne from England, comming into Spaine to craue leaue of the king, for that he was called into Italie, by ſome princes, vnto whome hee was bound, was ſtayed, and ſent backe into Flanders with inſtructions to the duke of Alba, to entertaine the practiſes of the malecontents of England: but this froward and diſdainfull man, being incenſed for that they had refuſed him the gouernment of the Netherlands for *D. Frederic* his ſonne, and that the duke of Medina Celi was ſent to ſucceed him, he contemned and ouer-threw all that practiſe, where without doubt he might haue done much harme.

14 *Duke of Medina Celi ſent to ſucceede the Duke of Alba in the lowe Contries.*

Newes

A Newes being come to Fleſingue that the duke of Medina Celi, was arriued neere vnto Oſtend with forty veſſels, they ſent forth twelue Ships of warre, who tooke diuers of them, and the duke was forced with twelue more to fly to land in a cocke boat. Hee thought at his comming thither that all troubles had beene pacified: but ſeeing that there was more confuſion than euer, and greater ruines than hee could repaire, he excuſed himſelfe for not accepting the gouernment, and demanded leaue to returne; the which was ſome diſhonour to the duke of Alba. 1572

Duke of Medina refuſeth the gouernment of Flanders.

This yeare the king of Spaine being iealous of the French king, leaſt hee ſhould aid his ſubiects of the Netherlands was verie irreſolute in giuing aid vnto the league,
B his Miniſters in Italie propounding new enterpriſes in Afrike, as well for the hope which the king of Tunis gaue them, as to free the coaſt of Spaine from that neaſt of Pyrats. The which did much diſtaſt the Pope, hee beeing verie deſirous to ſee ſome better fruits of their victorie, and that the league might continue inuiolably, with the like conditions that it was made. Whereupon the kings Miniſters were forced to diſcouer vnto his Holineſſe the feare they had of the French, leaſt they ſhould countenance his ſubiects in the Low Countries: but the Pope being aſſured of the contrarie by the French king, hee grew diſcontented againſt the Spaniards, as if they had inuented it, to reape all the benefit they could of that warre, tranſporting it into Afrike, notwithſtanding the iealouſie increaſed; and although they made
C prouiſion of all ſides, to ſend forth a mighty armie, yet they proceeded coldly and found many delaies.

Difficulties in purſuing the victorie againſt the Turke.

Pope *Pius* being newly dead, although the Pope did ſhew himſelfe very deſirous to maintaine the league, and did ſolicit it earneſtly, yet it required much time; and the Spaniards being diſcontented that they could not draw the armie againſt ſome places in Afrike, from whence they receiued great annoyance, were ſlowe in execution this yere. Yet after many delaies, *D. John* general of the league could not auoid it, but granted two & twenty gallies to the confederats, and ſixe thouſand foot to be diſtributed among their gallies, himſelfe remaining at Meſſina, with the reſt of the armie, to ſuccour where his Majeſties occaſions ſhould require, if the French ſhould ſhew themſelues enemies.
D There parted then from Meſſina *Marc Antonio Colonna*, with the gallies of the Church, and the knight *Gil d' Andrada*, whome D. *John* had made Commaunder of the king of Spaines two and twenty gallies, and being ioyned at Corfu with *Iames Foſcarin*, who was newly made general for the State of Venice, *Veniero* being diſmiſt, in fauor of D. *John* they thoght to haue ſome certain intelligence of the enemies fleet, being come forth vnder the cõmand of *Vluccialy*, who was much made of & eſteemed by *Selim* for thoſe poore ſpoiles which he got of the knights of Malta, being a ſigne that hee had fought and vanquiſhed, although his companions in the battel had bin defeated, and forced to flie: who like a politik & couragious Captaine, did ſo ſolicit new prouiſions of an armie, ſhewing that the loſſe was not ſo great as the amazed multitude did eſteeme it, as hee put his Lord
E in better hope. Hauing drawne all his forces together, he had a fleet of two hundred gallies, galleots and foiſts, with fiue galleaſſes, with the which they ſailed towards Maluagia. The general *Colonna*, who in the abſence of *D. John* held the firſt place, & *Foſcarin*, hearing where the enemy was, after conſultation, they went to fight with him, hauing 140 gallies 23 ſhips, ſix galleaſſes, and thirty ſmaller barkes deſcouering them as they parted from Dragoniere; but for that the wind was contrarie, they could make no vſe of their galleaſſes, which kept them from fighting. But *Vluccialys* fleet being more in number than in force, he thought it ſufficient to keep the enemie that yeare from attempting any matter of importance, and not to hazard a battell: and therefore ſtill in his retreat he made a ſhew as if he wold fight, with which art he fled from them with reputation. At that time D. *John*
F had a reſolute anſwere from the Catholike king, that he might ioine with the army of the league with all his forces, and attempt ſome thing againſt the Turke, what they ſhould thinke moſt fit: whereof hee had aduertiſed the Generals at Corfu, at ſuch time as they had reſolued to goe and affront the enemie, ſo as they thought it not fit to ſtay and attend him, as hee deſired. But *Vluccialy* beeing retyred, and the Generalls beeing come to Capſali vnder Cerigo, there they had letters from D. *John*, who

Foſcarin Generall for the Venetians.

Number of the Turkes Armie.

1572 who called them backe to Zante, and then to Corfu, whether after many diffi- G
culties they brought the armie: but D. *Iohn* would not willingly free the gene-
rals, eſpecially *Colonna*, for that they had not attended him, whereupon their re-
ſolutions againſt the enemie fell out croſly; but *Foſcarin* and others laboured by all
meanes to pacifie that diſdaine: and they made a new reſolution to goe againſt the
enemies fleet, which they vnderſtood lay in the port of Nauarino, and ſome vnder
Modone.

The Chriſtians had ſayled as farre as Striuali, when as D. *Iohn de Cardone*, being
ſent to diſcouer the enemie, gaue them that aduice, which made them reſolue
to haſten their voyage that night, ſo as they might bee vpon the enemie before day; H
the which was better deuiſed than executed, for they arriued ſo late, as being firſt
diſcouered by the Turkes, they might retire with all their fleet, vnder the fort of
Modone, and defend themſelues long from the Chriſtians armie, who ſought by
diuers meanes, but alwaies in vaine to draw them out of the fort to fight. They
reſolued, for that they would not remaine there in vaine, to beſeege the Caſtle of
Nauarino, a place of fame, hauing giuen the charge thereof to the prince of Par-
ma, but with weake prouiſions, where hee preuailed nothing, they beeing ſoone
relieued by land with many horſe and foot, by the garriſons thereabouts.

Hauing ſtaied in thoſe ſeas ſome daies, being in October, and fearing an Autumne
ſtorme, and the kings Gallies beginning to want biſcuit, they were conſtrained to I
depart: the which did much diſcontent the Miniſters of the State of Venice, for that
Chriſtian army retires to Corfu. they had ſpent that time, wherein they had deſigned great enterpriſes, without a-
ny fruit, but with incredible charge. The Nauy then returned towards Corfu, lea-
uing the paſſage free for *Vluccialy* to retire to Conſtantinople, at ſuch time as hee
beganne to feare the euent. D. *Iohn* hauing retyred to Sicile, and from thence to
Naples, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, and *Doria* went into Spaine to relate vnto the king
what had beene done that yeare; and *Colonna* to free himſelfe of ſome imputations
laied vpon him by ſuch as did malice his greatneſſe, wherein hee did preſerue his
honour, and returned into Italie with great reputation.

Sir Francis Drakes firſt voyage to the Indies.

After the arreſt of the Engliſh Merchants, and their goods both in Spaine and the K
Low-Countries as you haue heard, the Engliſh ſought all meanes to bee reuen-
ged of the Spaniards. Some vpon their owne coaſt, and others went vnto the In-
dies: Among which Maſter *Francis Drake*, who was then a man of no great note,
with the helpe of other aduenturers manned forth two ſhips and a Pynnace, and went to
Nombre de Dios in Noua Hispania, where hearing that the Towne was not very
well peopled, hee landed in the night with one hundred and fiftie men, whereof he
put ſeuenty into a fort, and the reſt ſeazed vpon the market place, the inhabitants in
this amazement flying to the Mountaines, but ſoone after they within the fort ap-
prehending that their companions in the Towne had been all ſlaine, for that they
had heard ſome ſhot, and their trumpet did not anſwere them. They retyred incon- L
ſiderately to their Pinnace, which they of the Towne finding, made all the haſt
they could to get to their ſhips. Thus Maſter *Drake* without any loſſe but a Trum-
peter, and hauing ſlaine but one man within the towne, retyred much diſcontented
from Nombre de Dios. After which hee came to the ſound of Darien, where ha-
uing conference with certaine Negros which had fled from their Maſter of Panama
and Nombre de Dios, they did aduertiſe them of certaine Mules which were to
paſſe from Panama to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and ſiluer, whereupon hee
landed a hundred ſhot, and went to attend them with theſe Negros, where hee
tooke two troupes of them, hauing none but their driuers, being without any feare: M
hee vnladed the Mules and tooke the gold onely, being vnable (as ſome of them
write) to carrie the ſiluer through the Mountaines. Within two daies after he came
to a place called the houſe of Croſſes, where he ſlue fiue or ſix Merchants: he found
not any gold nor ſiluer there, but much merchandize, & fired the houſe with the goods
being valued at aboue two hundred thouſand ducats, & thence his went to his ſhips: pre-
ſently after there came downe three hundred ſhot, Spaniards, but it was too late.

The

A The Venetians ſeeing that there was no likelihood to make their profite by the ſupport of this league, and that in this warre they had loſt the realme of Cypres, ſpent foure millions of ducats, and recouered not any one place of importance; finding alſo, that the Spaniards after all their delayes, would ſtill be maſters, commaund in all their councels, and haue the honour of all executions; they reſolued to make a peace with the Turke, by the mediation of the French King, and the diligence of *Marc Anthonie Barbaro* their Conſull, who had beene ſtaied at Conſtantinople, the which was concluded vpon reſtitution of certaine ſmall places in Dalmatia, and 300000 crownes which the Venetians ſhould pay vnto the Turke at three payments. The Senate being certified of the concluſion, they ſent their embaſſadours to the Pope and catholike King to iuſtifie their actions: Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth was diſcontented, but there was no remedie, for hee B muſt allow of their reaſons, which ſeemed pertinent. 1573

Peace betweene the Turke and the Venetians.

The King of Spaine ſeemed no wayes diſtaſted with this peace of the Venetians, but would ſhew by the effects, that hee was able of himſelfe, without the help of anie other, to maintaine continuall warre againſt the Turke, for the defence of Chriſtendome, and not onely defend himſelfe from him, but make warre againſt him at his doore. He therefore commaunded that the fleet which was prepared at Naples and Sicile, ſhould go and attempt ſome thing in the Leuant Seas, or be imploied to annoy *Vluccialy* vpon the coaſt of Afrike, where he had expelled *Amida* out of the realme of Tunes, for that hee had performed all dueties to the King of Spaine, and paied the tribute which his father had C promiſed to the Emperour *Charles*: the which did much diſpleaſe the Turks holding Alger and other places in Afrike, who procured *Selims* approbation to haue him diſpoſſeſſed, and an other ſet in his place, who ſhould be more at his deuotion, the which was executed by *Vluccialy*: wherefore King *Philippe* thinking that he had an intereſt therein, and that it was neceſſarie to weaken the Turke forces in thoſe partes, being greatly ſuſpected to Sicile, and other parts of Italie, which Countries the Turkes deſired much to ioyne vnto his empire, hee ſent commaundement to *D. Iohn* by *Soto* his Secretarie, whom hee had ſent into Spaine to that end, that hee ſhould imploy the gallies hee had readie in this expedition which would be verie profitable for Chriſtendome, whileſt that the Turkes forces were but weake at ſea, to attempt a ſuccour ſo farre off.

Reſolution of the King of Spaine to make warre againſt the Turke.

D In the meane ſeaſon there was great means made for the deliuerie of *Aly* Baſſas ſons, which had beene taken at the battell, whom *D. Iohn* had obtained from the Confederates with great inſtance, but one of them was dead before, to his great griefe, that hee could not wholie gratifie the mother: wherefore he ſent him home that was liuing, called *Moamed*, accompanying him with a dwarfe of his owne, and foure Turkes that had beene taken with him, and many preſents which the mother had ſent vnto his Highneſſe, in ſigne of honour, but he refuſed to accept them, and wrote the reaſon thereof vnto her, wherein he ſhewed the greatneſſe of his mind. I haue forborne, ſaid hee, to accept the preſent which you ſent me, and *Moamed* hath it, not for that I doe not eſteeme it, as come from your hands, but for that the greatneſſe of my anceſtors is not accuſtomed to receiue gifts E from ſuch as are forced to flie vnto them for fauour.

Sonne of Aly Baſſa ſet at liberty by D. Iohn.

The armie beeing ready for the enterpriſe of Tunis *D. Iohn* parted with the Duke of Seſſa, *Anthonio Doria*, *Iohn Andrew*, and other noblemen, on the eight day of September 1573 from the port which in old time was called Lilybee, and had beene long neglected, (notwithſtanding that it be one of the beſt ports in the Iland, and had beene much vſed by the Romans in the Carthaginian warres) others write that they went from Palermo. There was in the fleet one hundred and ſixteene gallies, foure and thirtie ſhippes, and other veſſells of burthen. The Duke of Florence did ſend ſix gallies to this enterpriſe, vnder the commaund of *Simon de Roſſermini*. They landed at Goulette, whereas they found F not any difficulty, to keep them from entring into Tunis, for it had beene abandoned vpon the bruite of their comming, and all the Moores and Turkes were fled to the mountaines and deſarts, carrying away all their goods, yea their victualls: yet the King that was aduaunced by *Vluccialy* was taken priſoner: Biſerta a city ſome forty miles from Tunis was recouered with the like facility, yielding by the perſuaſion of *Amida*, who thought by this conqueſt to recouer his eſtate.

Enterpriſe of Tunis.

1573 The matter being called in queſtion, there were many of the Kings councel in Spaine, G
and of D. *Iohns*, of opinion that Tunis ſhould be demandeled, & Goulette raſed, for that
thoſe places brought nothing but charge vnto the King, but they were not beleeued:
yea it was concluded to fortifie the City better, and to make a new fort betwixt it and
Fort built at Tunis. Goulette, and to ioyne the fort vnto the towne by two long curtines; to beate downe
the old wall of the towne, and to lay it open towards the fort. For the effecting whereof
Gabriel Serbelloni had the charge, and was made Colonell generall of the garriſon that
ſhould bee left there, which ſhould conſiſt of ſixe thouſand men, three thouſand
Spaniards vnder the commaund of *Salezar*, and three thouſand Italians vnder *Pagan Do-*
ria: afterwards they ſaid that *D. Iohn* left eight thouſand men there, with labourers ſuf-
ficient for the fortification, and a troupe of horſe. *D. Iohn* hauing thus ordered all things, H
hee returned happily to Meſſina, and then to Naples, where he was receiued with much
ioy in Nouember, being aſſured that the Turke could not ſend a fleete from Conſtanti-
nople to Barbarie, vntill the next yeere, and that in the meane time *Serbelloni* ſhould haue
leiſure to fortifie. *D. Pedro Porto Carrero* was gouernor in Goulette, a man more reſpected
for his birth, than for his iudgement and knowledge in martiall affaires: he was preferred
vnto it (no man knowes the reaſon) in the place of D. *Alphonſo Pimentell*, an induſtrious
and a valiant captaine. In Tunis there was left more like a gouernour than King) *Maho-*
met brother to *Amida*, who was alwayes oppoſite vnto him: ſome write hee was but his
couſin,) and as for *Amida*, he was carried backe into Sicile, whereas in former time they
had ſeene his father *Muley Haſcen*, diſpoſſeſſed and made blind by him, and with him I
was the King whom *Vluccialy* had aduaunced in his place: for that *Amida* had giuen *D.*
Iohn ſome cauſe to ſuſpect him; yet ſome write it was for that the Moores did hate him
D. Iohn affects to be king of Tunis. deadly for his crueltie. This happie exploit of *D. Iohns*, made him to diſcouer his inten-
tions more plainely vnto the Pope, which was, to remaine King of Tunis, with the good
liking of King *Philip* his brother: continuing in this opinion, he intreated the Pope to be
Interceſſour for him; taking councell both in this and all other affaires of his Secretarie
Iohn de Soto, whom hee fauoured ſo much, as he cauſed him to marrie (about that time)
with the baroneſſe of Saint Philadelphus at Palermo: the which did nothing pleaſe the
D. Diego prince of Spaine borne King, as we will ſhew hereafter. But the Sultan *Selim* did ſoone make him looſe that de-
ſire. *D. Iohn* being come to Naples from the taking of Tunis, their ioy and feaſts were K
doubled: hauing receiued newes, that King *Philip* had another ſonne, the which being
chriſtned was called *D. Diego*. He ſtaied there ſome moneths much honoured: then hee
paſſed into Lombardie, being called into Spaine by his brother; but he went not by rea-
ſon of the Turkes ſucceſſe at the enterpriſe of Goulette.

1574 The great Turke being much incenſed for the taking of Tunis, by a young man, who
had ſo much preuailed ouer his forces, as after that he had in a maner diſarmed him at ſea,
he had diſpoſſeſſed a King which had beene placed by him at Tunis, and ſet an other in his
place, which was contrarie vnto him: hee ſent in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred
... and Goulette recouered by the Turkes. ſeuenty and foure *Sinan* Baſſa into Barbarie, with a nauie of one hundred and three ſcore
gallies, thirty ſhippes, with many galeots, foiſts and other ſmall veſſells, carrying twenty L
thouſand harquebuziers, and almoſt as many archers, with great ſtore of ordnance, and at
land they had fifteene thouſand Moores and Arabians on horſe backe. At the newes of
this great fleete, the viceroys of Naples and Sicile made preparation to defend their go-
uernement, if the Turke ſhould make any attempt vpon them. *D. Iohn* had commaunde-
ment to furniſh Goulette, (where as we haue ſaid *Porto Carrero* was gouernour) who re-
quired certaine mony of cardinall *Granuelle* then viceroy of Naples, for the leuying of cer-
taine men to ſend thither, the which he refuſed, ſaying that he had no other charge, but
to preſerue the countrey which he had in gouernement. So as Tunis and Goulette were
left to their defence that were in them: where the Commaunders did not agree amongſt M
Porto Carrero an indiſcreet gouernour of Goulette. themſelues; for *Porto Carrero* could not endure that any man ſhould thinke hee wanted
councell, or that he was not verie ſufficient to defend Goulette, taking it in ill part, that
Gabriel Serbelloni ſhould preſume to ſend him fiue enſignes of Italians, to fortifie his garri-
ſon, ſaying that he would not impart the honour of the gard, and defence thereof to any
but to his owne nation: but it was not long before he changed his opinion; for whenas
he

A he saw the fields couered with Moores and Alarabes, which they of Alger and Caruan had sent about Tunis, as fore runners to *Sinan* Bassas army, which arriued soone after, he then demanded men of *Serbelloni* importunately, protesting that if he sent him not some, he should be the cause of the losse of Goulette. King *Mahomet* thought to haue sallied forth with nine hundred horse, and foure thousand foote of his owne nation, against these troupes of Moores; but he was suddenly abandoned by his trecherous and disloyall subiects, so as with three score horse only, being supported by the regiment of *Salazar*, and some Spanish horse, he escaped. *Serbelloni* being troubled with these accidents, thought that it was no time now to regard the vanities of *Porto Carrero*, but went himselfe to view the estate of the garrison of Goulette, when hauing caused some faults in the fortificati-
B on to be amended, he returned to his fort, where hee made them to labour with all diligence to put it in defence, vnd the citie also, but they gaue him no great respite: for the Turkes army being landed, and meaning at the first to assaile Goulette, *Sinan* sent *Aydar* king of Caruan to besiege Tunis, the which he did, and battered it furiously with a great quantitie of ordnance, so as *Serbelloni* resolued to leaue it, and to defend his fort betwixt the citie & Goulette, the which was presently inuested by the Moors towards the town, but he scattered them often by his continuall sallies, and slew great numbers. Goulette being besieged, *Porto Carrero* did importune *Serbelloni* to send him men, the which he did by the lake: but the Turkes did soone take that passage from them, making a long bridge of barques bound together, and thereon as it were a causey of earth, whereon they pla-
C ced many musketiers. The batterie planted against the bastion which looked towards the sea, made a great breach, where the Turkes gaue a terrible assault, with bridges made of mane yards, according to their custome, the which notwithstanding was defended by the valour of the Christians: but *Porto Carrero* did either forget the dueties whereunto men besieged are bound, or hee did not know them: Hee neuer would suffer his men to make a sallie, it seemes hee feared to wast poulder and shot, so as the Turkes had good meanes to view the fort, to lodge, and to plant their ordnance at their pleasures: And to shew the great arrogancie of this gouernor, whereas *Anthonie Carrafe* a gentleman of Naples sought to giue him good aduice, he caused him to be strangled & to be cast in a sacke into the sea. *Serbelloni*, although he had need of all his strength within the fort, yet know-
D ing the importaunce of Goulette, he weakened himselfe to fortifie it, being continually called on by *D. Pedro*, and sent him men as he could; yet could he not preuent it, but that Goulette was taken by force, *Sinan* hauing caused a general assault to be giuen, the which was continued with such fresh supplies one after an other without intermission, as they within it were no longer able to make any more resistance, but were forced, and all (or the greatest part) put to the sword: some write that *Porto Carrero* with three hundred souldiers were made slaues, and that the sonne of King *Amida* was taken in that place. Goulette being taken, the Turkes went and besieged the fort both by sea and land, hauing filled certaine great barques with packes of woolle wet, to choake their cannon shot, and planted many harquebuziers in them, with long fowling peeces, which carried very great
E bullets, to keepe the besieged from their defences. *Sinan* made batteries, and cast vp trenches to approach vnto the fort, as he was accustomed, to batter, sappe, and mine at one instant in diuers places; where hauing made great breaches, hee caused three seuerall assaults to be giuen, but they were all resolutely defended; and hee caused fire to be set to a mine, the which did more harme vnto the Turkes than vnto the besieged. The assaults were continued vnto the fourth time, & still they were repulsed with great slaughter: but this valor decreasing by litle and litle through their ordinary assaults, they were so weake at the fift, which was generall and more obstinate than any of the rest, as the place was forced, and all within cut in peeces. excepted *Serbelloni*, who was taken being
F wounded, and drawne by the beard before the Bassa, who caused him to bee kept. *Pagan Doria* flying the Turkes, and thinking to find more mercie with the Moores, was slaine by them, and his head set vpon a pike. *Porto Carrero* being a prisoner, died within few dayes after, (as some say) of poison. *D. Iohn de Sinoghera* after these two losses, was left alone with three hundred and fiftie men to defend the tower vpon the lake, standing betwixt Tunis and Goulette, the which (although it were very strong, yet considering his owne

1574

Skirmish among the Moores.

Ignorance of Porto Carrero.

Goulette taken by force.

Fort at Tunis taken by assault.

1574 ſtrength, and the enemies, he could not hope to make any long defence) he yielded vpon G
certaine conditions, and paſſed afterwards into Sicile, to carrie newes of this great loſſe.
Thus Goulette (the honour of the Emperours conqueſts, the which kept Afrike in awe)
was loſt through careleſneſſe: *Sinan* cauſed it to be raſed to the ground, and then returned
triumphantly to Conſtantinople.

D. Sebaſtian King of Portugall goes into Afrike.

17 This yere the Chriſtians reaped both loſſe and diſhonour in Afrike, for *D. Sebaſtian*
the yong King of Portugall, of too warrelike a diſpoſition, as we haue ſhewed, and deſi-
rous of glorie, ſeeking to aduaunce himſelfe by ſome enterpriſes againſt the Moores, ha-
uing not imparted any thing vnto the Queene his grandmother, nor vnto the Cardinall
his vncle, by whoſe care his actions ſhould haue beene gouerned, by reaſon of his age,
which was voyd of experience: He ſent *D. Antonio* Prior of Crato his coſin, but baſe, to H
Tanger in Afrike, which did belong vnto the Crowne of Portugall, and made him his
lieutenant generall there, deliuering him the Standard with great ſolemnitie. He would
haue him accompanied with ſome numbers of ſoldiers, but ſpecially with many knights:
and within few dayes after the King himſelfe, taking many of the chiefe noble men with
him, imbarked at Caſcais, whenas no man ſuſpected it, and went in like maner into Afrike,
leauing order in Portugall, that ſome knights ſhould follow him, and therefore hee did
write many priuat letters vnto them. Being come to Tanger, and hauing tried the Moors
forces in the neighbour garriſons, and ſeeing his men in all their skirmiſhes to be ouer-
layed with multitudes, and the nimbleneſſe of the enemies horſe, he beganne to conſider
better of the daunger whereinto he had runne, of whom depended the peace and quiet I
of his whole Realme; and ſo being better aduiſed by ſome noble men of authoritie that
were with him, but eſpecially being moued by a letter written by father *Lewis Gonzales* a
Ieſuite, who had beene his Scholemaſter, and was then in great credit with him, he reſol-
ued to returne preſently.

THE

THE 30 BOOKE OF THE Hiſtorie of Spaine.

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1575

G

¶ All the Realmes of Spaine vnited to the Crowne of Caſtille vnder *D. Philip the ſecond.*

H

1 *Great Commander of Caſtille ſent gouernour into the Low Countries.*

Don Lewis de Requeſens great Commander of Caſtille was ſent to ſucceed the D. of Alba in the gouernment of the Low Countries after that the duke of Medina Celi had refuſed it. He was a man approching ſomewhat in diſpoſition to his predeceſſor. He had accompanied *D. John* of Auſtria in his ſea-army, whenas he fought with the Turke at Lepanto, as his chiefe Councellor, and after his returne into Sicile, the King *D. Philip* had made him gouernour of Milan, where hee remained not long, the King thinking him fit to calme that which the Duke of Alba had left in trouble in Holland and Zeland, into which prouinces it ſeemed that the whole warre was reduced. Among other diſorders, he found the Spaniſh ſouldiers diſcontented, and curſing the Duke, who owed them foure and thirtie moneths pay: whom he was forced (for the firſt triall of his wiſedome) to ſeeke meanes to pacifie, the which he did in ſome ſort: but when he beganne to enter into the managing of affaires, he fell groſſely into an inconuenience which did preiudice the reſt of his gouernement. What his actions were during his charge there, you may reade at large in that Country hiſtorie. He liued not long there, but died of a peſtilent feuer in the yere one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſixe, leauing thoſe Countries in greater confuſion than the Duke of Alba his predeceſſor had done.

I

K

King of Spaine reuokes his aſſignations and breakes with the Genouois.

In the yeare 1574 it was found that king *Philip* was indebted to the merchants of Genoua and Spaine in 37 millions of ducats; for the which hee gaue them aſſignements out of his royall reuenues: whereupon for the relieuing of his neceſſities, and to free the king from the Genouois, the Deputies of the chiefe Cities and Townes were called to Madrid, to conſult how to relieue the king in theſe great wants. Among other, there was one in Court, whoſe name was *Franciſco Brauo*, who told the king, that the contractions which he had made with the merchants, were in reſpect of them, againſt all law and equitie; the which, if he did not remedie within a yeare, hee would not haue any meanes to free himſelfe: telling him moreouer, that he had beene fraudulently circumuented by them, in very great ſummes, contrarie to all diuine and humane lawe. Whereupon in the yeare 1575 the king of Spaine made a decree touching the loſſe and preiudice which his royall reuenues had receiued by the cõtrectations which he had made with the Genouois and others, making a ſtaie of all the ſaid contrectations and aſſignements, the which did much trouble the Genouois and others, to whom the king was indebted, for by reaſon of this ſuſpenſion they could not giue ſatisfaction vnto their creditours, which made them to preſent an anſwer to this decree vnto the King, ſhewing that it would bee a blemiſh to his honour, and verie preiudiciall to his ſeruice; yet could they not get it reuoked, but were forced to make a new compoſition.

L.

Genoua diuided into factiõs

The citie of Genoua was diuided into two factions, the old (which were the noble men and gentlemen) and the new (who were ſome gentlemen, ſupported by the commõn people.) *D. John Idiaques* as embaſſadour for the Catholike King, had labored much to quench this fire which beganne to kindle, and had perſuaded them to lay aſide armes: but this yeere the furious multitude little reſpecting the promiſe of the wiſer citizens to

M

diſarme,

A diſarme, and to treate an accord with the liking and authoritie of the Catholike King, for whom *Idiaques* was imployed in that action, matters were brought to deſpaire, the faction of the new offering by force to reforme the publique gouernement after their owne manner, and to abate the power of the nobles, who were called the old; who not ſuffering ſo great an indignitie, went moſt of them out of Genoua, *Iohn Andrew Doria* beeing as it were their head. The Pope ſent Cardinall *Morone* thither, but the Genouois would not treat with him alone, vnleſſe the Catholike kings Embaſſadour were called, he being the chiefe protector of that common weale. The matter was found ſo difficult, as the faction of the old deſpayring, were come with good forces, ſome to Final, and ſome to Aqui, reſoluing to recouer their countrie and dignitie by armes, chooſing *Iohn Andrew*
B *Doria* for their Generall in that warre, who refuſed that charge, vntill he had leaue from the king of Spaine, whom he ſerued. In the meane time, they had newes that the king was ready to ſend another Embaſſadour, to adde authority and counſell to the other two, which was the Duke of Gandie: but D. *Iohn d'Auſtria* came firſt with a nauie vpon that coaſt, to ſee that no Prince, by means of this tumult, ſhould enter into Genoua, and make himſelfe maſter thereof: and therefore they made prouiſion of ſouldiers, drawing into the duchie of Milan two regiments of Germans, and leuying ſome Italians. The people of Genoua grewe iealous that D. *Iohn* meant to ſeize vpon their citie; but he, according to the order he had from his brother, hauing conferred with Prince *Doria* and the gouernour of Milan at Spetie, they concluded onely, that there ſhould be all meanes attempt-
C ted to quiet that citie, and if the people ſhould continue in their obſtinacie, the faction of the Old ſhould haue leaue to recouer their countrie, with their auncient rights and dignities: and the rather, for that they offered to make warre at their owne charge, requiring nothing of his Maieſtie, but *Dorias* perſon, and the gallies wherewith hee ſerued the king. The Emperour and the French king ſent their Embaſſadours to pacifie this tumult, but they could not effect any thing, eſpecially he of France, whom for that they would not breed a iealouſie in the king of Spaine, they diſmiſt with good words. They without the citie finding by the treatie that there was no hope of any pacification, were readie to goe to armes, when as *Charles Borgia* Duke of Gandie arriued; but hoping that his authority, and the priuat inſtructions of the catholike king, would preuaile much, they
D ſtaied: but yet the miſchiefe could not be thus cured. Soone after, the Secretarie *Eſcouedo* hauing beene ſent by D. *Iohn*, returned from Spaine, who brought order from the king, that all the reſolution of that buſineſſe, for that which concerned his Maieſtie, was referred to D. *Iohn*, who was then at Naples, whither *Iohn Andrew Doria* was gone to that end, the nobilitie hauing prouided money to make warre: when D. *Iohn* hearing that they to whom it was compromitted in the name of thoſe great princes, could not pacifie them, he ſent order to the Gouernour of Milan to diſmiſſe his Germans and Italians, that the faction of the Nobles might imploy them, to reduce them to their duties that had no will of an accord. With which troupes, the faction of the Old went to field, and tooke diuers places. In the end, after many letters written from the Pope, Emperour,
E and King of Spaine, it was wholly compromitted to their agents, who cauſed a ſuſpenſion of armes, and there were hoſtages giuen by both factions to ſtand to their arbitrement, but the accord was not fully concluded vntill the yeare following.

This yeare there grewe ſeeds of warre in Afrike, which paſt into Europe, to the great preiudice of Chriſtendome; for that *Muley Mahomet* king of Marocco, beeing loath to leaue the gouernment of that realme to *Muley Moluc* his vncle, according to the will of his grandfather dying, *Moluc* fledde vnto the Turkes for aid, and obtained it; with the which, and with the Móores which fauoured him, he made warre againſt his nephew, and defeated him thrice in battell, ſo as he remained abſolute Lord of the realmes of Fez and
F Marocco, his nephew beeing fled vnto the mountaines, where, with ſome that followed him, he ranne vp and downe, not as a king, but like a thiefe; beeing by nature both couetous and cruell, vntill that in the end he perſuaded the ill aduiſed king of Portugal, not onely to giue him ſuccours to recouer his realme, but to paſſe thither in perſon, with the ruine of that royall houſe, as you ſhall hereafter heare.

Muley Mahomet expelled out of his realme.

After

1576 2 After the death of *Lewis de Requeſens*, great Commaunder of Caſtille, D. *Iohn d'Au-* G
D. Iohn of Auſtria gouernour of the Netherlands. *ſtria* was appointed to ſucceed him in the gouernment of the Netherlands; to which end he came into Luxembourg, but he would not aduance, vntill that the Eſtates had accepted him for gouernour, and Lieutenant generall to the king his brother. This prince was once in an humour (as wee haue ſaid) to obtaine the crowne of Tunis, by the bountie of the king D. *Philip*, whom hee had cauſed to bee often importuned by the Pope, wherein the king tooke no delight, but the taking of that citie by the Turkes, and the razing of thoſe forts which the Spaniards had built to keepe it in awe, made him to forget that humour: but it did not quench his deſire to raigne in ſome other countrie, in the which a Secretarie of his called *Iohn de Soto* entertained him. Which the king vnderſtanding, hee tooke him from him, and commaunded him to vſe the ſeruice of *Iohn d'Eſ-* H
Iohn de Eſcouedo Secretarie to Don Iohn. *couedo*; by which change he got little, he animating him more to greatneſſe: wherefore he thought it expedient (to diuert him ſomewhat from theſe ambitious deſires) to drawe him out of Italie, and from thoſe honourable imployments which preſented themſelues, and to ſend him into Flanders, to contend againſt his rebellious ſubiects: the which D. *Iohn* hearing, hee bare it with great impatiencie, to ſee himſelfe ſo much deiected, as to become (as a man would ſay) an Algouzil, or Prouoſt Marſhall, to puniſh common people, whereas he had been Generall of armies to the greateſt Potentates in Chriſtendom, againſt the incomparable forces of the great Turke.

D. Iohn aſpires to the crowne of England. Hauing failed of Tunis, he conuerted his thoughts vpon England, and cauſed the king I
to be ſolicited to make warre vpon that realme; for that (ſaid he) Queene *Elizabeth* had alwaies fauoured the Eſtates and townes of the Lowe countries, in their contumacie and rebellion, and to make him Generall, hoping to make himſelfe king, thinking that the affaires of the Lowe countries were too little to keepe him occupied. The king D. *Philip*, for that hee would not flatly refuſe him, ſeemed to yeeld to it, but hee ſaid, they muſt firſt ſubdue the Flemings, commaunding him to goe directly out of Italie thither, and not to paſſe by Spaine: but he obaied him not, for he went out of Italie into Spaine, and all by the counſell of *Eſcouedo*; which made the king to bee ill conceited of him: but in the end hee was forced to goe, and arriued as you haue heard. Beeing accepted for their gouernour, hee ratified the treatie of Gand, made by the K
Deputies of the Prouinces, for the expelling of all ſtrange ſouldiers, and other things; the
1577 which was confirmed by the king of Spaine, in April, 1577, and his Letters of approbation ſent to D. *Iohn*.

Then the poore Netherlanders beganne to hope for better vſage, thinking that they were at an end of all their miſeries, but the effects which followed did ſoone ſhew that this hope had beene conceiued vpon apparances. For in all *D. Iohns* gouernement there
D. Iohns carriage in his gouernment. was nothing but diſſimulations, ſecret enterpriſes, accuſations, falſe imputations, ſurpriſes, and apparent deſignes to heap vpon this people all the miſeries of the precedent gouernements; although the effects did not follow according to the Spaniards deſires. The which they imputed to *D. Iohn*, who was not come into the Low Countries to liue L
there in a quiet eſtate, or to walke in his night gowne, but with an intent that the enterpriſe of England ſhould proceed, and that the King would make him Generall: but ſeeing that (notwithſtanding all troubles in his gouernement were in a maner pacified) they made no preparation tending to inuade that Iland, and that there came no aduice out of Spaine conformable to his deſire, yet would hee commaund an armie, and breed occaſions to imploy it where he was. What his particular actions were you may read in that countrie hiſtorie.

Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South ſea, and about the world. Sir *Francis Drake* beeing incouraged by the good ſucceſſe of his firſt voyage to the Indies, reſolued to make a new attempt, and to paſſe into the South, thinking thereby to doe his Prince and Countrey great ſeruice, to winne himſelfe immortall fame, M
and to annoy the King of Spaine and his ſubiects: wherefore in Nouember in the yere one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſeuen, he went forth of Plimmouth with fiue Engliſh ſhippes and barques, bending his courſe towards the Indies (my meaning is nto to report the particularities of this voyage, but onelie to touch the action ſummarily,

for

A for that it concernes Spaine) in Auguſt after his departure he paſt the Strait of Magellan, and came into the South ſea, where as the Spaniards liued ſecure from all feare, hauing neuer ſeene any Engliſhman there before. Beeing in this ſea, hee tooke many ſhips and barkes, with great ſtore of treaſure: but there was one ſhippe which exceeded all the reſt in wealth; he tooke it at a place called Cape S. Franciſco, 150 leagues from Panama: the ſhippe was called by the Spaniards Cacafuego, which name (after the taking thereof by Sir *Francis*) was wittily changed by a Spaniſh ſhip-boy, and tearmed Cacaplata, for that it yeelded him ſo much ſiluer. They found in her (beſides great ſtore of iewels, and pretious ſtones) thirteene cheſts full of ryals of ſiluer, foure ſcore pound weight of gold, and 26 tunne of ſiluer. Hauing done diuers exploits, and ſackt ſome townes vpon 1577

B the coaſt of Peru, and Noua Hiſpania, being now full traught with treaſure, and ſufficiently reuenged (as he thought) of the Spaniard, hee reſolued to goe to the Ilands of the Molucos, and ſo returne to England by Cape Bona Eſperance; the which he performed happily in Nouember, beeing the third yeare of his voyage. By the report of *Nugno de Silua* a pylot (whom he had taken in the beginning of his voyage at the Ilands of Cape-Verd) & others, Sir *F. Drake* carried frō the coaſt of Peru, 866 kintals of ſiluer, euery kintal being worth 1200 ducats of Spain: all which amounteth to a million thirtie nine thouſand and two hundred ducats. He had beſides, tenne kintals of gold, euery kintall beeing valued at ten thouſand and fiue hundred Spaniſh ducats: which laſt ſome amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thouſand ducats; beſides other treaſure in that ſhippe which had not 1588

Treaſure Sir Fr. Drake brought out of the South ſea.

C beene cuſtomed (the value whereof was vnknowne) as pearles, pretious ſtones, ryals of plate, and other rich commodities.

Theſe exploits of his in the South ſea, (where they had neuer ſeene any enemie) did much trouble the Viceroy of Peru, who ſent forth *Pedro Sarmiento*, a good nauigator, with two ſhippes, to meet with Captaine *Drake* if hee could, or to fortifie in the Strait of Magellan, againſt ſuch as ſhould hereafter ſeeke to paſſe it. D. *Pedro* paſſed through the Straite with one of his ſhippes, and ſo went into Spaine, where he informed the king of the nature of the Strait, and of the meanes to build a fort there, the countrey beeing rich, and abounding with all neceſſaries. Whereupon the king (beeing aduertiſed that there were more ſhippes making ready in England) ſent *Diego Flores de*

D *Baldes* with twentie three ſhippes, and three thouſand and fiue hundred men, and a new gouernour to Chili, with fiue hundred old ſouldiers come out of Flaunders; but before they were free from the coaſt of Spaine, they were ſurprized with a ſtorme, and eight of the Fleet caſt away, with aboue eight hundred men, the reſt put into Cadiz.

Ships of Spaine caſt away.

D. *Iohn d'Auſtria* hauing drawne a world of miſeries vpon thoſe Prouinces which which were vnder his gouernment, died in the Campe, neere vnto Nemours this yeare 1578, of a peſtilent feuer; a prince who conceiued high and great enterpriſes in his mind, but aboue all, hee was much incenſed againſt the Lowe Countries, and their generall Eſtates: his death was happie for them, hauing thereby ſome eaſe of their miſe-

1578

Death of D. Iohn of Auſtria.

E ries and calamities. Men made diuers cenſures of his death, and of *Eſcouedo* his Secretaries, who in a manner at the ſame time was ſlaine in Spaine (as ſome ſaid by the kings commandement) for the which *Antonio de Peres* was afterwards called in queſtion, as you ſhall heare.

Alexander Farneze prince of Parma, who was D. *Iohns* lieutenant, had commaundement of the armie, and was afterwards gouernour in his place: hee was more temperate and modeſt in his gouernment than the Spaniards that went before him. This prince was allied to the king of Spain, he hauing maried in the yere 1565 D. *Maria* of Bragance, daughter to D. *Edward* of Portugal, who was brother to the Empreſſe D. *Iſabella*, ſo as

F they were couſin germans: which mariage might purchaſe to the houſe of *Farnezes* ſome right to the crowne of Portugal: where, ſoone after there happened a lamentable change; for that this realme which had maintained it ſelfe with honour and reputation, in all the parts of the habitable earth, for ſo many ages, was reduced vnto a Prouince, vnder him of Caſtille, as you ſhall heare.

Wee

1577 *Moores.*

4 We muſt now enter into the mournfull Tragedie of the death of D. *Sebaſtian* king of Portugal, who thruſt on by his ambitious deſire of glorie, gouerned by ill counſell, and among other affections, by zeale of religion, wherein the Ieſuits had inſtructed him, would (contrary to the graue aduice of the Catholike king) and without any reaſon, bee an actor in the quarrels of the Xeriffes, princes of Afrike, contending for the empire of Marocco and Fez, from whence the race of the kings, Merins, (of whom wee haue often made mention in this worke) had beene expelled by their fathers. It will be fit, to giue more light vnto our hiſtorie, and more taſt of the fruit which may be reapt, to relate briefly the beginning of theſe Xeriffes, and the policie of their ſuddaine and admirable aduancement to the large dominions, ſo neere vnto Spaine, there being but a ſmall cut of ſea betwixt them, or (as a man would ſay) a puffe of wind.

Xeriffes kings of Marocco their beginning

Mahomet Ben Hamet Xeriffe the father.

Mahomet Ben Hamet called Xeriffe, which ſignifies famous and ſacred, the which among the Mahometans they giue vnto them that are of the line of their Prophet *Mahomet* (from whom he ſaid hee was deſcended) liued in the times of our fathers, in the towne of Tigumeder, in the countrie of Dara in Numidia. He was a politicke man, and a great hypocrite, who had by a fained ſanctitie purchaſed the reputation of very religious and wiſe. He was learned in their law, in Aſtrologie, and in art Magike. He had three ſonnes, whom hee inſtructed in the ſame manners, arts, and diſciplines, and were eſteemed as the father; eſpecially after that they had beene at Mecque, and at Medina Tal Nabi in Arabia, which is a voyage held among them of great merit: for at Medina is the ſepulchre of their prophet *Mahomet*. Their names were *Abdelquibir*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet* the youngeſt, who paſt the reſt in policie and valour.

Three brethren Xeriffes.

Hamet and *Mahomet* beeing come to Fez, a great and well peopled citie in Afrike, and the chiefe of the reale of Mauritania Tingitana, to make themſelues knowne there, they were much made of by men that were curious of Sciences, and in a ſhort time one of them obtained a publike Lecture in the Colledge of Modaraſa, and the other had the charge to inſtruct and bring vp the children of *Muley Mahomet*, and *Oataz*, who was the laſt king of Fez ſaue one, of the race of Benimerins. The Xeriffe their father hearing that his ſonnes proſpered, hee aduiſed them to ioyne the art of warre with knowledge and learning; for thoſe two faculties vnited, make a ready way to greatneſſe: the which they could practiſe in ſuch ſort, that as they had beene eſteemed for their learning, ſo they got a reputation to be valiant, among the Xeques and Alcaides of the realme; and vpon this opinion they had charge giuen them of ſome troupe or cornet of horſe, at their inſtance, vnder colour of religion, ſaying that it was to make warre againſt certaine Moores and Africans which went to ſerue the king of Portugal, and did annoy the other Mahometanes of their ſect: *Muley Nacer* brother to the king of Fez, was very vnwilling they ſhould haue this Commiſſion giuen them; ſaying, that by the like practiſes, and vnder a cloake of holineſſe, the families of *Iſdris*, *Magaracs*, *Almoranides*, and *Almohades* had raigned in Afrike, and ruined the auncient royall houſes. Yet they had commiſſion to leuie men, and proued famous captaines in a ſhort time; for hauing for a time ouerrunne the prouinces of Duquele and others, where the Portugals had ſome forts, and done many gallant exploits, they paſt into that of Sus, which depends vpon Marroc, whither their fame was ſpred; and beeing there viſited by many Moores and Africans of thoſe marches, liuing then in libertie, without any king, and who beleeued that their deſigne was to make warre againſt the Chriſtians which did hold the coaſts of Afrike vnder the kings D. *Iohn* the ſecond, and D. *Emanuel* of Portugal, and the townes of Ceuta, Tangir, Arzille, Alcaſar, Ceguer, Azamor, Mazagon, Saphi, and Cap d'Aguer, & farther off, the caſtle of Arquin, they had preſently a great troupe; eſpecially for that king *Emanuel* entertained many Moores and naturall Africans: ſo as that Chriſtian king might at ſometimes haue drawne into armes of thoſe nations aboue fiftie thouſand horſe, and twice as many foot. Vnder the name of this religious warre, the Xeriffes became ſtrong and fearefull in the field: and in fauour thereof, they did obtaine of the inhabitants of the prouince of Dara in Numidia, where they were borne, the tenthes of their reuenues: for vnto God, ſaid they, the tenths of the fruits of the earth are due by

Learning and Armes vnited makes a man compleat.

Emanuel king of Portugal fortified by Moores.

auncient

A auncient conſtitutions. The citie of Turedant, which is a ſeat royall, and in olde time was the third member of the Miralmumins eſtate, did not onely receiue this impoſt willingly; but they alſo perſuaded the other Weſterne Prouinces to doe the like, and to chooſe for their gouernour the old *Mahomet, Ben Hamet*, the father of theſe two Xeriffes, *Hamet* and *Mahomet*: by reaſon whereof, he made himſelfe maſter of Turedant, & made ſharpe warres againſt the Moores which held the partie of the Portugals, in the prouince of Dara and others. A certaine Xec of the towne of Tiguint, in the mountaines of Atlas the greater, towards the prouince of Sus, drew vnto the Xeriffes the people of Hea, lying neere vnto him, who did contribute the tenthes of their fruits, and of the feeding of their cattell, and in the end hee put them in poſſeſſion of the towne of Teneſt, which is
B the chiefe of that prouince of Hea, one of the beſt of Afrike: and then they called themſelues princes, by the practiſes of this Xec, who was a Genouois renegado. But they were expelled by *Nugno Fernandes* of Atayde a Portugal, who forced them to retire to Tazarot, a towne of the iuriſdiction of Marroc, and in the meane time old *Mahomet Ben Hamet* the Xeriffe died. His three ſonnes continuing their enterpriſes, beſieged the towne of Alquel, and tooke it from a Xec, ealled *Ctdi Bugima Africain*, vaſſall to the king of Portugal: and then they ſeized vpon the caſtle of the mountaine of Xanxaua, the which they fortified, and were continually aſſiſted by the Lords, townes, and comminalties of that Weſterne quarter of Afrike, in regard of this holy warre. After which, they got more reputation, hauing incountred and taken D. *Lope de Barriga*, gouernour of A-
C ſafi, who was the moſt redoubted captaine king *Emanuel* had in Afrike. Notwithſtanding *Abdelquibir* the eldeſt of the Xeriffes was ſlaine in this conflict. The two others continuing their deſignes made themſelues maſters of Marroc, a goodly great citie, and chiefe of the realme, by a notable treaſon practiſed againſt *Nacer Buxentuf* of the race of the *Hententats*, who was king, but hee held nothing, in a manner, but the very towne, for all the dependancies were at that time held by pettie tyrans, and the champane countrie by the Alarabes, who in that countrie doe commonly hold Lords, towns, yea and kings in ſubiection. This *Nacer* hauing often receiued the Xeriffes very kindly into Marroc, and vſed them with all honour and courteſie, hee was one a time poyſoned by their fraud, going forth to flie at the Heron with him. They had ſuborned a certaine
D Moore, who croſſed theſe noble men in their way as they returned from hawking, hauing a cake in his basket made of flower and ſugar that was poyſoned, who ſeeming to go on his way like a traueller, he was ſtaid by the Xeriffes, who demaunded of him what hee carried in his basket, and if he had not ſomething good to eate, or to mingle with water to diſalter the king, who was there preſent; whereupon this Moore drewe out his cake, and preſented it vnto the king, who did eate thereof, and dranke the water, into the which he had ſteept it; whereof he did not preſently complaine: but beeing come to Marroc, he fell ſicke and died within 6 daies. In the meane time *Mahomet* knowing what would happen, went to Xanxaua to fetch his forces, to ſecond his brother *Hamet*, as they had agreed, who by the meanes of ſome confederates, which vnder other pretexts were then
E at Marroc, ſeized vpon the caſtle, euen as his brother arriued with his troupes, and made himſelfe to be acknowledged for king of the Marroquins, and ſeeming with a counterfeit modeſtie to be very much grieued for the accident which had befallen king *Nacer*; as a thing (ſaid he) practiſed by ſome of his enemies vnknowne to him, he ſaid that his election was a bleſſing of heauen, the which muſt follow: ſeeking to pacifie the children of the deceaſed, promiſing them honours and eſtates at their deſires. Then he ſent to aduertiſe the King of Fez, that hee had beene created King of Marroc, and that hee would hold the citie of him; and ſending him certaine preſents, accompanied with ſubmiſſions and promiſes, he reſted ſatisfied. Thus he got the poſſeſſion of Marroc, and of
F the rights of that realme, the iuriſdictions whereof extend farre towards the South; which (as wee haue ſaid) were diſtracted by the vſurpations of pettie Lords: and many townes alſo had infranchiſed themſelues, gouerning themſelues like common weales, but they reduced them to their old obedience. The warres againſt the Chriſtians and Moores which did adhere vnto them, beeing the chiefe ſupport of their authoritie and credit with the people, they continued it, and had diuers incounters with the

Portugals;

1577

Xeriffe makes himſelfe maſter of Turedant.

Xeriffes ſeize vpon Marroc by treaſon.

1577 Portugals;but that wherein they did labour more curiouſly,and wherein they were moſt G
fortunate,for the ſetling of their greatneſſe, was to practiſe the Moores which followed
the king of Portugals partie,to drawe them vnto themſelues, wherein finding ſome diffi-
culties,they ſought to ſet a diuiſion among them,and they faining to be partakers in their
quarrels, did ſo bandie them one againſt another, as the Moores and Alarabes of the
countrie of Duquele and they of Xarquie of the one part, and they of Garbia of the o-
ther, by mutuall incounters and bloodie battels made themſelues ſo weake, as the Xe-
riffes did eaſily ſubiect them one after another, and inrich themſelues with their ſpoyles:
which was ſo great,as afterwards they had not any need of armes, horſes, nor follow-
Hamet and Mahomet diuide their eſtates. ers: and then the two brethren diuided their eſtates, ſo as *Hamet* was king of Marroc,
and *Mahomet* king of Sus,or of Tarudant, which towne he did beautifie with buildings, H
and fortifie very much: but,as the proſperities of this world are neuer abſolute,going to
beſiege the towne of Cap d'Aguer in Sus, hee was roughly repulſt, with the loſſe of a
great number of men; the which did but quicken his ſpirits and courage to find meanes
to recouer this loſſe,and to maintaine his reputation: wherein both hee and his brother
Hamet were much aſſiſted by the approbation they had of the king of Fez, who was con-
tent when they had any loſſe,that they ſhould repaire their forces by new leuies made in
his countries,and by his ſubiects which did voluntarily follow them: and therefore for
ſome yeares they entertained friendſhip with this king, who was the cauſe of their ad-
uancement,by all duties and good offices, paying him the like tribute that *Nacer* king of I
Marroc was accuſtomed to paie, and moreouer, the fift penie of their ſpoiles taken in
warre. But finding themſelues once ſtrong,they began to neglect it,wherewith the king
was diſcontented,commanding one of his captaines to let them vnderſtand, that if they
ſent him not this tribute,he would make warre againſt them as enemies. The death of
king *Mahomet Oataz* enſuing,pacified this quarrell, for that the children of the deceaſed
who had beene ſcholers to one of the Xeriffes, would not moleſt them, but confirmed
them eaſily in their conqueſts making a new promiſe of a light tribute;of the which they
neuer paied any thing,beeing glad to haue ſuch an occaſion to breake with them of Fez,
whom they knew to be men of little valour, liuing in delights and pleaſures: Ambition
which hath no bounds, prouoking them to paſſe all the bonds,reſpects, and conſiderati- K
ons of the fauours which they had receiued from the houſe of theſe *Oataz Merines*,
whom in the end they did ruine: and the better to attaine to that which they preten-
ded,they made an alliance with *Aben Hadu*, and *Muley Ferez*, brethren, and *Muley Drys*,
with other Lords of the mountaines, enemies to the familie of the *Oataz*; ſo as when
Muley Hamet,who had ſucceeded *Mahomet* his father in the realme of Fez, thought(af-
ter that the tribute had beene diſcontinued ſome yeares) to force the Xeriffes: they gaue
him plainly to vnderſtand that they owed him not any thing, and that they had more
right to raigne,and to demand tribute of the kings and people of Afrike, than any other;
for that they were deſcended from the Prophet *Mahomet*, and his lawfull ſucceſſours:
wherefore,if he thought it good to bee their friend, they would bee his: and if hee at- L
tempted to croſſe them in the warres which they made againſt Chriſtians,that both God
and *Mahomet* would puniſh him,neither ſhould they want power to defend themſelues.
And ſoone after,the Xeriffe of Marroc,who confined vpon the country of Fez,made tri-
all if this king had the courage to enter into warre; for he began to force the inhabitants
of ſome places of his iuriſdiction which lay neereſt vnto him, to paie him the tenthes of
Tenths of fruits the reuenewes of Kings. their fruits,which was the chiefe article at that time of the receipt of their treaſure: yea,
they did not exact any other thing,but certaine cuſtomes or tolles. Whereupon the king
of Fez reſolued to proclaime war againſt them,& came in perſon to beſiege Marroc, be-
ing vnprouided of Ordnance: for hee had but two peeces, with the which hee made a
batterie neere vnto the port of Ciet Belabez Cebti. The other hearing of this ſiege at M
Sus,came ſpeedily and put himſelfe into Marroc, with three thouſand horſe, the which
the king of Fez with his armie could not preuent: then inſtantly, with his and his bro-
thers forces,they made a furious ſallie, and put the aſſaylants to rout,purſuing them vnto
the Prouince of Eſcura,doing infinit harme euen in the taile of their army. King *Hamet*
Oataz making haſt, with the firſt to come to Fez,where he had news the ſame night,that

Muley

A *Muley Muſand* her brother, had rayſed a tumult in the cittie, & that he wold make himſelf King: which rebellion he ſuppreſt by his comming. By this bad triall which the King of Fez had made, he was ſo incenſed, as he would returne againe to the ſeege of Marroc, whereas the two brethren, did not attend him, but came foorth to meete him, and charging him at the paſſage of the riuer of los Negros, at a place called Buacuba, they defeated his foreward: in which conflict *Muley Mahomet* his ſon was ſlaine, and with him King *Aben Abdalla*, he who had loſt Granado in Spaine, and the King of Fez was forced to returne in diſorder, with great loſſe of his men, baggage, and women, and to leaue the field to the Xeriffes, who by fauour of this victorie, made all them of the iuriſdiction of Fez, B which confined vpon Marroc, to contribute the tenths, without any reſiſtance: and when as afterwards the King of Fez ſought to be reuenged, they made head againſt him and his Captaines, and put them to many routes, ſo as that wrong remayned vnreuenged.

King of Fez defeated by the Xeriffes.

The Xeriffes hauing handled the King of Fez thus roughly, he of Sus led an armie beyond the mountaine Atlas, he tooke Tafilet, a towne of Numidia, and carried away the Lord thereof called *Amar*. He alſo took ſome other places, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition: ſo as theſe two brethren extended their dominions towards Numidia and Lybia, and ſubdued the Arabians and Affricans which liued in thoſe drie countries. But that which gaue more fame to *Mahomet*, was the taking of Cape d'Aguer, which he had alreadie attempted, and was then ill defended by D. *Guttiere* of Montroy a Portugois, who C was forced and taken there with a good ſpoile, eſpecially of armes and ordinance, whereof the Xeriffes could make great vſe. This conqueſt ſetled them in their Eſtates, and made all the people of the mountaines and valleys, friends, yea obedient vnto them, and ſome thought that they had made *Emanuel* King of Portugal giue ouer the warres of Affrick, and demantle the townes of Azamor, Safi, Arzille and Alcaçar Ceguer, the which happened ſoone after.

But as all equalitie is odious in great men, and their ſocietie nothing firme: theſe two brethren fell in the end to quarrell, and to open war. The cauſe was the hatred which *Hamet* bare to his younger brother *Mahomet*, for that hee was more eſteemed and reſpected then he, he was indeed more valiant, more iuſt, and more loyall in that which hee promiſed: he was diſcontented alſo, that of all the bootie which *Mahomet* his brother had taken D at Cap d'Aguer, of the which he ſhould giue him the fift part, hee had not ſent him any thing but D. *Guttiere* priſoner, and ſome few ſlaues: Wherefore he ſent him an imperious meſſage, that he would haue all the Ordinance, the harquebuzies, and the munition, which he had wonne and 400. ſlaues more, and then the fifth peny of all the reſt of the bootie: whereupon there were diuers anſwers and replies. *Hamet* ſeeing that hee did not performe what he deſired, ſent certaine troupes to leauie tribute of the land, which his brother enioyed; the which he did for that time endure. After which *Hamet* deſired that they might haue an enterview in Marroc, but *Mahomet* knowing his brother well, excuſed himſelfe, and ſeeing they were vpon complaints, *Mahomet* ſayd, that he had depriued E him of the lawfull ſucceſſion of their father, who had left him great treaſure in Tazarot, demanding a moity both of the mooueables and conqueſts, where he had alwaies bene in the greateſt dangers. He ſayd moreouer, that *Mahomet Harran* his ſon hauing bin borne before that *Hamet* had any children, he ought to be ſworne King and ſucceſſor to all the Realmes, according to a certaine ordonance of their father. From theſe words they fell to armes, and without the mediation of *Cidi Arrahal* (who was an Alfagui of great authoritie among the Moores and Alarabes) the warre had then growne furious and bloudy, but he pacified them, and procured an enterview vppon the bankes of the riuer Hued Iſſen, whether either of them came with 500. horſe, and lighted in the field, where there were two tents pitched, betwixt the which they parleyed, without any other companie, F but the aboue-named Alfagui, their troupes being far from them. At their coming together, *Mahomet* humbling himſelfe ſomething, *Hamet* preſently laied hold of him, ſhaking him after a rough maner, and ſeeking to ouerthrow him: but *Mahomet*, who was ſtrong and actiue, kept himſelfe vp, and in the end in wraſtling, got his brother vnder him, doing him no harme, but reproched him with his diſloyalty, the other powring forth many iniuries, vntil the Alfagui parted them, and then they both retired, ſo as this vnkind meeting

Xeriffes in quarrell betwixt themſelues.

did breed nothing elſe but an increaſe of hatred, which continued vnto their deaths. A

Hamet was no ſooner at Marroc, but hee ſent *Mueley Cidan* his eldeſt ſonne to ouerrunne the land of Dara, which did belong to the King of Sus his brother, who ſent againſt him *Mumen Belelche*, a Geneuois renegado with ſome horſemen, who was defeated and forced to retire into a Caſtle, where he was beſeeged, taken, and carried to Marroc, and there remayned a Captiue in chaines for a time. On the other ſide, *Muley Said* another of *Hamets* ſonnes, defeated and ſlue *Haſcen Gelbi* whome *Mahomet* had ſent into the Prouince of Hea to leauie contributions: by which two routes *Hamet* thinking that his brothers forces were much weakened, he gathered the greateſt power hee could together, with an intent to chaſe him out of his Realme of Sus, but *Mahomet* was not B faint-hearted: for acquainting all his friends with the motiues of this warre, he could ſo perſwade them, as they were more affected than euer to ſupport and defend him, ſo as he was prepared to ſtoppe the paſſage of the mountaines called Maſcarotan, which are betwixt Marroc and Tarudant, where hauing ſeized vppon the ſtreights, when as the King of Marocs armie was ingaged in the mountaines, and his foreward led by *Muley Nacer* his third ſonne, readie to enter into the open fields, it was charged by *Muley Harran*, eldeſt ſonne to the King of Sus, with ſuch furie, as *Nacer* hauing loſt his beſt men, was forced to retire into the mountaines, which cauſed a great diſorder: for *Nacer* hauing incountred the battell, and the ſquadron which his father led, there was ſo ſtrange a confuſion betwixt them, that did deſcend, and the others which would haue aſcended flying C the enemie, who purſued them, as one hindering another, and intangled in their baggage, we may ſay, that they gaue themſelues a ſecond route, greater then the firſt, caſting one another downe the precepices vppon ſharpe rockes, both men and horſes: after a miſerable manner: whereuppon the enemie comming, and the barbarous people of the mountaines deſirous of ſpoyle, falling vppon this amazed multitude, they made a terrible ſlaughter, yet many quitting their horſes, eſcaped on foote, by thoſe difficult waies into the reereward, which was free from this defeat. But *Hamet* King of Marroc, and *Muley Buaçon* another of his ſonnes were taken, and led to Tarudant: *Muley Cidan* his eldeſt ſonne retired with the remaynder of this defeated armie to Marroc, in ſuch deſpaire, as he would haue ſent Ambaſſadours into Spaine to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, to craue D an armie of him, and to offer him homage, but hee was diſſwaded by the Alfaguis, and Captaines that were with him, who thought it fit to ſend *Mariana* the wife of *Muley Cidan*, and daughter to the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, whom hee loued much, to Tarudant to procure the deliuerie of her father-in-law, and to mediate a peace: the which ſhee handled ſo diſcreetly, as the two kings were reconciled vpon theſe conditions.

Mahomet defeates his elder brother

Xeriffes brethren reconciled.

That there ſhould be a new diuiſion made, and that to *Mahomet* ſhould be left all the Prouince of Sus, from Mount Atlas towards the South, vnto the bounds of Lybia and Numidia, where it confines to Sus, the which they call Remoto, and to *Hamet* that which is towards the North, and to the fronters of the Realme of Fez: That the treaſures left by their father ſhould be equally diuided. That young *Mahomet Harran* ſhould bee ſworne E Prince ſucceſſor to both their Eſtates, and after him *Muley Cidan*: That the priſoners of either ſide ſhould be ſet free without ranſome: That *Hamet* King of Marroc, his children and the Captaines that were taken, ſhould ſweare neuer to carrie armes againſt *Mahomet* nor his children: That *Hamet* ſhould haue the fift part of all that ſhould bee gotten by their common armes, by way of acknowledgement, as being his elder, and his part of the ouerplus, and being in perſon in the armie, he ſhould haue the honour to bee the Soueraigne head, and *Mahomet* ſhould be as Vrſi, or Lieutenant general vnder him. This peace was concluded in the yeare 1543. but it held not; for *Hamet* being come to Marroc, ſayd, that whatſoeuer he had promiſed, was by force, beeing a priſoner, and that it was not fit he ſhould ſo wrong his ſon: wherefore hauing taken armes againe, the two brethren came F to battel, at a place called Quehera, 7. leagues from Marroc, the 29. of Auguſt 1544. whereas *Hamet* was vanquiſhed, and his army ſo diſperſt, as *Mahomet* being at the cittie gates, chaſing them that fled, he was receiued, partly by loue, and partly by feare, the Gouernor and cittizens thinking that all had beene loſt: where hauing deliuered him the caſtle, he was ſaluted and held for King of Marroc. Hee did not touch his brothers wiues

Hamet breakes the peace made with his brother.

nor

A nor children, nor their Iewels, nor treaſure, but preſerued them, aſſuring them that they ſhould haue good vſage. A day or two after *Hamet* came to the gates of Marroc, but he found the place taken: wherefore beeing oppreſt with ſorrow, hee retired to the Hermitage of *Cidi Abdalla ben Ceſi*, a man greatly honoured among that nation, not farre from the cittie, and from thence he ſent his ſonnes *Muley Cidan*, and *Muley Nacer* vnto the King of Fez, to recommend them and their affaires vnto him. It was *Muley Hamet Oataz*, aboue-mentioned, a generous Prince, who notwithſtanding the wrongs hee had receyued from their father and vncle, entertained theſe two Xeriffes very courteouſly, and promiſed them all aſſiſtance. The Xeriffe *Mahomet*, new King of Marroc, knowing that his
B Nephewes were retired to Fez, ſent them word, that they ſhould not eſtrange themſelues, and that he had no will but to do them good, whereupon they obeyed him, and he alſo drew vnto him by rewards and good entertaynments, all the Captaines and ſouldiers which had ſerued his brother. The Alfaguis grieuing at *Hamets* diſgrace, did mediat an enterview of the two breethren neere vnto the riuer of Luyden, two leagues from Marroc in the yeare 1545, but it was to *Mahomets* aduantage: for this victorious King cauſed a great and rich pauilion to be ſet vp all open, in the middeſt of his troupes, where he was ſet low vppon a royall ſeate, hauing barres round about, ſo as no man could come neere him but before, he being armed. About him were his gards ſet, and other troupes of ſouldiers, who left an entrie to go vnto the King. There firſt preſented themſelues vnto him *Hamets* ſmaller children, then they that were bigger, and ſo according to their ages,
C who came and kiſſed his knee one after another, and then retired to one ſide of the pauilion, whereas the Kings children and his chiefe Officers were: laſt of all came *Hamet* the Xeriffe, before whom the King aroſe, and receyued him at the entrie of his pauillion, where as they embraced one another with teares in their eyes, and then ſitting downe vppon one ſeate, after they had viewed one another a long ſpace, ſighing but not ſpeaking. *Mahomet* began to tell him mildly of the breach of his faith, and of the peace of Tarudant, that God had puniſhed him by the victory which he had giuen him miraculouſly, being very apparent that his forces were not ſufficient to ſeize vpon the Realme of Marroc, and that he muſt confeſſe, that for his diſloyaltie he was fallen into the hatred of his
D ſubiects and vaſſals. That he ſhould remember how much he had loued him, ſerued and obeyed him, as being his elder, and that he might aſſure himſelfe he would beare him the like loue hereafter, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, ſo as he would acknowledge him to be his king, and be content to be his Vizir, and Captaine generall: but he muſt forbeare to enter into Marroc: for he had promiſed the Inhabitants, who feared to be ill intreated by him, not to ſuffer him to enter: Wherefore hee ſhould retire himſelfe with his wife and children to the towne of Tafilet, where he ſhould receiue all brotherly loue from him, and that he hoped the conqueſts they had hitherto made, were of ſmall eſteeme, in regard of thoſe that were to come, by the which hee ſhould haue meanes to giue vnto his children Realmes and Seigneuries to his and their content. *Hamet* made ſome excuſes for
E that which he had done, and thanked him humbly in words for the promiſes and offers he made him, although the ſentence ſeemed hard, yet he muſt vndergo it: wherefore he retired to Tafila in Numidia with his wiues, children, & ſuch friends as wold follow him.

Mahomets ſpeech to his brother Hamet.

If the Xeriffe *Mahomet* had diſpoſſeſt his brother, whereof the chiefe motiue had beene ambition and then diſtruſt, the King of Fez might well attend as much, for they had beene already in armes, and the Xeriffe knew wel that he had wronged him of Fez, which in reaſon required reparation: but the Xeriffes greatnes would not permit it: one diſtruſting another, they fell eaſily to quarrell. The Xeriffe complained, that after the battell of Quehera, the king of Fez had giuen refuge to *Muley Cidan*, and *Muley Nacer* his nephewes, and then he pretended that the Prouince of Tedle, did belong to the Realme of Marroc, and
F at the ſame time that he demanded it, he ſent *Muley Abdel Cader*, one of his ſons, to field, with an army, to exact the contributions, giuing him for an aſſiſtant *Mumen Belelche* aboue-named, by race a Geneuois, to whom he gaue charge to beſeege the ſtrong caſtle of Fixtelle, and to take it: which they could not do, for the place was well defended by *Ben-Ouzar*, captaine to the king of Fez, who alſo went to field to ſuccor him. The Xeriffe deſiring to incounter him, went alſo to field. In the armie of Fez were 30000. horſe,

Kings of Fez and Marroc at warre.

as well of Fez, Velez, Dubuda, as Arabians Hololes,and of Beni Melic Sofian,and eight A
hundred harquebuziers, Turkes,or Chriſtian renegado's, led by *Marian* a Perſian born.
The warres of Barbarie and Mauritania are for the moſt part on horſe-backe, and they do
little eſteeme foot-men: beſides all this, he had a thouſand harguebuziers on horſe-back,
and foure and twenty peeces of Ordinance. The *X*eriffe had eighteene peeces of Ordi-
nance, eighteene thouſand horſe, three hundred Turkes harguebuziers, and a thouſand
Chriſtians renegado's carrying Croſ-bowes. Theſe armies being neere together, ſpent
many dayes to ſpie out ſome aduantage: when as the *X*eriffe perceyued that the horſ-men
of Fez, and the Alarabes which were with them, beganne to disband according to their
cuſtome, which is to grow wearie to be in field, and to returne to ſee their families, hee B
King of Fez de- offered battell ſo fitly, (for hee was a great ſouldier) as they were forced to fight, where
feated & taken the Xeriffe got the victorie, and the King of Fez was taken, beeing hurt in two places,
and his ſonne *Muley Bucar*, with many other Commaunders and Captaines, and a great
ſpoyle.

Muley Buaçon Lord of Velez de la Gomera of the race of Merins, alone, ſhewed him-
ſelfe a valiant Captaine, and ſaued his Squadron, all the reſt beeing ſcattered and put to
route. Fixtelle was then yeelded, and all other places of the Prouince of Tedle. The Xe-
riffe cauſing the King of Fez to come before him, vſed no rough ſpeech, but did rather
comfort him in his misfortune, and as he ſeemed alwaies very religious, he told him on-
Speech of the ly that he ſhould acknowledge, that this miſerie had fallen vppon him, for that hee did C
Xeriffe to the not raigne according vnto God, neither had any care of his people: For (ſayd he) thou
King of Fez. which art a King, and ſhouldſt inſtruct thy ſubiects in vertue and good manners, why
haſt thou ſuffered ſuch abhominable vices to be ordinarily practiſed in that great Citty
of Fez, where as euery man is giuen to fraude, violence, diſſoluteneſſe, and drunkennes,
where as wine is openly ſold in Tauernes, contrarie to the law of *Mahomet* the Propher?
Why haſt thou not cauſed iuſtice to be adminiſtred, and theſe exceſſes puniſhed? wher-
unto *Hamet* anſwered nothing, but that Princes which diſlike of vices, and would cor-
rect them, could not do it, when as they meete with ſubiects bred vp in vice, and accuſto-
med to liue ill; but hee layed before him the good which the Xeriffs had receyued in Fez,
and that if they were growne great, it was by the aſſiſtance and meanes of *Oataz Beneme-* D
rines, intreating him to remember it. The Xeriffe put him in good hope, but hee made
him promiſe to perſwade the Inhabitants of Fez to open him the gates, and receiue him
into the towne: and with this intent he marched towards the great Cittie, which be ra-
ther three citties one ioyning vnto another, contayning (as ſome report) eightie thou-
ſand families, full of rich men, liuing voluptuouſly, and beautified with rich and ſtately
buildings, both publike and priuate, more then any other citie among the Mahumetiſts:
but whatſoeuer *Hamets* will was in this poynt, they would not ſuffer the Xeriffe to enter,
for that *Buaçon* Lord of Velez, the Kings kinſ-man, beeing entred into it with the remain-
der of the defeated armie, had cauſed *Cazen*, ſonne to the king of Fez to be proclaymed
king, vppon condition, that if his father, being ſet at libertie, ſhould returne, he ſhould E
yeeld vp the Realme vnto him. The Xeriffe *Mahomet* ſeeing there was no meanes to force
that great city, and wanting victuals, he returned in a rage, and cauſed the heads of aboue
two hundred of the citizens, that were his priſoners, to be cut off, leading away king *Ha-*
met, *Muley Bacar*, with other priſoners of name, in chains. This was an admirable exploit,
for (they ſay) that the Xeriffe loſt but one man in his whole armie, but many were hurt,
and the number of the dead were ſmall of the king of Fez his part: this was in the yeare
1547. The diſſention among the Princes which remayned in Fez, gaue the xeriffe occaſi-
on to rayſe a new army, in the yeare following, vnder the conduct of *Mahomet Haran*,
and *Abdel el Cader*, his ſons, but this warre was ſoone ended: for the Alfaguis, who are e-
ſteemed wiſe men among the Moores, did mediate a peace; by the which king *Hamet Oa-* F
King of Fez *taz*, and his followers were ſet at liberty, and there was giuen to the xeriffe *Mahomet* for
ſet at libertie. the charge of the war, the towne of Mequineuz, which was great and well peopled, con-
taining about 8000. families, being 12. leagues diſtant from Fez. And it was agreed, that
whenſoeuer the xeriffe would enter into Fez, he ſhould haue the keies deliuered to him.
About 2. moneths after the kings deliuery, the xeriffe meaning to make trial of the effect

of

A of his promiſe, came neere vnto the Cittie with ſome ſmall forces, and ſent to demaund the keyes. The king of Fez knowing that he had no great troupe with him, entertayned him ſome dayes in hope, pretending that there was ſome diſſention in the towne, which hindred his entrie. In the meane time he gathered his forces together, and fell out vpon him, forcing him to retire with the loſſe of ſome of his Knights: whereat the Xeriffe beeing wonderfully mooued, hee ſent for his forces, and came and lodged at Arras Elma, two leagues from Fez, where there is a great ſpring which makes the riuer that runs into the towne, the which he blockt vp with forts well manned, to cut off their victuals, and to cauſe a mutinie. Yet they endured this diſcommoditie almoſt two yeares. In the end not
B able any longer to beare the want of many things which they needed, they let the Xeriffe by night into the old towne, by a breach which they ſuffered him to make, the which *Hamet Oataz*, (who was in the new towne, where the Kings pallace is) did not perceiue, vntill the next day morning, and then hee came with a great troupe, and charged them of Marroc furiouſly to expell them, but he could not: for the people did no way aſſiſt him, but kept themſelues cloſe in their houſes during the fight, which was very cruell in all parts of the townes, the one crying for the Xeriffe, and the other for the Merins, and the Cittizens with their wiues and children cryed out, *God ſaue him that ſhall giue vs peace and bread*, caſting ſtones, logges, tyles, and whatſoeuer they could get, out at the windowes, wherewith many were ſlaine, or ſore wounded, and more of the Kings men, then
C of others. So as *Muley Hamet* and his men were forced to retire into new Fez, and to abandon the old towne to the Xeriffe. The next night *Buaçon* perſwaded *Muley Hamet* to flie with him to Velez, and to paſſe from thence into Spaine, to craue ayde from the Emperour *Charles*, but he would not beleeue him: Wherefore *Buaçon* retired himſelfe, and the ſame night *Muley Hamet* ſent foorth his mother, (whoſe name was *Lela Mahabilo*) to the Xeriffe, to craue a peace of him vppon what tearmes ſoeuer: who caſting her ſelfe proſtrate before him, beſought him to receiue the Realme, and to giue him ſome corner of ground to entertaine him and his family: wherewith the Xeriffe was very well ſatisfied, commanding that *Hamet* ſhould depart the ſame day, and retire to Marroc, carying with him his wiues, children, Iewels, treaſure, mooueables, and whatſoeuer hee
D would, and that *Cazeres* and *Aben Nacer* his ſonnes ſhould go to Tarudant with their families and goods, promiſing to giue them good entertaynment. The Xeriffe hauing ſeene among the Kings daughters, one that pleaſed him, hee married her: thus the Xeriffe thought that he had conquered the Cittie and Realme of Fez; but he could not yet enioy it quietly. Hee was much incenſed to heare, that during the warre, *Muley Zidan* his Nephew, and his ſonne-in-law had come to Fez, and borne armes for his enemie. This made him diſlodge the *Xeriffe Hamet* from Tafilet, and to confine him to Xiguret in *Zahara* in Lybia, with *Zidan* and *Nacer* his ſonnes, retayning *Buaçon* and *Mançor* who were younger, with him, whom he afterwards married with two of his daughters. The Lord of Dabuda, called *Muley Amar*, a Prince of the bloud of the Merins, beeing ſum-
E moned by the Xeriffe to come and do him homage, hee durſt not, but leauing his houſe he retired with his family to Melille in Gared vpon the ſea.

Fez won by the Xeriff. Mahomet.

Buaçon Lord of Velez beeing fled from Fez, as we haue ſayd, had an intent to flie vnto the Chriſtians, and treated with Don *Aluar de Baçan* to yeeld himſelfe vaſſall to the Emperour *Charles*, and to put *Pignon de Velez* into his hands. But ſtaying long for an anſwer from D. *Aluar*, the xeriffe, (it may be aduertized of that which he pretended to do) ſent for him to come to Fez with aſſurance. The which hee promiſed to do, and put him ſelfe vppon the way, but he turned on the left hand, and retired to Melille, where he continued his practiſes with the Prince *Maximillian*, who gouerned Spaine for the Emperour. He was to deliuer Pignon de Velez to D. *Bernardin* of Mendoza, who was ſent ex-
F preſly to receiue it: but the Captaine that was in it, would not deliuer it, whereofore hee paſt with D. *Bernardin* to Malaga, and from thence to *Maximilian*, who hauing referred him vnto the Emperour, hee went to him into Germany, but to no purpoſe: for they did not truſt him. In the end he addreſſed himſelfe to D. *Iohn* king of Portugall, who gaue him mony and fiue Carauels, in which he embarked 1500. ſouldiers Portugals, meaning to land in Affricke, at a place called las Aluzemas: but hee was ſurprized by *Salharais*,

Gouernour of Alger, who had ſome intelligence of theſe Carauels, who aſſayled them with foureſcore Galleots, tooke them, and carried them to Alger, with all the Chriſtian ſouldiers, notwithſtanding any thing that *Buaçon* could pleade, who ſayd, that hee had brought them for his ſeruice, that by their ayde hee might enter into the Eſtate of Fez, from whence the Xeriffe, their common enemie, had chaſed all their houſe and family by force: but hee could get nothing from *Salharrais* at that time but reproches, that hee ſhould bee aſhamed, beeing a Mahometane, to haue recourſe vnto Chriſtians in his affaires, rather then vnto Turkes: yet notwithſtanding afterwards, hee not onely deliuered theſe Portugall ſouldiers, but came himſelfe with the forces of his Gouernement to ayde *Buaçon* to recouer the Realme of Fez: for it happened, that the Xeriffe hauing greater deſſeignes, and aſpiring to the Empire of all Affricke, made an enterprize vppon the Towne of Tremeſſen, which was a ſtore-houſe for the Turkes, where they had a Gouernour and a Garriſon, ſending his three eldeſt ſonnes *Harran*, *Cader*, and *Abdalla*, to whome it was yeelded without reſiſtance. *Abdalla* remayned there with a good Garriſon, but hee ſtayed not long till hee was inueſted by *Salharrais* with a mightie armie, by whome hee was vanquiſhed going foorth to fight with them, notwithſtanding that the father had ſent him a ſupply of eight thouſand horſe, vnder the commaund of *Cader* and *Abderramen* his Brethren, who were the cauſe of this loſſe, by their accuſtomed iarres and diſſentions: for beeing breethren by diuers mothers, they had alwaies ſome quarrell a foote, and could not agree in this important action. *Cader* was ſlayne in this conflict, beeing not ſuccoured by *Abderramen*, and *Abdalla* (ſore wounded) was forced to retire in diſorder.

Bahami an old Captaine, and Couſin to theſe young Xeriffes, thinking to reprehend *Abderramen* for the fault which hee had committed, vſing ſome ſharp and manly words vnto him, hee wounded him in the arme with his ſword; whereof hauing afterwards complayned vnto the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, hee was ſo incenſed againſt his ſonne, as ſome thought hee was poyſoned within a moneth after, with the fathers conſent: ſo in a ſhort time three of the Xeriffes ſons dyed: for *Mahomet Harran* the eldeſt, who was appoynted Succeſſour to the Realmes of Marroc and Fez, and had aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt of Tremeſſen, returning afterwards to Fez, he dyed of ſickneſſe. In the meane time the Xeriffe had newes that the Inhabitants of the Mountaine Nefuça, called otherwiſe Derenderen, a people ſubiect to rebellion, were reuolted. They had mutined before, by the perſwaſion of a Preacher of the ſect of Mohaydin, called *Cidi Abdalla*: but now the Xeriffe imputed this tumult to the practiſes of *Muley Hamet* the diſpoſſeſſed king of Fez and his children: but more vppon a conceipt, then any wel-grounded reaſon: ſo as incenſed with a violent paſſion, hee ſent his ſonne *Abdalla* to Marroc, where this poore King was, with charge to cut off his head, and there was commaundement ſent to *Habis*, Gouernour of Sus, to do the like to his two ſonnes *Cazeri* and *Nacer*, who liued at Tarudant, the which was executed.

Cruelty of the Xeriffe Mahomet.

The Rebels of Derenderen had annoyed the Xeriffe, beeing animated by their Preacher *Cidi Abdalla*, and now they ſhewed themſelues no leſſe obſtinate. It is a mightie people, but barbarous, ſuperſtitious, and diſloyall, inhabiting this long mountaine, which was ſtrong and of hard acceſſe, hauing with in it ſpatious valleys well tilled, carrying grayne, oyle, and other fruites, which is a branch of the great Atlas, in the territory of Marroc: who made ſuch reſiſtance againſt the Xeriffe, who came againſt them in perſon, as after that he had loſt a great number of his men, he reſolued to leaue them vntill another time.

The towne of Tremeſſen beeing recouered by the Turkes, *Buaçon* Lord of Velez, who was at Melille, came againe to intreate *Salharrais*, that he would not ruine his good fortune, but deliuer the Chriſtian ſouldiers which hee detayned, paying him ſome reaſonable ranſome. *Salharrais* beeing incenſed againſt the Xeriffe, and thinking that if hee ſhould aſſayle him after the route of his ſonnes, hee would bee ſo amazed, as hee might diſpoſſeſſe him of Fez, requiting him with the like as he had attempted to do againſt him at Tremeſſen, he granted *Buaçon* his requeſt, and moreouer offered to furniſh him with a good number of Turkes, hauing agreed vppon ſome pay, and he himſelfe went with him

him in perſon. *Buaçon* promiſed to pay him a thouſand doublons of gold daily, for forty daies together, and gaue him caution in the towne of Alger: Hee agreed alſo that *Salharrais* ſhould carry away all the mouables, iewels and treaſor which ſhould bee found in Fez, belonging to the Xeriffe.

This accord being made, the Turke went to field with foure thouſand men of his nation, and twelue peeces of ordinance, giuing order to other troupes to come and ioyne with him at Tremeſſen; the Lord of Dubude of the bloud of the *Merins*, came alſo with ſome ſouldiars. It may be the newes hereof made the Xeriffe retire from purſuing the Montaynards of Derenderen, ſooner then he would haue done, and to put himſelfe into Fez, whether all his forces being come, hee went to incounter the Turkes vpon the Marches of Tezar, whereas the Realme of Fez confines with that of Tremeſſen, and there attended his comming many daies: but ſeeing his long ſtay, and his victuals being cut off by *Buaçons* children, who held the paſſages, and had their retreats into the mountaines of Matagara, hee was forced to retire. *Xeriffe* was no ſooner parted from Tezar, but *Salharrais* arriued, to whom the Inhabitants opened their gate, and receiued a garriſon of Turkes: then cauſing his army to march againſt Fez, hee went along the foote of the mountaines, being coaſted by the *Xeriffs* army which held the plaines, and was much ſtronger then he in horſe. *Salharrais* was a captaine, and could imbrace all occaſions, ſo as one day hee ſurprized the *Xeriffs* reereward, led by *Abdalla*, his ſonne, and put it to route, and made him to abandon his munition and baggage, ſo as the *Xeriffe* was forced to goe haſtily to Fez, marching all that day and the night following without any ſtay, and then *Salharrais* lodged preſently vpon the bankes of the riuer Sebu.

Turkes goe to beſeege Fez.

Xeriffe Mahomet forced to flie.

The Inhabitants of Fez haue a preuiledge, that if their King ſuffers the enemy to approach within halfe a league of the city, as being to weake and wanting meanes to reſiſt him, they may open him the gates, and not bee taxed with treachery, and ſo they cauſe their Kings to ſweare at their comming to the crowne: For it is a great folly, ſay they, by a vaine, weake & vnſeaſonable loyaltie, to expoſe ſuch a city to the ſpoile, in ſupporting a Prince obſtinately, who is vnprouided of force and meanes to defend them. This priuiledge forced the *Xeriffe* to goe forth againe to fight with the Turkes army, and with his enemy *Buaçon*, and fearing that the captaine of the Turkes which hee had for his gard, would abandon him, and retire to *Salharra*, he cauſed his head to bee cut off.

Preuiledge of the inhabitants of Fez.

All the captaines and gouernors of Sus, Dara, Marroc, and the Prouinces of Fez, were in his army with their people, which ſhewed to bee foure ſcore thouſand horſe, of the which he ſent eight thouſand good horſe of Sus againſt the enemy, to fight with him at the paſſage of a riuer, and hee with the reſt of the army followed after, ſtretching it out vpon the riuer ſide, ſo as there was nothing but the riuer betwixt the two armies. *Salharrais* finding great difficulty in his paſſage, planted his ordinance, vpon the riuers ſide where there was a ford, and cauſed euery horſeman to take a Harguebuzier behind him, and the ordinance to play continually vpon the Xeriffs ſquadrons, ſo as hee paſt a great number of his ſhot in deſpight of them, who with admirable celerity caſt vp a kinde of rampar to defend them from the horſe, and ſhooting inceſſantly gaue meanes to the reſt of the Turkes horſe and foote to paſſe, neither could they bee forced to quit the place, which they had taken, notwithſtanding the many charges of the Xeriffs horſemen.

The Turkes army being paſt, they lodged that night as ſtrongly as they could. The next day they marched towards the city, whereas the Xeriffs army made great reſiſtance, the which was diuided into three battaillons, and hauing made a trench vpon the great high way, planted with ordinance, they could not paſſe; but *Salharrais* making a ſhew as if he would goe and beſeege the bourrough of Zefere with part of his army, whereas the Xeriffs victuals and munition lay, hee cauſed his ſonne *Abdalla* to leaue a little hill called Dardubag, which hee had in gard, of the which hee himſelfe, with the other part of the Turkiſh army, ſeized inſtantly, and then hee feared not the enemies horſe; the which could not then anoy him, the way being rough and full of ſtones. Notwithſtanding the Xeriffe charged the Turkes, but they of that nation and the renegados which were in his army, and of his gard betraied him; ſo as *Salharrais* Turkes got the aduantage,

and

Turkes make the Xeriffe retire.

and with' their ſhot diſperced their firſt ſquadrons: and put them to flight, wherefore A
the Xeriffe ſeeing that they of Fez that were with him began to wauer, and that moſt of
them retired towards the old city, hee reſolued alſo to retire himſelfe into new Fez, with
his ſouldiars of Marroc and Sus, in whom he did moſt relie, and the Turkes marching on
in good order, came and camped neere vnto the port called Bebelfetoh, whereas ma-
ny of the Inhabitants came vnto them, and Arabians that were friends to *Buaçon*, with
an intent to haue it opened vnto him. *Muley Abdalla* the Xeriffs ſonne, who had entred
the city by an other port, cauſed two peeces of ordinance to bee planted vpon the por-
tall of Bebelfetoh, which made many ſhot into the Turkes campe, and did them much
harme, but *Buaçan* and his friends brake open the gate, and made way for the army to B
enter.

Then there beganne a furious and bloudy conflict in the ſtreetes, where there died
many good men of either ſide, in the end *Abdalla*, who had no confidence in them of
Fez, abandoned it, and retired himſelfe into the caſtle of new Fez, paſſing by the ſuburbes
of Merz, where he reported vnto his father how all things had paſt in the great towne,

Fez abandoned by the Xeriffe to the Turkes.

who holding himſelfe not ſafe in new Fez, went to field, in a manner flying towards
Marroc, hauing aduiſed his wiues, his daughters and houſhold traine, to ſaue themſelues
as they could: abandoning his treaſors, iewels, and mouables (whereof hee
went alwaies well furniſhed) to them that could lay hold of it. Some eſcaped, others
were ſtaied and taken, and amongſt them two of the Xeriffs daughters, who had that day C
a notable loſſe. *Aliben Bubcar*, who was captaine of the fort of new Fez, held it, vntill
he thought that the Xeriffe was in ſafety, and then hee yeelded it to *Salharrais* by com-
poſition, his men going forth with their armes and horſes, and what goods they could
carry with them.

Fez taken by the Turkes.

The city of Fez being thus wonne, ſome captaines of the Turkes army, who hated
Buaçon, gaue *Salharrais* to vnderſtand that the Inhabitants of Fez did deteſt him, for that
hee was affected to the Chriſtians, and was proud, and of an ill diſpoſition. That they
murmured already againſt him, and gaue it out that they would neuer receiue him wil-
lingly for their King; and therefore hee ſhould binde them much vnto him, if hee gaue
them *Muley Bubcar*, one of the ſonnes of *Muley Hamet Oataz*, to whom by right the D
Realme did belong, and that it was their deſire. Vpon theſe reports and perſwaſions
Salharrais cauſed *Muley Bubcar* to bee proclaimed King of Fez, retayning *Muley Buaçon*
in the fort of new Fez well garded, which made the people to mutine: for whereas the
Turkes had ſaid that *Buaçon* was hated and reiected by the Inhabitants of Fez, it was a
meere ſlander, and the contrary did ſoone appeare, for they tooke armes for his ſake a-
gainſt the Turkes, ſo as *Salharrais* was forced (to pacefie this tumult) to ſend him vnto
them with an Alcaide, he promiſing to returne againe to accompliſh their conuentions.
Buaçon being brought into the city, caſt himſelfe into the Meſquite of Caruin, and
would not come forth, ſaying, that he had beene ill intreated by the Turkes, and in dan-
ger to be ſlaine by them, and therefore he would not fall againe into their hands. But E
the Alcaide, which did accompany him, gaue him ſo many reaſons, as hee returned with
him to *Salharrais*, who pacified him with good words and made him King of Fez: but
he condemned the Citizens to pay an ounce of gold for euery houſe, becauſe they had
ſeditiouſly taken armes againſt the Turkes: whatſoeuer paſt betwixt them afterwards,
it is certaine, that *Salharrais* departed very ill ſatisfied of King *Buaçon*, and returned from
this enterpriſe (where hee had gotten much honour and proffit) in ſuch a rage againſt
him, as he aduertiſed the Xeriffe, that he might boldly make warre againſt Fez when hee
pleaſed, aſſuring him that hee would neuer giue aide to *Buaçon*: It may bee hee was the
more incenſed, for that hauing ſent *Ya Haya* a Turke to Veles, to receiue the fort of Pip-
non, which it may be was an Article of their Conuentions, the captaine that was in it, F
would not yeeld it, but deliuered it vnto *Muley Mahomet* ſonne of *Buaçon*, and when the
Pirat demanded it of *Mahomet*, hee refuſed him, but it happened on a time that the Pi-
rat tooke *Mahomet* out of his fort, and intreated him ſo roughly, as hee yeelded vp
the place.

The Xeriffe *Mahomet* being chaſed from Fez, thinking that the towne of Meguineus,
would

A would be of great expence hee commanded his ſonne *Abdalla* who was in it, to abandon it, for the which hee repented himſelfe, hearing how much *Salharrais* was diſcontented with *Buaçon*: for this place was very commodious to make an enterpriſe vpon Fez, which hee preſently reſolued. But hee had reaſon to thinke how to keepe it from the Xeriffe *Hamet* his brother, who vpon the newes of this loſſe was returned to Tafilet, and had made himſelfe Maſter thereof, with an intent to attempt ſome great matter. He therefore reſolued to puniſh him in ſuch ſort, as hee ſhould neuer haue more cauſe to feare him, going himſelfe in perſon to beſeege him in Tafilet; and in the meane time he ſent an army againſt *Buaçon* the new King of Fez; giuing the charge thereof to his
B ſonne *Abdalla*; *Buaçon* for his part ſent his army to field, being led by *Muley Nacer* and *Muley Mahomet* his ſonnes: but theſe two brethren (the one beeing baſe) diſagreeing, they diuided their forces, and gaue *Abdalla* meanes to defeat *Mahomet*, and to make the other retire: which made *Buaçon* goe out of Fez with a great army, who charged *Abdalla* ſo furiouſly, as hee put his army to rout with great ſlaughter. In this battaile there was a race of Arabians cut in peeces, called Arrahamenes, whom the Xeriffe drew out of the country of Sus, and had placed them in the Prouince of Temecene, of the which there eſcaped not one.

Abdalla defeated by Buaſon.

The defeat of *Abdalla* was held ſecret by the Xeriffe, who did beſeege *Hamet* his brother in Tafilet, ſo as the beſeeged knew not any thing: but contrariwiſe they found meanes to haue it bruted in the towne, that *Abdalla* was a conqueror in Fez. Where-
C fore *Hamet* who had put himſelfe into that place, in hope to bee releeued by *Buaçon*, beleeuing that he had beene wholy defeated, and without hope of that which hee expected, he ſent *Zidan* and *Nacer* his ſonnes vnto their vncle, and yeelded himſelfe vnto his mercy: Who confined him at that time into an hermitage, but hee cauſed the heads of his Nephewes, to bee cut off, to free himſelfe of all feare; and hauing left a good garriſon in Tafilet, he tooke the way to Garciluin, and by that way entred into the Realme of Fez.

Mahomet the Xeriffe beſeegeth his brother Mahomet.

Buaçon ſeeing himſelfe thus obſtinatly purſued, went forth againſt the Xeriffe, where there was a bloudy battaile, in the which *Buaçon* was ſlaine vpon the place, and his army put to flight. *Nacer* his ſonne fled to Meſquineuz, to recouer the mountaines,
D his other ſonne *Mahomet*, entred into Fez, with fifty horſe onely, but the Citizens, who alwaies held with the ſtronger, let him know that he was not welcome: wherefore hee went alſo to Meſquineuz, where he found his brother *Nacer*, and ſo they paſt to Sala or Rabat vpon the Ocean ſea, where they imbarked to paſſe into Spaine, but they were taken at ſea by certaine Pirats Brittons. *Muley Buſcar*, ſonne to the deceaſed King *Hamet Oataz*, being in this battaile with *Buaçon*, fled to Tremeſſen, and from thence to Algier, where he died of the plague.

Buaſon King of Fez defeated and ſlaine.

Thus by this victory the Xeriffe was peaceable King of Fez, and all the Xecques of the people, and Gouernors of the Realm, came and yeelded themſelues vnto him. Being vn-
E able to force them of the mountaines, or beeing loath to blemiſh the glory of ſo great a conqueſt by ſome ſiniſter accident, in ſeeking to ſubdue thoſe baſe deſperate people, he made an accord with them, that they ſhould yeeld him a certaine homage. Being then come to Marroc, he cauſed his brother *Hamet* to bee brought thether, with the children that he had remayning, giuing them in gard, to *Ali Ben Bucar*, and then he went towards Tarudant to make a marriage (for hee was accuſtomed euery yeere to marry ſome faire gentlewoman) and therefore hee carried two of his daughters with him, with a great traine of women, ſome troupes of horſe, and twelue hundred Turkes of his gard; but he came not thether, being ſlaine by the way, by treaſon, vpon this occaſion. Hee had a priuate hatred with *Haſſen Baſha*, ſonne to *Haradin Barbarouſſe* (but the cauſe is not well knowne) ſo as *Haſſen* ſought all meanes to bee reuenged. Being at Algier there
F came a Turke vnto him, who had heard ſpeake of their quarrell, his name was alſo *Haſſen*, a wicked and a murtherous man, who made offer to kill the Xeriffe, and hauing receiued money, and great promiſes from the Baſha, he came to Fez, whereas *Abdalla* was viceroy for his father; whom hee gaue to vnderſtand that hee had fled from Algier, for that *Haſſen* Baſha would haue put him to death vpon certaine falſe reports, beſeeching him to receiue him into his ſeruice. *Abdalla* who did not much loue the Turkiſh nation,

Fez wholy ſubdued to the Xeriffe.

would

would not entertaine him, but willed him to goe to Marroc to his father the which hee A
did, where he was receiued, and ſoone after made captaine of the Turkes of his gard,
who were all diſcontented, and ready to mutine, for that they had beene aboue a yeere
without their pay, the which they had often demanded of the treaſorers, and were diſ-
dainefully reiected, with iniuries, as it it is the cuſtome of that kinde of people: ſo as
when the Xeriffe beganne his voyage to Tarudant, they were much incenſed. The
Turke *Haſſen* taking this fit occaſion to execute his deſeigne, increaſed their diſcontents
all he could, ſo as he grew confident to treat with ſome of the moſt mutinous of his
garde, to kill the Xeriffe, and to ſpoile his treaſure, ſhewing them how eaſily they might
eſcape by Numidia, and get to Tremeſſen, before they ſhould haue meanes to purſue B
them.

This practiſe ſucceeded for the execution of the murther, but they could not eſcape
as they expected. The Xeriffe being at the paſſage of Mont Atlas, which is called Bi-
bone, at a place named Algier, he would take a view of his gards, who for this cauſe were
armed on horſebacke, and in battaile, *Haſcen* who was their captaine, lighting from his
horſe, drew neere vnto the Xeriffe, who was at the entry of his tent, as if hee had ſome
thing to ſay vnto him, being followed by foure other his confederats; being neere, and
ſeeing him attentiue to ſome other thing, the Treaſorer who was not farre off, ſeeing
Haſcen lay his hand vpon his Cymitere, he cried out to Xeriffe that he ſhould beware of
himſelfe: the Xeriffe thinking to flie into his tent, was intangled among the cords and C
Xeriffe Mahomet murthered. fel, then the traitor cut one of his hamſtrings, & the reſt made an end of murthering him,
killing his chiefe Treaſorer (whom they hated) with him. This murther beeing done,
it was publiſhed by the Turkes themſelues, with curſes againſt the dead. Many of the
troupes which followed in this voyage, ioyned with them, ſo as *Haſcen* was preſently
ſtrong and ſo feared, as marching towards the Prouince of Sus, whereſoeuer hee paſt,
they did him honour and ſeruice, and being come to Tarudant they eaſily made them-
ſelues Maſter of the towne, finding it abandoned by *Muley Odman*, one of the Xeriffes
children, and there they gathered together the treaſure that was found in his, and his
two daughters traines, with that which they found in the caſtle of Tarudant. Thus
periſhed the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, who from little was aduanced to one of the greateſt D
Diſpoſition of the Xeriffe Mahomet. principalities in the world, built vpon the rapine of three mighty and ancient realmes,
wherevnto hee had annexed many other Prouinces, by notable murthers, and incredi-
ble effuſion of bloud, with an intent to make himſelfe Monarke of all Afrike, high-min-
ded, proude, a diſſembler, a parricide to reigne alone, couetous, without loue, iniurious
and contemning all other men: againſt whom God raiſed a petty enemy, when as hee
thought to enioy all his conqueſts, and that he glorified himſelfe, who ſlue him in
the midſt of his guards, yea and by them; ſo variable and inconſtant is worldly great-
neſſe. The murtherers liued not long vnpuniſhed. They found amongſt the priſoners
whom they deliuered at Tarudant, a Moore iſſued from the race of the Iewes, who was
called *Gaſi Muſa*, and had beene ſuperintendant of the Engins of ſugar which the Xe- E
riffe held in that Prouince, and was then reſtrained vpon his accounts.

He was knowne by the Turkes to be a man of great iudgement and vnderſtanding, and
that might giue them good aduice, wherefore they honoured him with the Office
of Iuſtice Major of the towne and country of Sus. Being doubtfull what to doe, hee
aduiſed them to fortifie themſelues in that great and rich city, where they might
well defend themſelues for a time, vntill that ſuccors came vnto them from Algier
by Numidia, but *Haſcen* who was rich, could not ſee the happineſſe to returne vnto
the Baſha, whom he had ſerued ſo wiſhfully, and therefore he reſolued to depart with
his booty, and ſeeke to get through the deſarts to Tremeſſen, the which they might haue
eaſily done, if they had taken this reſolution ſooner: for hauing ſpent about 3. weekes in F
Tarudant, they might wel thinke they ſhould find incounters, hauing ſo long a iorney to
goe, which they ſhould not be able to reſiſt: *Gazi Muſa* ſeeing that the Turke ſhould bee
no longer his Lord, he ſecretly gaue intelligence to *Muley Odman* (who was in the
Prouince of Dara, and leauied men, both Africains and Arrabians his friends) of the de-
parture and voiage which *Haſcen* and his coufederats made, who carried away his ſiſters

and

and the treaſor of the Realme, thinking by this aduice to bee freed from the remainder of his accompts. Theſe theeues were not two iourney from Tarudant, but they found themſelues charged, and ſo preſt as they were forced to looſe both prey and life, for they were all ſlaine. So the virgins and the treaſor was recouered, and Tarudant alſo. This happened in the yeere 1557.

At Marroc the Alcaide *Ali Aben Bubcar* remained Gouernor, who had beene a good ſeruant to the Xeriffe that was dead, and was much affected to *Abdallo* his ſonne. Hee vſing wordly wiſdome, hearing how his Maſter had beene ſlaine, not attending any order or commandement from the new King *Abdalla*, ſlue the old Xeriffe *Hamet*, who had beene giuen in gard, leaſt the people ſhould force him to deliuer this *Hamet*, to ſeat him in the royall Throne, where they had ſeene him ſome yeeres before, the which might hinder *Abdalla* who was then at Fez, deſyring to ſettle him quietly in the realme as he did. Among the Princes which this Gouernor ſlue, there were two ſonnes of *Muley Zidan* and of *Mariana* daughter to the deceaſed Xeriffe *Mahomet*, who found an eaſie meanes to be reuenged, for after the death of *Muley Zidan* her husband, ſhe had retired to *Abdalla* her brother, whom ſhe gouerned whileſt he liued with great fauour, ſo as *Ali Ben Bubcar* had a moſt dangerous enemy of her about the King. *Abdalla* ſucceeded in the realmes of Marroc, Fez and Tarudant, with their appurtenances, without any contradiction: The father had ordained by a ſollemne will, made in a Parliament or Conuocation held expreſly, that the eldeſt of his ſonnes ſhould ſucceed in all his Eſtates, Lands, and Siegneuries, as King, and after him his other brethren vnto the laſt that ſhould be lyuing, according vnto the prerogatiue of their ages, and that not any one of their children ſhould come vnto the crowne, during the life of any one of the vncles, which Order *Abdalla* in the courſe of his reigne thought to breake, in fauour of his ſonne *Mahomet*, and thereupon *Mariana* tooke occaſion to be reuenged of *Ali* who had ſlaine her children, and procured his ruine by this meanes. This woman who was of a great ſpirit, gouerned the King abſolutly, yea ſhe preſumed to meddle in his greateſt and moſt ſecret affaires, and to giue him counſell, which he tooke not ill, but did conferre willingly with her. Hauing then a deſſeigne to breake this teſtamentary Ordonance made by his father, and to leaue the realme to his eldeſt ſonne called *Mahomet*. She tould him that ſhe found he ſhould haue ſome contradiction, if he ſhould die during the life of *Ali Ben Bubcar*, who was vizir of the realme, a cheefe dignity next vnto the King, yea of ſo great authority as in the election of Kings, the voice and approbation of the vizir was very neceſſary; for according to the cuſtome of the Moores, all their Kings were choſen after this manner, notwithſtanding any Ordonances and diſpoſitions which Kings in their life time may make to the contrary; and ſhe told him that this vizir would ſeeke to maintaine his fathers wil, for ſhe ſaw him much affected to one of his brethren, ſhe ſpeake it not by ſurmiſe: for diſſembling the hatred ſhe bare vnto *Ali* (as ſhee was very cunning) and diuiſing often with him of diuers affaires, and euen of this, as if it had beene a deſire of her owne onely, and no intent of the Kings, ſhe diſcouered his heart ſufficiently, by his diſcourſe and anſwers, being to open and free for a Moore. Moreouer he was rich and mighty of himſelfe, for he was Xecq or Lord of a great people called Zaragana, and for his wiſdome and valour, which were great, he was held ſo neceſſary for the realme, as the King ought to reſpect him, and gouerne his affections according to his counſels. The King in truth did much eſteeme him, and knowing that the election of his ſucceſſor depended of the vizirs voice and nomination, he did entertaine and gratifie *Ali*, thinking in time to bind him by his bounty to ſecond his intentions. Conferring after with his ſiſter of this deſire which he had to leaue his realmes to *Mahomet* his ſonne, ſhe ſtill obiected vnto him the ſincerity or rather ſeuerity of his vizir *Ali Ben Bubcar*, ſeeking to incenſe the King againſt him: So as on a time ſeeing the King diſcontented at ſome thing that *Ali* had done, according to the duty of his charge, but againſt the Kings will, this cunning woman fell in ſpeech of the ſucceſſion ſaying, that hee aſſured himſelfe more of *Ali* then he ought, and namely in this buſineſſe concerning his ſonne *Mahomet*, perſwading him to certifie himſelfe by ſome tryall, and therefore ſhe aduiſed him to counterfit himſelfe ſicke for ſome daies, and not to ſuffer any one to enter into his Chamber, if he were not called

Seruice raſhly performed.

Abdalla King of Marroc, Fez and Tarudant.

Teſtament of the Xeriffe Mahomet.

Vizir a dignity at Marroc.

Kings of the Moores elective.

called the which is not ſtrang among thoſe nations, whereas their Kings being out of war remaine whole monthes ſhut with their women, and no man ſees them, but ſuch as are called. During this fiction, the Vizir *Ali*, who loued the King and the Eſtate, came daylie to the pallace, morning and euening, inquiring of his health, yet could not bee admitted into his Chamber. *Mariane* talked often with him, and made him beleeue that the Kings ſickneſſe was very dangerous: who obſeruing her words and countenance, perſwaded himſelfe that he was dead, and that ſhe ſought to conceale it, ſo as one morning he intreated her to tell him the truth, which ſhould not be hidden from him; for if he were dead it were needfull to prouide an other King ſpeedily for the Eſtate, and that ſuch affaires could not admit delaies. Then *Mariane* ſeeing how this buſineſſe wrought, brought him into the Chamber, where he ſaw the Kings bed couered, and he ſtretched out and couered with a cloath, as if hee had beene dead, and ſo hee held him: Then ſhe ſaid vnto him, conſider *Ali* I pray you, ſeeing the King my Lord is dead, to worke ſo as his ſonne may be choſen King, as you know he much deſired. It is very fit anſwered *Ali*, that you women ſhould meddle with ſuch matters, what reaſon were it to chooſe a young man for King? It muſt not be, the Xeriffe *Mahomet* hath wiſely ordained, that the brethren ſhould ſucceed one an other, knowing that Kingdomes muſt be gouerned by men that are ripe of yeeres and Iudgement, and being ready to goe out of the Chamber to aſſemble the counſell, hee was amazed when he ſaw the King vp, who called him, and ſaid vnto him, that he thanked him much, for the good office he intented to his ſonne. *Ali* was ſo daunted, as not able to anſwere, nor to excuſe himſelfe with any reaſon, hee fled home to his lodging, where hauing taken the habit of a woman, he commanded a ſeruant of his to bring him two horſes to a certaine place where he would attend them, and ſodainely departed, with an intent to goe out of the realme. Being in that place, ſet at the foote of an oliue tree, attending his ſeruant, there paſt by two young Knights, which came from hunting, who ſeeing that *Ali* hid his face, thinking it had beene ſome leud woman, they came neere to ſee, and made him to vncouer himſelfe; knowing him, they doubted ſome miſchiefe, ſo as they carried him backe vnto the King, who cauſed his head to be preſently cut off. And thus was *Mariane* reuenged for the death of her children.

This matter being knowne, the Kings brethren and all they of the bloud diſperced themſelues, yea after that hee had cauſed *Muley Mahomet Aben Abdelcader* his Nephew, ſonne to his elder brother deceaſed, to be ſlaine at Meſquinez, whom he had married with *Lela Sophia* his ſiſters daughter, onely for iealouſie, for that hee was a wiſe and a valiant Knight, and much beloued of his ſubiects. His brethren and other kinſmen being gone out of the country, he did not care much to perſecute them. This *Abdalla* Xeriffe was the mightieſt King of Affrike, the moſt peaceable, and the moſt happy, if he had abſtayned for the bloud of his owne houſe. His dominions extended from Benais in the Negros country, whether the Prouince of Sus doth bound, which they call Remoto towards the South, vnto the North ſea, and from the Weſterne ſea, vnto the limits of Tremeſſen towards the Eaſt, in the which are comprehended foureteene great Prouinces. Hee did commonly entertaine three ſcore thouſand horſe, well paied, the which were thus diuided 15000. in the realme of Sus 25000. at Marroc, and 20000. at Fez: and out of theſe hee drew fiue thouſand horſe, which were his battaillon or Cornet: And moreouer hee had two thouſand Harguebuziers on foote, Chriſtians renegados, and fiue hundred on horſe-backe; with a thouſand Harguebuziers of Sus for the gard of the towne of new Fez, which is the Kings pallace, and as bigge as a good towne. Hee gaue pay to all theſe ſouldiers as well in peace as warre, beeing paied euery foure monthes: when he had any enterpriſe, if need were, he aſſembled all his trained bands, and moreouer did entertaine what Arabians and Africans he pleaſed, lyuing in his countries, vnder a certaine vaſſellage, and paied them for the time they ſerued. He reigned ſeuenteene yeeres, and ordained *Mahomet* his ſonne to be heire to thoſe their realmes, and to all his treaſure, who beganne to perſecute his vncles, hauing three yet lyuing: that is, *Abdelmumen*, *Abdelmelech*, whom the Spaniards call *Muley Moluc*, and a baſtard called *Hamet*.

Dominions of Abdalla King of Fez and Marroc.

Abdelmumen

A *Abdelmumen* was ſlaine at Tremeſſen, by a murtherer who ſhot at him being at his prai-
ers in a Moſquee; *Hamet* liued among the Alarabes, but *Muley Moluc* had firſt retired to
Alger, from whence hee did for a time ſollicit the King of Spaine, by the meanes of D.
Rodrigo Alonſo Pimentel, viceroy of Valencia, to aſſiſt him to anoy *Abdalla* his brother,
who ſought to depriue him of his right, but ſeeing it was in vaine, he paſt to Conſtan-
tinople, where hauing complained of the iniuſtice was done him by his brother, hee
continued in *Selims* ſeruice, ſeeking all occaſions to giue a teſtimony of his valour,
and to make him willing to aide him to recouer the realmes of Fez, Marroc, and Taru-
dant, which did belong vnto him, and were vſurped by *Mahomet* the ſonne of *Abdalla*,
B his Nephew. He had beene in the warres which the Turkes had againſt the Venetians
and the confederats, and at the recouery of Tunes, and the fort Goulette, where hee had
carried himſelfe ſo valiantly, as by the report of *Sinan Baſha*, the Sultan *Selim* held him
worthy to be aſſiſted and fauoured, ſending him backe into Afrike, with letters of fauor
and commandement to his Lieutenants, to giue him what ayde they could; ſo as hauing
by this meanes gatheted together a good army of Turkes and Moores his friends, and
ſome Arabians which his brother *Hamet* brought vnto him, he came vpon his Nephew
Mahomet, and gaue him three defeats, the laſt whereof was admirable; for *Mahomet* had
three ſcore thouſand horſe, and tenne thouſand foote, and 360. peeces of ordinance, yet
he diſpoſſeſt him quite, and chaſed him out of the realmes of Fez and Marroc, and their dependances. It is this *Mahomet*, which did incite D. *Sebaſtian* King of Portugal to paſſe
C into Affrike, whoſe misfortunes we muſt now relate.

Mahomet expelled by Moluc.

D. Sebaſtian the ſixteenth King of Portugal, alone of that name.

DOn *Sebaſtian* King of Portugal had beene bred vp ſince the death of King *Iohn* the third (being but three yeeres old) vnder the gouernment of Queene *Catherine* his
D grandmother, and of his vncle D. *Henry* the Cardinal, who were his tutors, and Gouer-
nors of the realme, who bred him vp in delights and ſuperfluous pompe, in ſteed of that commendable ſimplicity of his predeceſſors: wherefore being twenty yeeres old, putt vp with thoſe vanities, being ſtrong of body, of a couragious minde, full of ouerwening, (a natural vice in Portugals) and not content with his owne Dominions, he reſolued (as it were by force) to alter the quiet of his realme, and to make triall of his valour, to his owne ruine, and of the crowne of Portugal: for not meaſuring his owne forces, hee would needs (without any conſtraint, and contrary to the aduice of Princes, which were allied vnto him, and his moſt faithful friends) meddle in the warres and quarrels of the Xeriffes of Afrike: the chiefe blame whereof was imputed to the Ieſuits, to whom Queene *Catherine* had giuen him in charge to frame his affections and iudgement.
E Theſe fathers who were in great credit, and well prouided for in Portugal, beeing tired with their long peregrinations to the Eaſt Indies, where they are bound to procure the ſoules health of the Barbarians, with whom the Portugals doe trade; deſired much that there might bee ſome occaſion offred to ſet footing into Afrike, which was neere, by ſome enterpriſe of warre: entertayning this young King in this humor, who to bee ready when time ſhould require, made certaine legions or trained bands on foote, in Lisbone and other townes, cauſing them to bee inrowled, and armed with pikes, and harguebuzes, and ſome of them to bee drawne once a weeke out of Lisbone to bee trained.

Portugal. 5

D. Sebaſtian firſt of that name King of Portugal.

D. Sebaſtian bred vp by the Ieſuits.

F In the yeere 1574. he had an ytching deſire (as I haue ſaid) to ſee the skirmiſhes which were daily made betwixt the garriſons of Ceuta and Tanger, & the bordring Moores, he paſt the ſtraight with ſome companies of ſoldiers, ſaying that he went only to viſit thoſe places: Being arriued in thoſe countries hee diſcouered his owne weakeneſſe, hauing a deſire to do more then he ſpake, and being yong & without experience thought to effect more then hee did. Being returned to Lisbone, he did ſtill meditate vpon ſome warre,

Youth of D. Sebaſtian.

eſpecially in thoſe parts, and in this deſire hee did things nothing befitting a King; A
practiſing amongſt the common people, to the end, ſaid he, to bee better accuſtomed to
the toyles of warre. He thought that a happy occaſion was offred, hearing that *Muley*
Moluc, or *Abdelmelech* was come with Turkes to aſſaile *Muley Mahomet* his Nephew,
to whom he preſently ſent to make offer of his forces if he had need, but the Moore (who
was no diſcreeter then hee) thanked him, ſaying that he was ſtrong enough to repulſe
Muley Moluc, and to ruine him, whereof hee repented himſelfe afterwards; for hauing
beene vanquiſhed and diſpoſſeſt, he was forced to come to intreaties. This Moore after
his defeats, fled with ſuch as would follow him, hauing ſome iewels and other wealth,
vnto certaine places called Montes Claros, which is, a ſauage country, but finding B
Mahomet flies to King Philip for refuge. himſelfe neither ſafe there, nor in a place fit to negotiat, hee went to Pegnon de Veles,
caſting himſelfe into King *Philips* armes, for hee was aſhamed to haue recourſe to him
of Portugal, whoſe offers hee had refuſed. Yet hee was forced to come vnto him, for
he found not King *Philip* diſpoſed to deale in that buſineſſe. King *Sebaſtian* who de-
ſired nothing more then to goe to the warre in Afrike, granted him whatſoeuer hee
could demaund, and did eaſily credit the promiſes and bragges of this Moore, who
ſaied, that as ſoone as euer they ſhould ſhew themſelues in field on the other ſide of
the ſtreight, the whole country would turne vnto him; for *Abdelmelech*, ſaied he, had no
friends, and was in a manner vnknowne: the which was found falſe, for after the victory
he had beene receiued and aknowledged with great ioy and contentment, by them of C
Fez and Marroc, as their lawfull King, as well in fauour of the teſtamentary decree of the
old Xeriffe *Mahomet* his father, as for that he was held amongſt the Xeriffes to bee moſt
valiant, and much regarded for his mildneſſe and humanity, beeing alouer of Iuſtice,
and temperate, and modeſt in his behauiour, vertues which grace a Prince, and which
wanted in *Mahomet*, the effects whereof *Moluc* had made his ſubiects to taſt: for he pre-
ſently ordred the affaires of the Realme to their content; and for that the Turkes which
he had brought with him, committed many inſolencies (as men accuſtomed to all ex-
ceſſe, lying in the garriſons of Barbary, farre from their Sultan) hee freed himſelfe, and
ſent them away well ſatisfied. So as being reſpected and beloued of euery man, they
came and offred their ſeruices voluntarily vnto him; and ſent him rich preſents from all D
parts of his dominions; yet ſome Chriſtian Princes were glad to haue his friendſhip,
Muley Moluc a friend to Chriſtians. and among others King *Philip*, whom he did alſo honour, ſo as many Chriſtians began
to frequent his Court and countries, to whom he ſhewed both fauor and bounty. One
of his chiefeſt cares was to prouide for the ſucceſſion of the realme, wherefore he cauſed
the Noblemen, townes and ſtates, to ſweare fealty and homage vnto *Muley Hamet* his
baſe brother, according to their fathers teſtament, notwithſtanding that he had a ſonne:
the which was held by them to be a generous act, for the which there were great feaſts
of ioy made at Fez, Marroc, Tarudant and other townes. Whileſt that *Mahomet* beg-
Mahomet Xeriffe craues aide from Portugal. ged ſuccors of the King of Portugal by his Deputies; hee liued at Ceuta, a fort belong-
ing vnto Portugal, beeing in Afrike; the Gouernor whereof beeing aduertiſed of his E
Maſters diſpoſition, did him honour, attending an anſwere, the which he had ſoone, and
according to his deſire.

But the King D. *Sebaſtian* beeing aduertiſed by ſome that were about him, that hee
might finde himſelfe too weake for ſo great an enterpriſe, hee tooke counſell to ſol-
licit King *Philip* his vncle to bee of the partie, and to the end they might negotiat
ſuch an action with more efficacy, hee ſent *Peter d' Alcaſſoua* a fauorite of his, to craue
an enterview at Guadalupe vpon the confines of the realmes of Caſtile and Portu-
gal, who returned with a good anſwere; whereas theſe two Kings met to their great
contents, namely of Don *Philip*; there was ſome treaty of a future marriage be-
King Philip diſwads D. Sebaſtian from the voiage of Afrike. twixt Don *Sebaſtian*, and one of the daughters of Caſtile; but comming to confer of the F
warre of Afrike, which was the chiefe ſubiect of their meeting, King *Philip* diſwaded him
from it, as well for that he had a peceable treaty with *Muley Moluc*, as alſo for that he ſaw
ſuch a war had need of a more experienced commander then D. *Sebaſtian* was, & better
ſoldiers then the Portugals of thoſe times: for ſince the time of King *Emanuel*, that nati-
on had not done any thing memorable in warre, at the leaſt in Europe, or the countries

confyning

confyning vpon Europe, yet hauing well defended their forts at the Eaſt Indies. The concluſion was that King *Phillip* aduiſed him not to meddle in the quarrels of thoſe Princes Moores, but whatſoeuer hee did not to goe in perſon to thoſe warres. Being importuned by D. *Sebaſtian* to contribute men and ſhipping to this enterpriſe, hee excuſed himſelfe vpon the great affaires he had in the Low countries, and the iealouſie he had continually of the French, but eſpecially of the Turke, who threatned Sicile and Italy, and had already taken Goulette and Tunes, being ignorant, what this new Sultan might practiſe againſt him; yet being intreated and coniured by D. *Sebaſtian* not to abandon him in his firſt enterpriſe, he would not leaue him diſcontented, but promiſed in caſe the Turke did not arme againſt him, to furniſh him with fifty Gallies and fiue thouſand ſouldiars, ſo as he for his part ſhould entertaine tenne thouſand, and aduiſing him, what warre ſoeuer he made in Afrike, not to abandon the ſea ſhore, and that he ſhould attempt the recouery of Alarache, and ſo proceed by degrees along the Ocean, and then they parted. King *Philips* aduiſe was very good, and the Portugals haue not yet any cauſe to complaine.

Aduice of king Philip to D. Sebaſtian.

After that he had heard his Nephew ſpeake, and diſcouered his heat and obſtinacy, he fell to diſcourſe of the inconueniences that might fall vpon him, and began to thinke of his affaires, as if the royall line of Portugall failed, and to ſeeke out what pretenſions he might haue, were they cleere or doubtfull, and from that time he reſolued, that if Don *Sebaſtian* ſhould chance to die in this warre, not to ſuffer any other to ſeize vpon the Realme. The young King of Portugal being returned to Lisbone, full of hope and ioy, he ſtill preſſed King *Philip* to grant him a free promiſe of his ſuccors, without that reſeruation, if the Turke ſhould ſend an army againſt him, the which he granted, and thereupon he thought it was but a leape to paſſe into Afrike with great troupes, which hee imagined to haue ready; but when they came to examine euery thing in particular, they neither found men, money, ſhipping, nor horſes of ſeruice, nor any thing that might ſerue to good vſe, ſo as to prouide all theſe things, which giue motion vnto armies, they were forced to ſpend all the yeere 1577. And without doubt if D. *Sebaſtian* had had his men and prouiſions ready, as it was concluded, King *Philip* would haue furniſhed the gallies and men which he had promiſed. D. *Sebaſtian* beganne then to taſt the difficulties which are found in making warre, eſpecially for Eſtates which haue enioyed a long peace, and whereas both Nobility and people, haue neglected armes (the which is an inexcuſable fault in them that gouerne common-weals, who ſhould know that it is one of the maine pillers of an Eſtate, eſpecially in this age full of iniuſtice.) Seeing then that Portugal at that time had neither captaines, ſouldiers, treaſure, victuals, armes, nor horſes, which are the eſſentiall parts to make a warre, into the which D. *Sebaſtian* would enter, he was forced to prouide all theſe things extraordinarily and in haſt, ſeeing that in time of peace they had not thought of it. Hee was therefore forced to write into Italy and Flanders, for ſome Regiments of old ſouldiars, the Prince of Orange (who was then in armes againſt the Prince of Parma Lieutenant to King *Philip*) ſent three thouſand Lanſquenets into Portugall, vnder the command of *Martin* of Burgongne, Lord of Tamberg. And it happened that the King of Spaine being perſwaded by Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, to ſuccor the rebels of Ireland againſt the Queene of England, there was a leauy of Italians made in the territories of the Church, the action went in the Popes name, but the King bare the charge, ſixe hundred of theſe vnder the command of a Licentious Engliſh man called *Thomas Stukeley* (who not long before had gotten from the Pope the title of Marquis of Ireland) being ſhipped at Ciuita-uecha, came into the riuer of Lisbone when they were preparing for this warre of Afrike. The King being deſirous to ſee them, ſtaied them, and intreated them to goe with him to this war. He was forced to ſeeke money by meanes that were vnpleaſing to the whole realme. The king tooke the portions of Widowes & Orfans, he made forced borrowings of the Clergy, Nobility, townes and commonalties, he laied an impoſition vpon ſalt: he made the new Chriſtians (as they call them) to buy the exemption of the confiſcation of their goods in caſe they ſhould fall into the Inquiſition, and hee vſed other exactions, which made all men complaine.

D. Sebaſtian vnfurniſhed of all things for the warre.

He ſtaied marchants ſhips. He enioyned ſome of the Nobility, to mount themſelues like men at armes, and many gentlemen to march with the foote, beeing ſo aduiſed, to better his new leauied Portugal footmen; of the which hee made foure regiments; In theſe preparations he ſpent the time vntill Sommer, being in the yeere 1578. And when as he thought to take ſhipping, hoping that King *Philip* would haue ſent him the gallies and men which he had promiſed, he found himſelfe deceiued, for that the Caſtillan (hauing changed his minde) excuſed himſelfe vpon new accidents which had happened that yeere, which would not ſuffer him to doe then, as he might haue done the yeere before: wherefore he had no aide from thence, but ſome voluntary aduenturers, and one very expert captaine in matters of Affrike, called *Francis* of Aldana. There was no man of any iudgement and experience in worldly affaires, but ſaw that this preparation was weake, and vnfitting for ſuch an enterpriſe, but there was no counſell, no perſwaſion, no difficulties, nor any other conſideration, could ſtay or diuert him. Hauing intreated the Cardinall his vncle to gouerne the realme in his abſence, he excuſed himſelfe vpon his age; whereupon he made foure Gouernors, that is, *George* of Almeida Archbiſhop of Lisbon, *Peter* de Alcaſſoua ſuperintendant of the treaſure, *Peter* de Sada and *Iohn Maſcaregnas*. They that did accompany him into Afrike were *Diego* de Soſa, Generall of the fleet at ſea, *Chriſtopher Tauora* Maſter of his horſe and captaine of the volontaries of Portugal, Don *George d' Alencaſtro* Duke of Auero, Don *Alphonſo* of Portugal Earle of Vimioſo, Don *Lewis Cotigno* Earle of Rodondo, Don *Alphonſo* de Norogna Earle of Myra, Don *Iames* brother to the Duke of Bragança, and his Nephew the Duke of Barcellos, *Vaſco* de Gama, and many others of the Nobility, but moſt of them in ſteed of good armes, were appareled in ſatten, inricht with imbroyderies, as if they had gone to ſome feaſt or marriage; yea there were ſome which had lined their tents and pauilions with ſatten.

Gouernors made by D. Sebaſtian going into Affrike.

Superfluity of the Portogalls going to the warre.

6

In this equipage D. *Sebaſtian* parted from Lisbon, being about foure and twenty yeeres old, the day after Saint Iohn Baptiſt, being the fiue and twentith of Iune, hauing aboue two thouſand ſailes in his fleet, but there were ſcarce 60. ſhips of warre, nor of defence, the beſt were fiue gallies and foure galleaſſes; he came to Cadiz, where he ſtaied fifteene daies, attending the Caſtillan ſouldiars of Andaluſia, which ſhould follow him by the ſuffrance of King *Philip*, which ſome ſaid were two thouſand; others, fifteene hundred or leſſe. He had a Legat from the Pope in his army, with ample power to giue pardons to all ſuch as went this voyage; then ſayling towards the coaſt of Afrike, they caſt anchor right againſt a place called the Almadraues, betwixt Tanger and Arzille. This place of Arzille was held by a Moore called Albacarin, who by the perſwaſion of *Muley Mahomet*, had conſigned it ſome few daies before vnto the Gouernor of Tanger. The King landed at Tanger, and there *Muley Xecq*, the ſonne of *Mahomet*, came vnto him, and ſoone after the father preſented himſelfe, and made a goodly oration of his rights and pretenſions, and of his friends and confederats which he had in the country, promiſing to giue the King three ports of the ſea, and other places in Barbary; and for a pawne hee gaue him his ſonne in hoſtage. King *Sebaſtian* being fed with theſe fictions, paſt with his army towards Arzille, hauing drawne all the old ſouldiars out of Tanger and Ceuta, and put new in their places, hauing firſt cauſed *Muley Xecq* to runne towards Mazagon, to ſee if any Moores would ioyne with him, but there was not any one that offred himſelfe, but to skirmiſh.

D. Sebaſtians Armie going into Affrike.

King *Abdelmelech* or *Muley Moluc* had beene aduertiſed of this preparation from Cadiz and Caſtile, and alſo from Portugal, and was much greeued at the enterpriſe of this young Prince, not that he feared him, or his forces, but for that he ſaw him abuſed, and alſo in regard he bare ſome affection vnto Chriſtians. What mooued him (ſaid hee) to be mine enemy, and to trouble himſelfe to take from me a realme which doth belong vnto me, yea by hereditary right, confirmed and allowed, to giue it to an other, and thereby not to benifit himſelfe nor any Eſtate in Chriſtendome? Doth hee thinke we are ſo vnprouided of ſouldiers, ſo faint hearted, ſo poore and needie, as wee cannot reſiſt him. I foreſee to my great griefe that the country of Barbary ſhalbe a tombe for the King of Portugal and his army, for God who is iuſt will neuer ſuffer that ſo

Muley Moluc ſpeech of D Sebaſtian.

vniuſt

A vniuſt an enterpriſe ſhall ſucceed. This Mooriſh King did often vſe theſe or ſuch like ſpeeches, as it hath beene ſince reported. But becauſe he would not bee found vnprouided, hee gathered together a mighty army, and went timely to field, vpon the Marches of the realme of Marroc, and hearing that the Portugal army had landed at Arzille with an intent to goe to Alarache, hee aduanced into the country of Temiſan tending to the Portugals fronter, and then beeing aduertiſed that the enemy hauing left the ſea ſhore, approched neere vnto Alcaçaquibir, and had already waded through a little riuer called Macazen, which falles into that of Luco, whereat hee wondred, know-
B ing well that there was ignorance and confuſion in the conduct of the King of Portugals army, and that it was not ſtrong ynough to leaue the ſea ſhore, and to march into the country. *Error of D. Sebaſtian.*

In truth this was one of Don *Sebaſtians* chiefe errors, who (meaning to goe to Alarache which ſtands vpon the ſea, and hauing his veſſels already at Arzille to carry him in an inſtant) would rather trie to lead his army by land, and enter farre into a country, which was vnknowne both to him and his, to finde a bridge which is vpon the riuer of Luco, the which is not to bee waded through in thoſe parts, and beeing betwixt his army and Alarache, ſtopped his paſſage. He marched vp the riuer of Luco, and made fiue lodgings, before he had any newes of *Muley Moluc* army, but ſuch as vncertaine: yet hee was ſo neere it, as he was ready to fall into it before he ſaw it, doing all things after his owne fantaſie, not ſuffring any one to contradict him: Hee had commanded
C *Diego* de Soſa, Generall of the fleet, to goe and attend him neere to Alarache, marſhalling his army to lead it by land, as wee haue ſaid; againſt the opinion of all men, yea of *Muley Mahomet*, who beganne now to deſpaire of his reſtitution. Some ſaid that hee had a great deſire to ſee his army in battaile, and to play the Sargent, and to trie if hee could order his ſquadrons, who like a young man and without experience, did not conſider that the conduct of armies is no childrens play, growing into choller when any one tould him, that a good captaine muſt haue a good foote, a good eye, and good eares, and that hee ſhould alwaies take the ſureſt way, how ſtrong ſoeuer his army were, ſo as no man durſt ſpeake vnto him. *Muley Moluc* came to Alcaſaquibir, and
D hauing there ioyned with his brother *Hamet*, hee made haſt to get the bridge, which the Portugalls ſought after, and there paſt his army, ſo as the two armies were ſo neere in a plaine champian field called Tamita, as if night had not approched, they might haue ſeene one an other that day. Then were they to reſolue what to doe; for they muſt of neceſſity fight or retire in diſorder to recouer the ſea, the one or the other was very dangerous, but a battaile moſt; for there was no compariſon betwixt their forces. King *Mahomet* made the greateſt inſtance to haue Don *Sebaſtian* retire with his army, although it were with ſome loſſe. Moſt of the captaines were of that aduice, eſpecially of ſtrangers, but howſoeuer, either in a picht field, or in a retreat, hauing ſo many horſes to purſue them, this army muſt of force be defeated, where-
E fore let vs leaue this teſtimony to poſterity of Don *Sebaſtian*, that hee made choiſe of the moſt honourable manner of dying. Hauing therefore put his army in battaile by the breake of day, hee beganne to march couragiouſly againſt his enemies. Hee had about 14000. foote, two thouſand horſe and three thouſand pioners; and there was double the number of boyes, whores, victuallers, carters and other vnproffitable people. But to deſcribe the King of Portugals army more particularly, it did conſiſt of three thouſand Lanſquenets vnder the Siegneur of Tamberg their Collonel, ſixe hundred Italians, vnder *Stukeley* an Engliſh man, two thouſand Spaniards vnder D. *Alphonſo d' Aguilar*, ſixe hundred ſouldiars drawne out of Tanger, 2050. aduenturers on foote, the reſt were peaſants of Portugall. Amongſt which footmen there were
F eight thouſand pikes. Moreouer fiue hundred horſe of Tanger, and 1500. as well of the gentlemen of Portugal, as of the Kings attendants. The ſouldiers were ill paied, the campe ill furniſhed, and all things managed with ſmall order. In *Muley Moluc* army there were 42000 horſe, Moores and Alarabes, carrying lances and targets after their manner, and aboue 15000. harguebuziers, whereof two thouſand were on horſebacke, ſixe and twenty peeces of ordinance well mounted, and expert gunners. *Reſolution of D. Sebaſtian.*

Moreouer there was great ſtore of victuals, his men well paied, and all orderly gouer- A
ned: All the diſcommodity thereof (the which in deed was very great) was the indiſpoſi-
tion of King *Moluc*, who hauing drunke milke to greedily, it quailed in his ſtomake,
Moluc falls very ſicke. wherevpon he fell extremely ſicke and died in the heat of the battaile, the which did not
hinder their victory. The armies approching neere together, *Moluc* made haſt to
ioyne, for he feared that ſome of his troupes would disband, and goe vnto the enemy,
and in truth there were ſome which left him, but not many, nor they whom he moſt di-
ſtruſted. *Hamet* his baſe brother was Generall of the horſe, *Doali* and *Mahomet Faba*
Captaines in Moluccs army. captaines of the Andaluſes and Chriſtians renigados: *Ozarin* of Ragouſa led the hargue-
buziers on horſebacke, and *Muſa* was captaine of his gard, with other good captaines B
7 Turkes. Theſe two armies ioyned on a Monday the fourth of Auguſt, it being paſt
Battaile in Affrike and death of D. Sebaſtian. noone, the canon hauing plaied a little, the Portugal army was preſently enuironed by
great numbers of the enemies horſe, but *Molucs* left point was furiouſly charged by
fiue hundred men at armes, led by the Duke of Auero, the which was put to route; there
were aboue ten thouſand Alarabes which fled aboue twenty leagues, to carry newes
that the Chriſtians were victors, which diſorder made *Muley Moluc* to get to horſe-
backe, ſo full of griefe, as he would haue gone thether to fight notwithſtanding his ſick-
neſſe: But the ſouldiers of his gard ſtaied him, and put him into his Litter, where with-
Death of Muley Moluc. in halfe an houre after hee died, but they concealed his death. The Duke of Auero fea- C
ring to ingage himſelfe to much, being not followed, ment to retire, after that he had
broken that part of *Molucs* army: but the Moores being aſhamed that ſo few horſe
had thus ſhaken them, they ſent a great number of harguebuziers, both of foote and
horſe-backe thether, who charged the Dukes troupe in flanke and behinde, and an other
troupe of Arabian horſe, came vpon them in front, ſo as they chaſed theſe men at armes
vpon their battalion of foote, and diſordred them very much: But they were preſently
repulſt by the King, Don *Sebaſtian*, who was mounted vpon a ſtrong horſe, and in greene
armor, being followed by the Duke of Auero, and a ſquadron of freſh horſe, who be-
ing charged by a great battailon of the Moores Caualary and ſhot, were ſoone put
to route, in which retreat their happened the like confuſion. And then the whole
body of *Molucs* army, with *Hamet*, fell vpon the diſordred troupes of King Don *Se-* D
baſtien, with ſuch fury, as they were no more able to reſiſt them.

In this charge the Duke of Auero was ſlaine, with many gallant gentlemen, the whole
army put to route and the ordinance abandoned. Yet King *Sebaſtian* charging *Hamets*
troupes made a breach in them, and forced them to turne their backes, but returning,
he ſaw all his battailons ouerthrowne, euen to that of *Mahomet*, which was the laſt and
neereſt to the riuer, with an incredible ſlaughter of his men; ſo as *Mahomet* being for-
Death of King Mahomet. ced to flie, thinking to paſſe the riuer of Mucazen, miſſing the foard, he was mired and
drowned with his horſe; but to increaſe all theſe miſeries, D. *Sebaſtian* was charged by
ſo great a number of Moores, as both he and all they that did accompany him, were
ſlaine; it is certaine that many left him, flying towards Arzille; but they fell into the E
like miſery, for being purſued by the victorious Moores, they were in a manner all cut
in peeces. There died aboue 12000. Chriſtians, amongſt the which the chiefe, with the
Defeat of the Portugal army, and death of D. Sebaſtian. King Don *Sebaſtien*, were the Duke of Auero, the Marquis of Aranda, the Biſhops of
Coimbra and Porto, the Popes Legat *Chriſtopher* de Tauora, and his brother *Aluaro Pe-*
res, *Alphonſo* of Portugal Earle of Vimioſo, *Lewis Cotigro* Earle of *Rodondo*, *Vaſco* de Ga-
ma Earle of Vidiguera, *Alphonſo* de Norogna Earle of Mira, *Iohn Lobo* Baron of Aluito,
Aluaro de Melo ſonne to the Marquis of Ferrera, *Roderigo* de Melo eldeſt ſonne to the
Earle of Tentugal, *Iames* brother to the Duke of Bragança, *Iohn* de Silueira eldeſt ſonne
to the Earle of Sorteilla, the captaines of the Regiments of ſtrangers, with others, ſo
as by this defeat many Noble families of Portugall were extinct. There were ma- F
ny more taken priſoners of all ſorts: The Duke of Barcellos, and the King of Spaines
Ambaſſador were deliuered without ranſome. Don *Anthony* (who was baſe ſonne to
the Infant Don *Lewis*) Prior of Crato, of the order of Saint Iohn, being taken priſoner,
eſcaped miraculouſly: ſome of the reſt redeemed themſelues, but the greateſt part re-
mained ſlaues in diuers places.

Hamet

A *Hamet*, a Conqueror, hauing gathered his people together, and cauſed a retreat to bee ſounded, did that night publiſh the death of his brother *Abdelmelech* or *Moluc*, whereupon he was receyued and acknowledged for King, but to the great griefe of moſt of them who knew him to be a man of little valour, and not like vnto the deceaſed.

The day following, the new King ſent ſome troupes to view the dead, where they found about 1500. of their men ſlaine, whome they buried in the ſame place: they alſo found the bodie of *Mahomet*, who had beene the cauſe of all theſe miſeries. The body of King *Sebaſtian* was found naked among a troupe of his men that were ſlaine, and knowne by two of his ſeruants, as they ſay, to whom they had promiſed libertie, if they could find
B him. D. *Sebaſtians* bodie was left (as it were *in depoſito*) at Alcaçar: but a while after the Xeriffe *Hamet* (renuing the allyance and peace which his brother had made with the king of Spaine) offered him this bodie, and to ſet his Ambaſſador, and the young Duke of Barcellos freely at liberty.

The King would not accept of D. *Sebaſtians* bodie, but intreated him to deliuer it vnto the Portugals, the which he did, and ſent it to the Gouernor of Ceuta, to whom *Andrew Gaſpar* of Corſica did conſigne it in *Hamets* name, and tooke an act thereof: *Hamet* cauſed the bodie of *Muley Mahomet* to be flead, and the skinne to be ſtuft with ſtraw, the which was carried in great ignominy throughout the Realme: and the bodie of *Abdelmelech*, was carried twenty leagues from Alcaçar, and buried with his anceſtors. Thus there dyed three Kings in that battell. The King of Spaine accepted of the deſiuerie of the duke
C of Barcelos, and of *Iohn de Sylua* his Ambaſſador, in requitall whereof he ſent a preſent to the Xeriffe in Iewelst o the value of an hundred thouſand crownes. Don *Sebaſtian* had raigned one and twenty yeares, one moneth, and ſixe and twenty dayes, and dyed beeing foure and twenty yeares old, ſixe moneths, and fifteene dayes.

D Sebaſtians body ſent to the Portugals.

The loſſe of this battell beeing knowne in Portugall, cauſed a generall ſorrow and mourning, but they were doubtfull for a time, who were ſlaine or priſoners, wherof they were certified by degrees, and this deſolation crept into priuate families, ſo as there were ſcarce any among the Nobilitie but felt of it. The Kings death was held doubtfull many yeares, ſome denying, that there was any certaine teſtimonie that his bodie had
D beene found among them that were ſlaine in the battell: ſaying, that the liberall offer which *Hamet* Xeriffe made to king *Philip*, who demanded it not, was a great preſumption, that he himſelfe doubted, that the bodie which he left at Alcaçar Quibir, was not Don *Sebaſtians*, yea, that he did not beleeue it: others haue preſumed to ſay, that they had ſeen him after the battell in Portugall in a diſguized habit, ſhrowding himſelfe for ſhame in religious houſes, and that beeing oppreſt with griefe for the death of ſo many of the Nobility, he had beene ſo ſorrowfull, as holding himſelfe vnworthie to raigne, he had returned into Affricke in a religious habit, and wandred among the Barbarians, who giue free paſſage to them that do penance for their ſinnes, of what religion ſoeuer they be: yet two and twenty yeares after this battell, there hath beene a man found ſo reſembling D.
E *Sebaſtian*, ſhewing markes vppon his bodie, naturall or accidentall, ſo like vnto thoſe wherewith this Prince had beene marked, and ſpeaking ſo confidently of things ſaid or done by this king from his infancie, to the time of this lamentable day, and of ſecret conferences and ſpeeches which he had had, as well with Ambaſſadours of forraine Princes, which had beene ſent vnto him, as other perſons yet liuing, which haue certified it; and diſcourſing ſo particularly and truly of the eſtate of Portugall at that time, as it hath made many doubtfull whether he were *Sebaſtian* or not, whom they held to haue beene ſlaine at the battell, in the plaine of Tamita in Affrick. You ſhall hereafter here it at large, and the man himſelfe ſpeake. But howſoeuer, Don *Sebaſtians* funerall was made at Liſbone with great ceremonie, at the end whereof they cryed *Reall*, *Reall*, for the King Don
F *Henry*. King *Philip* did alſo make a funerall pompe at Madrid, where it was obſerued, that the Duke of Alba ſayd, that the King ſhould go and do thoſe obſequies in our Ladies Church at Belem in Portugall, and not at Madrid, which made ſome thinke, that the king had diſouered his conceptions, and had reſolued touching the ſucceſſion of the Realme.

Death of Don Sebaſtian vnbeleeued of many.

Don

A

Don Henry the ſeuenteenth King of Portugall.

8 *Don Henry 17. king of Portugall.*

BY the deceaſe of Don *Sebaſtian*, the Crowne of Portugal ſeemed to belong to Don *Henry* his great Vncle, Cardinall of the title of foure Saints crowned: but King *Philips* Councell, (I know not by what law) found that the right which he pretended, was ſtronger then the Cardinals, yet he modeſtly gaue way to his preferment, and the rather for that ſeeing him old and broken, he thought he might with more content of the Portugals take his ranke afterwards without any difficulty or diſpute. Yet there were many other pretendants to this ſucceſſion, which might cauſe ſome troubles in the State, and therefore the firſt requeſt which the cittie of Lisbone made vnto Don *Henry* in the name of the whole country, was, that for the quiet and tranquilitie of the State, hee would bee pleaſed in his life time to name him, or her, who (in his opinion) ought to raigne after him: wherein they layed a burthen vppon him, which did exceed the force and capacitie of his iudgement. For this Prince in the whole courſe of his life had ſhewed a ſimplicitie of manners, and a weakneſſe in his diſcourſe, which had made him to be alwaies held fitter for the Church, then to gouerne a temporall State. Yet ſeeing himſelfe King, hee ſought to be feared, and gaue way to his ambition and choler, which procured him no more loue then before, but made him to be both hated and curſed. He diſappoynted and diſmiſt all thoſe, that had had any fauour or office in Court during his nephewes raigne, for that they had not reſpected and honoured him, as he thought, according to his ranke and neerenes of bloud, cauſing ſome to be arraigned by courſe of Iuſtice, for their charges, for words proudly ſpoken, and ſuch like things which had paſt in the life of the deceaſed King, who were degraded of honours, depriued of the rewards which they had deſerued, and ſent from Court: He intreated *Pedro d'Alcaſſaua* more roughly then any other, who had beene of the ſecret Councell and high Treaſurer. He appointed other Officers in their places that were diſmiſt, who were no honeſter then the former, but much more ignorant in affaires, who framing themſelues to their maſters humors, thought to ſhew themſelues ſufficient to bring in examinations and reuiſions of accompts, againſt ſuch as had made parties, and contracted with the King, cauſing moſt of thoſe contracts to be broken, and it may be ſuch as were leaſt vniuſt.

B C D

To know the diſpoſition of this new King, and to make his miniſters conformable to King *Philips* deſire, which was to vnite the Crowne of Portugues to that of Caſtile, in what ſort ſoeuer, he ſent *Chriſtopher de Mora*, a Portugall, bredde vp in Caſtile, to reſide there, with the title of an agent onely, who ſpared no paines, coſt, nor preſents to pourchaſe friends to his Maſter. But the better to aſſure his pourſute, he was aduiſed in Caſtile to ſend ſome man of qualitie vnto the king Don *Henry*, with the title of Ambaſſadour: the which the King of Spaine had till then forborne to do, for that he thought he ſhold thereby preiudice the right which he pretended from the death of Don *Sebaſtian*, if hee did by this act acknowledge him for King of Portugall, in ſending an Ambaſſador vnto him. There was choſen to this charge, Don *Pedro Giron*, Duke of Oſuna, after the reſolution taken by the King Don *Henry* in an aſſembly of the Eſtates of the Realme, touching the nomination of his ſucceſſor, which was, That the King would not name any one at that preſent, but might do it in time, by the aduice of the Iudges, aſſigned by the Eſtates, and in the meane time to preuent all inconueniences that might happen, if the King ſhould dye ſuddenly, beeing very old, there ſhould be a rowle made of fifteen of the chief and worthieſt men among the Nobilitie, of the which the King ſhould chooſe fiue, who ſhould be after him Gouernors of the State, vntill the Iudges had determined who ſhold be the true ſucceſſor to the Crown, in caſe the king had not named one: and that the fiue thus choſen by him, ſhould be kept ſecret during his life: and to examine the rights of euery one of the Pretendants, and to iudge with the King (being aliue, and ſitting in his Eſtates) or after his deceaſe, in caſe there were no ſentence giuen, there ſhould bee another rowle made of foure and twenty Doctors, and men of State, of the which the king ſhould

E

Proceeding for the ſucceſſion of Portugal.

F

A ſhould chooſe eleuen Iudges, which ſhould make a royall Chamber to that end; and it was decreed, that all the ſayd Pretendants ſhould bee cited and adiourned to appeare, or their Ambaſſadors, or Agents, before the ſayd Chamber, there to produce their rights and pretenſions, and to be heard in all that they would ſay and alledge, to the end they might make report, and proceed to the nomination. The Pretendants were Don *Philip* King of Spaine, Don *Anthony* Prior of Crato, Donna *Catherina* of Portugall, mother to D. *Theodoſia* of Bragança, *Rainucio Farneſe*, ſon to her ſiſter D. *Maria* of Portugal, both beeing daughters to the Infant Don *Edward*, and *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of Sauoy, borne of Donna *Beatrix* of Portugall: all theſe deriuing their rights from Don *Emanuel*,

Pretendants to the Crowne of Portugall.

B King of Portugall: moreouer, there was *Catherine de Medicis* the French Queen, the Pope but eſpecially the realme and ſtates of Portugall.

Don *Philip* was borne of D. *Izabella*, eldeſt daughter to Don *Emanuel*; the Duke of Sauoy was ſonne to D. *Beatrix* ſecond daughter to the ſayd King, Don *Anthonie* was iſſued from the Infant Don *Lewis*, who was alſo ſonne to king *Emanuel*, but Don *Anthony* was baſe, yet he maintained that he had a ſentence for his legitimation. The Ducheſſe of Bragança was daughter to the Infant D. *Edward*, who was alſo ſonne to King *Emanuel*, but *Rainucio Farneſe* was iſſued from *Mary*, the eldeſt daughter of the ſayd Don *Edward*. As for the Queene mother of France, ſhe fetched her pretenſions farther off, ſaying, that the Kings which had raigned in Portugall ſince Don *Alphonſo* the third, brother to Don

Queene mothers title to Portugal.

C *Sancho Capello*, had beene vſurpers of that Realme, the race beeing baſe and proceeding from an vnlawfull coniunction: for that they ſay, Don *Alphonſo* being married in France with the Counteſſe of Bullen, by whom he had one ſonne named *Robert*, from whome the Pretendant was deſcended, he had left the ſayd Counteſſe to marrie another wife in her life time, which was Donna *Beatrix* of Caſtile, and that from this vnlawfull marriage, all the Kings were iſſued which had held the Realme vnto that day. The Pope pretended it to be a fee, ſaying, that the Realme of Portugall was a fee of the Church, and was ſo acknowledged by Don *Alphonſo Henriques* the firſt, who obtayned the title of a king, who in acknowledgement had bound it to pay a certaine quantitie of markes of gold for a yearely rent, and for not paying thoſe rights the Realme was deuolued vnto

Popes title to Portugal.

D the Church, to diſpoſe thereof. This right was corroborated after the death of the Cardinall then raigning, for that (ſaid they) it was the ſpoyles of a Cardinal. But the realme and the generall Eſtates, pretended to haue an aduantage aboue all, for that (ſayd they) women could pretend no right in Portugall to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, neither for themſelues, nor their deſcendants: for they had neuer ſeene any women raign, although it had beene often in queſtion, euen with the Caſtillans, who had beene reiected, and if they ſhould haue any acceſſe, or their deſcendants, it muſt be after the males, before whome, women haue no precedence, in regard of their age, the which is not conſiderable in fees, much leſſe in Soueraigne Eſtates.

Moſt of theſe Pretendants beeing cited, they ſent their rights, titles, and Pretenſions,

E the which were receyued by the ſayd chamber without any difficultie, but in regard of Queene *Catherine de Medicis*, whoſe cauſe was odious, and her allegations iniurious to the king then raigning, and to his Predeceſſours; the Abbot of Saint Gelais her Agent found great difficultie to haue it admitted. Onely king *Philip* appeared not in this Chamber, diſclayming the Iudges that were choſen, yea all the Portugals in his cauſe, the which (he ſayd) was ſo iuſt and cleare, as it needed not any examination nor doubt, hauing had conſultations vppon that point in the beſt Vniuerſities of the world, as well for that which concernes right, and the lawes of Realmes, as for conſcience, and to ſatisfie the king Don *Henry*, (whom he did importune by his Ambaſſadors to name him, without any other forme obſerued by the Eſtates) he ſent him a coppie of the councels which

F many Lawyers and Diuines in Spaine had made him, that other reaſons beeing examined and weighed, hee might not make any difficultie to name him. Aboue all they had wonne father *Lyon Henrique* a Ieſuite, his Confeſſor, who hauing firſt made him incline to the Dutcheſſe of Bragança, laboured afterwards to perſwade him to name king *Philip* for his ſucceſſor. The Duke of Oſſuna and *Chriſtopher de Mora* his Ambaſſador doubting that this iudiciall proceeding would not preuaile, & that the familiaritie of the Caſtillans

had

had beene alwaies odious vnto the Portugals, who deteſted their gouernement, they had letters from the King their maſter, to the chiefe of the Nobilitie, to the Cittie of Lisbon, and to the principall townes of the Realme, ful of perſwaſiue reaſons and promiſes, concluding in the end, that if they did not receyue him willingly (his title beeing ſo well grounded) he would vſe force, and therefore they ſhould aduiſe not to draw themſelues, their families, and the whole Realme into a warre, and the miſeries which follow it. Theſe letters were deliuered to many with good words and preſents: but the cittie of Lisbone would not receiue them: and as *Chriſtopher de Mora* had left them with the Officers of the Cittie: they ſent them ſealed vp vnto their King, who was much trobled with this weightie buſines, and could not reſolue any thing that was pleaſing to king *Philip*, who threatened him, and began to let the Portugals know, that he prepared to armes: for not meaning to be taken vnprouided at *Henries* death, which could not be long, and that this delay ſhould not any way preiudice him in that he pretended to be King of Portugal, in deſpight of all thoſe that would contradict, he had drawne into Spaine of Germans, Italians and Spaniards of his old regiments of Italy, to the number of 18000. foot, whom he entertayned many moneths with great charge and hinderance to his ſubiects, in Andaluſia, and other places nere to Portugall, which they could not coniecture to be to any other end, but to inuade that realme, where they ſayd openly, that armes and force were his beſt title: for he had no right vnto it. He among all the pretendants which did moſt trouble him, and the King Don *Henry* alſo, was Don *Antonio*, Prior of Crato, who was very well beloued of the people, and of many of the Nobilitie. The King was ſo incenſed againſt him, as he gaue commandement he ſhould not be heard, and taking vppon him to re-examine his cauſe of Legitimation, he ſought to diſſolue the ſentence which was giuen by *Emanuell d'Almada*, Biſhop of Angra, appoynted Iudge by the Pope: whereof Pope *Gregorie* the 13. beeing aduertiſed, he retayned the knowledge of the cauſe to himſelfe: yet Don *Henry* either mooued by his owne paſſion, or preſt by the Caſtillans, declared this ſentence to be voyd by his owne authoritie, without forme of law, or ſolemnitie of iuſtice: but *Coneſtagio* in the Hiſtorie of Portugall, writes, that King *Henry* had obtayned a Breefe ſecretly from the Pope, by the which he gaue him authoritie to iudge the cauſe of legitimation abſolutely, without any forme of Proceſſe, and that of foure witneſſes, two confeſſed that they had beene ſuborned by Don *Antonio*, and that the other two were ſuſpected, as his neere allies, and diſagreeing betwixt themſelues, and that *Lewis* his father tearmed him Baſtard in his laſt will, whereuppon hee declared Don *Antonio* illegitimate, impoſing him perpetual ſilence touching the pretended marriage and legitimation, ſending a Sergeant to Crato, to ſeaze vpon the Prior, but hee found him not. This he writes. But were it true or falſe, the King leauing the qualitie of a Iudge, commanded Don *Antonio* of his royall authoritie, not to come within thirtie leagues of the Court. Then his indignation increaſing, he baniſhed him the Realme, depriued him of all penſions, priuiledges and fauours which he had receyued of precedent kings, ſeeking by all meanes to haue him apprehended, and to put him into ſome ſtreight priſon: yet Don *Antonio* went not out of the Realme, but retired to ſome of his friends, or to ſome Monaſteries vppon the fronter, neither did he forbeare to come and ſollicite the Iudges, with the which the king was dayly incenſed. Being preſt by the importunities of king *Philips* Ambaſſadors, terrified by his preparation to armes, and perſwaded by his Confeſſor father *Lyon Henrique*, he did adhere wholy vnto him: and there was then no difficultie, but to find meanes to name him, and to get the conſent of the Eſtates, and therefore he propounded a kind of accord betwixt the Realme and king *Philip*, the which ſhold be treated by his means in an aſſembly of the Eſtates, the which he called to that end.

Lisbon refuſeth the King of Spains letters.

Sentence of D. Antonio's legitimation diſanulled.

But the king of Caſtile would not put his right to Compromiſe, and deteſted this Aſſembly of the Eſtates, aduertiſing king *Henry*, that he ſhould not treate of this buſineſſe with them, vnited in one bodie, but particularly with the chiefe of the Clergie, the Nobilitie and the townes. In the meane time the king D. *Henry* found himſelfe ill, ſo as being taken with great faintings, which held him long, the Councel, which was about him, and the Deputies aſſembled in the towne of Almerin, (whither they were retired by reaſon

K Henry falles ſicke.

A reaſon of the plague, which was very violent in Lisbon, and in a manner in all the other townes of the Realme) thinking that he would neuer recouer it, they preſumed to open the boxe, wherein was the lyſt of ſuch as he had choſen to be Gouernors of the Realme, and to proceede to the nomination of a Succeſſor, in caſe he had not done it, where they found, that of the fifteene that were contayned in the rowle, he had choſen *George d'Almada* Arch-biſhop of Lisbon, *Francis de Sada*, Lord Chamberlain, *Iohn Telle*, *Iohn Maſcaregnas*, and *Diego Lope de Soſa*, Preſident in the Councell of Iuſtice at Lisbon. The king was ſomewhat recouered, but knowing that he drew neere his end, employing the remainder of his daies in the care of his ſoule, and leauing this buſineſſe with others im-

11 *Gouernors of Portugal.*

B perfect, he dyed the laſt of Ianuary, 1580. hauing held the royall ſeate, (as the Caſtillans ſayd) ſeuenteene moneths and ſome dayes, beeing 68. years old, for he dyed in the ſame moneth, and on the ſame day that he was borne.

An. 1580. *Death of King Henry.*

This was the laſt king of Portugall, in whom ended the direct maſculine line. And as the firſt Lord of Portugall, (though with the title of an Earle) was called *Henry*, euen ſo was the laſt. He was of a thinne bodie, low of ſtature, and leane of his viſage, hee had an indifferent good wit, and was endowed (beſides the Latine toung) with ſome knowledge. He was alwaies held to be chaſt, and did neuer blemiſh that angelicall vertue, but with the deſire of marriage in his latter dayes. He was accompted ſparing, giuing rather then denying, for he refuſed ſeldome, but he gaue ſparingly: he was ambitious of all Iuriſdiction, as well eccleſiaſticall as ciuill, zealous in religion, but more ſeuere then was fit in

Life of King Henry.

C the reformation of Clergi-men. He was Biſhop, Gouernor of the Realme, Inquiſitour Maior, Cardinall, Apoſtolicke Legate and King. But the greater he grew in dignitie, the more he diſcouered his incapacitie and weakneſſe, ſuffering himſelfe in greateſt affaires, to be ouer-ruled by his miniſters, not able to determine the cauſe of the ſucceſſion. Hee was very obſtinate in his opinions, neuer forgetting any wrongs, ſo as iuſtice was in him but an vniuſt execution of his paſſions, and therefore a religious man (whome hee had preſt to take vppon him a moſt ſtrict courſe of life) ſayd vnto him, that hee would obey, ſeeing there was no humane helpe againſt his Commandements, for he had the will of a man, the authoritie of a Pope, and the execution of a King: To conclude, hee had many

D vertues, and fewer vices, yet they were equall: for he had the vertue of a Church-man, and the defects of a Prince: during his life he was feared of many, and beloued of few, ſo as no man lamented his death, onely ſuch as were well affected, (deſiring the cauſe of ſucceſſion had beene firſt decided) had ſome feeling.

The fiue Gouernors being at Almerin, at the time of his death, they began to exerciſe their charge as Kings, and their firſt reſolution was to ſend Ambaſſadours to King *Philip*, (whome they ſaw in armes, and who had in a manner threatened the deceaſed king, and the Realme) to intreate him to proceede in this buſines, by the way of iuſtice, and to aſſure him, that it ſhould be done him, witneſſing moreouer the great good will and reſpect which the Gouernors, the chiefe of the Nobilitie, and the good townes of Portugall, bare vnto his highneſſe. The king before their audience, made ſome difficulty,

E whether he ſhould receiue them with the accuſtomed ceremonies to Princes Ambaſſadors, or as ſimple Deputies of his ſubiects: but he was counſelled to heare them as Ambaſſadors, to the end he might winne the loue of the Portugueſes, ſo as they were heard with their hats on, the king beeing vncouered at their comming in. The Ambaſſadours were the Biſhop of Coimbra, and *Emanuel de Mela*, and they came vnto the King being at Guadalupe, who made a long relation vnto them of his rights, and of the conſultations which he had made, as well to make them apparent to the world, as to ſatisfie his owne conſcience: that he knew well there were many among the Nobilitie and townes, ill affected vnto him, whom he had good meanes to draw vnto their duties: wherefore

F the Gouernours and the Eſtates ſhould be well aduiſed, and not be the cauſe of a warre in their countrey, giuing them a ſhort time to ſend him their laſt reſolution. The Deputies of the Eſtates of the Realme, who had beene called by the deceaſed king, were all at Saint Iren, a towne right againſt Almerin, the riuer of Tagus running betwixt them: who ſeeing the Gouernors manner of proceeding, they gaue them to vnderſtand, that their Councell and Aſſembly was ſuperiour vnto them: as repreſenting the Realme, and the

general

generall Eſtates thereof, and therefore they ſent word vnto the Gouernours, that leauing Almerin, which was ſmall, and not able to lodge ſo great a multitude, they ſhould come to S. Iren, to the end they might all together determine of that was fitting for the preſeruation of the Realme, and put it in execution, and not make them, vpon euery occaſion, to paſſe the riuer, for their affaires required expedition, and no delayes, ſaying, that their moſt neceſſarie prouiſions, was to man the entries of the Realme with ſoldiers, the which they ſhould haue done before they ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Philip*. This did amaze the Gouernours, and cauſed bad intelligence betwixt them and the Eſtates, ſo as in diſdaine one of another, they did not any good for the publike. Among theſe Gouernours, there were there noted to fauour King *Philip*, the other two were for the Realme. Among the Deputies of the Eſtates, moſt of them were for Don *Antonio*, Prior of Crato, who hauing notice of the death of Don *Henry*, came preſently to Lisbone, ſpake vnto the Magiſtrates of the Cittie, ſhewed himſelfe vnto the people, ſaluted euery man, ſeeking to maintaine himſelfe in the loue of the multitude, with all the humilitie that might be: hee wrote vnto the Deputies of the Eſtates at S. Iren, and came himſelfe to preſent the Popes Bull vnto them, by the which the ſentence of the deceaſed King, giuen againſt him, was ſuſpended; he remembred his rights vnto the Crowne, and proteſted that he would ſubmit himſelf to iuſtice, according to the reſolution which was taken whileſt he liued in the open Eſtates, and conformable alſo to the ſayd Kings laſt will, made eight moneths before his death, by the which he declared him his ſucceſſor, that ſhould be found to haue moſt right by the Iudges: This courſe was deſired by all in generall, namely, by the other Pretendants, except King *Philip*, who preſſing the Ambaſſadours much to haue their laſt reſolution, whether they would receiue him for their King or not, and they deſiring him to giue them a longer time then he had prefixed, he told them plainely, that he would vſe his rights according to his meanes and dignitie. The which the Gouernours, the Duke of Bragança, and other Noblemen, that were at Almerin, ſeeing, they began to prouide for the frontiers, but ſo late, and ſo ſlowly, as all men wondred: the Deputies of the Eſtates inſiſting ſtil, that they ſhould all aſſemble in one place, to conſult ioyntly together how to repulſe the iniurious force, which the Caſtillans, their ancient enemies, would do vnto the Realme. And although it ſeemed reaſonable, that the Gouernors, who were but few in number, and had but a tranſitorie and limited authoritie for a time, ſhould paſſe vnto S. Iren, and make ſhew to allow of it, yet they did it not, they ſtill remayning in their ſeuerall lodgings, making very preiudiciall decrees apart, which in the end blemiſhed the honour of the Crowne of Portugall, one weakening anothers authoritie, whereas if they had beene well vnited, euery man would haue obeyed them, and they might haue oppoſed ſuch forces againſt King *Philip*, as happily he might haue yeelded to a iudiciall courſe.

13 *Diſcord betwixt the Gouernors and the Eſtates.*

D. Anthonies proceedings.

The Gouernours ſent Commiſſions into the Prouinces, to raiſe the Commons, and commanded the Lords which had lands and vaſſals to be mounted and armed readie to march, when they ſhould be called, but they did little regard it. The King of Spaine beeing aduertiſed of all their diſorders, was exceeding glad, for that they prepared a way for him to attaine vnto that which he pretended: and without any further delay hee cauſed thoſe troupes which he had ſo long entertayned, to march towards Badajos, where hee had appoynted the Rendez-vous for the armie: he commanded Don *Fernando de Stlua*, Earle of Cifuentes, *Guidon* Major of Caſtile, to draw foorth the Standard-royal, which is neuer diſplayed, but when as the King goes to the warre in perſon. Hee made choice of the Duke of Alba to be his Lieutenant to leade this armie, whom hee freed from priſon for a certaine precipitated marriage made by Don *Frederick* his ſonne, and by his counſell cauſing him to come to Merida, to conferre of the meanes to enter with an army into Portugall, yet ſome ſay, that he ſaw not the King, but marched directly to the armie. In the meane time he did write againe, and perſwaded the Gouernors, the Eſtates, the Nobilitie and Commons, to receiue him without reſiſtance, ſending them new conſultations, which he had drawne from the Diuines of the Vniuerſity of Alcala of Henares of Caſtile, to the which he ſayd, there was no reply, and that they were conformable in euery point to thoſe which he had before from other Vniuerſities. King *Philip* with his

14. *Philips troupes marcheth towards Portugall.*

Councell

A Councell and Lawyers did ſet downe (as a thing which they ought not to call in queſtion) that beeing the moſt ancient male liuing of the race of Don *Emanuel* of Portugall, he ſhould præcede all others in the ſucceſſion to the Crown: yea preſently after the death of King *Sebaſtian*: for the Cardinall (whome he had ſuffered to raigne) was not capable thereof, conſidering his qualitie, beeing a Clergi-man. This beeing preſuppoſed, he demanded of the Diuines: firſt, whether he were bound to ſubmit himſelfe to any Iudge or Arbitrator, to haue the Realme of Portugall adiudged vnto him. Secondly, if there were any other pretending that Crown, who might decide their controuerſies: and that there beeing no competent Iudge to do it, and the Portugals refuſing to receiue him before B the cauſe were decided, which might be a meanes to fruſtrate him, whether hee might not take poſſeſſion of his owne authoritie by armes, without any ſcruple. And laſt of all, if the Gouernors or Eſtates of Portugall alledge, that they are bound by oath, not to acknowledge any one for king, but he to whome the Realme ſhall be adiudged by iuſtice, if that may excuſe them.

Allegations made by King Philip touching his title to Portugall.

To the firſt point the Diuines of Caſtile anſwered, That Don *Philip* beeing a Soueraigne King, he was not bound to ſubmit himſelfe to any Iudge, but onely take counſell, and that he might thereuppon adiudge the Realme vnto himſelfe, and not charge his conſcience, grounding vppon the neerenes of bloud, which was apparent. And if there were no Iudge in this cauſe, they ſayd, that the Pope, who had the greateſt power, C might not take knowledge of it, for that it was meerely temporall, hauing not any circumſtance to bind it to the Spirituality. The Emperor in like manner was no competent Iudge: for the Kings of Caſtile are Soueraignes, Emperours in their countries and Eſtates. 15

Aduice of the Diuines of Alcala of Henares

The Eſtates of Portugall were inferiours and ſubiects, and therefore in no ſort Iudges: the deceaſed King Don *Henry* could not preiudice the right nor dignitie of king *Philip*, in appoynting eleuen Iudges to determine of the Succeſſion of that Crowne: beſides, hee beeing dead, the Commiſſion of thoſe Iudges was expired, and their authoritie extinct. As for the referring it to the compromiſe of Arbitrators, it was not vſed but in matters which were doubtfull: and whereas their titles and intereſts were obſcure. If D they would ſay, that in this cauſe King *Philip* ſhould not be regarded as a King, but as a priuate perſon, bound to plead againſt the reſt, pretending the ſame ſucceſſion by reaſon of bloud: it was a friuolous diſtinction, for that the dignitie of a King cannot bee ſeparated from the perſon that carryeth it, in any caſe whatſoeuer. If they did pretend, that the controuerſie muſt be ended, whereas the matter in queſtion lyeth: that this rule hath no place in matters of Kingdomes.

To the ſecond point they did apply ſome of the former anſwers, and to make it more plaine, they ſayd, that it was ſufficient for the King ro exhibite his titles and right to the Gouernours, or to the Eſtates, to iuſtifie his proceeding by armes, , the which he might lawfully vſe in caſe of refuſall, the which was a kind of contumacie and rebellion. And laſt E of all they ſayd, that an oath made by whomſoeuer, to preiudice another, doth not bind him that hath taken it, eſpecially where there is no Iudge, and he cannot pretend it for an excuſe againſt a Soueraigne, eſpecially when his title is apparent.

King *Philip* hauing reſolued to enter Portugall with an armie, more (ſayd he) to feare the Portuguezes, then to do them harme, beſides, the armie which he prepared at Badajos, he cauſed his vaſſals (after their example) in euery Prouince bordering vpon Portugal to be in a readines, commaunding the Lords which had their lands there, to ſhew themſelues in armes, but not to aduance, and that if any neare Townes, Noblemen or commons would acknowledge him for their King, they ſhould aſſure them of all good vſage: The Gouernours were much amazed, yet they made ſhew, as if they would defend F themſelues, ſending into France, to the Emperour, and to other Chriſtian Princes for ſuccours.

But they did aboue all imploy the Popes authority and prerogatiue, that he would be a meanes to make King *Philip* lay aſide armes, and ſubmit himſelfe to a quiet courſe of iuſtice: whereupon they obtayned, that there ſhould be a Legate ſent into Spaine to de-

cide this controuerſie; which was Cardinall *Alexander Riario*, who was not pleaſing vnto the King, being held ſuſpect, neither would he that the Pope ſhould meddle in this buſines, much leſſe determine of it: Beſides, this Legate came late, the Caſtillan armie beeing alreadie entred farre into Portugall: and the Gouernors were in ſuch a confuſion, and did ſo diſagree among themſelues, as they ſuffered to haue a Croiſado preached againſt the Caſtillans, as if it had beene to go againſt Infidels: the Magiſtrates did the like in many townes, and they ſayd, that there were ſlaine Noblemen of Portugall, who by the meanes of priſoners which were yet in Affricke, ſince the ouerthrow of D. *Sebaſtian*, did ſollicite the Xeriffe *Hamet* to take vppon him the protection of the Realme of Portugall againſt the King of Caſtile: ſuch was the hatred of theſe two nations, and the proceedings of Don *Philip* ſo much deteſted, ſeeking to be Iudge in his owne cauſe, and to decide it by armes, to the preiudice of the other pretendants, and namely, of the generall Eſtates of the Realme.

Hatred of the Portuguizes to the Caſtillans.

The contrarieties which were obſerued in all that the Gouernors did, being fearefull, irreſolute, and yet very ambitious, ſeeking to retaine the royall authoritie longer then they might, and to ſell their fauours to their owne priuate benefits, did witneſſe the confuſion that was in their minds, and in their affaires, being ſollicited by the Ambaſſadors of Caſtile, they yeelded to declare D. *Philip* King, vppon certaine conditions, whereof they drew Articles, which were all ſigned by the Duke of Oſſuna, but the difficulty was to publiſh this decree with any collour.

Gouernors bring King Philip into Portugal.

On the other ſide they fortified themſelues daily both within and without the Realme. In the meane time they had not any money, and ſuffered the reuenues of the Crowne to be loſt by their bad intelligence, and withall the peoples loue, who might haue ſupplied their preſent neceſſities out of their ſtore, if they had ſeene any order or grauitie in them.

They reſolued to ſell the Iewels of the Crowne, but the Ambaſſadors of Caſtile oppoſed themſelues, ſaying, That they did belong vnto the King their maſter, who was the true and lawfull king of Portugall. They ſent *Iohn Tello*, one of the bodie of the cittie of Lisbone, vnder colour to aſſiſt *Emanuel* of Portugall his brother-in-law, who did fortifie Belen, and other places, at the mouth of the riuer of Tagus, beneath the cittie, but it was to be ridde of him: for he did not fauour the Caſtillan partie, no more then *Emanuel* his brother-in-law: and for that the Deputies of the Prouinces and townes which were at S. Iren, did croſſe them, they ſought to ſend them home as vnprofitable, ſaying, that after the Kings death, who had called them, their procurations were void, and that there was not any aſſembly of Eſtates: yet they were content that tenne of the ſaid Deputies ſhold remaine with them, to bee witneſſes of their actions, who ſhould come to Setuuall, a towne and port of the ſea, twenty miles from Lisbone, whether they meant to retire themſelues, by reaſon of the plague which was crept into Almerin. The Deputies on the other ſide maintayned, that their proclamations were ſtill in force, that the Eſtates were not ended, and that in the buſines, which was now in queſtion, their aſſembly was more requiſite then in any other occaſion, inuiting them againe to come vnto Saint Iren, where there was not any danger of the plague: the which they would not doe, but went to keepe their Councell at Setuual, farre from thoſe that did obſerue them, beeing accompanied by the Duke of Bragança, and the Ambaſſadours of Caſtile.

Gouernors ſeek to diſſolue the Eſtates.

Setuual was one of thoſe places whereof the King of Spaine deſired to ſeize, for that in holding this port, he might ſhut vp the riuer of Lisbon: and therefore hee had commanded Don *Aluaro de Baſſan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz his Admirall, to go thither with his Fleet, conſiſting of aboue ſixtie gallies, and to make ſome enterpriſe, whileſt that the Duke of Alba ſhould enter by land, from Badajos to Eluas, and other places of that country, as he did ſoone after, the king hauing firſt ſent *Pedro Velaſco*, Iudge of Badajos, to ſee, if with perſwaſiue words, promiſes, and preſents, he might draw the neighbour townes and places to yeeld themſelues voluntarily, and without force: where hee behaued himſelfe ſo diſcreetly, as he cauſed D. *Philip* to be acknowledged for King of Portugall at Eluas, Oliuença, Serpa, Mora, Campo Maior la noua, Aroughez, Portalegre, and others.

A others. The Duke of Alba coming to the army, found it much waſted with ſickneſs, being in all but 4500. Italians, 3500. Germans, and 3000. Spaniards of the old regiments of Italy, the which the King ſupplyed with 7000. Beſognes, or new ſoldiers, which he had leuied in Spaine, after which he took a view of his army, where he found about 18000. foot, and 6000. horſe, with 25. peeces of ordinance, and ſtore of victuals, and other warlike neceſſaries: for the carriage whereof he had aboue 6000. carts and wagons. The Duke of Alba was General both at ſea and land: in this expedition. *Peter de Medicis* was General of the Italians, being diuided into 3. regiments: of the one *Proſper Colonna* was Colonel, of the other *Vincent Carraſa*, and of the third *Charles Spinelli*. *Icrome* Earle of Lodron was Co-
B lonel of the Germans, *Sancho d'Auila* was Marſhall generall at land, and *Francis d'Alaua* was Maſter of the ordinance. There was no Generals of the horſe, for all the companies were commanded by Noblemen that were of the Kings councell, but in executions Don *Francis de Toledo* the Dukes ſon ſhould lead them. With theſe forces the Duke of Alba paſt the riuer of Caya, and entred into Portugall the 27. of Iune, 1580. threatning ſuch as would not acknowledge K. *Philip* his Maſter for their king. The Deputies of the Eſtates, which remained at S. Iren, ſeing the king of Caſtile to enter the realme with an army, they accuſed the Gouernors to haue abandoned the publike cauſe, and declared D. *Antonio* defender of the Realme alone, but ſoone after the people proclaimed him king, & although he excuſed himſelf, being content (ſaid he) for that time with the title of defender, yet was
C he forced to accept it, ſeeing himſelfe enuironed with many ſwords in the midſt of a furious multitude, curſing the Gouernors, & crying, that he muſt lead them againſt the Caſtillans. If D. *Antonio* did then ſomwhat want a ſpurre to prick him forward to the royall dignity, he had afterwards more need of a bridle to curbe him, not to abandon himſelf as he did, in a time of ſo great confuſion, hauing an armed enemy in the hart of the country, who wan the Nobility daily, & wanted neither mony nor credit, which are the ſinewes of war. He might haue apprehended the want both of friends and mony, into the which he ſoon fell, hauing no ſupport, but the multitude, and ſome Monks, who ſhewed themſelues in his cauſe, not only paſſionat, but deſperate, or rather mad. A royaltie is held to bee ſo ſweet a morſell, and the deſire to be a king, is ſo vehement, as they do willingly breake the
D bounds of law to deuoure it, when occaſion is offred, without any reſpect: yea there haue beene many who to raigne one day, haue not cared to be ſlaine the next: whereof there are ſome examples in the courſe of this Hiſtory: ſo as it is no wonder, if D. *Antonio*, who had ſuffred ſo many croſſes to come to it, hauing got it, ſought to keepe it. The firſt error he committed, was to haue cauſed *Fernand de Pina*, one of the Magiſtrates of Lisbone to be ſlaine, for that he ſpake againſt him, and then hee ſuffered *Suares*, who had committed the murther, to be hanged, whom he might haue ſaued by his authority. The opinion of the Portugals is and hath beene for many yeares, that the city of Lisbone is the force of a world, and that whoſoeuer holds it, may make head againſt the mightieſt Monarks of the earth. In truth it is one of the greateſt peopled cities in Europe, of great traffick and won-
E derfully rich: but a multitude of people is but a weake ſupport, and riches in the hands of priuate men in tumults, when as euery man ſees himſelfe in danger, and ſeekes to preſerue that which he hath, are not aſſured, nor to be accompted of, vnleſſe they will vſe violence and tyrannie, which make the moſt lawfull kings to be hated. Theſe conſiderations were not regarded by Don *Antonio*, hee muſt needes runne to Lisbone, thinking that if all the Realme were loſt, Lisbone alone would reſtore him.

Duke of Alba enters into Portugal.

16

D. Antonio declared defender of the realme of Portugal.

The bodie of the cittie, and the Magiſtrates, apprehending this haſtie comming, and the peoples proclamation at Saint Iren, who had cryed *Real*, *Real* for Don *Antonio*, intreated *Iohn Tello*, one of the Gouernors, with Don *Emanuel* of Portugal, as wee haue ſayd, to come and hinder Don *Antonio's* entrie, if he could, and to perſwade him not to
F take the name of King vppon him, but onely to tearme himſelfe defender of the State and Crowne of Portugall, againſt the vniuſt and tyrannous inuaſion of the King of Caſtile, that this title would be more fauourable for him, and make him to be followed and ſupported by the Nobilitie, and the great men of the realme: whereas that of King, ſeemed to bee vſurped out of ſeaſon, whileſt that hee with the reſt of the Pretendants demanded it by iuſtice.

Don *Iohn Tello* ſent *Diego de Soſa*, and *Francis de Meneſes*, who could not ſtay him, A
but they returned together into the Cittie, where they durſt not ſtoppe his entrie, yet
comming neere vnto Lisbone, there was a harguebuze ſhot of, which paſt neere his
Don Antonio receiued into Lisbone. haire, but they could not learne whence it came. Beeing entred into the cittie, hee was
receiued with acclamations, and all ſignes of ioy, as the time would permit: for the grea-
teſt part of men of qualitie were retired to their houſes in the Countrey, by reaſon of
the plague, which was very great, ſo as the common people onely made him this recep-
tion, crying, *God ſaue the king*. But hauing once ſeized vppon the pallace, the riuer, and
the Arſenall, and the armes, he went to the towne-houſe, whither hee called all the Ma-
giſtrates that were within the Cittie, and was there ſaluted for king, and the othe taken B
and receiued with the accuſtomed formalities: which done, hee wrote vnto the Gouer-
nours beeing at Setuuall, that they ſhould come vnto him. Don *Iohn Tello* (who had bin
ſent by his companions to Lisbone, with procuration to ſee what was neceſſarie for the
preſeruation of the Cittie, according to their deſſeigne, and had till then authoritie as a
Gouernour) departed preſently, and carryed ſome others away with him, whome Don
Antonio would haue employed: and by that meanes hee carried away fortie thouſand
Crownes, which he had gathered together, vnder colour of reparations that were to be
done at Belen, S. Iulian, Caſcais, Cabeça Secca, and other places lying vppon the riuer.

Beeing come to Setuual, the other Gouernours would no more admit him into their
companie, ſaying, that he was confederate with Don *Antonio*, and that hee might haue C
hindred his entrie into the Cittie if hee had would. The new King beeing diſcontented
with them all, he wrote againe vnto them, to draw them to Lisbone, yet vſing very mild
words, but they would not do any thing. Hee wrote alſo very kindly to the Duke of Bra-
gança, who was with them, and in the end he ſent Don *Francis* of Portugal, Earle of Vi-
mioſo, to perſwade them if hee might. In the meane time the Duke of Bragança taking
leaue of the Gouernours, retired himſelfe to one of his houſes, ſeeing, that neither the
one, nor the other, did any thing to purpoſe, and that they could not preuent it, but king
Philip would raigne in Portugall, with whome ſoone after he made an accord. The Earle
of Vimioſo ſeeing that he could not preuayle with the Gouernours, he incenſed the peo-
ple againſt them, who chaſed them out of Setuuall ſo haſtily, as ſome were forced to D
creepe out of windowes, and to ſlippe downe the walles in danger of their liues, yet the
Arch-biſhop of Lisbone, and Don *Iohn Tello* ſtayed ſtill, beeing aſſured to be ſpared,
the one for his Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, the other, for that he had not beene oppoſite to
Don *Antonio*, but had done him good offices.

By this meanes the king ſeized vppon Setuuall, and went thither to haue the place for-
tified and furniſhed, and then he returned to Lisbone, to whom there yeelded the aboue-
named places vppon the riuer, and other about the cittie. The Gouernours beeing thus
Decree of the Gouernors againſt Don Antonio. ecclipſed, got, with the Ambaſſadours of Caſtil, to Caſtro Marin, where they made a
ſtrange Decree againſt Don *Antonio*, Prior of Crato, condemning him as a Rebell, and
declaring, that the will of the deceaſed King Don *Henry* was, that King *Philip* ſhold ſuc- E
ceed him in the royall dignitie.

17 *Duke of Alba's exploits in Portugal.* Whilſt theſe things paſt, the Duke of Alba aduanced, and had taken Villa-vitioſa, the
Duke of Bragança's chiefe houſe, a place of ſtrength, which might haue ſtayed him ſome
daies, and then without any care to march in order with his army (for there was no ene-
my to feare) he came with ſmall iournyes to Setuuall, whither he had appointed the fleet
ſhould come. This place was ſoone yeelded to the Dukes diſcretion, by men without
iudgement and experience: yet he ſuffered all the ſoldiers to depart, retayning onely *Die-*
Setuuall taken by the Caſtillans. *go Botello* the yonger, Captaine of the garriſon, who ſought to eſcape in a barke. There
remained only one tower which garded the port, the which he battered, and then the cap-
taine and ſouldiers yeelded it, to haue their liues and goods ſaued: after that they had bea- F
ten one of the royall galleons in peeces, thinking it wold haue yeelded to the Caſtillans.
This place being taken, the Marquis of Santa Cruz came with his fleet (conſiſting of 60.
gallies and many ſhips) and lodged moſt of them within the port, from whence they did
ſo ſtop the mouth of the riuer of Lisbon, which is neere vnto it, as nothing could go in,
nor come forth, but by the mercy of the gallies.

The

A The Duke of Alba continuing his courſe, meant to go to the Cittie of Lisbone, which is the head of the Realme, and therefore he deuiſed how he might paſſe the riuer with his armie, wherein there was ſome difficulty, by reaſon of the old forts which were at the mouth of the riuer, and thoſe which Don *Emanuel* of Portugall had newly built and erected.

Don *Antonio* beeing returned from Settuual, (whether hee had gone before the loſſe of it) was receyued by the Inhabitants with greater eſtate then before, cauſing him to enter vnder a Canopie, but hearing of the loſſe of this important place, their ioy was turned into ſeare and amazement, for they muſt now ſtudie how to make head againſt B the enemie, who they might aſſure themſelues, would be ſoone at their gates, if they did not ſpeedily prouide for it. The remedie conſiſted in a multitude of ſouldiers and mony to entertayne them, which they had not. There was a great multitude of common-people in Lisbone, but not trayned vp in armes, yet full of courage, when the enemy was farre off. He commanded them to be readie, and to furniſh themſelues with armes, giuing them Captaines of their owne ſort, for there were few men of qualitie that followed him, and the beſt families of the Cittie were abſent: but he made publike Proclamations to call them home in this neceſſitie, and ſome he inuited particularly: to ſuch as hee found willing, hee diſtributed in paper, honours, offices, commanderies, croſſes of the Orders of Knights which are in that countrey, without regard whether they, to whom he C gaue them, were men of merit, and capable according to the Orders: for many baſe men were ſeene to carrie the croſſes of Saint *Iames*, of Chriſt, of Alcantara, and others vpon their Cloakes: but he was indifferent, ſo as they gaue money. Such as did not obey his commaundements, and were ſlow in comming to the towne, hee vſed with all rigour, cauſing their houſes to bee opened, and their goods to bee ſold for the charges of the warre.

Eſtate of Lisbon vnder Antonio

If any rich man within the towne, fearing to be taxed, or forced to pay mony, did ſeeke to eſcape, he was ſtayed at the Port, ſtript, and put in priſon, ſo as the great fauor which Don *Antonio* had found at his firſt coming, grew now cold. His moſt conſtant friends were the begging Friars, many of which leauing their hoods, tooke armes, and garded D the ports, or followed him, and made a company in his armie, which he ſought to rayſe of this multitude, hauing no other: but they ſhewed themſelues mutinous and rebellious, when they came to lye in field, a practiſe which Shoo-makers, Taylors, Mercers, Vintners, and the other skumme of the people, had not beene inured vnto, by whome the eſtate and reputation of Don *Antonio* were ſupported, who could not bee ignorant of this abſurditie, but that glorious name of King couered all defects, and made all dangers light. Hee had ſent *Diego de Meneſes* to Caſcais, with ſome troupes to gard the paſſage, yet hee did not thinke the enemie would haue paſt there, but rather would haue gone aboue the towne towards Saint Iren, where the riuer growes narrow, for towards the ſea, it is very broade: but notwithſtanding any thing that *Meneſes* E could do, the Duke of Alba paſt vnder Caſcais, at a place called Marines Vechos, neither did he euer ſeeke to hinder his landing, nor offer him skirmiſh, ſo hauing forced *Meneſes* to retire, the Duke was maſter of the field, Don *Antonio* who expected ſome good ſeruice from *Diego de Meneſes*, had made him Generall of his forces by land, and his brother *George de Meneſes* of his armie at ſea: where he had good Gallions, and ſome other Veſſels, but growing iealous of *George*, he had taken his charge from him, and put him in priſon.

It may bee, hee would haue done as much to *Diego*, if hee preſented himſelfe before him after the Dukes paſſage, but hee put himſelfe into the Caſtle of Caſcais, which coſt him his life. Don *Antonio*, King of Portugall, muſt of neceſſitie iſſue foorth of Lisbone F againſt the Duke, and fight with him for his honour, but hee found himſelfe very vnfit for it: for neyther by faire meanes nor rigour could he gather together at that time aboue a thouſand foote, and ſome fiue hundred horſe, ill appoynted, and neuer trayned vp in the warres, neither could hee poſſibly ſtay them aboue that day, for night beeing come, moſt of them returned to the towne to ſupper, for that there was not any breade in his campe.

The Duke of Alba meaning to attempt Caſcais, found it abandoned by the inhabi- A
tants, the caſtle which was ſomewhat ſtrong, refuſed to yeeld, whereupon it was batte-
red and forced. The captaine who commanded there, called *Antonio Pereira* was hanged,
and his ſouldiers ſtript. *Diego de Meneſes* was found in this place, whoſe head the Duke
cauſed to be cut off, although there were ſome that did ſue for his life. The cittie of Lis-
bon beeing amazed at the taking of Caſcais, expecting to heare the like of the Caſtle of
S. Iulian, which is, as it were, their key, they proteſted to D. *Antonio*, that they wold make
their peace, if he did not put himſelfe in defence, who offred himſelfe to go, if they wold
follow him. Then euery man was forced to take armes, and go to field, euen the Negro
ſlaues, of the which there is a great multitude in that Citty, ſo as of one and other hee B
found himſelfe to haue an armie of 8000. men, ill armed, ill apparelled, and ill led, (for
there was ſcarce one that could execute the office of a Sergeant, or place a Sentinell) with
which troupe he went and camped at Alcantara, within fiue miles of S. Iulian, which
the Duke did beſeege and batter, which place was yeelded vnto him by *Triſtan vaz*, by
the perſwaſion of a woman, who had obtayned a ſafe-conduct from the Duke to draw
foorth a daughter of hers with her husband, which were within it. Cabeça Secca which
was a fort built vppon the ſand in the midſt of the riuer right againſt S. Iulian, was alſo
18 abandoned to the Duke. So as there was not any thing that could hinder him from cam-
Army of Don Antonio put to rout. ping to the citty gates, but *Belem*, and Don *Antonio's* armie, which lay in ther ill-made
trenches at Alcantara, and kept that bridge, the which was forced in it's lodging, and C
put to route by the Duke, and chaſed euen into the towne with ſome ſlaughter. Don *An-
tonio* eſcaped by flight, being hurt, but he ſtayd not there: for paſſing through the town,
and as it were, bidding them farewell, whom he could not defend, he tooke the way to
S. Iren, hauing cauſed his wound to be dreſt at Sacaben, where he might haue bene taken,
if they had pourſued him: but he had the good hap to find meanes to retire to Coimbra,
which of all the townes in the Realme had moſt reſiſted King *Philip*, and moſt diſputed
their pretended rights.

It is the onely Vniuerſitie of Portugall, for all faculties, which had giuen aduice and
counſell contrarie to the Doctors of Caſtile. The Duke of Alba tooke *Belem*, and ſoone
after the Magiſtrates of Lisbone came to offer him the keys of the Cittie, demaunding D
their liues and goods: the which was promiſed them, for King *Philips* meaning was to
haue it preſerued, yet they could not preuent it, but the goodly ſuburbe which was vpon
Lisbone yeelds to K. Philip. the way, was ſpoyled, and all the houſes and gardens which were about the cittie, whither
the Inhabitants had retired themſelues by reaſon of the plague, and had carried moſt of
their beſt moueables thither.

King *Philips* gallies which were entred into the riuer, tooke them of Portugall, and the
eleuenth of September, that yeare 1580. the Duke of Alba tooke poſſeſſion in the king
his maſters name, of the citty of Lisbone, and made him to be ſworne and acknowled-
ged, the people crying *Real*, *Real* for King *Philip*. Whilſt that the Duke of Alba did theſe
exploites in Portugall, King *Philip* was at Badajos, whereas he fell ſo dangerouſly ſick, E
as the Phiſitions deſpayred of his life, and it was bruted in Portugall, that he was dead, ſo
as many Noblemen did put on mourning weedes, and among others the King Don
Antonio: He recouered, but his Queene Donna *Anna*, who fell ſicke at the ſame time of
19 a continuall feuer, dyed.
Death of Q. Anne of Caſtile

The newes of the taking of Libone beeing knowne at Court, and what had followed,
many Courtiers ſought to diſgrace the Duke of Alba's actions, accuſing him of great
negligence, to haue ſuffered Don *Antonio* to eſcape: they ſayd, that he was more fitte to
deſtroy then to edifie, not knowing how to do his maſter ſeruice, not to get him the poſ-
ſeſſion of any thing, but defiled, ſpoyled, and made vnprofitable, and with ſuch exceſſiue
charge, as it did exceed the value of the thing gotten: this was ſpoken, for that the ſub- F
urbes and places about the cittie were ſpoyled. It is certaine, that this man for his ſower,
diſdainfull, and haughtie grauitie, was hated of moſt of the Noblemen in Court. Then
the King entred into Portugall, hauing firſt cauſed a generall Pardon to bee proclaymed
for all thoſe that had oppoſed themſelues againſt his reception, except Don *Antonio*,
thoſe that had fauoured him at Saint Iren, at Lisbone, at Setuual, and ſome others that

were

A were named: the number of which hee did afterwards abate, cauſing his pardon to bee reiterated, yet ſtill reſeruing ſome, ſo as it was commonly ſayd, he knew not ſo well how to pardon, as to offend.

He did ſet a price of 80000. crownes for him that could either take or kill D. *Antonio*: yet notwithſtanding this temptation, there was not any one did attempt againſt his life, to reueale him, in eight monthes that he went wandring vp and downe the realme after all theſe miſeries, being purſued and ſought for in all places, with the greateſt care and dilligence that might bee. Hauing eſcaped at the route of Alcantara, hee retired to Coimbra, as we haue ſaied, where hee found ſo great loue and obedience, as hee gathe-
B red together about fiue thouſand foote, with the which hee approched neere vnto the city of Porto, a ſtrong place neere vnto the ſea, where although the Inhabitants had made ſhew to be Neuters, or rather inclyning to King *Philips* party, yet hee entred, and was well receiued. Being reſolued to trie againe the hazard of a battaile, hee made a kinde of campe vpon the riuer of Duero, neere vnto that city. There hee made ſome ſpoile of them that were of the contrary faction, and ſought to draw money from the Inhabitants. In caſe of any ſiniſter accident, hee was reſolued to flie into France, and therefore hee cauſed a barke to lie ready in the roade neere to Viana, a little place vpon the ſea, at the mouth of the riuer of Limas. Whileſt that heee buſied himſelfe about theſe things, the Duke of Alba ſent *Sancho d' Auila* againſt him, with about fiue thou-
C ſand foote, ſome horſe and foure canons. Vnto whom the city of Coimbra (which till then had beene faithfull to Don *Antonio*) carried their keies; they of Auero did the like, who had beene ſpoiled by Don *Antonio* after that they had yeelded vnto him. D. *Sancho* being come to the riuer of Duero which was not to be waded through, he paſt his men ouer in certaine boats, which he had brought with him in carts, and others that he ſurprized running along that riuer, notwithſtanding that D. *Antonio* had commanded that all the boats ſhould bee drawne to the other ſide. Don *Sancho* found not any reſiſtance, for as ſoone as the Portugals, which were camped on the other ſide of the riuer, ſaw him come towards them, they fled, euery man ſauing himſelfe as hee could, without any great ſlaughter: this was in effect a multitude without experience or courage. D.
D *Antonio* hauing no more meanes to ſubſiſt, left the towne of Porto, where after that he had let the Magiſtrate vnderſtand how hee had imployed himſelfe to the defence of the realme, and hauing excuſed himſelfe by the baſeneſſe of the Gouernors, and the ſmal aſſiſtance he had had from the Eſtates, he bad them farewell with teares, promiſing to ſee them before it were long, better accompanied, to free them from the tyranie of D. *Philip*: for hee did hope to finde meanes and ſuccors in France and England to reſtore him.

A price ſet vp. on D. Antonios head.

D Antonio rayſeth a new army.

Sancho de Auila ſent againſt D. Antonio.

From thence hee went directly to Viana, with an intent to take ſhipping, where one attended him, but the ſea went ſo high as it was impoſſible to put forth, ſtaying there vntill the ſtorme were paſt, behold there came a troupe of horſe which ſought for him,
E wherevpon he put himſelfe into a ſmall boat, deſyring rather to commit himſelfe to the mercy of the winde and waues, then vnto men. Being come vnto the ſhip with great paine and daunger, there was no meanes to force the winde, nor to put to ſea, ſo as hee was forced to come againe to Land in his boate, the ſea driuing him to ſhoare, whereas he was not ſeene by them that purſued him. They of the houſe of Portugal were with him, who had alwaies followed him, namely the Biſhop of Guarda, the Earle of Vimioſo, and ſome others; all which hauing diſguiſed themſelues like ſeruants and marriners, yet well furniſhed with rich iewels which were ſowed vp in their doublets (for D. *Antonio* had made good prouiſion during his ſhort reigne, as well at Lisbone, in the pallace royall, as in other places) they ſaued themſelues as well as they could. By this retreat
F the name of D. *Antonio* was ſuppreſt in Portugal; neither was there any place or man which made oppoſition againſt King *Philip* in all the maine land of Portugal.

20

D Antonio laies aſide armes.

Portugal wholy reduced vnder King Philip.

The townes and forts which are in Afrike beyond the Straight, yeelded obedience to King *Philip*, as Ceuta, Tanger and the reſt, where he was content to leaue the ſame Gouernor and garriſons that were before: And it was not long before he had newes that D. *Lewis d' Alcaide* Earle of Zoghia, viceroy at the Eaſt Indies, had acknowledged him for

Places belonging to the Portugals in Afrike yeeld to King Philip.

for his King, notwithſtanding that he had beene much ſollicited by D. *Antonio*. Where- A
fore there remained nothing for the King of Spaine, of all the dependances of the realm of Portugall, to ſubiect vnto him, but the Iſlands of the Tercera's, which are of great importance both for the Eaſterne and Weſterne nauigations, for the which he prouided after that he had made his entry into Lisbone.

Imputations laied vpon the Duke of Alua.

Before that the King parted from Badajos, the imputations and ſlanders laied vpon the Duke of Alba were ſuch, as euery one was perſwaded that he cauſed this goodly conqueſt to be trodden vnder foot by his ſouldiers, and that he gaue them ſuch liberty, as without feare of puniſhment, they did ſpoile, ſacke, kill and violate all diuine and humane lawes: wherefore the King ſent two counſellors to informe, the one was called B
Francis of Villafaguana, taken out of the royall audience of Caſtile, the other in that of Gallicia, whoſe name was *Francis Tedaldi*, who found much leſſe diſorder there then was ſpoken of: yet there were ſome inſolencies ſuppreſt. There was ſomething iuſtly imputed to the Duke of Alba, that by his ſower and proud manner of proceeding, hee had hindred D. *Antonios* reception into fauour with the King, yea after that hee had beene ſaluted for King at Lisbone, and when as the Duke went about to take the forts that were neere vnto the city, being certaine that King *Philip* ſhewed himſelfe willing, when as he vvas mooued by *Diego de Carcamo*. This *Carcamo* vvas a gentleman of Caſtile, who had ſerued D. *Antonio* when he was but Prior of Crato, in the life of King *Henry*: who ſeeing that King *Philip* had reſolued after his deceaſe to ſeize vpon the C
Realme of Portugal by armes, and that the Gouernors made a ſhew that they would defend it, he had demaunded his leaue, and was retired into Caſtile, whereas the King ſuffred him to follow the Duke of Albas campe as a voluntary. Being in the army after the taking of Setuual, at the paſſage of the riuer of Tayo, he had leaue giuen him to goe to Lisbone, to ſee the new King D. *Antonio*, letting the Duke vnderſtand that it was the King their Maſters pleaſure. Being well entertained by D. *Antonio*, they beganne to diſcourſe of the preſent Eſtate of the affaires, and of what might happen, ſeriouſly and without vanity; they both concluding that D. *Antonio* had committed an error, in taking vpon him the title of a King, and that he ſhould haue beene ſatisfied with that of defender of the country, and that hauing in effect no ſupport, neither from the Go- D
uernors, who were oppoſite vnto him, nor from the Eſtates, who were diſperſt, nor of the Nobility, nor of any other, but of the Inhabitants of Lisbone, and ſome other townes, whereas the multitude being ignorant, inconſtant, baſe and vilde, are alwaies mutinous and diſobedient in ſuch occaſions, he muſt needs thinke that he could not ſubſiſt, and that he muſt yeeld vnto the forces of Caſtile, being in danger to be ill intreated, and without any reſpect if he were taken: and eſcaping, hee muſt not hope that any Prince in Chriſtendome would vndertake a warre for his ſake. He might weil procure ſome weake ſuccors from France or England, vnder the name of voluntaries, without advow, for once, with the hazard of ſome incounter; but this were no great foundation, obtayning a victory either at ſea or land, to thinke your ſelfe thereby ſetled againſt a E
mighty Prince, as King *Philip* is, who hath meanes, in an inſtant, to repaire all the loſſes that may happen vnto him. It is true (ſaid *Carcamo*) that this name and title of a King or Soueraigne Prince is a ſweet enchantment to bewitch men, and it ſeemes that honour doth binde your highneſſe, hauing once gotten it, to maintaine it with the hazard of your life, and rather to die fighting then to leaue it: This were good if we knew our aduentures, which are moſt incertaine; Man dies not when, nor how hee doth imagine, it depends of the wil of God. A King is as ſoone taken as ſlaine in a battaile. If your highneſſe ſhould be taken, conſider, what would be your condition, and ſeeke no farther into Gods ſecret Iudgements, who ſhewes plainly by the ſucceſſe of King *Philips* enterpriſes, that he hath ordained the realme of Portugal ſhould be vnited to that of Caſtile. F
That he ſhould haue recourſe whileſt he had time, to thoſe remedies which might warrant him from diſhonour and infamy, rather then to contend in vaine againſt heauen and nature: and caſt himſelfe into the Kings armes, whom hee holds for his enemy; aſſuring him that he ſhould find him milde, and forgetting all that was paſt, giuing him meanes to liue with honour, if not with the title of a King, yet in quality of a Prince,

Diſcours betwixt D. Antonio and Carcamo.

Carcamos ſpeech to D. Antonio.

whom

A whom hee will loue and acknowledge as his kinſman. *Diego de Carcamo* did without any diſpute, make D. *Antonio* allow of theſe reaſons, who knowing them to be moſt true, reſolued to write an humble letter vnto King *Philip*, yet ſtill retayning ſome right vnto himſelfe.

He excuſed himſelfe for that hee had taken the name of King, and receiued royall honours at Saint Iren, Setuual, and at Lisbone, the queſtion of ſucceſſion beeing not decided, ſaying, that he had beene forced by the multitude, who would haue yeelded him no obedience, if he had onely carried the title of defender of the country, and that if he had prepared to make defence, it was by authority from the ſtates, which is the greateſt B power within the realme, the royall ſeat being voide: and that his Highneſſe ſhould impute that to the loue and charity which euery good Portugues ſhould carry vnto the crowne of Portugal: being then free, and full of honours purchaſed by the proper and peculiar vertues which God had infuſed into the Nation, both in Kings and ſubiects, the which he greeued to ſee confounded, and in danger to be darkened, beeing mingled with the trophees of Caſtile: And howſoeuer he held himſelfe bound to perſeuer in this defence, thinking the quarrel iuſt in his conſcience, and by the conſultations which hee had had both in the vniuerſities of the country, as ſtrangers, as well of Diuines as Lawiers, yet conſidering the condition of humaine things, and the vncertentie of their euents, and alſo to ſpare bloud, and to preuent the inſolencies and ſpoiles which follow warre, he was content to lay aſide armes, and the title of King, knowing how his high- C neſſe ment to intreat both the realmes and him. This was the ſubſtance of the letter which *Diego de Carcamo*, carried vnto King *Philip*, being yet at Badajos, the which hee receiued in good part, ſeeming deſirous the quarrel might be ended by ſuch ſubmiſſions, without any more force. But for that this negotiation fell out, either during the Kings ſickneſſe, or vpon his recouery, being it may bee aduiſed to haue this matter treated of farre from him, to the end hee might not haue his ſpirits continually importuned, nor haue occaſion to alter his humors by any difficulty, that ſhould put him in choller, hee gaue the whole charge thereof to the Duke of Alba, to whom *Diego* of Carcamo was ſent, who made ſome voiages more to Lisbone, and had ſo well aduanced the buſineſſe, D as there remained nothing, but to draw neere, and to conferre together by their Deputies, or in perſon if it might bee; when as Don *Antonio* receiuing letters from the Duke, conceiued by the termes thereof, an opinion that hee contemned him, and that hee would treat with him as a Maſter: for although that the Duke did witneſſe by the tenor of his letters, that hee would imploy his beſt endeauors to attaine vnto a peace, ſaying that he honoured the memory of the Infant D. *Lewis* his father, the which did binde him to ſeeke D. *Antonios* aduancement in this treaty, yet he gaue him no other title but your Lordſhip, where they had beene accuſtomed to ſay vnto him, your Highneſſe, ſince he was King, and before your Excelleny, when he was but Prior of Crato. This ceremonious kinde of ſpeaking being omitted by the Duke of Alba willingly, to humble Don *Antonio*, was the cauſe that the treaty went not forward, which was a great croſſe both E for the country and himſelfe.

D. Antonio writes to king Philip.

D. *Philip* being now King of all Spaine, entred into Portugall ſoone after his recouery, and came to Eluas, where he was acknowledged for King, and in all places where hee paſt, and then he did free them of a forraine impoſition which was leauied vpon all marchandize which paſt from one realme vnto an other, which was valued yeerely at a hundred and fifty thouſand crownes, for a token of the vnion, and to ſhew that the Caſtillans and Portugals were now but one people. He appointed an aſſembly of the Eſtates at Tomar in Aprill the yeere following 1582. hee viſited *Catherine* Dutcheſſe of Bragança at Villa Boim, who yeelded her right to the Realme vnto him, if ſhe had any. The F Pope who had till then beene ſomewhat oppoſite to the Kings purſutes, did allow of all that had beene done in Portugall, being aduertiſed how matters had paſt; hee exhorted him that to ſhew himſelfe thankefull vnto God for the proſperities which hee had giuen him, he ſhould vndertake to make warre againſt the Queene of England, either directly, or vnder hand, in fauoring the Iriſh: hee not onely offred him his ſpirituall treaſors, but alſo quit him the fruites of the Archbiſhoprike of Toledo, which had beene long

King Philip enters into Portugal.

Pope Gregory allowes of the conqueſt of Portugal.

long in the hands of his Stewards, whileſt that the Archbiſhop remained ſuſpended of A
his dignity, and that his proceſſe was in queſtion at Rome, the which amounted to ſome millions of crownes, and did belong to the Church and Sea of Rome. The King knew well that he ſhould not reſtore thoſe fruits, and therefore he was not eager to enter into open warre againſt the Engliſh, yet he promiſed to ſuccor the Iriſh from Spaine, without any further declaration, but ſaying, that he would deale with the affaires of Ireland, as the Queene of England did with them of Flanders. Hee was alſo to prouide for the reduction of the Iſlands of the Tercera's, without the which his fleets could hardly continue their nauigations to the Indies.

Deſcription of the Terceras.

Theſe Iſlands are in the Atlantike Ocean, and are otherwiſe called the Açores; they be B
ſeuen in number, moſt of them ſmall, and not greatly inhabited. The beſt are the Tercera (which carries the name of them al) Saint Michel (which is the greateſt) and Fayal: the other, which be, Santa Maria, Pic, Flowers and Corues, are barren and vnpeopled. The city of Angra the Biſhops Sea, is in the Tercera, but the Biſhops aboad is in that of Saint Michel, at a place called Puncto del Gada, which Iſland is ſome hundred miles neerer vnto Spaine then the reſt. All the Inhabitants of theſe Iſlands are brutiſh, ſuperſtitious and vaine, yet inſtructed by Ieſuits and many ſorts of Monkes which haue their dwellings there. Vntil that the Marquis of Santa Cruz had conquered them, they were of opinion that the King D. *Sebaſtian* was not dead at the battaile of Afrike, they did hate the Caſtillans mortally, & were enterrained in this hatred by D. *Antonio*, who held them two yeers C
after the conqueſt of Portugal, by the means of ſome ſuccors which he drew frõ France, for this King being expelled, after that he had wandred throughout the realm, poore and in a diſguiſed habit, for the ſpace of eight months, and yet was neuer wronged nor diſcouered, notwithſtanding that he ſpake to diuers men, in the end he had means to fraight a ſhip of the Low countries at Setuual, who for 600. crowns brought him to Callis, from whence going to the court of France, he was kindly entertained by the Queene Mother, one of the Pretendants to the crowne of Portugal, by whoſe fauor and authority, hee found in many priuat men that offred to do him ſeruice, & went to ſea, & to the Iſlands, vnder his warrant, hoping to take ſome Spaniſh or Portugal ſhips cõming from the Indies, and to inrich themſelues with their ſpoiles, ſo as it was an ordinary trade from the D
ports of France to the Tercera's: where for a time D. *Antonio Cyprian* de Figueredo commanded, but not well pleaſed with him, he diſplaſt him, and gaue his Gouernment to *Emanuel de Sylua*, who called himſelfe Earle of Torres Vedras. They of the Iſland of Saint Michel, being ſome diſtance from the reſt, did preſently acknowledge the king of Spaine, diuiding themſelues from the reſt, whether French ſhips came many times to ſpoile it, and ſome Spaniards to defend it, who meeting made furious war, but the Spaniards had alwaies the worſt. They of the Tercera's, were firme for *Antonio*, and tooke all that came vpon their coaſt, and vpon that of Fayal, or that they could ſee at ſea, to make a ſtock for D. *Antonio*, who reaped great commodity. There was one called *Iohn de Betancour*, deſcended from ſome French houſe, dwelling in the towne of Angra, who thought to draw E
the people into a mutiny for the King of Spaine, who being almoſt ſlaine, was caſt into an obſcure priſon, where he remained long, and it is doubtful whether he died there. The Ieſuits thought to ſpeake, but they walled vp the gates of their conuents, and kept them long ſhut vp after that maner, giuing them meate twice a weeke, and yet they feared to bee worſe intreated: but the other Orders of Monkes ſpake of none but D. *Antonio*, whoſe vertues and praiſes were moſt commonly the ſubiect of their Sermons, medling much with affaires of ſtate and warre. King *Philip* to aſſure himſelfe of the Iſland of Saint Michel which held for him, and receiue the ſhips which came from the Indies, being not aduertiſed of that which had paſt in Portugal, leaſt they ſhould vnwillingly fall into the hands of the contrary party, he commanded that D. *Pedro de Baldes* ſhould bee F
ſent with foure ſhips and ſix hundred Spaniards, who aduenturing to land in the Iſland of Tercera's, with an opinion that there were many in the Iſland affected to the King his Maſter, and by their meanes to doe ſome good exploite vpon the city of Angra, which was vnwalled towards the land, he was charged by thẽ, who ſlue 400. of his men, ſo as he made all the haſt he could to get to ſea, and returne to Lisbone, where for his welcome

People of the Terceras bruſiſh.

Pedro de Baldes defeated by them of the Terceras.

he

A he was put in priſon,charging him that he had fought contrary to his Commiſſion, yet he was ſoone releaſed, finding that he was not expreſly forbidden to fight. *Lope de Figueroa* being ſent after to ſecond him,thought to find him about the Iſland of S. Michel, but hearing of this defeat, he returned alſo to Lisbone , ſo as it was then reſolued to ſend greater forces the next ſpring.

We haue formerly made mention of certaine companies ſent by Pope *Gregory* the 13. to ſuccor the Rebels of Ireland,vnder the command of *Thomas Stukely*, who comming to Portugal with ſixe hundred foote, when as D. *Sebaſtian* did arme againſt the Moores, they were intreated by him to ſerue him in that warre , where moſt of them were ſlaine B with their chiefe Commander. The reſt returning into Portugall , with *Sebaſtian Saniſep* one of their Commanders , they had order to paſſe into Ireland , and the Popes Nuntio there had order to leauy Spaniards to fill vp the number, and to increaſe it,who ſhould ſaile into Ireland vnder the Standard of the Church , yet at the King of Spaines charge,hauing money to raiſe foure thouſand men of the country , they being but nine hundred men in all vnder diuers captaines Italians and Spaniards. Theſe men landed in Ireland,and built a good fort , called Smerwike , the which was furniſhed with ordinance, victuals and munition to maintaine a long ſeege , into the which there entred but ſixe hundred men, the other three hundred returning in three ſhips , leauing three behind;but before they were fully fortified, the Lord *Gray*,Lord Deputy for the Queens C Maieſty in Ireland,came and beſeeged them, and preſt them in ſuch ſort , as ſome of the captaines,compounding for their owne liues,the reſt were put to ſword: And ſo that enterpriſe was ſoone made fruſtrate,hauing more deſire then meanes to anoy the Engliſh in thoſe parts.

Forces ſent into Ireland by the Pope and King of Spaine defeated.

The time appointed being come for the holding of the Eſtates at Tomar ; the Depu- *An.* 1581. ties of the Clergy , Nobility , Prouinces and good townes of Portugal came thither, where King *Philip* was acknowledged by them all for King of Portugal , without any contradiction,and receiued the oth of fidelity , the which hee cauſed to be taken to the Prince his ſonne. There they alſo treated how the Realme ſhould be gouerned, where the King ſhewed himſelfe very bountifull,for he granted vnto the realme,in a manner,all D the Articles which the Duke of Oſſuna his Ambaſſador had promiſed and ſigned to the fiue Gouernors,before the taking of Lisbone , the chiefe whereof were: That the King ſhould take an oth,as he did,to maintaine the realme in her lawes,cuſtomes,preuiledges and liberties . That the Eſtates of the realme ſhould bee held within the realme , and that they ſhould reſolue there,and no where elſe, of matters concerning the realme of Portugal . That the viceroy,or by what name ſoeuer they called the Gouernor,ſhould be a Portugueſe, vnleſſe he were a Prince of the bloud, ſonne,vncle , brother, couſin or nephew to the King. That the offices of Iuſtice , charges of the treaſure and reuenues of the crowne, ſhould be giuen vnto Portugueſes alone.That ſuch as had offices and dignities within the realme , as well at land as at ſea,preferred by former Kings,ſhould en- E ioy them ſtill,and in like manner the offices of the houſe and crowne of Portugal. That the Gouernors and Captaines of places and the ſouldiers in garriſons ſhould be all Portugueſes.That the commerce of the Eaſt Indies ſhould remaine for the Portugueſes, diſtinct from them of Caſtile , as they had beene before this vnion,and vnder the ſame lawes. That the money which ſhould be coined in Portugal ſhould haue the armes of Portugal alone , without any other mixture or addition. That all Clergy dignities, both great and ſmall, ſhould be giuen to Portugueſes,and in like maner all commanderies of the Orders of Knights . That no Croiſadoes,nor thirds of Eccleſiaſticall liuings, ſhould be obtained from the Pope , to be leauied in Portugal. That no fees nor iuriſdictions ſhould be granted in Portugal,to others thē to Portugueſes.That rights,exche- F ting to the crown,ſhould not be giuen to any but to Portugueſes. That the King ſhould take into his ſeruice two hundred Portugueſes , giuing them the penſion which is called Moradic. That the King comming into Portugal , the lodgings of his Court and traine ſhould be made after the manner of Portugal. That the King going through the realme he ſhould carry with him a priuat Counſel conſiſting of a Prelate, Chancellor, Treaſorer,ſuperintendant, and a certaine number of Secretaries , which ſhould bee called the

Eſtates of Portugal held at Tomar.

22

Articles granted by King Philip to the realme of Portugal.

counſell

counſell of Portugal, all Portugueſes. That the prouiſions of offices, as wel of Iuſtice as others ſhould be made within the realme, & that their ſupreme Iudgements ſhould haue execution. That the Kings Chappel and ſinging men ſhould be entertained, as had bin vſed in the time of other Kings, in the city of Lisbone commonly, or where the Kings perſon ſhould be within the realme. That al forraine impoſitions vpon the confines of either realme, ſhould ceaſe. That al Portugueſes ſhould indifferently bee admitted to ſerue the Kings and Queenes, and that the Queenes taking Portugal maidens to ſerue them, ſhould marry then according to their quallities, as had beene accuſtomed. A

At theſe Eſtates there was a generall pardon granted to them that had carried armes, or otherwiſe oppoſed themſelues againſt king *Philip*. Out of the which were excepted D. *Antonio*, the Biſhop of Garda, the Earle of Vimioſo, and others named to the number of 52. All the religious men which had adhered to D. *Antonio*, and thoſe that had receiued office from him, were alſo excluded out of this pardon, and were made incapable euer to receiue any grace or charge from the King. The vniuerſity of Coimbra, which had held D. *Antonios* part, and publiſhed his title, was (contrary to the opinion of many) confirmed in their preuiledges, and taking into the Kings ſpecial protection. As for gratuities and rewards to priuate Portugueſes, the King gaue much, yet he pleaſed not all ſutors. He confirmed the Duke of Bragança in the dignity of Conſtable of the realm. The Duke of Oſſuna, who had left Portugal after the Gouernors flight from Setuual, was made viceroy of Naples, which is the goodlieſt charge of Spaine, wherevnto the Noblemen aſpire and ſeeke to come vnto by degrees, as the chiefe of dignities which is giuen in that court. *Chriſtopher de Mora* was made gentleman of the Chamber, which is much in Spaine. All that had imployed themſelues to ſerue the King in his pretenſion and purſute of that realm of Portugal, as well of the nation, as others, yea and many which had oppoſed themſelues, and were afterwards by ſome meanes reconciled, were gratified and rewarded, ſome ſuperfluoſly, others more ſparingly, ſo as ſome thought his recompences and rewards amounted to ſix millions of crownes. B C

King Philips bounty in Portugal.

The Eſtates being ended, the King drew neere vnto Lisbone ſtaying ſome daies at Almada, not far off, attending the preparations which they made for his reception, and on Saint *Peters* day he made his royal entry, where after the triumphes, he wanted not importunat ſutors for guifts and recompences, and there was ſo great a number of petitions preſented, as the counſel was ouer-charged, and there could not be any expedition, ſo as to abridge al delaies, the King diſcharged the body of the counſell, and committed the examination and prouiſion vnto two only, which were, D. *Antonio Pignero* Biſhop of Leira, and *Chriſtopher de Mora*. D

22 *Entry of King Philip into Liſbone, and acknowledged King.*

The Great Turke being at truce both with the Perſian and the Catholike King, had ſome cauſe giuen him to doubt a warre in Afrike, for that in Tunis the people had taken armes, and expelled the Turkes that were there in gard, calling home their old King *Amida*, who had beene expelled and liued at Malta, wherevpon *Amurath* did preſently ſend *Vluccialy* with ſome gallies, who attempted to land ſome men, but the King of Fez oppoſed himſelfe, hauing no wil that the Turkes ſhould grow potent in Afrike. And the Catholike King, who had made a league with the Moore, would not haue the Turke aduance on that ſide, proteſting to *Vluccialy*, that by reaſon of the truce, formerly made betwixt him and the great Turke, he could not attempt war againſt him of Fez, vnleſſe he would breake the truce; and therefore if he attempted any thing, hee would ſend his gallies againſt him; which threats made *Vluccialy* reſolue (hauing paſt thether wel prouided) not to alter any thing this yeere. The diſorders at the Tercera's increaſed daily, many comming thether for refuge, after they had beene ſpoyling at ſea, whereof ſome were French: And King *Phillip* being aduertiſed that in France they prepared many ſhips of warre, and leauied ſouldiers publikly vnder the fauour of the Queene mother, to come vnto thoſe Iſlands, there to fortifie themſelues againſt the Spaniards, to cut off their nauigation to the Indies, and to aſſure them againſt the enterpriſes of the King of Spaine, and depriue him of the vſe of them, he had already commanded D. *Aluar de Baçan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz, to carry 5000. men thether, when as hearing that D. *Antonio* had ſet ſaile with aboue 70. ſhips and 7000. ſoldiers (as reports are alwaies greater E F

then

A then the effects) he preſt the Marquis to be gonne, and ſeemed to be ſomewhat diſcontented with him, for his ſlackneſſe in making ready the ſhips of Andaluzia, whereof there were a good number appointed for this voiage: ſo as hee was forced to goe from Lisbone on the tenth of Iuly with eight and twenty ſhips only, ſome Biſcains, the reſt Flemings and Eſterlings, appointing the reſt which were at Saint Lucar, Santa Maria, and other ports to follow him. This Caſtillan army beeing come to the Iſland of Saint Michel, they found that the French were already landed, and did ſpoile it. So as they came happely to preſerue the Iſland, and the chiefe fort of it called *Puncte Delgada*. Hee was glad that whileſt the French were buſie about the ſpoile of that poore Iſland, they had B ſuffred a great ſhip and very rich comming from the Indies to eſcape, the which had come vnwittingly vnto thoſe Iſlands, beeing ignorant how the affaires of Portugal had paſt.

Armies of French and Spaniards in the Iſland of Saint Michel.

Theſe two enemies fleets were at anchor ſome thirty miles one from an other, being couered with points of Land which runne into the ſea: The French being about Laguna towards the Weſt, and the Spaniards at Morro, which is to the Eaſt, with this diſaduantage, that the Marquis ſayling along the Iſland to finde a fit place to land, the army had beene fully diſcouered by the French, which hee could not doe of theirs, lying couered and hidden: beſides the French had taken a Caruell of aduice, the Marquis hauing ſent two vnto the Gouernor of the Iſland to aduertiſe him of his comming, and of the number of ſhips and ſouldiers which hee brought with him, and of thoſe C which ſhould follow him. Beeing therefore hard to diſcouer the French army by ſea, the Marquis was deſirous to land ſome men to learne ſome certentie, but they were forced to returne without any certaine knowledge. Wherefore to bee better aſſured, he waied anchor, and put to ſea with all his fleet, in order to fight, meaning to paſſe in that manner along the South part of the Iſland, where the enemy lay (for the other ſide of the Iſland was deſart and had no landing) and by that meanes ſee what their ſtrength might be, where at the breake of day there came a ſmal barke vnto him, in the which was the Maſter of a Biſcain ſhip, with letters from *Iohn de Caſtillo*, who commanded in the fort of the city, by the which he did aduertiſe him of all that had paſt ſince the comming D of D. *Antonio* and his army vnto the Iſland: That the French had in all 58. ſailes, whereof 28. were great ſhips, and 6000. ſouldiers; that they had ſackt the village of Laguna, and put to rout *Pedro Pexot*, and *Laurence Noghera*, who went to incounter them with 3000. men, part Iſlanders and part Spaniards, and then had entred into the city which they had found empty, and that they ſought to winne the fort, into the which they were fled that had eſcaped at the defeat. That *Laurence Noghera* was dead of a wound which hee had receiued in the fight, and that *Pexot* went away ſoone after in a Caruel towards Lisbone, leauing many of his veſſels in the Port, which had beene taken or brothen by the French, and that hee was ſtraightly beſeeged in the fort; and therefore hee ſhould take counſell, whether hee ſhould fight, or retire with all his ſhips vnder the fort to fauour it.

E The Marquis beeing glad of this aduice ſent the Maſter backe to *Iohn de Caſtillo* with this anſwere. That hee ſhould not trouble himſelfe but hold good, for hee was reſolued to fight, with hope to vanquiſh the enemy. This report came neere the truth for the number of their ſhips, for the French fleet at their comming from Belille in Britan conſiſted of fiue and fifty ſailes, whereof there were fiue and thirty ſhips of warre, and twenty pinaces, carrying ſeuen and thirty companies of foote, which might make ſome foure thouſand ſouldiers, whereof *Saincte Solene* was Collonel of fifteene Enſignes, nine were vnder the command of the Siegneur of Buz, eight vnder *Beaumont*, and fiue vnder *Fumee*, ouer which *Philip Stroſſy* was Generall, and the Earle of Briſſac was his F Lieutenant. The Marquis hauing ſpent that day in conſultations, and in ordring all things neceſſary for the army, the next day, which was the three and twentith day of Iuly, the two fleets were at ſea, their prowes turned as if they ment to fight, which it is verie likely they had done inſtantly if ſo bee that a calme had not kept them from ioyning. After dinner the vvinde grovving ſomevvhat freſh, the Marquis thinking that the French (vvho had the vvinde) vvould haue charged him, and

Number of the French army at the Terceres.

hee preparing to receiue them; hee ſaw them bend their courſe towards the Iſland of A
Santa Maria, fifty miles diſtant from that of Saint Michel, the which the Spaniſh fleet did in like manner, coaſting one an other, and turning their ſailes ſometimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, vntill that night came, which was very calme, ſo as the French could not execute their deſeigne, which was to haue ſent ten ſhips of warre along the Iſland to get behind the Spaniſh fleet, with an intent to charge them the next day in front, and on either ſide.

In the morning euery man expected a battaile, but they did not any thing, but play with their great ordinance a farre off, yet anoying one an other, for the French had one of their ſhips ſunke. Night being come the Marquis, being tired with this loſſe of time, B
ſought to get the winde, wherefore he gaue commandement to all his ſhips, that hearing a peece of ordinance ſhot off, they ſhould beare vp cloſe with the Admiral, and follow it, bearing no lanthorne, to the end the enemy ſhould not ſee them: This Order was obſerued by all the ſhips, except two Eaſterlings in the which were foure hundred Germaines; who being not aduertiſed, through his fault that had the charge, were ſo far off as they could not ioyne againe with the reſt of the fleet. But this preuailed not, for at the breake of day, which was the fiue and twentith of July, on Saint Iames day, the Patron of Spaine, to whom the Spaniards ſaid that D. *Antonio* and the French captaines bare reſpect, they ſaw them buſie to repaire their ſhips, which were ſhot through the day before, making no ſhew that they had any intent to fight. The Marquis men were C
preſt with the like neceſſity, for that the maine maſt of a great ſhip, in the which *Chriſtopher d' Eraſſo* was, had beene bruzed and ſhaken, ſo as they were forced to attend her, fearing the enemy ſhould enuiron and take her, whileſt they mended her maſt, which was ſo ſhaken, as ſhee could not ſaile: So this day was ſpent, in the which the French, whoſe veſſels were lighter, had meanes to recouer the winde.

The next day being the ſixe and twentith, they muſt needs fight, their former delaies proceeding from the ſundry opinions that were amongſt the captaines of D. *Antonios* armies, whereof ſome would fight, and others were vnwilling, and if their Generall and Admirall had not aduanced to ſhew them the way, moſt of them would not haue come to it: making their excuſe that they had alwaies ſeene *Philip Stroſſy*, and the Earle D
of Vimioſo (who were in one ſhip) keepe behinde, which they imputed to want of will to fight, where as in truth the reaſon was for that the ſhip was heauy, and not ſo good a ſailer as the reſt: for theſe two Noblemen wanted no courrage, but were moſt deſirous to fight with the enemy: *Stroſſy* and the Earle finding this bad impreſſion of their companions, changed their ſhips, and tooke one of the beſt ſaylers in the fleet, in the which the Lord of Beaumont was, who was Collonel of thoſe companies which had followed the Earle of Briſſac. The two armies beeing in order of battaile at ſea, within three miles one of an other, and fiue and twenty from Saint Michel, the ſea being calme, they attended ſome ſmall gale to giue them meanes to approch.

23 *Battaile at ſea betwixt the French and Spaniards.*

The which fell out about noone, fauorable for the French, wherevpon they ioyned E
within tenne miles of the Iſland, fighting with great reſolution. In the front of all the French army was *Stroſſy* and the Earle of Vimioſo, their ſhip holding the place of Admirall, the Earle of Briſſac was with them for vice-admirall, with three Engliſh ſhips, then followed the other ſhips, ſome neere, ſome farther off. The Spaniſh fleet had for their foreward a great hulke, and *Francis de Bouadilla* in it; the galleon Saint Martin, in the which the Marquis of Santa Cruz went, who towed after him with a cable the ſhip of *Chriſtopher d' Eraſſo*, whoſe maſt was much ſhaken, and with them the galeon called Saint Mathew, which carried *Lope de Figueroa*: all the other ſhips of the Spaniſh fleet, were in a manner couered by theſe foure. Euery one had choſen where to fight, but the winde changing and varying, made them to change their deſeignes. F

The Saint Mathew, wherein *Lope de Figueroa* was, beeing caſt ſomewhat from the reſt by the agitation of the winde and waues, it was firſt charged by the Admirall and vice-admirall of the French, and the other three ſhippes, which did enuiron it with a ſtorme of great ſhot and fire, whom hee anſwered with the like, and made them to keepe aloofe, yet *Figueroa* was ſo preſt by the Admirall, Vice-admirall, and

an

A an other ſhip as he was often in danger to be loſt, for he maintained the fight valiantly aboue two houres, and was not ſuccored. In the end a Biſcay ſhip of *Peter* of Garagarza, in which were two companies of Spaniards, came and releeued him. The Marquis, who ſaw him in danger, was much troubled for that hee could not ſuccor him in time as hee thought; both for that he was forced to anſwer two French ſhips which had ſet vpon him (whom notwithſtanding he had made retire with his great Ordinance, and that of the Hulke, wherein *Francis de Bauadillo* was) as alſo for that he muſt goe againſt the winde, caſting about, ſo as the time would be long before he ſhould recouer him. Yet in the end he came vnto him, but the order of the army and all their priuate deſeignes
B were peruerted, as it happens commonly in ſea fights, being ſubiect to the winde and waues; but he was preuented by the ſhips of Michel d' Oquendo, of captaine *Villa Vicioſa*, and an other Biſcain, who came firſt to ſuccor the Galeon Saint Mathew, being followed by many others. Theſe three laſt-named did inueſt the Vice-admiral, in the which the Earle of Briſſac was, who being already ill intreated by the cruel reſiſtance the Spaniards had made, ſought to be vngrapled, and to retire her ſelfe. Among others the ſhip of *Michael* de Beneſa came boldly and grapled with the General *Stroſſy*; So as the Marquis of Santa Cruz could not approch nere either of the enemies ſhips, ſeeing them enuironed by his galleons; wherefore he obſerued what the iſſue would be, to ſuccor where need required. The French Vice-admiral defended it ſelfe valiantly againſt three
C ſhips that did preſſe it. Captaine *Villa Vicioſa* who fought in the prow was ſlaine. In poupe they were forced by *Michel d' Oquendo*, who cauſed ſome of his Spaniards to enter, but finding his owne ſhip to be perced, and that it tooke in water, he left her, ſeeing alſo other French ſhips come to ſuccor her. So as this viceadmirall being much torne and broken, ſeeing her ſelfe free, would haue retired, but ſhe could not goe farre, before ſhe ſunke (as the Spaniards ſay:) the Earl of Briſſac with ſome others ſauing themſelues in a little boat, got to the next French ſhip. As for the Admirall where *Stroſſy* was, which had not yet abandoned the fight, ſhe was ſo faſtned to one of the ankors of the galleon Saint Mathew, as it was not poſſible to free her, but they muſt either vanquiſh or die. Before that ſuccors came ſhe was in a manner Maſter of this galleon, about the
D which almoſt the whole fight was, for there were but 70. men of defence and ſeruice remayning in her; but beſides the ſhip of *Michel de Veneſa*, the Marquis, who was watchfull, comming with other ſhips, compaſſed her in round, and did ſo batter her with muſket ſhot, as ſhe was forced to yeeld, hauing endured this laſt charge aboue an houre, and being ſhot through in diuers places, ſhe beganne to ſinke viſibly. There were aboue three hundred men ſlaine in her, the reſt were taken. *Philip Stroſſy* was found ſore wounded with a musket ſhot aboue the knee, which made him fall, who being drawne out of the preſſe, to carry him into the galleon Saint Martin, as they paſt with him from one veſſell to an other, an inſolent ſouldier thruſt his ſword into his belly, and in this Eſtate he was laied before the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who made no account of him,
E and ſeeming not to vnderſtand them that ſaid it was *Philip Stroſſy*, hee turned his head on the other ſide, and made a ſigne that they ſhould caſt him into the ſea yet breathing. D. *Francis* of Portugal, Earle of Vimioſo, who alſo fought valiantly with him, died two daies after of his woũds. The Marquis ſeemed to lament his death, for he was his kinſman.

French defeated at ſea by the Spaniards.

Death of Philip Stroſſy.

This battaile continued, aboue fiue houres, betwixt two very vnequall parties, for there were ſcarce ten French ſhips that fought, by reaſon of the bad intelligence and diſobedience that was among them, as it happens often amongſt a multitude of men, which are either voluntaries, or not experienced; of the which this army did for the moſt part conſiſt, who were fauoured in their faults by their captaines, whereas they ſhould haue vſed ſeuerity, eſpecially at ſea. Before their comming out of France, they had
F falne into quarrels and mutynies, which were with ſome difficulty pacified: moſt of the other French ſhips were idle ſpectators of the battaile; Some at the firſt charge went to ſea, bending their courſe towards the Iſland of the Tecera's, where they refuſed them the port, as treacherous runne-awaies; and if any one came neere vnto the enemy, it was but to diſcharge their canon farre off, which is held by good ſea men to be idle and vnproffitable.

Number of the dead in the battaile.

Thus the French army retired, hauing loſt their Commanders with about 2000. men, and eight of their beſt ſhips in the conflict, in the which the Spaniards ſaid they had not aboue 200. ſlaine, and about 500. hurt, wherein they flattred themſelues ſtrangely, for in the Galleon Saint Mathew, alone, there were aboue 600. ſoldiers and marriners, who by their owne confeſſion were reduced to 70. when as *Stroſſy* was oppreſt by the Marquis and the reſt that came. The Spaniſh fleet remained maſter at ſea, neither cared to purſue them that fled, both for that night approched, as alſo thinking that he had done ynough. He was kept foure daies at ſea, by reaſon of the winde which did riſe, and could not get to the Iſland of Saint Michel, where he afterwards landed his men to refreſh them, and to cure them that were hurt. There D. *Aluaro de Baçan* Marquis of Santa Cruz did an act which was held barbarous, diſcouering the pride and inſolency of certaine Natures which cannot be pacified, and which neuer take delight in their victories, vnleſſe they be ſeaſoned with ſome new cruelties, committed after the fact in cold bloud: for the firſt day of Auguſt the army being landed, *Francis* of Bouadilla hauing cauſed a great ſcaffold to be ſet vp in the market place of Villa Franca, in the Iſland of Saint Michel, he cauſed all the French priſoners, to the number of 300. to be brought thether by foure companies of ſouldiers, where he cauſed a ſentence to be pronounced. That whereas (there being a peace betwixt the Catholike King and the moſt Chriſtian) they had preſumed to come out of France, in fauor of D. *Antonio*, ſometimes Prior of Crato, in form of an army, with an intent to ſpoile the King of Spaines ſhips, comming from the Indies, and ſeize vpon his Iſlands, where they had already taken great booties; he therefore declared them common enemies to the commerce and publike quiet, and fauorers of his Maieſties rebels; and that as pirats and theeues he condemned them to die, commanding the Iudge of the army to cauſe that ſentence to be put in execution, vpon all thoſe that exceeded the age of 17. yeeres, for ſo the ſeruice of God, and of the two Kings required. The age of theſe priſoners, which were exempted from death, to vſe them in the gallies, was iudged after that they were carried backe to priſon by their beards, ſo as many which had little or no beards ſaued their liues, hauing ſecretly pulled the haire off their chins. There were found among thoſe that were condemned foure ſcore gentlemen, who loſt their heads, or rather had their throats cut, for want of a good hangman, and the reſt, both ſoldiers and marriners, were hanged, within two foot of the ground. This inhumaine and bloudy ſlaughter, was deteſted by the Spaniſh ſouldiers, and by many of their captaines, ſaying, that it did blemiſh the honour of armes, and that they did wrong to thoſe priſoners to terme them theeues, beeing apparent that they were not come to that voiage for D. *Antonio*, but to doe ſeruice to the French Queene, by reaſon of the pretenſions ſhe had to the realme of Portugal, and that they ſhould make them faire war, hauing behaued themſelues like valiant ſouldiers, wherevpon they made many requeſts vnto the Generall, ſeeking to diuert him from that cruel reſolution, but he was immouable. After this vnworthy fact (howſoeuer they may colour it) the Marquis ſtaied ſome daies about thoſe Iſlãds, to receiue the Indiã ſhips, if any came, ſo as he ſaued two, which might haue ſomewhat repaired D. *Antonios* loſſe, if they had falne into his hands, whom he put in ſome feare, and all them that were with him at Angra in the Iſland of Tercere, that he would land there, for he paſt and repaſt twiſe or thrice in view of the city, but he had an other deſeigne; for ſeeing the ſeaſon approch, when as the ſeas grow high, he gaue order for the gard of the Iſland of Saint Michel, where he left *Auguſtin Inygues* with 2000. Spaniards, and then ſailed towards Lisbone.

Cruelty of the Marquis of Santa Cruz to the French.

Spaniſh ſouldiers deteſt the cruelty of the Marquis of Santa Cruz

The deſeat of D. *Antonios* army, and the death of *Philip Stroſſy* did much trouble the French King, and the Queene-mother, after which he could not procure any great means to anoy the King of Spaine: Some of the ſhips of that fleet making haſt to recouer the Ports of France, their captaines were reproched with baſe cowardiſe, and ſome of them were put in priſon, being charged to haue beene corrupted by the King of Spaine, or his Agents, before they parted from France, and to haue failed of their duties in the day of battaile. They had prepared for D. *Antonio* (hauing newes of the comming of this army) a ſtately entry in the city of Angra, whether he came two daies before the battaile, to attend the iſſue thereof out of danger, by the aduice of the French

captaines,

A captaines, the vnfortunate ſucceſſe whereof made the triumphs to ceaſe: and when as afrer the defeat he ſaw the Marquis lie houering vp and downe, he grew a fraide, cauſing a light barke to lie ready for his flight, if he ſhould be aſſailed, but hearing afterwards of his departure, he grew aſſured. This poore Prince falne from all his hopes ſtaied their a while, and was perſwaded by *Emanuel de Sylua*, whom he had made Gouernor of thoſe Iſlands, to commit many inſolencies to get money, wherevnto he willingly gaue eare, for he fore-ſaw his future neceſſity. He cauſed mony of a baſe ſtandard to be coined, and ſet it at a high rate. Yet would he not imitate the Marquis of Santa Cruz in cruelty, being ſollicited to put to death fifty Caſtillans which were in priſon at Angra, to reueng
B the death of thoſe that had beene executed in the Iſland of Saint Michel, which ſhewed his generous minde. About the mideſt of October he reſolued to returne againe to France: for danger and want would not ſuffer him to liue any longer in the Iſland of Tercere. Hauing therefore recommended vnto *Emanuel de Silua*, that which concerned the gouernment of thoſe Iſlands, for the gard whereof he left him fiue hundred French ſoldiers, beſides thoſe he had before: he parted with about thirty ſaile. And for that he would not arriue in France, whileſt that the memory of the loſſe of ſo many gallant men was freſh, whereof they impured the cauſe to him, he directed his courſe towards the Canaries, and the Iſland of Madera, to ſpend the time, and to get ſome ſpoile to content his ſouldiers: ſome ſhips both French and Engliſh abandoned him in a ſtorme which diſperſt them about the Iſland of Saint Michel.

D. Antonios eſtate after the deſeat of the French at ſea.

His returne into France.

C The Marquis of Santa Cruz being arriued at Lisbone, he was welcome to the King, who told him, that ſeeing he had beene ſo fortunate in that voiage, he would ſend him the next ſommer to the Tercera's with a ſtronger army, and that he ſhould carry ſome gallies with him, to make an abſolute conqueſt of thoſe Iſlands, and to chaſe away the French and D. *Antonios* partiſans, and euen there he gaue order for that voiage.

We haue formerly made mention that the King of Spaine after the returne of captaine *Drake* from the South ſea, had ſent D. *Diego Florens de Baldes* with 25. ſhips, to for tifie and plant in the Straights of Magellan, & to ſtop the paſſage of any other Engliſhmen that ſhould attempt the like, and that fiue of his ſhips had beene caſt away in a
D ſtorme, vpon the coaſt of Spaine, notwithſtanding the King ſent commandement that he ſhould proceed in his voiage, the which he did with ſixteene ſaile, but he could not get into the ſtraights that yere, ſo as leauing *Diego de Ribera* his Lieutenant, & *Pedro Sarmiento* (who ſhould be the Gouernor of thoſe forts) to attempt it the next yeere, he returned for Spaine. And they happily got into the Straights, where they landed 400. men, with their victuals and munition, which done, *Diego de Ribera* left *Pedro Sarmiento* with 400. men, thirty women, and a ſhip with victuals for eight months, and returned with three ſhips, hauing ſtaied but eight daies in the Straights. *Pedro Sarmiento* built a towne in the mouth of the Straight to the Northward, in the which he put a hundred and fifty men, calling it *Nombre de Ieſus*, from whence he went by land, and ſent the ſhip ſome fiue
E leagues within the Straights, where in the narroeſt part he found a very good port, and built an other towne, which he called Ciudad del Rey Philippo, or King *Phillips* towne, but the ſnow and extreme cold of the Winter would not ſuffer him to finiſh his fort. Wherevpon pretending to goe to his other towne, hee ſailed to the Straights mouth, to his firſt built towne, where hauing ſtaied a day or two, he brake his cable in a ſtorme (as hee ſaid) and went to the riuer of Ienero, and then to Fernambuck to ſeeke for ſome ſupplie of victuals, where he obtained what he deſired: But *Sarmiento* ſayling towards his Colony, his ſhip with all his prouiſion was caſt away, three of his men were drowned and himſelfe hardly eſcaped. At Baya the Gouernor of Breſil fitted him with a barke, & furniſhed him with clothes and victuals for his people, but vpon the way he was ſur-
F prized with ſo furious a ſtorme, as he was forced to caſt all his fraight ouer bord, & to return againe to the riuer of Ienero; where attending a whole yere, he neither receiued ſuccors nor letter from the King, who was offended with *Pedro Sarmiento*, for that he had giuen him wrong informations touching the ſtraights, and put him to a needleſſe charge, and loſſe of men, ſo as *Sarmiento* hauing no meanes to releeue his people, was forced to ſaile towards Spaine, where at ſea he was taken by certaine Engliſhmen, ſo as in

An. 1582. *King of Spaines fortifies the ſtraights of Magellan.*

Sarmiento fortifies in the ſtraights of Magellan.

foure yeeres thoſe poore Spaniards which hee had left in the Srtaights had no ſuccors. A

Death of D. Diego Prince of Spaine.

This yeere D. *Diego* the Kings ſonne, Prince of Spaine, died, for the which he was very ſorrowfull; but he did not much regard the death of the Duke of Alba, which followed ſoone after, at the leaſt he made no ſhew of it, whereat the Portugueſes (who had ſeene their Kings retire themſelues for priuat men) wondred. They remembred that King *Emanuel* had ſhut himſelfe vp three daies for the death of a Pilot. The Duke of Alba was 74. yeeres old when he died in the Kings lodging at Lisbone: of whoſe deeds and diſpoſition we haue ſpoken ſufficiently. D. *Sancho de Auila*, accounted by the Spaniards for one of the beſt captaines of his time, died ſoone after the Duke, being hurt with a horſe he ſought to be cured by a ſouldier, with charmes, and neglected the Art of Surgery. B Among other Acts of his the ſacke of *Antwerp* is memorable, in the yeere 1576.

Death of the Duke of Alba.

Death of D. Sancho de Auila.

King *Philip* being preſt to returne into Caſtile, to conſider of a marriage which was treated of betwixt the Emperour and one of his daughters, being alſo to goe to the Eſtates of Arragon, he made haſt, before his departure out of Portugal, for that which was neceſſary for the gouernment of the realme, and for the firme vnion thereof with Caſtile. He therefore ſommoned the Eſtates for the 26. day of Ianuary the yeere following 1583. and there he cauſed his ſonne D. *Philip* to be ſworne lawfull ſucceſſor to the crown of Portugal; he cauſed the funeral of the deceaſed King D. *Henry* to be made at Belem, where he was buried with his Predeceſſors, and he cauſed the bones of King *Sebaſtian*, and of diuers other Princes his kinſmen, which had beene left, or buried in diuers Monaſteries, to be brought thether. As for the Gouernment of the realme, in his abſence, he gaue it to the Archduke *Albert* Cardinal, contrary to the opinion of moſt Courtiers, who thought he would haue left it to his ſiſter D. *Maria*, widow to the Emperor *Maximilian*, who had retired her ſelfe into Spaine, and was come to him into Portugal at the time of this conqueſt. He left for Counſellors to the Archduke, D. *George d' Almaida* Archbiſhop of Lisbone, *Pedro d' Alcaſſoua*, who had beene ſo ill intreated by King *Henry*, whom King *Philip* reſtored to al his goods and honor, and *Michel de Mora*, Secretary of the realme, who was honored by him with the office of Scribe of the purity, which is one of the greateſt dignities of that Court: but the King contrary to the Articles concluded at the Eſtates of the realme, and againſt their priuiledges, put into the Counſell D of the Hazienda, which is for the reuenues of the crowne, two Caſtillans, one a Lawier & the other a Merchant. The Empreſſe did alſo ſomewhat diſcontent the Portugals when as viſiting the conuent of Santos, which is a retreat for Ladies of great houſes liuing like religious women, but yet may marry, ſhe drew out D. *Iuliana d' Alencaſtro*, daughter and heire to the Duke of Auero, being thirteene yeeres old, and tooke her with her into Caſtile, whereas they thought ſhe would marry her. The Portugueſes were alſo diſconted at the Archdukes proceedings, who after the Kings departure, in the beginning of his gouernment, made difficulty to ſigne the prouiſions and ordinary letters, which ought to be diſpatched within the realme, as the King had agreed, ſending furors ordinarily to Court. In the end the King, to pacifie al diſcontents, and to leaue a good con- E ceit of him in his new conqueſt, gaue many guifts and rewards to them that preſented themſelues, and made their ſeruices knowne, or their deſire to doe him any: the Duke of Bragança and the Marquis of Villareal were they that taſted leaſt of his bounty, the which was noted, being the principal perſons of the realme, from whence he parted the eleuenth of February that yeere, preſently after the ending the Eſtates.

An. 1583. *D. Philip the Kings ſonne ſworne at the Eſtates of Portugal.*

Archduke Albert made Gouernor of Portugal.

King Philip goes out of Portugal.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz, after his returne to Lisbone, vſed all dilligence to make ready the army which he ſhould lead the Sommer following to the Tercera's: the which being knowne in France by D. *Antonio*, and thoſe that fauored him, they wrought ſo as he had meanes to ſend about 1200. men, vnder the command of Mounſier *de Chattes* a Knight of Malta, and Gouernor of Diepe, a man well practiſed in martiall affaires F both at land and ſea: there were already in the Iſlands of Tercere and Fyal, ſeuen hundred French and three hundred Engliſh, and about three or foure thouſand Portugueſes and Iſlanders. The Iſland of Tercere was the place which muſt bee chiefely kept, to defend the approches whereof, and the landing places, *Emanuel* de Sylua had cauſed ſome thirty forts to be built within compaſſe of it, which was a weake fortification, for

Succors ſent to the Terceres.

Forts built at the Tercere.

A for beeing all ſmall, capable of few men, and farre one from another, they might be eaſily forced with few men, and one could not releeue another. This *Emanuel de Silua* (as the Spaniards deſcribe him) was a man full of will, and opinion of his own ſufficiencie, but in effect he was ignorant of the art of war, (as in a maner all Portuguezes at that time were) and of a very tyrannous diſpoſition: ſo as he omitted no kind of cruelty to get mony: and did willingly giue eare to them that found out any inuention to call the inhabitants of the Iland in queſtion, for the breach of his capitulations, Edicts, and Ordonances, to the end he might forfeit their goods. To effect the which, one *Amador de Vieira* gaue him good meanes, who beeing ſecretly entertayned in that Iland by King *Philip*, to
B diſcouer who was affected to him, and to entertayn them in that good will to ſerue him, when as he thought he had diſcouered all, he carried the roule to *Emanuel de Silua*, who made his profit thereof. Monſieur *de Chattes* being arriued at the Tercera's, he would ſee all the fortifications of the Iland, and vnderſtand the reaſons: for he did not comprehend much, conſidering the number of men, the defence of ſo many forts would require: wiſhing that *Emanuel de Silua* had rather made one ſtrong retreat, capable of all that was good in the Iland, both men, victuals, munition, and other things in the beſt place thereof, which might haue beene able to endure a ſeege vntill winter, with the ſouldiers and inhabitants that were there, the which making in all fiue or ſixe hundred men, good and bad, beeing well led and commanded, might make a gallant defence, and not truſt to thoſe ſmall forts, which were neither made with iudgement, nor able to hinder the ene-
C mies landing: for they did not defend the third part of the approches of that Iland, the which hee found not ſo inacceſſible as they had deſcribed it vnto him in France: This Knight did alſo find, that there was ſmall prouiſion of victuals and munition, although there were good ſtore of Ordinance. So as he made accompt, that if the Marquis came with ſuch forces, as were giuen out, theſe Ilands were loſt without recouerie. Yet like a man of courage, he repayred, as well as he could, the defects of theſe hen-rouſts, exhorting them all to be of good cheare, and to hope well, and that howſoeuer, he would dye honorably with them. The preſence of this Captaine did much comfort the inhabitants of the Iland, and did ſomewhat aſſure *Emanuel de Sylua*: who notwithſtanding had pre-
D pared for his eſcape, if he ſaw himſelfe preſt; for he kept two veſſels readie in the port, to fly into, whereof Monſieur *de Chattes* was in doubt, and therefore he obſerued him.

Monſieur de Chattes comes to Tercera.

The Marquis of Santa Cruz hauing put to ſea with 30. ſhips of warre, 12. gallies, two galeaſſes, 5. galleons, and other ſmaller veſſels armed, to the number of 60. beſides carauels, pinaces, and other ſhips of burthen, carrying 10000. men, Spaniards, Italians, Germanes, and Portuguezes, vnder *Lope de Figueroa*, *Francis de Bouadilla*, and *Iohn de Sandoual*, Colonels of the Spaniards, *Lucio Pignatello* of the Italians, *Ierome Ledron* of the Germaines, and *Felix d'Arragon* of the Portuguezes. He came to the Iland of S. *Michel* the 3. of Iuly, where hauing alſo imbarked the Regiment of *Auguſtine Iniques*, which he had left there the yeare before, he then ſayled towards the Tercere, where the citty of Angra is, in the port whereof hee ſaw the ſhips which had brought Monſieur *de Chattes*
E and his men, and ſome other veſſels, which the Gouernors did vſe to ſend to ſea: there he left certaine gallies to keepe them in, and inſtantly cauſed the city to be ſummoned, offering a pardon to the Inhabitants, and a good compoſition to the Captaines and ſouldiers: but they anſwered him with the Canon: the Marquis ſeeing that all landing places neere vnto the cittie were fortified, he began to coaſt along the ſhoare to find ſome fitte deſcent, but it ſeemed to him, that all were rampared and fortified: being in this care, he was aduertiſed by a Portugueze, that there was a good landing place at port des Moles, farre from Angra, where preſenting himſelfe, he found ſome acceſſe, but difficult, both for that the place was ſtonie, and there was a fort built: yet he did hazard ſome ſouldiers,
F who did aſſure the way for the reſt. Beeing at land, they that garded this fort made ſome reſiſtance, which gaue Monſieur *de Chattes* time, being aduertiſed by the fires and ſmoke, and by the bels which hung at either of theſe forts, to draw his men together French and Portuguezes, to go and ſuccor them: but vpon the way he found the ſouldiers which had abandoned this fort flying, whom he cauſed to returne with him, being reſolued to fight with the enemie, the which he indeauored to do, and might haue amazed him, if *Emanuel*

Army of Spaine going to the Tercere.

Conqueſt of the Ilands of the Terceres for King Philip.

de

de Silua the Gouernor, and his men had held good: but they did not continue as they had begun: for hauing skirmiſhed well all the day againſt the Spaniards, and others of the Marquiſes armie, and againſt hunger, through the bad order of *Emanuel de Silua*, night beeing come, they abandoned the French, and retired to the mountaine, whether the Commander *de Chattes* was forced alſo to make his retreat with his French troupe: for there was no reaſon, that ſo few men ſhold wilfully make head againſt an army of 12000. *Emanuel de Silua* thought then to go and imbarke himſelfe, and to flie away, but he could not, for euery man watched him, and therefore he retired alſo to the mountaine, to a place apart. It was ſtrange to heare thoſe Ilanders (who before had ſeemed ſo braue) to call then vpon Caſtile, and to confeſſe, that thoſe Ilands did belong vnto King *Philip*. The Marquis ſeeing himſelfe maſter of the field, marched towards the citty of Angra, which he found abandoned and emptie, ſo as the ſouldiers made ſmall profit of the ſacke therof. When as the Marquis entred the citty by land, the gallies ſeized vpon the ſhippes which were within the port without reſiſtance, for there were neither ſouldiers nor marriners in them. From thence Don P*edro de Toledo* was ſent to the Iland of Fayal to ſubdue them that would not acknowledge the King of Spaine. In the meane time the Marquis apprehending the difficultie to draw the French out of thoſe rockes by force, hee ſought to haue them by ſome honeſt compoſition. The Commander *de Chattes* at the beginning made great demands, conſidering the eſtate whereunto he was reduced, which made the Spaniards reſolue to vanquiſh them, or to loſe their liues, and ſo they did promiſe the Marquis, but he did auoyd that danger, hauing found more moderation in thoſe poore forelorne men: for ſo they might well be tearmed: for had he not fought with them, hunger would ſoone haue forced them to haue yeelded to his mercie. Their accord was treated by a Colonel called *Pedro de Padilla*, whom the Commaunder *de Chattes* had ſometimes knowne at Malta, where it was concluded, that they ſhould deliuer vp their armes and enſignes, keeping onely their ſwords, and that they ſhould lodge in a quarter of the cittie, and ſhippes prouided for their retreat. D. P*edro de Toledo* beeing come to Fayal, ſought to perſwade the ſouldiers and inhabitants to yeeld without force: wherefore hee ſent vnto the Gouernor, whoſe name was P*ero Antonio Guedes de Soſa*, a man of qualitie that was in his company, who had his wife and children in that Iland, to let him vnderſtand what had happened to the Iland of Tercere, and to perſwade him to apply himſelfe vnto the time, and to yeeld to the Conqueror. This Gouernour being proude and diſdainfull, making no other anſwer to this meſſenger, ſlue him: wherefore Don P*edro* ſtaying awhile, doubting that which had hapned, began to aduance with 2500. ſoldiers which he had brought, beeing to skirmiſh with 400. French which came to encounter them, whom he made to retire ſoone into their fort, & to yeeld vpon the ſame conditions, that the reſt had done. S*oſa* was taken, who (for the vild part he had played with him, that was ſent by D. P*edro*) was hung vp by one arme, both his hands hauing beene firſt cut off. The Portugals of the Iland were ſackt, and then left free, hauing ſubmitted themſelues to the Kings obedience. *Anthony* of Portugall was left Gouernor there with 200. ſouldiers, and the reſt returned with the gallies to the Tercere, where as the Ilanders came and made the ſubmiſſions that were required. So as there was not any one but did acknowledge King *Philip* for king of Portugal. Before the Marquis of Santa Cruz returned, he cauſed *Emanuel de Silua's* proces to be made, hauing had no meanes to eſcape, who, with ſome others were executed, *Emanuel* loſt his head, and ſo did *Amador Vieira*, hee who had diſcouered the Portugals in the Iland, that were affected to the k. *Emanuel Surradas*, who had ſpoiled the Ilands of Cap Verd, was alſo beheaded, others of meaner qualitie were hanged. The mony which had beene coyned with D. *Antonio's* ſtampe, was condemned as counterfeit, and a great quantitie was burnt in the market place of Angra. This done, the Marquis hauing diſpoſed of the eſtate of theſe Ilands, and left *Iohn d'Vrbine* for Gouernor of the Tercere, with 2000. foot, he bent his courſe towards Spain, and arriued ſafely with his fleet in the ports of Andaluſia, where there was great ioy, as alſo in Portugal, and thanks giuen to God for ſo happy a victory, which put King P*hilip* in a peaceable poſſeſſion of the Realme of Portugal, and all the dependances, ſo as he might then iuſtly intitle himſelfe King of all Spaine.

Angra at the Terceres taken by the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

Fayall and the other Ilands yeelded to king Philip.

The end of the 30. *Booke.*

A CONTINVATION OF THE GENERALL HISTORY OF Spaine, from the yeare, 1583. *to this time.*

THE warre of Portugall beeing ended, *Philip*, King of Spaine, ſubdued the Ilands which had made reſiſtance: he returned into Caſtile, whether the Eſtates of Arragon, and other weightie affaires did call him. Among other things, there was a mariage treated of betwixt *Catherine* his youngeſt daughter, and the Duke of Sauoy, which allyance, hee held, would be both profitable and honorable to himſelfe, and the whole houſe of Auſtria, and therefore he concluded the marriage, but it was conſumated the yeare following.

Mariage concluded betwixt Catherine Infanta of Spain, and the Duke of Sauoy.

This yeare the king would haue his ſonne ſworne Prince of Spaine, the which was done with great ſollemnitie, in S. Hieromes church in Madrid, the twelfth day of Nouember, there beeing preſent the King, his ſiſter *Mary*, wife to the Emperour *Maximilian*, the Prince, and the two Infanta's: where the Cardinall of Toledo began to ſing a ſollemne Maſſe, there aſſiſting the Cardinal *Granuella*, with the Biſhops of Placencia, Salamanca, Zamorra, Auila, Segouia, Coria, Siguença, and *Oſma Granuello* preſented the Euangell and the Paxe vnto the king, the like did the Biſhop of Placencia to the Infants. Maſſe beeing ended, the Prince was conducted by Cardinall *Granuello* neere vnto the altar, and there he receyued from Toledo the oth of confirmation, and then was returned backe vnto his place. Then did a King at armes riſe from his ſeate, and going to the left ſide of the altar, where as Princes Ambaſſadours, and the Noblemen of the Realme did ſit, crying out with a loud voyce, That the Prince Don *Philip* was to be ſworne: but after him there followed one of the Kings Councell, deliuering in particular the forme of that oth: and how the Empreſſe *Mary* ſhold ſweare with the two Infanta's the Princes ſiſters: but preſently the Emperours Ambaſſadour made it knowne, that that Empreſſe was to take the oath as Infanta of Spaine, and not as Queene of Romanes.

The firſt were the King and his ſiſter, who performed that ceremonie vppon the Maſſe booke, and the Croſſe, which were preſented vnto them: but when as the Empreſſe wold haue kiſt her Nephewes hand, according to the cuſtome, hee would not, for modeſtie ſake ſuffer her, and ſo ſhee was conſtrained to kiſſe his fore-head. After, the Empreſſe followed the Infanta's, and then the Biſhops, the Admirall of Caſtile, the Marquis of Villena, the Duke of Paſtrana, the Marquis of Denia, the Prince of Aſcoly, and ſo all the Grande's

Grande's and chiefe Noblemen of the Court, the Marquis of Aguilar, and the Cardinal of Toledo ſwearing laſt of all. A

Ambaſſadors come from Japon into Spaine.

The ioy of this ceremonie was augmented by the arriuall of three Ambaſſadors, which had beene ſent two yeares before from three Kings of Iapon, of Bugno, Fiunga, and Arima, to the Pope, by the perſwaſion of the Ieſuits, who deſired that thoſe Princes, ſeeing the noble and politicke gouernement of theſe countries, and the greatnes of the greatneſſe of the Pope of Rome, might be edified and freed of a certaine opinion which they had conceyued, that Chriſtians came into their countries to get meanes to liue. They came into Spaine beeing acccompanied by father *Alexander Valignari*, Viſitor in thoſe parts, at ſuch time as the Court was full of feaſts and ioy, for the proſperous ſucceſſe of Portugal, for the concluſion of the Infanta's mariage, and for the ſwearing of the prince: ſo as they were not onely receiued by the Catholike king, and the whole Court, with greate pompe and ſtate, but with extraordinarie content. The King at their receptrion, would not ſuffer them to kiſſe his hand, but embraced them as his equals, and to do them the more fauour, would haue both the Infanta's to do the like: hee made them ſee all his delights, and rareſt things: and at the Princes ceremonie he commanded they ſhould be ſet at his right hand, in the firſt place, whereas two men appointed for that ſeruice, inſtructed them in the order of the ceremonie, naming euery Nobleman, and what place hee held, as they went to ſweare obedience to the Prince. The king hauing royally intreated them, and honored them all that might be, being to go for Italy, gaue them a Caroch and a Coach, commanding, that throughout all his realmes, they ſhould be receiued with all magnificence, cauſing a ſhippe to be prepared for them in Alicante, where they imbarked, but they were driuen by foule weather into Maiorca, yet in the end they arriued in Tuſcany. B C

Antwerpe, one of the chiefe townes in the Low-countries, was this Somer ſo ſtreightly beſeeged by the Duke of Parma, with the forces of Spaine, as hauing no releeſe, neither by ſea nor land, they were driuen to extreame want, and almoſt to deſpaire, whereupon they preſt their Confederates to ſuccour them: but the Eſtates not able to rayſe ſo great an armie, ſent a ſollemne ambaſſage of twelue of their Deputies to the French king to intreat him to take the Netherlands into his protection, as his owne ſubiects and vaſſals: the which did much trouble the Councell of Spaine, ſeeing that the French king might with ſinall difficultie get the poſſeſſion of thoſe countries, hauing the ſubiects hearts inclined vnto him: whereupon they ſought by letters, and all other meanes to draw them of Antwerpe to a reconciliation with the King of Spaine. Don *Bernardin de Mendoça*, Ambaſſador at that time in France for the Catholike King (hauing been ſent with ſome diſgrace out of England, for that contrarie to the dutie of his charge, he had beene a buſie practiſer againſt that State) vppon the arriuall of theſe Deputies to Paris, came with a great clamor vnto the King, telling him that the Eſtates of the Low-countries, as Rebels to the King of Spaine, had bin condemned of high treaſon by the Councell of the Inquiſition of Spaine, and therefore were to be rooted out. That remembring the ſtrict league aud allyance betwixt him and his maſter, he ſhould not giue them audience, but rather driue ſuch rebels out of his countrie: the which would turn to the good of France, (lying ſo neere vnto Spaine) and of all Chriſtendome, which was diſquieted with theſe wicked people. D E

Bernardin de Mendoza his ſpeech to the French King.

" " " "

That he ſhould do wrong vnto all other Princes, to whome ſuch preſidents are very preiudicial, if they ſhould countenance and ſupport their Rebels. But the King anſwered, that he would not giue audience to the Deputies of the generall Eſtates, as to Rebels, reuolted, but as to afflicted people, who complained of oppreſſions. That Princes had neuer, neither ought they refuſe to ayde the afflicted, eſpecially when as their greateſt deſire is to be reconciled to their Prince (to obtaine the which they informed the King, that they had made many petitions vnto the King of Spaine, and could get no anſwer:) and therefore he thought, that any man might ſeeke ſupport where he could, if right and iuſtice were denyed him, ſo as he was not to be blamed, if he gaue them audience. F

Anſwer of the French King to Mendoza.

" " " " " " " " "

In the beginning of this yeare, there was preparation made in Spaine for the mariage of the Infanta Donna *Catherina*, with that pompe that was befitting ſuch Princes:

" for

A for the effecting whereof, the King with his children, and the chiefe of the Nobility of Spaine, came to Sarragoſſa, about the end of February, the Duke of Sauoy beeing arriued in *Doria's* gallies at Barcelona on the 18. of the ſaid moneth: from whence hee went by land to Sarragoſſa, where his Maieſty attended him without the citty, and receiued him with wonderfull ſignes of ioy, doing him exceeding great honour. The ſame day that he arriued, he put the ring vpon his ſpouſes finger, the King her father holding her hand, there aſſiſting at the ceremonie, the Cardinall of Seuille, (to whom ſome few daies before a hat had beene ſent) with the Cardinall *Granuella*, who made them ſure: Monſieur *Tauerna* the Popes Nuntio, the Arch-biſhop of Sarragoſſa, *Vincentio Grudenigo* Ambaſſador of Venice, with other principall Noblemen. The next day, according to the cuſtome of the Realme, the married couple came to the Arch-biſhops church, (who performed the ceremonie) couered with a white vaile. Maſſe beeing ſayd, and returning to the pallace, they dyned in publike at one table, his Maieſty, the Duke, his wife, and the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, beeing all ſet of one ſide: for many daies after there were great triumphs, tiltings, tourneys, and other knightly ſports made by the Nobility of Spaine, who ſhewed themſelues very gallant in all their ſports, eſpecially the Duke of Medina del Rio-ſecco, Admirall of Caſtile, the Duke of Albuquerque, the Duke of Medina Celi, the Duke of Maqueda, the Marquis of Denia, the Duke of Paſtrana, the Marquis of Aguilar, and the Prince of Aſcoli, beſides the great Commander of Caſtile, who was fauorite and Lord Steward to the Prince D. *Philip*.

Mariage of the Duke of Sauoy, and the Infanta D. Catherina in Spaine.

C To theſe there ioyned a great number of Knights, of no leſſe Nobility, but not of ſo great dignitie, as well Spaniards as ſtrangers, who were come thither to honour this feaſt of the Catholike King their Lord. The Duke of Sauoy had alſo brought with him a great troupe of gallant Nobility, of the which, on the foure and twentith day of May, he made Knights of the Order of Saint Stephen, *Iohn Baptiſta* of Sauoia, and the Marquis of Chambery, and beſides theſe the Marquis of Nemours his couſin, and *Aſcanio Roba* who were abſent; and withall, *Carlo Pallauicino*, newly made Maſter of the Dutcheſſe horſe, Count *Sanuitali*, and *Michel Bonelli*. But eight dayes after the King did honour three Princes with the Order of the golden Fleece: the Duke his ſonne-in-law, the Admiral of
D Caſtile, and the Duke of Medina Celi. There were many rich preſents mutually giuen by the King and Duke, and by the Noblemen both Spaniards and Italians. Then in the beginning of Iune the married couple beeing accompanied by the King, Prince, and the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, went to Barcellona, where they tooke ſhippe in *Dorias* Admirall gally, and beeing accompanied with forty other gallies, hee brought them ſafely to Genoua, and entertayned them with great ſtate in his owne houſe, from whence they paſt to Nizza, then going with an honorable trayne towards Turin, they were receyued with great ſignes of ioy, and the feaſts were renewed. But the King of Spaine beeing returned to Sarragoſſa, whither he had already ſent the Court, he cauſed the Prince to be ſworne with the ordinarie ſolemnities, and then he paſt into Caſtile.

E About the ſame time there came to Court *Pomponio Torello*, Earle of Mont Chiarulo, with an Ambaſſage from his Princes, the Duke and Prince of Parma, the firſt requiring of his Maieſtie the reſtitution of the caſtle of Placentia, ſo neceſſarie for the preſeruation, not of his Eſtate, but alſo of his life, the mutinous people of Placentia being animated by the Spaniſh garriſon, to practiſe againſt the Duke, as ſome conſpiratours had lately done, who beeing not ſuppreſt and puniſhed, although they were diſcouered, gaue him continuall cauſe of feare.

Ambaſſage ſent into Spain from the Duke of Parma.

The Prince did ſollicite concerning the enterpriſe of Antwerp, and alſo about his fathers affaires: yet he refuſed to receiue it as a fauour done to him, for that hee would not confirme an opinion, that he was as diſtruſtfull as his father, of the Crowne of Spaine, to
F whom, and not to him, hee would haue the caſtle yeelded. This buſines was referred to Cardinall *Granuella*, the great Commaunder of Caſtile, and to *Iohn d'Idiagues*, at that time Secretarie of State, with commiſſion not to treate with any other of the Councell, it ſeeming the king ſhould yeeld that which hee ought. *Granuella* ſhewed himſelfe very willing, not onely for the equitie of the cauſe, but alſo for a priuate bond he had vnto the Prince, from whome he did aknowledge, that his brother Monſieur *de Champaigny* held his

his life, and for his Maieſties ſeruice, whoſe affaires in Flanders depended chiefly vppon A
the Prince: In the end the King reſolued to make this reſtitution vnto the Duke: and ſo he
diſpatched Count *Pomponio* with a commiſſion to the Duke of Terranoua, Gouernour
Caſtle of Placentia yelded. of the State of Milan, to cauſe the ſayd caſtle to be reſtored, the Caſtellan beeing abſent,
the which was accordingly performed, and free poſſeſſion deliuered to Prince *Raynucio*
in his Grandfathers name.

This yeare there grew a popular tumult in Naples, partly through the couetouſneſſe
of the King of Spaines Miniſters in that Realme, during the time that the Duke of Oſſu-
na was Viceroy, the King hauing giuen order to the Viceroy to ſupply their wants in
Mutinie at Naples. Spaine, with ſuch corne as they might well ſpare within the Realme, hauing had a plen- B
tifull harueſt: but they not onely tranſported the ouerplus, but that which was needefull
for their owne vſe, by a greedie deſire of gaine: ſo as when the Spring came, they found
that they had not corne ſufficient, which ſeeking to helpe by bringing in from forraine
parts, they were forced to raiſe the price of corne, and to make their bread leſſe: where-
with the people beeing vexed, (for it ſeemed ſtrange to them to ſee ſcarcitie, whereas
they expected abondance) who endured more by this want, then the reſt. Whilſt that on
the ninth of May, their elect *Iohn Vincentio Starace* was with the Deputies in the church
of Santa Maria del nouo, to conſult touching the prouiſion of corne, they began to mu-
tine, ſaying, that it had beene accuſtomed to be done in Saint Auguſtines church, and
to adde deedes vnto their words, they tooke *Starace*, beeing weake and ſicke, and carried C
him with iniuries and ill vſage. Beeing come thither, he retired himſelfe into a chappell
which had a grate before it, and there ſovght to pacifie the furie of this multitude with
good words, the which notwithſtanding increaſed as the number did, growing almoſt
madde.

There *Staraee* growing fearefull, cauſed himſelfe to be let downe into a tombe, which
theſe mad men vnderſtanding, he was ſuddenly drawne foorth, and murthered with an
hundred wounds, after which they drew him through the ſtreets, and tearing him in pee-
ces, they carried them vp and downe the cittie, in ſigne of a cruell reuenge. The Viceroy
carried himſelfe indiſcreetly in this mutinie, and full of feare, where as in the beginning
he ſhould haue ſuppreſt it by force, and not to haue pourchaſed afterwards the name of D
cruell in his ſeuere puniſhments, ſeeking to recouer the reputation which he had loſt: but
the King of Spaine ſtayed this rigour, ſending a generall pardon concerning this
murther.

The Deputies of the generall Eſtates beeing returned from France with many good
Deputies ſent from the Eſtats of the Low-countries into England. words, but no effects, by reaſon of the league, which hindred the Kings deſire to embrace
their cauſe, they had recourſe vnto the Queene of England, vnto whom they alſo ſent
their Deputies, ſeeking to perſwade her to vndertake their protection againſt the king of
Spaine, in regard of her owne priuate intereſt, and the good of both the Eſtates. This
matter was weightie, and required a graue and deliberate conſultation. Shee called her
Councell, and demanded their opinions, whether ſhee ſhould voluntarily ingage her E
ſelfe in a warre without conſtraint, which ſhe muſt needes do, in taking vppon her the
protection of the Low-countries. Whereupon they concluded, that ſhe might not with
her owne ſafetie abandon the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands, vnleſſe ſhe would ne-
Reaſons why the Queene of England ſhold take protection of the Low-countries. glect the preſeruation of her owne Eſtate. They layed before her the King of Spaines ha-
tred againſt her, hauing changed the religion, which he had planted in England, which
appeared by his denying paſſage to her Merchants throughout the Low-countries, with
armes, powder, and munition which he had bought in Germany. That he had refuſed to
renue the auncient contracts made betwixt the Emperour *Charles* his father, and her
predeceſſours. And to ſhew his hatred to her Maieſtie, he had ſuffered the Inquiſitors of
Spaine to perſecute her poore ſubiects with all crueltie, and had diſmiſſed her Ambaſſa- F
dour out of Spaine, vppon colour of Religion. That the Duke of Alba his Gouernour
in the Low-conntries, had in hoſtile manner arreſted the bodies and goods of her ſub-
iects, contrarie to the ancient contracts. That he had ſent forces to invade her realme of
Ireland, and to ayde her rebels.

Beſides theſe and many other iniuries, the Lords of her Councell layed before her,
how

A how dangerous it would be for her Eſtate, if the Spaniard ſhould become abſolute Lord of thoſe countries: that he would alter their religion, diſanull their auncient Priuiledges and liberties, and make them ſubiect to his will and pleaſure: which done, he might eaſily inuade England, hauing ſo much ſhipping, and ſo many marriners at his command, and his Indian treaſure, to ſupply all other wants. He would ouerthrow all trade betwixt her ſubiects and the Netherlanders, and would breed factions within the heart of her countrie. Theſe reaſons (ſayd they) ſhould mooue her Maieſtie to embrace the preſent occaſion, and not ſuffer the Low-countries to be planted with Spaniards and Italians, conſidering that the warre was not vndertaken againſt thoſe Prouinces, but with an intent to
B make a greater conqueſt.

Whilſt that the Queene of England reſolues to vndertake the protection of the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, it was concluded to arme out a Fleete to annoy the King of Spaine vpon his owne coaſt, or at the Indies: whence his treaſor came. Wherefore this yeare 1585. in September, Sir *Francis Drake* was ſent out of England with a fleet of 25. ſhips and pinaces, and about 2300. ſouldiers and mariners. Maſter *Chriſtopher Carlile* was his Lieutenant generall, with many other gallant Captaines and Gentlemen, whoſe names for breuitie ſake I omit, being written at large by others. After ſome daies, this Fleet came to the Ilands of Bayonne, vppon the coaſt of Spaine, where the Generall putting his men into boates, and pinaces, went into his Galley, with an intent to
C ſurprize the towne: but vpon the way there came an Engliſh Merchant vnto them from the Gouernour, to ſee what Fleet it was, who after ſome ſpeech with the Generall, was returned backe, and one Captaine *Sampſon* with him, to demaund of the Gouernour, if there were any warres betwixt Spaine and England: and why they did arreſt the Engliſh Merchants, and their goods. To whome the Gouernour made this anſwer, that he knew not of any warre, and that it was not in his owne power to make any: and as for the ſtay of the Merchants, it was the kings pleaſure, but not with any intent to preiudice them, and that hee had receiued a countermaund to diſcharge them, the which hee did preſently.

Sir Francis Drake with a fleet vpon the coaſt of Spaine.

The lying of this Fleete at thoſe Ilands, did much trouble them in Spaine, beeing ig-
D norant of their intent. Whereuppon Don *Aluaro de Baçan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz, Admirall of Spaine, beeing then at Lisbone, did ſet downe in writing what harme this Fleete might do, if it ſhould go to the Weſt Indies, and enter into the South ſea, as *Drake* had formerly done: and what courſe was to bee taken to preuent thoſe inconueniences and dangers.

This Engliſh Fleete ſtayed not long vppon the coaſt of Spaine, but directed their courſe towards the VVeſt Indies, paſſing by the Canaries, and the Ilands of cape Verde, where they tooke the towne of S. Iago, which they ſpoiled and burnt, they came to the Iſland of S. Dominica, from whence they paſt to the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, where they tooke that gallant Cittie of S. Domingo by force, which after they ſpoyled, and burnt
E a third part, the Spaniards made a compoſition for the reſt, paying fiue and twenty thouſand Duckets, at fiue ſhillings ſixe pence the peece. In this Iſland they found great ſtore of good prouiſion, but little ſiluer or plate, yet in their furniture they were very rich and coſtly.

S. Iago taken.

S. Domingo taken.

From Saint Domingo they put ouer to the mayne land, and came within ſight of Carthagena, which ſtands vppon the ſea ſide, where they made a gallant attempt vppon the towne, and tooke it: they landed their troupes fiue miles from the towne, whither they marched in battell: comming within halfe a mile of the towne, they were to paſſe vpon a narrow cauſey not fiue paces ouer, lying betwixt the ſea and the harbour: This ſtreight was croſt ouer with a wall well flanked, and a good ditch, hauing onely a paſſage
F for horſemen and carriages, if need required: which breach had a good barricado: and here there were ſixe peeces of Ordinance planted, which ſcoured along the cauſey, and in the harbor, or inner water, they had layd two gallies, with their prowes to the ſhore, hauing eleuen peeces of Ordinance in them, which did beate croſſe this ſtreight, and three or foure hundred ſmall ſhot: notwithſtanding all this preparation to receiue them, the Lieutenant generall (it beeing very darke, and not yet day) marched by the ſea ſhoare,

ſo as they receiued little harme by their ſhot, and comming cloſe vp to the wall, after A
ſome reſiſtance they ouerthrew the Barricado, and forced the Spaniards to retire, they entred pel mel with them into the towne, and wan the market place, where the Spaniards made head awhile, after which they abandoned the towne, and retired to other places, whither they had carried their wiues at the comming of the Engliſh. They had drawne many Indians vnto them, all bow-men with poyſoned arrowes; them they had placed in corners of aduantage, ſo as if they did but breake the skinne of any one, he dyed. The armie ſtayd here ſixe weekes, and burnt the out-parts of it, but in the end there was a compoſition made, by the which they ſhould pay an hundred and ten thouſand duckets for the ranſome of the reſt. They had beene aduertiſed of this Fleet 20. daies before their ar- B
riuall, which had made them fortifie in that manner for their defence, and to conueygh away their wealth. Hauing made this compoſition, they left the towne, and lodged in an Abbey, within a quarter of a mile of it, demanding a new compoſition for it, and a fort which ſtood at the mouth of the harbor: but not able (as they ſayd) to ranſome the fort, it was blowne vp. From thence the Fleet went to Cape Saint Anthony, and then to the Cape of Florida, where they found a fort held by the Spaniards, the which, vppon their approach they abandoned: They found in it thirteene peeces of braſſe Ordinance, and a cheſt of ſome 2000. pounds ſterling, to pay the Kings Garriſon, which conſiſted of a hundred and fiftie men. This fort was called Saint *Iohns*, from whence they went vp the maine riuer to a towne ca'led S. *Auguſtines*. And then the Fleet returned into England. C
They tooke in this action 200. peeces of braſſe Ordinance, and 40. of Iron. In Saint Iago two or three and fiftie peeces: In S. Domingo foure ſcore, whereof moſt was Cannon, Demi-cannon, Culuerin, and ſuch like. In Carthagena ſixtie three peeces: and in Saint Auguſtines fort fourteene, the reſt was Iron Ordinance.

There was ſuch exceſſe in their ſtyles, and in their ſpeaking and writing one vnto another, as vpon petition made vnto the King, he made an Edict and ſet downe a forme, what termes they ſhould vſe both in their ſpeaking and writing, as followeth:

D

Pragmatica, or an Edict:

In the which is ſet downe a forme which is to be kept and obſerued in their entertainments and courteſies of word *and writing, and in carrying of Coronets vpon their Armes.*

E

DOn *Philip* by the Grace of God, King of Caſtile, Leon, Arragon, the two Sicilies, Ieruſalem, Portugall, Nauarre, Granado, Toledo, Valencia, Gallicia, Maiorca, Seuile, Sardinia, Cordoua, Corſica, Murcia, Iaen, the Algarues, Algezire, and Gibraltar: of the Ilands of the Canaries, of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and the Ilands and firme land of the Ocean ſea; Arch-duke of Auſtria, Duke of Bourgondie, Brabant and Milan, Earle of Ausbourg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biſcay, Molina, &c. To the Prince Don *Philip* our moſt deere and welbeloued Sonne, and to the Infanta's, Prelates, Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Barons, Priors of Orders, Commaunders, and ſub-Commaunders, Captaines of Caſtles and places of ſtrength, and to thoſe of our F
Councell, Preſidents, and Iuſtices of our Courts, Commiſſioners, and Prouoſts of our Houſe, Court, and Chancerie, and to all Corrigidors, Aſſiſtants, Gouernours, chiefe Inſtices, &c. and to all other our Officers, and naturall ſubiects, of what eſtate, preheminence or dignitie ſoeuer they be, or may be, in all the citties, townes, places, and Prouinces of our Realmes and Seigniories, both preſent and to come, and to euery one of you

A you whom the contents of this our Edict may concerne, health and peace.

You ſhall vnderſtand, that at the ſute of the Atturneys of Courts of the Citties and Townes of theſe our Realmes, we haue beene forced to prouide a neceſſarie and conuenient remedie, concerning the diſorder and abuſe, which is in the entertainements by word and writing, the exceſſe whereof was growne ſo great, and come to paſſe, as it had cauſed ſome inconueniences, and daily more might be expected, if it were not reformed, and reduced to ſome good auncient order, ſeeing that true honour doth not conſiſt in vanities, or titles giuen by word or writing, but in greater matters: whereunto theſe do neither adde nor diminiſh. And hauing often treated thereof with our Councell, Wee
B haue ordayned as followeth in this our preſent Edict.

Firſt, although it be not neceſſarie to treate herein of our ſelfe, nor of the perſons of Kings, yet to the end that it may be the better obſerued and kept, which doth concerne them, We will and command, that from hencefoorth, on the toppe of the letter or paper that ſhall be written vnto vs, there ſhall bee no other title put, but Seignior, or My Lord, nor in the end of the letter, any thing, but God preſerue the perſon of your Catholike Maieſtie, nor the ſubſcription below, any thing but his name that writes it: and vpon the ſuperſcription, there ſhall be onely ſet, To the King our Lord.

That to the Princes heires and ſucceſſors of theſe our Realmes, they ſhall write in the ſame forme, changing only Maieſtie into Highnes, and that of King into Prince, and in
C the end of the letter, God preſerue your Highneſſe.

The ſame forme and ſtyle ſhall be obſerued, with the Queenes of theſe our realmes, as with their Kings, and likewiſe with the Princeſſes of the ſayd Queenes, as with their Princes.

That the Infants and Infanta's of theſe our Realmes, ſhall onely haue the title of Highneſſe: In the top of the letter they ſhall write, My Lord, and in the end, God keepe your Highneſſe, without any other ceremonie: and vppon the Superſcription, To my Lord the Infant D.N. or, To my Lady the Infanta Donna N. Wherefore when they do ſpeake or write Highneſſe, without any other addition, it is onely to bee vnderſtood of the
D Prince, the heire and ſucceſſor of theſe our Realmes. Declaring, that it is not our will nor intent, that the contents of this Edict ſhall extend to Donna *Maria* the Empreſſe, my moſt deare and welbeloued ſiſter, although ſhe be an Infanta of Caſtile, beeing certaine, that ſhe is to be called and written Maieſtie; and vpon the ſuperſcription, To my Ladie the Empreſſe: and her ſonnes, (brothers to the Emperour, our moſt deare and welbeloued Nephew) ſhall haue the ſame titles that are giuen to the Infants of theſe Realmes, and in like manner to the Arch-dukes his Vncles.

That to the ſonnes-in-law, and brothers-in-law of the kings of theſe Realmes, ſhall be giuen the ſame titles that their wiues haue, and daughters in law to the ſayd Kings, ſhall be vſed like vnto their husbands.

E And as for the entertainment which the ſayd royall perſons are moreouer to haue, our meaning is not to innouate any thing of that which hath beene accuſtomed.

That the ſtyle vſed in the petitions which are preſented to our Councell, and in the other Councels, Chanceries and Tribunals, and the words which they vſe when they are in Councell, ſhall be obſerued as hath beene hitherto, vnleſſe it be contrarie to this our prouiſion, and on the toppe they may ſet, Moſt mightie Lord, and no more.

That in the ſigning of all our letters, ſcedules, and prouiſions, our Secretaries ſhall ſet, By the King our Lord, in the ſtead of Maieſtie, and in the ſigning of our Secretaries of the chamber, they ſhall do the like.

That in all iudiciall ſeates, as well belonging vnto vs, as to any other, and of what
F qualitie ſoeuer, whether they ſpeake in priuate or in publike, the petitions, demaunds, and quarrels ſhall be begunne in a lyne, with that which they are to treate of, without ſetting any title, word, or ſigne of courteſie on the toppe: And in the concluſion, they may ſay: For the which I implore the office of your S. or your W. (according to the perſons and Iudges to whome they are to ſpeake.) And the Notaries ſhall onely ſay: By the commaundement and decree of N. the Iudge ſetting to his name and ſurname

onely: they may alſo adde the name of ſuch a mans Office, and the dignitie and degree A
which he hath taken, without any other title.

That no man of what eſtate, condition, dignitie, degree or office whatſoeuer; ſhall aſſume vnto himſelfe, either by word or writing, the title of Excellencie, nor of excellent Lord, neither may any be called Reuerent Lord, but onely Cardinals, and the Archbiſhop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine, although he be no Cardinall.

That to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Grande's, and ſuch as we command to be couered, all men within our Realmes, ſhall be bound to giue the title of Your Lordſhip, and alſo to the Preſident of our royall Councell.

That to Marquiſes, Earles, great Commanders of the Orders of S. Iames, Alcantara, B
and Calatraua, and to the Preſidents of our other Councels and Chanceries, the title of Lordſhip may be giuen both by writing and word, and not to any other, vnleſſe it be to the chiefe citties of the Realme, and to Senates, and to Metropolitane Churches, to whom they may giue that addition, as they haue beene accuſtomed.

That to Ambaſſadors in like manner, which haue place in our Chappell, may bee written or ſpoken Seigneurie or Lordſhip.

That in what concernes writing from one man vnto another generally without exception, this forme ſhall be obſerued. They ſhall begin the letter with the buſines they are to treate of, without ſetting beneath the Croſſe, or on the toppe of it, or at the beginning of the line, any title, cypher, or letter: and they muſt end the letter, ſaying, God C
keepe your Seigneurie, or Lordſhip, or Worſhip, and then the date of the time and place, and then his ſignature, without any courteſie before it: and hee tha thath taken a title, ſhall mention it when he ſignes, and whence that title is.

That in Superſcriptions, to a Prelate ſhall bee ſet dqwne the eccleſiaſticall dignitie which he hath, and to a Duke, a Marquis, or an Earle, that of his eſtate, and to Knights, and other men their names and ſurnames, ſaying, To the Cardinall, Archbiſhop or Biſhop of ſuch a place. And in like manner, To the Duke, the Marquis or Earle of ſuch a place: and to meaner men: To Don N. or to N. adding his ſurname, and to euerey one named in this Article, may be ſet the dignitie, office, charge, or degree which hee holds.

The vaſſall ſhall not be excepted out of this order, writing to his Lord, not the ſeruant D
to his maſter: but the father to the ſonne, and the ſonne father, may adde their naturall name to their proper, and betwixt the husband and the wife, they may note the eſtate of their marriage, and betwixt brethren the like allyance.

That the complements to women, and among themſelues, by word or writing, ſhall be the ſame that is vſed to their husbands.

That to men of religious Orders, there ſhall be no other title giuen but father-hood, or reuerence, according to the charge which he holds. And in the ſuperſcription with his name, they may ſet the charge and degree which he hath in thoſe Orders.

That what ſoeuer is contayned in theſe our letters and prouiſion, ſhall be obſerued by all the ſubiects of our dominions, yea writing to them that are abſent. E

Moreouer, to preuent the great diſorder and exceſſe which hath beene, and is daily committed, in ſetting Coronets to their Scutcheons of armes, and to their ſeales and ſomter cloathes, We do ordaine and command, that no manner of perſon ſhall ſet any Coronet to his ſeale or ſompter cloath, nor in any other place where he hath armes, except Dukes, Marquiſes, and Earles, who we hold may carry them, beeing in their right forme, and not otherwiſe: And that the Coronets which haue beene carried, ſhalbe preſently left, and no more vſed.

And to the end it may be the better kept, obſerued, and executed, we ordaine and command, that whoſoeuer ſhall go againſt the contents of this our Edict, or any part therof, ſhal for euery breach incur a penalty of 10000. marauidis to be diuided after this maner: F
a third part for the Informer, another third part for the Iudge that ſhal giue ſentence, and the reſt to godly vſes, the which ſhalbe executed without any remiſſion. Wherefore we command all and euery of you, that ſhall ſee theſe our letters and prouiſion, and the contents therof, (the which we deſire ſhould hold the force of a Law or an Edict, made and regiſtred in our courts) that you obſerue and keep it, and cauſe it to be obſeru'd & kept in

euery

A euery point, according to the contents, againſt the forme and tenour whereof you ſhall not do, nor ſuffer to be done at any time, nor in any ſort, vppon the penalties which they do incurre, which breake the commandements of their Kings and naturall Lords, and vppon paine of our diſpleaſure, and the ſaid thouſand marauidis, for euery one that do to the contrarie. And to the end that no man ſhall pretend ignorance thereof, wee command that theſe our ſaid Letters and prouiſion ſhall be proclaimed publikely in our Court, and that the contents be preciſely and inviolably obſerued, from the firſt day of the yeare following 1587. and that no man do otherwiſe in any ſort, vpon the ſaid paines.

Dated at S. Laurence the 8. *day of October, in the yeare* 1586.

B

Signed. *IO EL REY.*

THis yeare Don P*edro de Toledo*, ſonne to D. *Garcia*, ſought to make an attempt vpon Affricke, but the little experience of ſome Neapolitans which landed in a ſmall Iland called Cherchine, was the cauſe of their ouerthrow and death, beeing defeated by a ſmall number of Moores which put them to flight. Toledo beeing landed with the reſt of his troupes, and gone vp the other ſide of the Iland, he vnderſtood by the mariners of his mens ſucceſſe, which holding for an ill preſage, without care of any reuenge, hee began to faint, retiring with all his men into his gallies, and bent his courſe towards Sicily, where ſeeking to find ſome Pyrates, in the end he came to Naples, whether ſoone after came D. *Iohn de Zuniga*, or *Eſtuniga*, Earle of Miranda, and Viceroy of Naples, the D. of Oſſuna beeing called home into Spaine, to the great content of the Neapolitans, who taxed him for his cruell and couetous gouernement.

Pedro de Toledo vnfortunate in Affrick.

Earle of Miranda Viceroy of Naples.

This yeare there was another enterpriſe by an Engliſh Gentleman, whoſe name was *Thomas Cauendiſh*, who paſſed into the South ſeas, as Sir *Francis Drake* had done: where after many accidents in Nouember 1587. the Generall hauing two ſhippes, mette with a great ſhippe of the King of Spaines called Saint Anna, the which was Admirall of the South-ſea, beeing about 700. tunnes burthen, the which, after ſix or ſeuen houres fight; and three ſeuerall charges, yeelded, to haue their liues ſaued. In which ſhippe, by the confeſſion of the Captaine and Pilot, they had an hundred and two and twenty thouſand Pezo's of gold, and the reſt of the lading was in ſilkes, ſatten, damaske, muske, with many other good commodities: in the end they ſet fire of the Kings ſhippe and burnt her, hauing to the quantitie of 500. tunnes of goods in her: then ſayling by the Philippina's, the Moluccos, and the Cape of Bona Speranza, they arriued ſafely in England, in September 1588.

Cauendiſh takes the S. Anna in the South ſeas.

King *Philip* (after much warre, the loſſe of his wiues and children, and the little hope he had of long life in the Prince his ſonne, beeing of a weake complexion, and ill diſpoſed) beganne this yeare to haue more cauſe of content, for now the young Prince began to bee vigorous, and of a ſpirit befitting an heire of ſo great dominions: and on the other ſide, the ſecond Infanta Donna *Catherina* hauing had a ſonne the laſt yeare, did this yere double his ioy with another, giuing him the more content, for that the firſt was chriſtened with ſo great ſolemnitie the twelfth day of May, foure daies after that the ſecond was borne.

Yet touching his publike affaires, the Low-countrie warres troubled him much, the which hee referred to the valour and wiſedome of the Duke of Parma, and liued himſelfe quietly in Spaine. But finding, that the Queene of England did fauour and protect his Rebels of the Low-countries, (as he tearmed them,) and that ſhee did feed the fire, of that long warre, to be reuenged of that iniurie, and to employ his forces to aduance the Romiſh religion, he made preparation to tranſport the miſeries of warre into England, giuing countenance and entertainment to all the fugitiue Papiſts of that country.

The Queene of England beeing aduertiſed of this great preparation in Spaine for the inuaſion of England, ſhee was aduiſed to preuent it: whereuppon ſhee armed foorth a Fleet of ſome 30 ſayle, in the which there were 4. ſhips, and 2 pinaces of her Maieſties, the

reſt were Merchants of good ſeruice. Sir *Francis Drake* was appointed Generall of this A
Fleete, which went towards the coaſt of Spaine this yeare, in Aprill. And beeing aduertized, that there was great ſtore of warlike prouiſion at Cadiz, the which was readie to go for Lisbon, he made all poſſible ſpeed thither, to intercept theſe prouiſions: ſo as on the 19 of Aprill, he entred with his Fleet into the harbour of Cadiz; where at the firſt they were affronted by ſixe gallies, but they ſoone retired vnder their fort.

There lay in the roade ſixtie ſhips, with diuers ſmaller veſſels vnder the fort; and ſuch as could paſſe the ſholds, fled vp to port Real: there came foure gallies more downe againſt them from Saint Mary port, and port Real: but they were well beaten: they burnt in this harbor a ſhippe of Ragouça, of a thouſand tunne, hauing fortie peeces of braſſe B
Ships burnt at Cadiz by the Engliſh. Ordinance in her, and richly laden, and another great new ſhip of twelue hundred tunne, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, high Admirall of Spaine, with many others laden with victuals, wine, iron workes, biſcuit, oyle, fruite, and other commodities, which were to be tranſported to the Indies, or to ſerue for the prouiſion of the Fleet which was preparing for England: ſo as they burnt, ſunke, and carried away to the number of thirty ſhippes and barkes, beeing as they eſteemed them ten thouſand tuns of ſhipping. Whileſt they lay in the roade, the gallies and forts ſhot continually at them: and ſuch ſhippes as they could defend no longer, they fired, to driue among the Engliſh ſhippes, who were ſomewhat troubled to auoid them. This reſolute attempt was performed in one day and two nights, to the great amazement of the King of Spaine, and the Marquis of Santa C
Cruz his Admirall.

After their comming out of the roade of Cadiz, this Engliſh Fleete was followed by ten gallies, who notwithſtanding ſuffred them to ride quietly at an anchor by them. Then they bent their courſe towards cape Sacre, beeing well victualled at the enemies charge: vpon the way they tooke at ſeuerall times, almoſt an hundred ſhippes, barkes, and carauels, laden with hoopes, gally oares, pipe-ſtaues, with other prouiſions for the King of Spaines armie intended for England; all which they burnt, and landed the men. They alſo ſpoyled the fiſher-boates, and nets, for the fiſhing of Tunies. And comming to Cape Sacre, they landed, and tooke three forts, ſome by force, the reſt by compoſition. From thence they came neere vnto Lisbone, anchoring neere vnto Caſcais, where the Mar- D
quis of Santa Cruz was with his gallies, and yet he came not foorth againſt them. Hauing a meſſage ſent him by the Generall, that he was readie there to exchange certaine bullets with him: the Marquis returned him an anſwer, that hee was not readie for him, neither had he any ſuch commiſſion from the king his maſter.

The Generall ſeeing no more good to be done vpon the coaſt of Spaine, hee bent his courſe towards the Ilands of the Açores, where (by good fortune) beeing within thirty leagues of Saint Michels, he met with a Caracke of Portugall, called S. Philip, the which
Carack of Portugal taken by Sir Francis Drake. they tooke, hauing made little reſiſtance, ſending the people home into their country, in other veſſels well furniſhed with victuals. And this was the firſt Carake that euer was taken comming from the Eaſt Indies. The riches of this prize was held exceeding great, E
whereupon they reſolued to returne into England, the which they did with their whole Fleete, and their admirable rich prize.

The religious deſire which the Catholike King had long had, to haue Friar *Diego Seni-*
S. Diego canonized. *liano* of the caſtle of Saint Nicholas, to be canonized a Saint, being dead in Spaine ſome hundred and fiue and twenty yeares before, with an opinion of holineſſe throughout all Spaine, did this yeare take effect: for that ſince the yeare 1563. inſtance beeing made by him, and the Spaniards, to Pope *Pius* the fourth, to *Pius* the fifth, and then to *Gregory* the 13. all which dyed before this buſines could be ended. But continuing in this zealous diſpoſition, he commanded the Earle of Oliuares, his Ambaſſadour reſident at Rome, to mooue it againe to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, ſo as on the third of Iuly this yeare, hee was F
canonized a Saint, at the charges of the King of Spaine, and his feaſt day appoynted the twelfth day of Nouember, to the great content of all Spaine. This yeare the Catholike King ſent the Duke of Sabioneta out of Italy into Poland, to pacifie the tumults and confuſions of that Realme, which were growne by the election of two kings, the Pope hauing alſo ſent Cardinall *Aldobrandini* thither to that end.

The

A The King of Spaine after the conqueſt of Portugal, hauing gathered together a great Nauy of ſhips, and leauied a mighty army, euery man thought, hee would make ſome great enterpriſe according to the oportunity that was offered; but mens opinions were diuided touching the action, for that their humors and diſpoſitions beeing diuers, they propounded things according to the quallitie of their owne paſſions. And ſo it fell out in the ordinarie diſcourſes which were made touching the Catholike Kings enterpriſe, which they all reſtrained to three, againſt Afrike, England, or the vnited Eſtates of the Netherlands: but to reſolue which was moſt expedient for his Maieſty, they all diſagreed, ſome ſeeking to perſwade him to attempt the Netherlands, o-
B thers Afrike, but moſt England.

In the end a truce beeing concluded betwixt the King of Spaine and the Turke, and thereby the enterpriſe of Afrike cut off; the queſtion was now whether hee ſhould inuade England or the Netherlands. Wherevpon there was one which deliuered his reaſons, by way of diſcourſe to the Catholike King, ſhewing that it was more conuenient for him to make warre againſt England, then againſt the vnited Eſtates. It ſeemes hee was vaſſall to the King of Spaine, as you may iudge by the vanity of his diſcourſe. Many (ſaid he) conſidering at the firſt ſight, the Catholike Kings intereſt to the Netherlands and to England, affirme, that although hee haue great pretenſions to this Iſland, yet he is more bound to recouer the Netherlands, then to conquer England; for that
C in all policy of ſtate, wee ſhould rather ſeeke to preſerue that which wee hold, then to conquer new. Although this maxime of ſtate be of great force, yet (ſaid he) I doe not hold it to bee of ſuch import, as it ſhall ſway downe the ballance, without all contradiction.

Diſcourſe touching the preparation of Spaine 1588.

For in theſe graue conſultations, we muſt not onely conſider what is to bee done, but how it may be moſt profitable, moſt eaſily, and moſt conueniently done: For that many times Princes are incited to enterpriſes by honour and duty; and yet the conſideration of many circumſtances and diſcommodities reſtraine them: wherefore the conſideration (which binds vs more to preſerue that which wee hold, then to get new) is not ſufficient to conclude, that his Catholike Maieſty ſhould rather vndertake the enterpriſe
D of the Netherlands, then that of England, neither ſhould wee in effects of ſo great importance, giue credit to ſuch light reaſons. But to the end it may appeere plainely that the King of Spaine is bound in all reſpects to the enterpriſe of England, I will firſt of all (ſaid he) lay not onely a true, but a neceſſary foundation, which ſhall ſupport the whole building of my opinion; which is, that conquering England, he ſhal at the ſame inſtant conquer the Netherlands: but winning the Netherlands, England is not gotten, nay their hopes are no whit increaſed.

Moreouer, hee ſaid, that the conqueſt of England was not ſo difficult as that of the Netherlands. If then (ſaid he) the conqueſt of England drawes with it the Netherlands, and if bee more eaſie and more certaine; who doubts, that to peruert this order, were
E to looſe a goodly occaſion, and to bee the workeman of his owne diſgrace? but I will prooue (ſaid he) with pertinent reaſons either member of my ground. That the conqueſt of England is more profitable then that of the Netherlands; and that it is more eaſie. For my proofe of the firſt ground, I will produce three heads. The firſt that the Low countries haue not ſo long maintained warre, but with the helpe of England, without the which they could not ſtand, no more then mans bodie can liue without nouriſhment: That fire is more eaſily quenched by taking away that which feeds it then by caſting on water, for that not hauing wherewith to feed it, it conſumes it ſelfe: but ſeeking to vanquiſh it by the contrary; it may bee it will grow more violent. So the Florentines could not quench the rebellion of the Piſans, before they had taken a-
F way the matter which nouriſhed that fire which came from ſtrangers, and therefore it was all one action to take away their ſuccors which came from confederats Princes, and to winne the city, which otherwiſe all their forces and of their confederats would not haue beene able to effect.

For my ſecond head (ſaid he) I ſet downe, that England doth not onely maintaine the rebellion of the Nertherlands by ſending ſuccors, but alſo by her countenance: for where

as

as the Netherlanders ſee the forces of Spaine conuerted againſt them, they flie vnto England as to a Sanctuary, knowing that the Engliſh would alwaies take armes againſt any that ſhould inuade them. Wherein they imitate the Athenians, who thought themſelues ſafe as long as the Olynthians ſtood, who being ſubdued, they knew not how they ſhould keepe *Philip* out of their country. Euen ſo if England ſhould fall into the Spaniards hands, the Netherlanders ſhould looſe the ground of their raſhneſſe, being deſtitute of that ſupport which hath maintained them in their inſolencies. A

My third reaſon (ſaid he) is, that the burthen of ſo long a warre, hath ſo waſted the ſpirits and faculties of the Netherlanders, as they ſcarce haue any pulſe remayning; they hauing not onely beene cruell butchers of their owne liues, but Tyrants ouer their goods, taxing themſelues at aboue forty in the hundred; beſides hauing loſt ſo many yeeres profit, their land being vntilled, and their trade of Marchandiſe fayling which doe much import them; hauing alſo endured ſo many ſpoiles, inuaſions, burnings, routs of armies, and ruines of townes, with other great loſſes: So as they cannot poſſibly maintaine this rebellion wanting life and ſpirit, which England gaue it. Whereby it appeeres that the conqueſt of the Low countries followes that of England, as the ſhadow doth the body. But on the other ſide we muſt not thinke the Netherlands being won England would be ſo eaſily vanquiſhed: the which being a rich and a mighty Kingdome, ſeekes no ſupport from any other, but relies vpon her owne forces; the which they would oppoſe againſt their forraine enemies, if the Netherlands ſhould fall abſolutly into the Spaniards hands, ſtanding as they doe now, wherefore England in her defence depends onely of her owne power, and if it ſhould expect any forraine ſuccors, they would not flie vnto thoſe rebellious States, which are needy, and depend vpon others. B C

Hetherto (ſaid he) we haue ſhewed the difference of theſe enterpriſes, and how much more proffitable that of England would be. Now I muſt prooue the ſecond head of my ground; that the conqueſt of that Iſland is more eaſie then that of the Netherlands, and therefore ought to bee preferred, whether wee doe conſider the proffit, the oportunity, the poſſibility, the honour, and ſafety, or any other important conſideration whatſoeuer. But diſcourſing now of the eaſineſſe of this conqueſt, in regard of that of the Netherlands, I will proue (ſaid he) that the difficulties be the ſame to inuade England and the Netherlands. Firſt of all I preſuppoſe that a ſufficient army beeing leauied, a royal enterpriſe is ſooner brought to perfection, when as they are attempted both by ſea and land, the which King *Philip* may do with greater aduantage in the enterpriſe of England then in that of the Nertherlands: for as the voiage by ſea is ſhorter and more eaſie, ſo he may more commodiouſly inuade England by land, hauing meanes to land part of his army ſafely in Scotland, as we will hereafter ſhew: whereas if he ſhould ſend an army by land into the Low countries, the way would be long to paſſe from Spaine through Italy and Germany, and it would be exceeding chargeable and dangerous. The ſecond reaſon is, that it is more commodious, neerer and more ſafe to paſſe into England; for that from the ſtraight of Gibraltar thether, is all open ſea, without any let; but to go into the Low countries, hee muſt of neceſſity paſſe by England, the which by all reaſon of ſtate ſhould let the King of Spaine vnderſtand in his paſſage, that neither friends nor foes are welcome, when they come with a great power, wherefore there is no doubt that whoſoeuer wil inuade the Netherlands hee muſt breake this barre, or make plaine this mountaine of England, which croſſeth him in his paſſage. D E

My third reaſon (ſaid he) is grounded vpon a firme maxime of the Art of warre; that thou muſt neuer ſeeke to inuade any place, and leaue any thing behind to diſturbe thee, wherefore it were a raſh enterpriſe to attempt the Low countries, and leaue England behind, who beeing full of iealouſie, may ſodainely ſet vpon the Catholike Kings army in the hotteſt of their warre againſt the Netherlanders. F

See here his error and ignorance.

The forth, that going to conquer the Low countries, they muſt fight with braue old ſouldiers bred vp in the warre; but on the other ſide the Engliſh are without Art or practiſe of warre, they cannot vſe the harguebuſe, nor any other offenciue armes, but onely bowes and arrowes, the which are of no force againſt corſelets and head-peeces, as wee vſe:

A vſe: ſo as(ſaid he)there is the like compariſon to bee made betwixt the Engliſh and the Dutch ſouldiers as is betwixt idleneſſe and exerciſe; or an armed and diſarmed man. And what an aduantage it is to fight with vnskilful ſouldiers,it it apparent by the example of *Miltiades* in the fields of Marathon,who with leſſe then 10000. braue men,put to flight that mighty,but vnwarlike,army of *Xerxes*, being aboue 600000.men.

The fifth, that there is more difficulty in that of the Netherlands, for that they will keepe themſelues more cloſe, ſo as they muſt bee wonne by inches,and a whole army muſt be imployed in the ſeege of a towne and ſo of the reſt, the which happely wilbe of no great importance,but that they wil ſtay in courſe of his victory that ſeekes the winne
B them.But contrarywiſe England hath not any towne to ſtay the violence a victorious enemy,hauing once ſet footing into the Iſland, the which wilbe no difficult thing for the King of Spaine to effect.So as England being without any forts but vpon the frontiers, and the Low countries ful of forts both within and without,there is no doubt but the enterpriſe of that is more eaſie then this, as it is more eaſie to vanquiſh them that make no reſiſtance. Whereof the Low countries are a familiar example,where notwithſtanding that the King had great garriſons,yet they many times found ſo great croſſes, as they were often vanquiſhed by the oppoſition of thoſe forts,whereas there being no place in Portugal able to reſiſt the enemies forces, the Spaniards entred into the heart of the realme,they being not able to make reſiſtance.

The ſixth reaſon is that forts and townes of ſtrength are to an inuading army but in-
C combers after they be wonne, for that the greateſt part of the army,is drawne away into garriſons,whereby it is much weakened.

The ſeuenth reaſon (ſaid hee) ſeemeth ſufficient in this caſe to proue the truth of my opinion. If the King of Spaine ſends an army to purge the rebellious humors of the Netherlanders,it is to bee feared that this Phiſicke will rather ſtirre vp the good humors then euacuat the bad, breeding a diſeaſe full of corrupt matter: whereas now the good matter hauing the predominant power, wee may hope that in time it will vanquiſh the violence of the diſeaſe: whereas by this courſe the humors of Malcontents may bee corrupted,and they drawne to deſire innouations: we know that by the compoſition made
D betwixt the King and his ſubiects, the Malcontents, they haue taken vpon them the burthen of this warre,ſo as the Spaniards and other ſtrange ſouldiers might bee drawne out of the Low countries: If then an army ſhould bee ſent out of Spaine to ſubdue the Netherlanders, or they ſhould but heare it were ſo reſolued: they would eaſily vnderſtand that the victors would preſcribe a Law to the vanquiſhed: and the Malcontents would not only looſe that great deſire they had to beare that great burthen of the warre, and the reward which they expected from his Maieſty, but they would feare to looſe their preuiledges and liberties, in regard whereof they haue made cruell warre againſt themſelues. By this then and many other reaſons it appeeres, how dangerous it is to exaſperates the mindes of friend with ſo ſharpe a medicine. If the Malcontents ſhould ioyne
E themſelues with the aduerſe partie,and oppoſe againſt the Spaniards,that warre would proue more difficult then euer for the Catholike King,not only for that the Kings forces ſhould be diminiſhed,but alſo for that the enemy ſhould be fortified: So as we haue hetherto proued that it is more eaſie and more commodious to inuade England then the Netherlands.

Now we will ſhew (ſaid hee)not by way of compariſon,but in reſpect of it ſelfe,how much it doth import the Catholike King,and how eaſie it is for him to inuade England. It is not to bee doubted but the Phiſicke is beſt, which not onely cures the member that is greeued,but alſo takes away the cauſe of the diſeaſe. If then the Catholike King ſeeke to conquer the Low countries,hee may well cloſe vp the wound of their rebellion,but
F he ſhall neuer euacuat the corrupt humors, which haue fed the diſeaſe,ſeeing that England hath alwaies norriſhed the rebellions of the Low countries: And admit it were cured of this preſent indiſpoſition,what health can it bee called,when as the body is ſtill ſubiect to theſe peccant humors: wherefore England is firſt to be attempted, that afterwards wee may with ſafety digeſt or euacuat all concurrent humors. But to intreat more plainely of the facility of this enterpriſe: I denie not but that England is a mighty Kingdome,

Kingdome,and the greateſt Iſland that the ancients haue made mention of, conteyning A
in circuit with Scotland two thouſand miles, yet late writers haue made it two hundred leſſe: That it is well fortified with a wall which the ſea makes about it, whereby it is ſo defended,as if Scotland were vnder that iuriſdiction,it were not to bee inuaded by land; Notwithſtanding the glory which that nation hath gotten by armes,is rather to be attributed to the ancient, and not to them that are now, for as it often happens that the minde being great with the imagination of great matters, doth ſtill retaine the ſame imaginations although that matters change; euen ſo it happens here,that we doe meaſure the forces of England; not by the preſent Eſtate, but as they haue beene when as they had in their poſſeſſion Normandy, Brittan, Gaſcony, and other floriſhing Pro- B
uinces of France,yea they commanded in a manner abſolutly ouer all France,and *Henry* the ſixth, was crowned King in Paris. But hee that will looke into the preſent Eſtate of England,may eaſily iudge that it is great,rather by the reputation of her ancient fame, then by the quality of her preſent forces, and that it is no more that England,which was fearefull to the greateſt Princes of Europe.

Ignorance and malice of the writer.

And without doubt it hath beene obſerued that not long ſince there haue ſo many diſgraces fallne vpon that Iſland, as at one inſtant it not onely purchaſed the hatred of men,but of God,euer ſince it fell into Schiſme. So as ſince the change of their religion, England hath ſuffred great ſhipwrackes,whereof wee may ſee the effects,hauing loſt that ſupport whereon depended their reputation and ſafety, that is the Authority and com- C
mand, which they had at ſea, for that in former times this Iſland did maintaine many ſhips, and did continually entertaine a good fleet at ſea; yea ſometimes their preparations were admirable, as amongſt others when as *Henry* the ſixth, went almoſt with eight hundred great ſhips againſt *Charles* the ſixth,the French King,making a bridge ouer the Ocean: but the ſtate and condition of that Iſland is changed, for ſince *Henry* the ſeuenth and *Henry* the eight, they could not maintaine thoſe hundred Ordinary ſhips, which they were wont to keepe in a redineſſe for the ſafety of that ſtate,but the Iſland is growne to that extremity,as they haue beene conſtrained not onely to diminiſh,but alſo to ſel the greateſt part of thoſe ſhips which did ſecure them from forraine inuaſions,ſo much doth want preſſe thoſe Princes,more their owne ſafeties. D

Weakeneſſe of England compared with the power of Spaine.

But the better to explaine that which I haue ſpoken of the eaſineſſe of the enterpriſe, I wil(ſaid hee) propound two things,the one of him that is inuaded,the other of him that doth inuade; whereby it ſhall appeere that the one is as vnable to defend,as the other is powerful to offend. If wee conſider England which is to bee inuaded,without doubt it is not able to reſiſt the King of Spaines forces, if hee will inuade it with ſuch prouiſions as he may,and the importance of the action doth require,the which will appeere by diuers reaſons.

The firſt, for that, as I haue ſaid, the Iſland of England is at this day in great want; and if in this weakeneſſe, ſhee ſhould ſeeke to make head againſt the power of a mighty Potentate, it were as much as if ſhe ſhould ſeeke to ſupport Heauen,beeing nei- E
Alcides nor *Atlas*.

Want of ſhips in England.

Secondly,in reſpect of this neceſſity (he ſaid) that the crowne of England could not entertaine that number of ſhipping which was wont to be appointed for the gard of the realme; and if they ſhould ſeeke to make any prouiſion, it were to draw force from weakeneſſe, or to preſcribe a Law to time and nature; ſeeking in great want and in a ſhort time, to make thoſe prouiſions which require a great treaſure and many yeeres: Moreouer to beginne to make preparation of thoſe things which King *Philip* hath in a readineſſe, were to put themſelues in defence,when as the enemy held his ſword ouer their heads. It were vaine for any one to ſay that the Engliſh in daunger may vſe priuat mens ſhippes for the publike ſeruice: this remedie would come to late F
when the daunger is at hand, neither could thoſe ſhips bee eaſily called together from remoate places, neither doe priuate men willingly imploy their commodities to publike vſe. Wherefore it it neceſſary that the deſeignes of Princes in great enterpriſes, flow from the fountaine of their owne power.

Thirdly, for that the Engliſh doe altogether want, or are very defectiue of horſmen which

A which is a chiefe ground of warre, for ſpeaking of men at armes they haue ſcarce any knowledge of them, and as for light-horſes, they doe not much import, vnleſſe the number ſupply the defect of the quallity. Beſides all the horſes of that Iſland being continually put to paſture, are full of diſeaſes and weake, which proceeds partly from the temper of that aire.

Fourthly, that the Kings of England haue either through negligence or diſability omitted to make prouiſions for the war, like vnto al other Princes, that they may be readie againſt any ſodaine tumult that may riſe either within or without their ſtates; for that in former times their whole care was for prouiſion by ſea, ſo as the land-ſeruice was neg-
B lected, as if in an Iſland there were not any need to goe to field againſt ſtrangers, or that warre could not bee mannaged at land with ſea prouiſions.

Fiftly, it is moſt certaine that the Engliſh are by nature deſirous of innouations and change, for who ſo ſhall read ouer their Hiſtory, hee ſhall finde that ſeditions, conſpiracies, treaſons and ſuch like, haue made their dwelling in their Iland. *Behold the lying vanity of the Spaniards*

Sixthly, for that the Engliſh, in reſpect of their ancient greatneſſe, are more deſirous to anoy others then to be anoyed themſelues when they ſhal ſee themſelues charged by braue enemies, they wil be daunted. To ſee Forturne turne her face is a fearefull ſpectacle for them that are not accuſtomed therevnto.

Seuenthly, for that England beginning to decline by the iuſt iudgement of God, e-
C uery man knowes how eaſie it is to caſt it downe, a declyning being nothing elſe but a way to ruine. So that mighty Empire of the Romaines, when it began once to decline, it fell ſodainely, and drew with it a great ruine.

Eightly, for that the Engliſh nation haue not in a manner any Commanders to mannage their warre, which defect beeing ioyned with the inſufficiency of the ſouldiars of that realme, it will prooue that the army of Lyons, commanded by a Hart, wil be little eſteemed: one of the Harts led by a Cony wil be ridiculous, the which will happily fail out in England.

Laſtly, admit that England were furniſhed with armes, captaines, ſouldiers, victuals,
D ſhips and all other things neceſſary for the warre; yet (ſaid hee) all was of no moment,
D wanting money, which giues forme and eſſence to all enterprizes, for that the crowne of England, not onely by the ſmall reuenues, but alſo by the ſuperfluity of their ordinary expences, is growne into that want, as they are not able to vndergoe any royall enterpriſe, hauing ſcarce meanes to entertaine themſelues, for he that doth arrogate to much to his owne force, and ouer-chargeth himſelfe with warre, is the inſtrument of his owne ruine. Hauing hetherto ſhewed that it is eaſie for the Catholike King to inuade England, in regard of it; I will proue the facility thereof with greater reaſons in regard of the Catholike Kings forces.

The firſt is the great power of the King of Spaine, whoſe dominions doe imbrace the whole diameter of the globe, and is Lord of more land then any Monarke or ſtate in the
E world did euer hold. A Prince, rich in armes, ſouldiars, captaines ſhipping, victuals, and all other neceſſaty prouiſions for warre. A Prince who as Iudge and moderator, ſeemes to gouerne the reines of the Empire of the ſea and land.

The ſecond is, for the great nauy which hee hath ready, which is not onely that which of late yeeres made the enterpriſe of Portugall, but 150. more which hee hath gotten in that Kingdome, which, ioyned with the reſt, will breed admiration in all men, and ſeeme to fill the ſea with their multitudes.

The third, that beſides theſe ſhips, and thoſe which hee may haue in Biſcay, as faithfull to the crowne, as expert in nauigation, beſides the ſhips of priuat men, which his Maieſty hath in a readineſſe; he ſhall receiue no ſmall ſeruice from his gallies, who in the ac-
F tion of Portugall diſcouered our error in thinking that they were not of any vſe in the Ocean ſea at any time, as if that ſea were not calme in Sommer, and that it were neuer to be ſailed in; ſo as there is no doubt but our gallies may ſafely aduenture in thoſe ſeas the three monthes in Sommer. They that obiect *Cæſars* wrack in the Brittiſh ſeas, doe not remember that he himſelfe doth not impute it to the ſea, but to the Moone, which not only in the Ocean, but in all other ſeas doth ſhew her power, as the Meteoroligikes

and

and experience doe teath. The fourth, that the Catholike King being Lord at ſea by A
reaſon of his great fleet, he will at the ſame inſtant bee Lord at land: For hauing ſuffici-
ent forces to vanquiſh the defences of the Iſland, he ſhal with eaſe land his men, and o-
uer-run the Iſland with his victorious armes, for ſuch is the condition of that Iſland, that
as ſoone as an enemy is entred, and his army orderly lodged, hee may cut off their victu-
als, and famiſh the Iſlanders.

Fifthly, for that by ſea King *Philip* ſhall haue the fauor of them of Ireland, who haue
ſecurely ſhewed themſelues to adhere vnto him, and by land there is no man doubts (ſaid
he) but that Scotland will aſſiſt him in his deſeignes with all her meanes.

The ſixth in order, but the firſt to be conſidered, is the Iuſtice and honeſty of the cauſe, B
the which carries ſo honorable a title, as the defence of religion and the Catholike faith,
as nothing ſhalbe able to hinder it; yea his Maieſties pretenſions (ſaid he) are ſuch to that
realme, and ſuch is the duty which hee owes vnto the name which he carries, of Catho-
like, as there is no enterpriſe more due to him then this; whereby he ſhal not only take
poſſeſſion of a realme which is his due, but alſo hee ſhal purchaſe vnto himſelfe immor-
tall glory, aboue all other Kings, adding ſo rich and famous a Kingdom to that of Spaine.

The ſeuenth is the commodity of the paſſage, knowing how ſhort a cut it is from the
Streight of Gibraltar to the Iſland, and what great commodities grow by expedition,
and the eaſe of tranſportation of victuals, ſoldiers, artillery, munition, and al other proui-
ſion neceſſary for the enterpriſe. C

The eight, if King *Philip* makes warre againſt his enemy at his owne doores, he ſhal fill
England with feare and amazement, and the approching danger will trouble all their
counſels. There is nothing more terrible then to ſee the ſword that muſt be the murthe-
rer of them and theirs.

The ninth, for that (ſaid he) his Catholike Maieſty had many partiſans in that Iſland; it
importing much to haue ſome that fauor him among his enemies. And to proue that
he hath ſome at his deuotion in that Iſland, I wil produce three reaſons. Firſt the remem-
brance of his clemency which remaines yet in the hearts of thoſe people, and of his cur-
teſie, hauing ſometimes gouerned them as their lawful Prince, with ſo great ſatisfaction
to them al in general, as any other gouernment, in reſpect of his, ſhould ſeeme tyranous. D
The ſecond reaſon is that of religion, knowing that there are many in this Iſland which
adhere to the Church of Rome. The third is the riches of King *Philip*, who in his large do-
minions hath ſo many commanderies, penſions, offices and rents, to aduance men that
ſhal deſerue wel, as it wilbe eaſie for him to draw the hearts of the Engliſh vnto him.

Hauing thus ſhewed the reaſons why the Catholike King ſhould rather inuade Eng-
land then the Low countries, and with what facility it is to be performed, I will (ſaid he)
to the end that nothing ſhal remaine vnſatisfied, make anſwere to an ordinary obiection
which is made by many vpon this ſubiect, which is, that the king of Spaine making an at-
tempt againſt England, he ſhal reuiue the emulation which hath beene betwixt him and
the houſe of France, which fire lying now ſmothered vnder the aſhes of peace, may kin- E
dle a great warre, for if the French ſhould remaine as ſpactators of this tragedy of Eng-
land, it might in the end turne to the preiudice of France, whereby they conclude that
the Chriſtian King ſhould be forced to ioyne with England, leaſt that hauing conquered
that Iſland, he ſhould afterwards turne his forces vpon France, which obiection notwith-
ſtanding he left vnſatisfied.

During this great preparation of three yeeres in Spaine, which held all Europe in
ſuſpence, the King of Spaine cauſed an ouerture of a peace to be made vnto the Queene
of England (onely as it ſeemed to abuſe her with the imagination of a treaty, and to
make her neglect the defence of her realme) who imbraced this propoſition, and ſought
to draw the vnited Prouinces into this treaty, which they abſolutly refuſed. Notwith- F
ſtanding the Queene deſirous of a peace ſent her Commiſſioners in February 1588.
to Oſtend; and in March following there came others to Bruges from the Duke of
Parma, to treat with them in the King of Spaines name; who theſe Commiſſionars
were, and what the ſucceſſe of that treaty was, I leaue to the Netherland Hiſtory, bee-
ing but a fained ſhew of the Spaniard, to winne time, and to find England vnprouided

when

A the Queene of England (ſeeing the Spaniſh fleete almoſt at her doore) called home her Commiſſioners, and prepared for her defence.

But now to come to this admirable fleete; the King of Spaine had deuiſed how hee might conquer England, hoping by that meanes to recouer his Inheritance in the Low Countries; for beeing Lord in England, hee might cut off their trafficke by ſea, the which many (well acquainted with the ſcituation of both countries) held eaſie to bee done. Wherefore the King of Spaine (hauing ſpent one and twenty yeares, and waſted an infinite treaſure, in thoſe Lowe Country warres,) reſolued to make an other attempt vpon the Netherlands by ſea, but with greater forces, for that England was now his ene-
B my, and might hinder all trade into thoſe parts. So as hee reſolued firſt to inuade England, whereunto he was perſwaded by diuerſe ſubtill ſpirits, both Spaniſh and Dutche, and by ſome Engliſh rebels, holding it more eaſie to bee conquered then Holland and Zeland, and that it would bee more profitable to inuade both England and the Lowe Countries by ſea at one inſtant, then to maintaine a continuall armie to cut off their traffick from both the Indies. For the effecting of this reſolution, hee had for ſome yeares together made preparation of a great Nauie at Lisbone, the like whereof had not beene ſeene in many ages in the Ocean ſea. It was ready in the beginning of this yeare 1588. the fame of this action was ſuch, as there was not an honorable houſe in Spaine,
C but had a ſonne, a brother, or ſome of the bloud in it, thinking all to winne euerlaſting honor with this inuincible Armie (as they called it) and to make themſelues rich with the ſpoiles of England and the Netherlands.

King Philip reſolues to inuade England and the Netherlands.

The King had reſolued to make Don *Aluaro de Baſſan* Marquis of Saint Cruz, (a Nobleman of great note, who had done the King great ſeruice in the conqueſt of Portugall, and the Tercera's) Generall of this armie. Hee ſent vnto him, and acquainted him with his deſſeigne; hee put him in minde of his promiſe, that hee would ſpend his life in his ſeruice, and hee commanded him to prepare himſelfe to conduct this fleete. The Marquis in his anſwer humbly thanked his Maieſtie, yet hee ſeemed by circumſtances to diſſwade the King from this enterpriſe, telling him that the Engliſh were gallant men at ſea (of whome they had made good tryall) that they had good ſhipping, and
D that he ſhould finde ſtrong oppoſition. The King was much diſcontented with the Marquis for this anſwer, hauing euer relyed vpon him, and ſent him word, that ſeeing hee failed his expectation, and had no courage to vndertake this Action, he would finde an other to command his Army, wherevpon he made the Duke of Medina Sidonia his Generall. The Marquis finding himſelfe in diſgrace with the King, conceiued ſuch greefe as he died before the fleet went to ſea. But let vs returne vnto the Armie, whereof I will make a perticular relation, as the Spaniards themſelues haue ſet it downe.

Diſcription & perticular preparation of the Spaniſh Fleete. An. 1588.

Portugall did furniſh ten great Gallions, with two ſmaler ſhips, vnder the command of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* the Generall, in the which were 1300. ſaylers 3300. ſoldiers and 350. peeces of Ordinance.

E *Biſcay* ſet forth ten Galleons and foure Pinaſſes, with ſaylers, ſoldiers, and ordinance proportionably, vnder D. *Iohn Martines de Ricaldo*, the Admirall.

Gnipuſcoa did arme ten Galeons and fourteene Pinaſſes, vnder *Michel Oquendo.*

Andalouzia ſet forth ten Galions, & one Pinaſſe, vnder comand of D. *Pedro de Baldes.*

Italie had furniſhed ten Gallions, the which were commanded by *Martin de Bretendona.*

Caſtille prouided fourteene Gallions, and two Pinaſſes, ouer which ſquadron *Diego Floris de Baldes* had charge.

There were alſo three and twenty Hulks conducted by D. *Iohn Lopes de Medina.*

From Naples there were foure Galeaſſes ſent, comanded by D. *Hugo de Moncado*, they had in them 1200. ſlaues to row, 480. ſaylers, 870. ſoldiers, and 200. peeces of Ordinance.

F Portugall ſent foure gallies, vnder the conduct of *Diego de Medrana*, with all thinges proportionably.

There were 22. Pinaſſes and other ſmal ſhips, vnder the gouernment of *Antonio Buccado de Mendoça.*

Beſides all theſe there were 20. Carauells, which carried owers and other neceſſaries for the ſhips, ſo as there were 150. ſayle of all ſorts, in the which they had aboue 8000.

ſailers,and 20.thouſand ſouldiers, beſides Commanders, Officers and voluntaries,with A
2650.peeces of ordinance.

The galleons being 66.in number, were very great and ſtrong, built high like caſtles, eaſie to fight withall,but not eaſie to board.

In this great fleet there were 1600.great braſſe peeces,and aboue a thouſand iron, to the which there were two hundred and twenty thouſand bullets, 4600. kintals of poulder,one thouſand kintals of lead, 1200. kintals of match, 7000. muskets and caliuers, 10000.pikes,partiſans and halberds with canons,field peeces,and all prouiſion for carriages,or whatſoeuer might be needful for an army,either at land or ſea.And for the ſeruice of the ordinance there were leauied 4200. men whereof 400. of them were Pioners.

There was bread and wine for ſix months,euery one hauing halfe a hundred of bread B
euery month. The countries ſubiect to the King of Spaine did furniſh a great part of the prouiſions of this fleet,as ſome of them write. *viz.*

Andaluzia did contribute 12000. kintals of biſcuit. Malaga and that country 27000. and 500.Carthagena and Murcia, 5000. kintals. Sicile 50000.kintals, Burgos and Campos 56000.Naples and the Iſlands 15000.kintals.

Seuille and Extremadura did contribute 4000. kintals of ſalt meats,Gallicia 6000. Aſturia and other parts a thouſand kintals.

Seuille and Extremadura did contribut 5000.kintals of hogs fleſh and bacon,Ronda 2000.Gallicia 2000.and Biſcay 2000.kintals.

Algarbe did contribute 8000.barils of fiſh, Almendraua del Duca 11000.barils and C
Cadiz 4000.

Maiorca did contribute 2000.kintals of cheeſe. Seuille and Extremadura a 1000.Portugal 25000. Genoua and Valencia 14000. kintals of Riſe. Andalouzia and Naples did contribut 23000.pezes of oyle and vineger, euery peze beeing 25. pounds, and euery pound 16.ounces.

Malaga,Marouella, Xeres and their iuriſdictions did furniſh 13000.buts of wine. Naples 6000.and Seuille with that iuriſdiction 7000. buts.

Cathagena did furniſh 15000. Aneghes,Naples and Sicile 11000. Aneghes of beans and peaze.

Andaluzia,Naples and Biſcay did furniſh other prouiſions of corne, iron, wollen and D
linnen cloth, with other neceſſaries. They had in the fleet 12000.pipes of freſh water, with whatſoeuer elſe might be thought needfull.This army as D.*Diego Pimentel* did confeſſe,coſt the King 30000.ducats a day,reporting the army to be 32000.ſtrong.

Colonels of the regiments.

There were fiue regiments of the old ſouldiers of Naples,Sicile and the Terceres.The fiue Colonels were D.*Diego Pimentel* brother to the Marquis of Taueras,couſin to the Earles of Beneuent and Calui,a Knight of the Order of Saint Iohn, and very wel allied, 2. D. *Franciſco* de Toledo brother to the Earle of Orgas. 3. D. *Alonſo* de Luçon. 4 D. *Nicholas d' Iſla* or *Patritio Anſelmo*, the 5. and laſt D. *Auguſtin Mexia*, who afterwards was Caſtellan of Antwerp ;there being 32. companies in euery regiment, beſides cer- E
taine Portugal and Italian bands. D. *Lewis Peres* de Guzman,Duke of Medina Sidonia, Marquis of Saint Lucars,and Knight of the Order of the Golden fleece, was General of this great army,as you haue heard,D.*Iohn Martines* de Ricaldo was Admiral of the fleet, and D.*Franciſco de Bouadilla* Marſhall.There were of the Councel of war, *Diego Pimentel, Flores de Baldes*, *Pedro de Baldes*, *Michel Oquendo*, *Alonſo de Lieua*,*Diego Maldonado*, D. *George Manriques* with many others. There were many Noblemen, and about 120. gentlemen of note,voluntaries,that went to win honor,amongſt which were the Prince of Aſcoly,the Marquis of Pegnafiel,the Marquis of Berlango,with many others of great accounr.

Officers of the army.

Preparation of the Duke of Parma to ioyne with the army.

The Duke of Parma during this preparation, had commandement from the King of F
Spaine to make ready ſhips and boats to land men,and to haue his forces in a readineſſe to ioyne with his army that came from Spaine, who ſpent much time with great care and induſtry to prouide all things ready for ſuch an enterpriſe. He had 32.ſhips of warre within Dunkerke,and an infinite number of boats for tranſportation, hee lodged all his forces neere vnto the ſea,being about 30000.foot and nine hundred horſe.

There

A There came many Princes and Noblemen from forraine countries running to this imaginary conqueſt. Out of Spaine, the Duke of Paſtrana Prince of Vuly, ſonne to *Ruy Gomes* de Sylua, but hee was held to bee the Kings baſe ſonne: the Marquis of Bourgawe one of the Archduke *Fernands* ſonnes, D. *Veſpaſian Gonzaga*, of the houſe of Mantoua, a great ſouldier, D. *Iohn* de Medicis, baſe ſonne to the Duke of Florence, D. *Amadeus* a baſtard of Sauoy with many others. *Noblemen come into Flanders.*

The Queene of England hearing of all this preparation in Spaine and the Low countries omitted nothing that might ſerue for her iuſt defence. Shee ſent forth her beſt ſhips of warre, with ſome Merchants, to lie at Plymouth in the Weſt parts, there to attend the enemy, commanded by the Lord *Charles Howard*, high Admirall of England, and now Earle of Nottingham, beeing accompanied by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſecond ſonne to the Duke of Norfolke, and now Earle of Suffolke; the Lord *Sheffeld*, and many other Noblemen and gentlemen of quality: And in the narrow ſeas, betwixt Douer and Calis the Lord *Henry Seymor*, ſonne to the Duke of Somerſet, lay with forty or fifty ſaile of ſmaler ſhips. The vnited Prouinces had prouided twenty ſmall ſhips to keepe all the coaſt of Flanders, where there be great flats, and when as the Spaniſh fleet was ready to come, they ſent in the end *Iuſtine Naſſau* their Admirall with fiue and thirty tall ſhips well appointed, to ioyne with the Lord *Henry Seymer*, which ſhips vnited, ſhould keepe the Duke of Parma from comming forth, whereon their preſeruation did depend. *Preparation in England.*

B

C

But let vs returne to this great fleet of Spaine, which beganne to way anchor at Lisbone on the nine and twentith day of May this yeere 1588. and ſailed to the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in more men and ſome munition. From thence they put to ſea, but they were diſperſt by a ſtorme, ſo as the Duke was forced to returne againe vnto the Groine with his fleet, eight of his ſhips hauing ſpent their maſts, of the foure gallies one recouered that port, & the other three were driuen into Bayonne in France, whereas all the ſlaues eſcaped. *Spaniſh fleete diſperſt at ſea.*

The army being refreſhed and the ſhips repaired, the King did daily importune them to put to ſea, which they did, on the twentith of Iuly, ſayling till they came to the entry

D of the Engliſh Channel, from thence they ſent to aduertiſe the Duke of Parma of their comming, to the end hee might bee ready to ioyne with them. The fleet was diſcouered by one captaine *Fleming*, who aduertiſed the Lord Admirall of England when hee little expected them, which made him with all poſſible ſpeed to drawe his ſhips out of the hauen of Plymouth, imbarking his men with great confuſion and difficulty, himſelfe putting to ſea that night but with ſixe ſhips, and the reſt following as they could. The two fleetes hauing diſcouered one an other on the thirtith day of Iuly, the Spaniards leauing the Engliſh, kept on their courſe towards Flanders, according to the ſtrickneſſe of their Commiſſion, which was to ioyne with the Duke of Parma, and then ioyntly to inuade England.

E In this manner the Spaniſh fleet went on with a ſmall ſaile cloſe together, fearing to looſe ſome of their company, for that the Engliſh had got the winde, and bare vp within musket ſhot. Paſſing on in this cloſe manner the Gallion wherein *Pedro* de Baldes was, brake her maſt againſt an other ſhip, ſo as it was not able to follow the fleete, neither would they ſtay to helpe her, but falling off from the reſt it yeelded the next day to Sir *Francis Drake*, beſides D. *Pedro*, there were diuers gentlemen and 450. men in her, and as it was ſaid ſome of the King of Spaines treaſor: at the ſame time *Michel d' Oquendos* the viceadmiralls ſhip was by caſualty ſet on fire, and burnt to the water, of the which there were ſome ſaued.

On the ſecond day of Auguſt there was a hot fight betwixt the two fleets right againſt

F Portland, but the Spaniards left it and went on their intended courſe. On the fourth day was the like before the Iſle of Wight, where the Engliſh Admirall accompanied by the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the Lyon, the Lord *Sheffeld* in the Beare; Sir *Robert Southwell* in the Elizabeth Ionas, with ſome few others, did charge the Spaniſh Admiral being in the mideſt of his beſt ſhips, but in the end the Spaniards went away before the winde, and on the ſixth of Auguſt they came to anchor before Calis, meaning

there to attend the Duke of Parma, whether the next day the Engliſh fleet came and anchored cloſe by them, who that night ſending downe ſhips before the winde, being full of wood, poulder, wild-fire and other combuſtible things, and beginning to burne, they made the Spaniards in that amazement, cut their cables, and to put confuſedly to ſea. In this confuſion the great Galleaſſe of D. *Hugo de Moncado*, loſt her helme, and was driuen vpon Callis ſands, where D. *Hugo* was ſlaine, and the Galleaſſe ſpoiled by the Engliſh and loſt, where there were three hundred ſlaues ſet at liberty. A

The morning after their diſorder, the Spaniards had put themſelues againe into battaile: and the Engliſh charged them before Graueling, but they deſired to paſſe along with the winde, and to ſtand vpon their defence onely; this fight continued the whole day, in the which ſome of the Spaniſh ſhips were ſunke, and ſome being ſpoiled, and not able to follow the fleete, were taken by the States men and carried to Fleſſingue, I omit the repitition of euery particularity, becauſe you may reade them in the Duch Hiſtory. The Duke of Medina ſeeing that he had done what hee had in charge, thought it beſt now to retire, holding it better to hazard a dangerous paſſage by the North of Ireland, then to ſtay ſtil vpon the coaſt of Flanders, with apparent danger, hauing no means to ioyne with the Duke of Parma: wherevpon they packt on all their ſailes, hauing a greater will to flie then to fight, whom the Engliſh followed for a while, but ſeeing them bend their courſe Northward, they left them, and retired into England. It ſeemes that God did miraculouſly defend the Engliſh, for in all their ſeuerall fights, they loſt not one ſhip, nor a man of account, and not aboue a hundred common perſons. B C

Thus the Spaniſh fleet hauing loſt ten or twelue of their beſt ſhips, with foure or fiue thouſand men, beſides thoſe that were ſicke and wounded, whoſe number was great, diſtreſt with wants, and deſpayring of all helpe from the Duke of Parma (who prepared for their returne) they ſought to get into Spaine behind Scotland and Ireland, expecting ſmal releefe in Scotland, and that Norway could not ſupply their wants, they tooke all the fiſhermen they could meet withall to ſerue them for Pilots, and fearing the want of freſh water, they caſt their horſes ouer-board, and ſo they ſailed Northwards, till they came to 62. degrees. Then the Duke of Medina commanded the whole fleet to bend their courſe for Spaine or Portugal, and himſelfe with about 25. ſaile, that were beſt prouided of freſh water, kept out at ſea, and ſo got into Spaine. Don *Martin de Ricalde* the Admiral with ſome forty ſhips, ſailed neerer Ireland, hoping to refreſh themſelues there, but a great ſtorme aryſing about the ſecond of September, they were diſperſt, and many of them were driuen vpon that coaſt, and there caſt away; ſome ſunke, ſome broken, ſome runne on ſands, and ſome burnt by the Spaniards themſelues, to the number of ſeuenteene great ſhips: ſome write, they loſt vpon ſixe and thirty or eight and thirty ſhips, in which I take it they comprehend ſome that were loſt vpon the coaſt of Norway and that ſunke at ſea. Yet it was conſtantly reported, that of all that great fleet of a hundred thirty foure ſaile that went out of Lisbone, there returned but fifty three ſhips great and ſmal. Of them periſhed in Ireland there were ſpecially named a Galleaſſe two great Venetian ſhips, called *La Ratta* and *Balanzara* and the Gallcon called our Lady of Roſa, of a thouſand tunne, in the which D. *Michel d' Oquendo*, General of the ſquadron of Guipuſcoa, was, in which ſhip there periſhed (by the confeſſion of the Pilot) fiue hundred men, and not any one was ſaued but himſelf, among others (beſides the General *Oquendo*) there died as he ſaid the Prince of Aſcoly (held to bee the King of Spaines baſe ſon) *Matut* a Commander of the ſouldiers, *Villafranca* captaine of the ſaid ſhip, with many Knights and Aduenturers of account: Moreouer hee confeſt that there was in that ſhip 50. canons all braſſe for the field, 25. peeces of braſſe and iron belonging to the ſhip, 50. tuns of ſack, 15000. ducats in gold, with much plate and rich furniture. D E

Ships caſt away vpon the coaſt of Ireland.

Others write that heremained in Flanders after his lang at Calis.

After the Duke of Medin'as returne with the remainder of his fleet into Spaine, many died of ſickneſſe, or of the wounds which they had receiued. Many taxed the Duke for this vnfortunate ſucceſſe, but he (like a iudicious Prince, who had vnwillingly vndertaken that charge) laied the blame vpon his Pilots, and the Duke of Parma, who was not ready to ioyne with him, ſo as the King allowed of his reaſons, and gaue him leaue to goe home, and reſt himſelfe. There died many Commanders and men of account after their F

returne

returne, as D. *Iohn Martinez de Ricalde*, D. *Diego Floris de Baldes*, D. *Alonſo de Lieua*, D. *Diego de Maldonado*, D. *Franciſco de Bouadillo*, & D. *George Manriquez*, al of the counſell of warre. And many were taken priſoners, ſome in Ireland, as D. *Alonſo de Luſon*, a Collonel, two of the houſe of Cordoua, and D. *Roderigo de Laſſo*, and ſome in Zeland, as D. *Diego* de Pimentel a Collonel. Finally the loſſe was ſuch, as there was not any great houſe in Spaine, but had ſome particular cauſe to mourne for ſome one of their bloud. The Duke of Parma was much blamed by the Spaniards that were in the Low countries, but he excuſed himſelfe, for that (as he ſaid) the Spaniſh fleet came to ſoone, and to free himſelfe, he cauſed ſome to be hanged, which had not diſcharged their duties. After the ruine of this great Spaniſh fleet, there fel a great iarre betwixt the Lord of Champagni and Mounſieur *Richardot*, who was much fauored by the Duke of Parma, theſe two hauing run contrary courſes in their treaty of peace in Flanders, with the Queene of Englands Commiſſioners. So as after this bad ſucceſſe, Champaigny taxed the Duke of Parma of negligence, writing many letters of the like tenor into Spaine, whereof the Infanta *Iſabella* the Kings eldeſt daughter, affecting the Duke well, did ſtill aduertiſe him, who ſeeing his reputation and ſeruice thus called in queſtion, ſent *Richardot*, Preſident of Arthois, into Spaine to the King to make anſwere to all obiections and ſlanders, wherewith they had incenſed him, ſeeking to bring him in diſgrace, and to get his gouernment from him, accuſing him that hee had not done his duty concerning the Spaniſh fleete, and that hee had receiued a great affront before Berghen vp Zoome, for that hee would not beleeue the counſell of ſuch as would haue diſſwaded him from that enterpriſe; but *Richardot* gaue good ſatisfaction to the King and his Councell, and returned with a Commiſſion for the continuance of his gouernment, in deſpight of his enemies.

An. 1589.

Richardot ſent into Spaine by the Duke of Parma.

The King of Spaine beeing aduertiſed of the vnfortunate ſucceſſe of his fleet and army, which he had ſent to inuade England, after the returne of ſuch as were remayning of that miſerable wracke, hee beganne to examine euery mans merits; and who had deſerued reward, and who puniſhment in this action, to preſerue vnto himſelfe, with the feare of ſome, and the loue of others, the authority of a wiſe Prince: whereupon hee rewarded the heires of Don *Alphonſo* de Lieua, who (as they ſaid) was drowned with a thouſand perſons vpon the coaſt of Ireland.

He did puniſh ſeuerely *Fernando Lopes*, who was campe Maſter generall; and *Antonio* de Gueuara, Pouruoier generall, was depriued of his Office, for his miſdemeanors.

In the meane time they had newes in Spaine of a great army preparing in England to ſend into Portugall, for the reſtoring of Don *Antonio*, whereupon the King made prouiſion for the defence thereof, ſending the Earle of Fuentes for Generall into Portugall, with good troupes, hee augmented the number of their horſe, giuing the charge to D. *Alphonſo Vargas*, he made D. *Francis* de Padiglia Camp-maſter General, *Andreas* d' Alua Pouruoier, and *Iohn Maldonado* Auditor.

Prouiſion for defence of Portugal.

The prouiſions for this enterpriſe beeing made, they went from Plimouth in Aprill: Sir *Iohn Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* being Generalls; they had with them ſixe of the Queenes, twenty ſhips of warre, and (as ſome write) a hundred and forty for tranſportation, hauing when they tooke ſhipping a eleuen thouſand ſouldiers, and two thouſand fiue hundred marriners: within ſixe daies after their departure from England being the twentith day of Aprill, the army landed in a bay within a mile off the Groine, without impeach, from whence they marched preſently towards the towne, approching within halfe a mile they were incountred by the enemy, who beeing charged retired to their gates, and then the Generall lodged the army in the villages and houſes thereabouts. Generall *Norris* hauing viewed the towne before daie, reſolued for to attempt it by ſcaladoe, and to land ſome Artillerie to beate the ſhippes and gallies which did play vpon their troupes, the which was effectually performed, ſo as the Gallies were forced preſently to abandon the roade, and goe to Farrol, and then they prepared with all ſpeed to ſurprize the baſe towne, the which was done the next day after, they entring it in three ſeuerall places, where after good

Voiage of Portugal.

Groine the baſe towne ſurprized.

reſiſtance in one place, they were forced to abandon it, they all retyring into the high towne, the which they might eaſily doe for that the Engliſh knew not their paſſages. The reſt that were not put to the ſword, in the fury, fled to the rockes in the Iſland, where they did hide themſelues in caues, whereas many were daily found out. A

D. *Iohn* de Luna, a man of great command, hauing hidden himſelfe in a houſe came forth the next morning and yeelded himſelfe. *Iohn* de Vera a Commiſſary of the victuals was alſo taken that night, who confeſſed that at the entry of the Engliſh into the towne, there were fiue hundred Spaniards in ſeuen companies, (as it ſeemed) returned weake from the voyage of England, all vnder D. *Iohn de Luna*: the captaines names were D. *Diego Baçan* baſe ſonne to the Marquis of Santa Cruz. D. *Antonio de Herera*; B D. *Pedro Manriques* brother to the Earle of Paredes. D. *Ieronimo Mouray*, of the Order of Saint *Iohn*, hee was in the fort, D. *Gomes de Caruajal*; captaine *Mouçon* and *Caucaſa de Socas*. And that the day that the Engliſh landed there came from Retenzas the companies of D. *Iohn de Moſale*, and of D. *Pedro Ponce* de Leon. He confeſſed moreouer that there was order giuen for the baking of 300000. of biſcuit: that there was two thouſand pipes of wine in the towne, and a hundred and fifty in the ſhips. That there was lately come 300000. ducats from the Marquis of Seralba. That there was a thouſand Iarres of oyle, with great ſtore of beanes, peaſe, wheat and fiſh. That there were three thouſand kintals of beefe, and not twenty daies before, there entred three barkes laden with mach and harguebuſes. There were ſome others taken, and there C were ſlaine by the common ſouldiers about fiue hundred. At their firſt entry into the towne, the ſouldiers finding three ſellars full of wine diſtempred themſelues, ſo as many beeing drunke were hurt from the high towne, and this diſorder was the cauſe of a great mortality which fell in the Engliſh army. There was aboundance of victuals, and prouiſion for ſhipping and warre; which the Commiſſary confeſt to be for a new voyage into England.

After the taking of the baſe towne, there came ſome two thouſand men out of the country, downe to the very gates, as reſolutly as if they would haue entred, but the Engliſh that were in gard making head againſt them, they fled away diſordredly, hauing loſt ſome eighteene of their men. The Generall attempted the high towne both by D mine and battery, and going to the aſſault the looſe rubiſh vnder their feete failed them ſo as they could not ſtand. They had diuers men hurt in their retreat, and they loſt ſome twenty or thirty vnder the ruines of a tower which fell.

Succors come to releeue the Groyne.

The day after that the Engliſh had offred an aſſault, the General vnderſtood, by a priſoner, that the Earle of Andrada had gathered an army together of eight thouſand men, at Puente de Burgos, ſix miles from the towne, which was but the beginning of an army, there being a greater leauy ready to come vnder the conduct of the Earle of Altemira, either to releeue the Groyne, or to incampe neere vnto the place where the Engliſh ſhould imbarke, and to hinder there ſhipping for to that end the Marquis of Seralba had written vnto them both the firſt night of their landing, as the Commiſſary had confeſt, E or elſe to ſtop their paſſage into the country, whether they went daily by troupes, and burnt, ſpoiled, and tooke great booties. The Generall reſolued the next day to goe and viſit theſe forces, leading nine Regiments with him: In the foreward were the regiments of Sir *Edward Norrys* Maſter of the Ordinance, Sir *Roger Williams* and Collonel *Sydneys*: In the battaile that of the Generall, of Collonel *Lane*, and Collonel *Medkerke*: And in the reereward, Sir *Henry Norrys*, Collonel *Huntleys* and Collonel *Brets* Regiments, leauing the other fiue Regiments with Generall *Drake* for the garde of the Ordinance.

Vpon the ſixth day of May in the morning they diſcouered the enemy within halfe a mile off their campe; againſt whom the ſhot of the foreward skirmiſhed, and F forced them to retire vnto their bridge, which was of ſtone, built vpon Arches, ouer a creeke that came from the ſea. At the foote whereof on the other ſide the enemy lay verie ſtrongly intrenched, who beeing with his ſhot at the further end of the bridge, Sir *Edward Norris* (who ledde the foreward, and marched in the head of the pikes) paſt the bridge without any ſtay at all, beeing accompanied by

A by Colonell *Sydney*, Captaine *Hinder*, Captain *Fulford* and others. The way was euen, but they muſt paſſe thorough a ſtorme of ſmall ſhot; for the bridge was flanked on both ſides with their ſhot, at the farther end there was a barricado, but they that had it in gard, ſeeing the proud approch of the Engliſh, forſooke it, where Sir *Edward Norris* entred, and charging the firſt he encountred, with his pike, ouer-thruſting himſelfe hee fell, and was ſore hurt on the head, at the ſword, but was honorably reſcued by the Generall his brother, Colonell *Sidney*, and ſome other Gentlemen: Captaine *Hinder* hauing his cask ſhot off, had fiue wounds in the head and face at the ſword. This attempt full of difficulty, beeing ſeconded by the Generall, their braueſt men which defended that place, being B ouerthrown, their whole armie fell preſently to rout, and the Engliſh had the chaſe three miles foure ſundrie waies. The Generals Standard with the Kings armes was taken: what number of the enemy was ſlaine, was not certain, but only by coniecture how many, two thouſand men, (for of ſo many conſiſted the foreward) in ſuch a pourſute might kill. And to increaſe the number, hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their ſtands, they found many hidden in the vineyards and hedges, whom they ſlue. And Colonell *Medkerke* beeing ſent with his Regiment three miles farther to a cloyſter, which he burnt and ſpoyled, he found two hundred men there, which he put to the ſword. The Engliſh loſt onely one Captaine *Cooper*, and a priuate ſouldier. The execution beeing paſt, the Generall ſent three parts of the armie three ſeuerall waies to ſpoyle and burnt, ſo as the countrie round about was on fire. They found good ſtore of victuals and munition in C the campe, with ſome plate, rich apparell, and other booties, which they had left behind them.

Sir Edward Norris hurt.

Spaniards defeated at Puente de Burgos.

Thus the Engliſh armie returned to the Groine, bringing ſmall comfort to the Spaniards that were within it: and the next day the ſhipt their Ordinance, and then they ſet fire vppon euery houſe in the baſe towne, and on the Cloiſter, ſo as they left not any one ſtanding. And on the eight of May, the Engliſh imbarked their armie without loſſe of one man, which (had they not beaten the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos) they could not poſſibly haue done, they hauing (as it ſeemed) an intent to charge the Engliſh when they ſhould imbarke: the Commiſſarie confeſſing, that the firſt night of their landing, D the Marquis of Seralba did write vnto the Earle of Altemira, the Earle of Andrada, and to *Terneis de Sentiſſo*, to bring all the forces they could rayſe, wherewith they might either beſeege the Engliſh in the baſe towne, if they tooke it, or lye betwixt them and their imbarking place, and ſo fight with them vppon an aduantage, they hauing aboue 25000. ſouldiers vnder their commands.

The Engliſh armie leauing the Groine, on the thirteenth of May, there came vnto the Fleete the Earle of Eſſex, his brother Maſter *Walter Deuereux*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Colonell generall of the foote, Sir *Philip Butler*, and Sir *Edward Wingfield*. The Earle hauing put himſelfe into that action, contrarie to the opinion of the world, and with the hazard of his fortune, yet much to his honour. After which, the armie went and landed at Penecha in Portugall, within ſhot of the caſtle. The enemie beeing fiue companies of E Spaniards (vnder the commaund of the Earle of Fuentes) ſallyed out of the towne, and came to the water ſide, as the Engliſh landed.

Engliſh leaue the Groine.

But the Earle of Eſſex, with his brother, and Sir *Roger Williams* hauing landed men enough to make two troupes, they left one to go by the waters ſide, leading the other ouer the ſand-hilles: which the enemie diſcouering, they retired further into the land, that they might haue the better meanes to paſſe away, yet they did it in ſuch ſort, as beeing charged, they came to the puſh of the pike, where they ſlue an Engliſh Captaine: Theſe Spaniards beeing fledde, the Engliſh entred the towne, which was neither fortified nor defended by any man.

F The Generall ſummoned the Caſtle that night, which was held by a Portugueſe, called *Antonio d'Aurid*, who promiſed to yeeld it, ſo as he might bee aſſured, that Don *Antonio* was landed, and ſo he did. Thither came ſome Friars and poore men to their new king, promiſing within two dayes good ſupplies of horſe and foote. Hauing ſtayd at Penecha one day, the Generals reſolued, that the armie ſhould march by land to Lisbone, vnder the conduct of Generall *Norris*, and that Generall *Drake* ſhould meete him

him in the riuer with the Fleete, that there ſhould bee a companie left to guard the Caſtle, and fiue in the ſhippes. A

After which concluſion, hee marched with fourteene Regiments towards Lisbone, commandement beeing giuen from the Generall, that no man ſhould ſpoyle the countrie, nor take any thing from a Portugueſe, the which was very ſtreightly obſerued, ſo as the ſouldiers grew to ſome want of victualles in their march, but vppon complaint made vnto the King, it was better ſupplyed. In ſixe dayes march the armie came to Lisbone, without any incounter of the enemie, who was betwixt them and the cittie, but they diſlodged as they approched.

Engliſh armie comes to Lisbone.

Beeing come to the ſuburbes of Lisbone, Sir *Roger Williams*, and Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* with ſome thirtie ſhotte, ſcowred the ſtreetes neere vnto the Towne, where they found not any but old folkes and beggers, crying *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, and their houſes ſhut vp, the inhabitants hauing carried much of their wealth into the town, and fired ſome houſes by the water ſide full of Corne, and other prouiſion, for that the Engliſh ſhould not make vſe of it. The whole armie beeing quartred in the ſuburbes, the ſouldiers beeing tyred with their ſixe dayes march, and deſirous of reſt that night, the enemie beeing aduertiſed thereof, ſallyed foorth about one of the clocke, and came vppon the Engliſh by three ſeuerall ſtreetes, but eſpecially vppon Collonell *Brets* quarter, who beeing (as moſt of the Companies) at his reſt, made all the haſt hee could to draw his men into armes, in which charge hee was ſlaine, with ſome other Captaines of his Regiment: but there was ſuch reſiſtance made in all quarters, as they were ſuddenly put to a foule retreate, and chaſed euen to the Cittie gates, where they loſt many of their beſt Commaunders: In this ſalley the Spaniards loſt treble the number of the Engliſh, and ſome of good qualitie. B C

During their march, Generall *Drake* came with the Fleete to Caſcais, where hee entred without any reſiſtance, the Inhabitants beeing fledde with their goods to the mountaines, but the Generall ſent a Portugueſe vnto them, to offer them all fauour, if they would acknowledge their king, and ſupply the wants of his armie: which offer they willingly embraced, ſending two chiefe men to ſignifie their loyaltie to Don *Antonio*, and their loue to the Engliſh. Whereuppon the Generall landed his Companies, but the caſtle was held ſtill by 65. Spaniards.

Caſcais entred by the Engliſh. D

The day after the Spaniards ſalley, Generall *Norris* called a Councell, to aduiſe whether it were fit to attend there for the horſe and foote, which the King of Portugall had promiſed, and to ſend ſome conuenient troupes to Caſcais to fetch their Ordinance and munition, which was with their ſhippes. The opinions of the Commaunders were diuers, ſome fedde with a vaine hope of Don *Antonio*, thought it beſt to ſtay there, and to ſend ſome three thouſand men for the Ordinance. Others (deſpayring of all ſuccours from Portugall) perſwaded to march away, and not to ſtay vppon any vaine hopes. The Generall beeing loth to haue an imputation layed vppon him for his too great haſt, or to looſe any more time vppon Don *Antonio's* promiſes, tould them, that although the expedition of Portugall was not the onely deſſeigne of their iourney, but an aduenture, the good ſucceſſe whereof might get them great wealth, and much honour, wherin they had done ſo much, as whatſoeuer happened, it could not blemiſh their credits and reputations. E

Yet in regard of the Kings laſt promiſe, that hee ſhould haue that night three thouſand men armed of his Countrie, hee would not diſlodge that night. And if they came, that he might ſend the like number for his munition, and reſolue to trie his fortune for the Towne. If they came not, he thought it not fit to diuide his forces, by ſending any to Caſcais, knowing how boldly they had ſallyed foorth the day before, and that there were more ſouldiers armed within the towne, then was in their campe. And that before their men could returne from Caſcais, they expected more ſupplies: for the duke of Bragança, and Don *Francisco* of Toledo were attended with great ſuccours: whereuppon he concluded to march away the next morning, if the promiſed ſupplies came not that night: yet all the Portugueſes which came vnto their king, would not make a cornet of horſe, and two hundred foote. F

The

A The Generall attended the effect of the Kings promiſe vnto the laſt houre, and hee ſought to perſwade him to ſtay eight daies longer, in which time he might haue ingaged himſelfe, and receiued an affront, attempting a towne that was well fortified, and great troupes of men in it. So as the next day, ſeeing no Portugueſes appeare to ioyne with them, as was promiſed, the Engliſh Generall gaue order to march away, the Earle of Eſſex, and Sir *Roger Williams* making a ſtand, vntill that the whole armie was drawne into field, and ſo they marched out of the ſuburbes: Captaine *Anthony Wingfield*, and *Richard Wingfield*, beeing in the reere of them with ſome ſhot: after which the Battalions marched in order that night to Caſcais. In their march, that day the Galleys of Lisbone
B did ſomewhat annoy them, (their way lying along the riuer) and followed them vntill they were paſt Saint Iulians, ſpending many ſhot, but doing little or no harme. The horſe-men followed them afarre off, and cut off many ſicke men, which were not able to hold march, hauing no carriages for them.

Engliſh armie retires from Lisbone.

Hauing beene two dayes at Caſcais, they were aduertiſed by a Friar, that the Spaniards came marching ſtrongly towards them, and were at Saint Iulians, wherewith the Earle of Eſſex, and the Generals were much pleaſed, deſiring nothing more then to fight with them: Whereuppon the Engliſh General ſent away a meſſenger with a trumpet that night, who carried a challenge to the Spaniſh Generall, wherein he gaue them the lye, for that they reported, that the Engliſh had retired diſorderly and with feare
C from Lisbone, challenging him to meete him the next morning with his whole armie, if he durſt attend his comming, and there to trie the iuſtneſſe of their quatrell by battell: by whom alſo the Earle of Eſſex (preferring the honour of his countrie, before all other reſpects, ſent a challenge to any one of his qualitie, that would meete in the head of their Battailes, ſingle, or with more companie, to trie their fortunes, offering aſſurance for their returne, and honorable vſage.

Challenge ſent by the Engliſh Generall to the Spaniſh.

The Engliſh Generall put his armie in a readineſſe by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched to the place where they incamped: but they had diſlodged in the night in great diſorder and feare, as the Generall was the next day informed: ſo as the troupes followed them to Lisbone, but could not get any anſwer to his letters, they threatening
D to hang him, for that he preſumed to bring ſuch a meſſage: but fearing the like meaſure to their priſoners, they ſent him away without anſwer.

The armie beeing come to Caſcais, the Caſtle was ſummoned, where the Captaine promiſed to yeeld it vppon ſight of the Cannon, and not otherwiſe. Whereuppon the Generall cauſed three or foure peeces of batterie to bee brought, where after the firſt volley, they compounded to depart with their Armes and baggage, he had in the Caſtle one Cannon, two Culuerins, one Baſiliske, and three or foure field-peeces, three-ſcore and fiue ſouldiers, with good ſtore of victuals and munition, which hee might haue kept longer then the Engliſh had any intent to ſtay: the armie beeing imbarked and readie to ſet ſayle, the fort was blowne vp.

Caſtle of Caſcais yeelded to the Engliſh.

E Whileſt they lay there in the roade, the Fleete, in ſixe dayes, fetched in to the number of three-ſcore Hulkes, laden with Spaniſh commodities, as it ſeemed, for the Kings prouiſion, and were going for Lisbone: their chiefe lading was corne, Maſts, Cables, Copper and Waxe: among which, ſome were of great burthen, very well built for ſayling, hauing no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought to ſupply the Kings decayed Nauie. Into the which the Engliſh that were in flie-boates were ſhipped, and the flie-boates ſent home, with an offer of Corne for their hire. And then they ſent ſhippes to fetch their men which they had left at Penecha, where as the enemy entred preſently.

There were nine Galleys ſent from Andaluſia, to ſtrengthen the riuer of Lisbone, who
F in their returne, ſet vppon ſome ſhippes that were becalmed, and farre from the Fleete, but they did no great harme. The Fleet, by reaſon of the wind, went to the Iſlands of Bayonne, where they landed two thouſand men, beeing all that were able to fight, and marched to the Towne of Vigo, which beeing entred by Captaine *Anthony Wingfield*, hee found the ſtreetes full of Barricadoes, but not any one to defend them: for hee found but one man in the towne, they beeing fledde away to Bayonne: the

Vigo taken by the Engliſh.

the Generall with ſome others, beeing entred into Vigo, they ſent ſome Captaines out A
to ſpoyle, and burne the Countrie, which they did ſeuen or eight miles in length. In the
towne they found not any thing, but wine, all their goods beeing carried away, and in
the morning the Colonell generall hauing drawne the Companies out of the towne, he
cauſed euery houſe to be ſet on fire, and then they imbarked againe, and returned home
into England.

King of Spaine ſends forces to the Duke of Sauoy to beſeege Geneua.

The Duke of Sauoy had an intent to beſeege Geneua, which he pretended to bee his,
in which attempt he craued ayde from the King of Spaine his father-in-law, who ſent vn-
to him out of the Dutchie of Milan, *Pyrrho Maluezzi* with fiue thouſand foot, who went
vnto him with all ſpeed: from Naples hee had *Alexander Sforza* with a good number of B
horſe, and *Paul Sforza* with foote: and from the countrey of Cremona, *William* of Lo-
dron with fiue thouſand Germaines, and hee obtayned the Marquis of Saint Martin
from the Duke of Ferrara, to bee Lieutenant generall to the Duke of Sauoy, to whome
he was allyed, furniſhing him alſo with money, ſo as it ſeemed rather the King of Spains
action, then the Duke of Sauoys.

An. 1590. *Pretext of the King of Spaine to make warre in France.*

The King of Spaine aſpiring (as it ſeemed) to the Crowne of France, whereof he had
taken vppon him the name of Protectour, tooke now a new cloake to make warre,
which was in the name of his eldeſt daughter, Donna *Izabella Clara Eugenia*, whome he
had by *Elizabeth* of Valois his third wife, daughter to *Henry* the ſecond of France, pre-
tending the Dutchie of Brittanie to bee fallen vnto her by lawfull right and ſucceſſion, C
by the death of King *Henry* the third, her Vncle by the mothers ſide. Vppon this pre-
text hee ſent certaine troupes thither, ſeeking to diſmember it from the Crowne of
France, to the which it was incorporate, by the death of the Ladie *Anna* of Brittanie, ac-
compting the deſcendants from the ſayd Ladie *Anne*, who was promiſed to *Maximi-
lian* Arch-duke of Auſtria, and afterwards Emperour, but married to *Charles* the eight,
the French King, who dyed without heires, and then ſhee was married to *Lewis* the
twelfth, by whome ſhee had one daughter married to *Francis* the firſt, father to *Henry*
the ſecond his ſucceſſour, who had by *Catherine de Medicis* foure ſonnes, all which dyed
without children, and three daughters, *Elizabeth* third wife to the King of Spaine, *Claude*
married to *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, and *Marguerite* wife to *Henry* the fourth King of D
France and Nauarre.

All the fore-ſayd children beeing deſcended in the direct feminine line from the Lady
Anne of Brittanie, their Grand-mother, ſo as the ſonnes hauing no lawfull heires, the
ſucceſſion of of the ſayd Dutchie of Brittanie did belong vnto the Lady *Elizabeth* of Va-
lois, the eldeſt of King *Henryes* two daughters, and mother to the ſayd Infanta: the which,
according to the Lawe, the King her father would maintaine, ſhould repreſent her de-
ceaſed mother: for that the ſayd Dutchie beeing but a fee of Fraunce, may deſcend vnto
the daughters as well as to the ſonnes, as appeareth in the ſayd Dutcheſſe *Anne*, daugh-
ter to *Francis* the laſt Duke of Brittanie, who brought it to *Charles* the eight, and *Lewis*
the twelfth. The French anſwered, that Dutchies, which were but fees, and held by ho- E
mage of the Crowne, beeing once incorporated, can bee no more diſmembred, with
many more allegations, as you may reade in the French.

The King of Spaine could not forget the affront hee had receiued the laſt yeare by the
Engliſh in Portugall, hee ſought how to bee reuenged, if not of the whole State in
generall, yet of priuate Merchants, whoſe liuing conſiſted, and wholly depended vpon
Trafficke into diuers parts, and hearing that the Engliſh Merchants had great trade
within the Streights of Gibraltar, to Venice, Conſtantinople, Alexandria, and other
places of commerce, hee reſolued to interrupt them, and intercept them if he could by
any poſſible meanes: Whereuppon hee gaue charge vnto certaine Galleys to lye
continually in the Streights to attend their paſſage. F

Fight betwixt the Spaniſh gallies & Engliſh ſhips.

It happened this yeare, that there were tenne good Engliſh ſhippes, and well
fraught, comming from diuers parts, mette together at the Streights, and were ben-
ding home-ward. Theſe ſhippes comming neere to the mouth of the Streights, hard
vppon the coaſt of Barbarie they deſcryed twelue tall Galleys, wonderfully well
manned, and gallantly appoynted, beeing commaunded by *Andrew Doria* for the
King

A King of Spaine: who on the foure and twentith day of Aprill, in the morning, bare vp with the ſhippes, and waued them amaine for the King of Spaine, and the Engliſh did the like for the Queene of England: after which, the fight beganne, one of the ſhippes at her firſt ſhot raked away all the men of one ſide of a Galley, and ſo pierced it, as it was readie to ſinke, but the fight continued very furious, for the ſpace of ſixe howers. In the meane time, whileſt they were in the hotteſt of this fight, there came in two Flemings to the Fleete, who ſeeing of what ſtrength the Galleys were, the one of them ſtrucke her ſayles, and was preſently taken by the Galleys: the other Flemming was alſo readie to yeeld, if the trumpetter of that ſhippe had not threatened to kill the Pilote at the
B Helme, if he did not ſpeedily put off to the Engliſh fleete, and take part with them, by which meanes they were preſerued from the Spaniards, whereas the other was taken baſely and cowardly. After this long and furious fight the Engliſh ſhippes eſcaped, for the Gallies were ſo torne, as they were forced to flie into harbour, for that ſome of them were readie to ſinke, neither durſt they come any more foorth, notwithſtanding that the ſhippes lay becalmed in the ſtreight.

The Catholike King finding himſelfe ouer-burthened, and weakened with the warres which he had at one inſtant maintayned againſt his enemies, his treaſure beeing exhauſted, and hee wanting money to make his neceſſarie prouiſions both for Flanders, and France vppon all occurrents, hee commaunded the Duke of Seſſa, who was newly come Ambaſſadour to Rome, to ſucceede the Earle of Oliuares, who was gone Viceroy
C into Sicily, to intreate his Holineſſe to grant him part of the reuenues of the ſpirituall liuings in Spaine, leauing vnto the Prieſts a competent liuing according vnto euery mans qualitie, but this demaund was not allowed of, nor held conuenient in the Court of Rome.

Fight betwixt the Reuenge & the Armado of Spaine.

This yeare there was a memorable fight at the Ilands of the Açores betwixt the king of Spaines Armado, and one of the Queene of Englands ſhippes called the Reuenge. The Lord *Thomas Haward*, ſecond ſonne to the Duke of Norfolke, and now Earle of Suffolke, going foorth with ſixe of the Queenes ſhippes, ſixe victuallers, and ſome pinaces to attend the Weſt Indian Fleete in their returne, lying at one of the Ilands of the
D Açores, they were aduertiſed of the approach of the Spaniſh armado, (beeing three and fiftie ſayle of men of warre, commaunded by Don *Alphonſo Baçan*, brother to the Marquis of Santa Cruz) the which were preſently in ſight, many of the Engliſh beeing then on ſhoare, to furniſh themſelues with ballaſt, freſh water, and other neceſſaries, ſo as their ſhippes were light for want of ballaſt, and halfe their men ſicke and vnſeruiceable for fight.

The Spaniſh Fleete beeing couered by an Iland, were come ſo neere, as they had ſcarce any time to weigh their anchors, yet ſome were faine to ſlippe their Cables, and to ſet ſayle. Sir *Richard Greenfield* (who was Vice-admirall in the Reuenge) wayed laſt, ſtaying to recouer her men that were in the Iland, which otherwiſe had beene loſt, and not able to recouer the wind, as the Admirall, and the reſt had with ſome difficultie done, he
E was perſwaded by the Maſter and ſome others to caſt about, and to truſt to the ſayling of the ſhippe: but Sir *Richard* would by no meanes turne head to the enemie, proteſting that he would rather dye, then diſhonour himſelfe, his Countrie, and her Maieſties ſhip. But he could not force through them, as he thought, but was boarded of either ſide by their huge Galleons.

The fight beganne at three of the clocke in the after noone, and continued very furious all that euening. The Spaniſh ſhippes were full of ſouldiers, in the Engliſh there were not any but Marriners, and ſome few voluntarie Gentlemen, with their ſeruants. They made many aſſaults, thinking to force her with their multitudes, but they were ſtil
F repulſt. The fight continuing all the day, and ſome howers in the night, many of her men were ſlain and hurt, and one of the great Galleons, with the Admirall of the Hulks ſunke, and a great ſlaughter made in diuers other Spaniſh ſhippes. The Spaniſh ſhippes which attempted to board the Reuenge, as they were beaten off, others came in their places, there beeing neuer leſſe then two mightie Galleons by her ſide, ſo as ſhee had beene

aſſayled

aſſailed by fifteene ſeuerall Armados, yet at the breake of day they were more willing to hearken to a compoſition then to make any new attempt. A

At the breake of day the Reuenge ſaw none but enemies, nor any hope of reliefe: their poulder was ſpent to the laſt barrell, their Pikes were broken, forty of their beſt men ſlaine, and moſt of the reſt hurt. In the beginning of the fight they had but a hundred ſound men, and nintie ſixe lay ſicke vpon the ballaſt. And on the other ſide the Spaniſh ſhips were ſtill ſupplied with ſoldiers from the other ſquadrons, and with all kinde of armes and munition. The Reuenge hauing her maſts beaten ouer board, her tackle cut a ſunder, and in a manner made euen with the water, there being nothing left aboue head to make defence. Sir *Richard Greenefield*, finding himſelfe vnable to make any more reſiſtance, hauing endured the aſſaults of ſo many ſeuerall ſhips, and (as it was thought) eight hundred ſhot of great Ordinance, and that he and his ſhip muſt needs be taken by the enemies, being in a ring round about her: he commanded the maiſter Gunner (beeing a reſolute man) to ſincke her, to the end the Spaniards might reape no glory of that victory, ſeeing they could not take her in fifteene houres, with fifty three ſhips, and about ten thouſand men, perſwading the company to yeeld themſelues to the mercy of God, and to none elſe: And as they had like valiant men repulſed ſo many enemies, ſo they ſhould not now blemiſh their honours by prolonging their liues for a few houres. The Gunner was willing with diuerſe others, but the Captaine and Maiſter diſwaded him, pretending that the Spaniards would willingly entertaine a compoſition, and that there were diuerſe valiant men (whoſe wounds were not mortal) which might hereafter do their Prince and country good ſeruice, aſſuring him withall, that the Spaniards could neuer recouer the ſhippe, hauing ſixe foote water in hold, three ſhot vnder water, and ſo weakly ſtopt, as ſhee muſt needes ſinke with the firſt working of the ſea. But Sir *Richard* could not bee remooued from his reſolution. Wherefore the Maiſter of the Reuenge was conuayed aboard the Generall Don *Alphonſo Baſſan*, who (finding no man willing to enter her, fearing they ſhould be all blowne vp) yeelded their liues ſhould bee ſaued, the company ſent into England, and the better ſort to pay reaſonable ranſoms, and to be free from the Galleys and impriſonment. Wherevnto hee yeelded the more willingly, as well to auoyde a greater miſchiefe, as to recouer Sir *Richard Greenfield*, whom hee ſeemed to honor and admire for his great valour. B C D

The Reuenge yeelded to the Spaniards by compoſition.

This anſwer beeing returned, moſt of them left Sir *Richard Greenfield* and the Gunner, who beeing deſperate would haue killed himſelfe. Don *Alphonſo Baçan* ſent vnto Sir *Richard* to remooue out of his ſhippe, beeing vnſauory like a ſlaughter houſe, with bloud and dead bodies. Sir *Richard* anſwered, that hee might doe with his body what hee liſt, for he regarded it not. The Generall vſed him with all humanitie, and tryed all meanes for his recouery, much commending his valour, and lamenting the danger wherein hee was, beeing a rare thing to ſee one ſhippe make head againſt ſo many huge and great Armado's.

Loſſe of Spaniards at the fight.

There were ſlaine and drowned in this fight neere a thouſand Spaniards, and two ſpeciall Commanders. Don *Lewis* of Saint Iohn, and Don *George de Prunaria* of Malaga; The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Aſſention of Seuile were ſunke by the Reuenge, one recouered Saint Michaels, and did ſinke there, and a fourth ranne a ground to ſaue her men. It is ſaid, that Sir *Richard* dyed the ſecond or third day aboard the Generall, and was much lamented. The reſt of the Queenes ſhippes did not ingage themſelues ſo farre in the fight, the reaſons were. They were but ſixe ſhippes in all, whereof two were ſmall: the Reuenge was paſt recouery: the Iland of Flores was on the one ſide, and fifty three Spaniſh ſhippes on the other, full of Soldiars: halfe the Engliſh were ſick, and not ſeruiceable, the ſhippes fowle and wanting ballaſt, hauing beene ſixe moneths at ſea, ſo as if they had all entred the fight, they had all beene loſt. Notwithſtanding the Lord *Thomas* would haue entred among their Squadrons, but the reſt would not yeeld to it, and the Maiſter of his ſhippe offered to leape into the ſea, rather then to conduct her Maieſties ſhippes to bee a prey to the enemy, where there was no hope eyther of defence or victory. A ſhippe of the Queenes wherein Maiſter *Thomas Vauaſor* E F

(now

A now Knight Marſhall commanded)continued two houres in fight, as neere the Reuenge as ſhee could,but beeing in danger to bee compaſſed in by the Spaniſh ſquadrons, hee cleered himſelfe with great difficulty.

Some dayes after the fight, the Engliſh priſoners beeing diſperced in the Spaniſh ſhips,there aroſe a great ſtorme,ſo as the whole fleete (Indians and others) were diſperced,they beeing newly come vnto them; of the which there were foureteene ſaile, and the Reuenge, with two hundred Spaniards in her, caſt away vpon the Iland of Saint Michael. There were fifteene or ſixteene ſhips of warre more caſt away vpon the other Ilands; and of a hundredſaile and odde, expected that yeare in Spaine from the Indies, B there were aboue three ſcore and ten loſt in ſeuerall ſtormes; the Spaniards confeſt that there were ten thouſand men caſt away in that tempeſt.

The Reuenge caſt away with many Spaniſh ſhips.

This yeare happened that miſerable and lamentable condition of the Arragonois, eſpecially of them of Saragoça,the chiefe citty of the realme. From whom the King of Spaine (whether by lawfull or vnlawfull meanes I will not iudge) tooke, or rather pulled away violently their liberties and ancient priuiledges, after this manner. The King had giuen vnto Don *Iohn* of Auſtria,his baſe brother,one *Iohn de Soto*, to ſerue him as a Secretarie,a man by nature tending to great matters,to raiſe his Lord and Maiſter to a ſuperlatiue greatneſſe, and by the meanes of Pope *Pius* the fift, to aduance him to the realme of Tunes. The which beeing ſuſpect and diſpleaſing vnto the King (fearing the C diminution of his pretended Monarchie) after that hee had well obſerued his deſſiegnes and actions, it was thought fit to call home *Soto* from D. *Iohns* ſeruice and to ſubſtitute *Eſcouedo* in his place. In the beginning this Secretary *Eſcouedo* did ſerue his Lord Don *Iohn* well,to the Kings good liking: but in time they diſcouered plainly, that hee troad in the ſame pathe that *Soto* had done, entertaining ſecret correſpondencies in the Court of Rome, for his Maiſtets aduancement by the Popes pourſute, who poſſeſt him with an Imagination of the Crowne of England, the which did much diſpleaſe the King, although it were no preiudice to him. Don *Iohn* beeing returned ſoone after out of Italy into Spaine,to receiue his commiſſion and Inſtructions for the gouernment of the Netherlands,he parted well ſatiſfied and full of hope of this Conqueſt of England. Bee- D ing come into the Netherlands,and hauing ratified the pacification of Gant, made by the Generall Eſtates, the Prince and the particular Eſtates of Holland, Zeland, and their aſſociates,with the Eſtates of Brabant,Flanders,Arthois, Henault,&c. by which pacification all ſtrange Souldiers ſhould depart the countrie: ſo as Don *Iohn* thought, (and ſuch was his firſt and moſt aſſured deſſeigne) to make vſe of the ſayd Soldiers, in their retreate,to execute this exploite of England. But whether the Generall Eſtates of the Lowe Countries (who had then made an alliance with England) diſcouered his intent, or not: when as hee could not finde meanes to retire his ſouldiers by ſea, for want of ſhippes, which they refuſed him, that deſſeigne of England turned into ſmoake. Notwithſtanding that the Pope would haue aſſiſted him, as well with money, as with Bulls, E granting him the inueſtituure of that Realme,to hold it of the Popes Sea. The which the King of Spaine (without whoſe priuitie this buſineſſe was in the beginning managed) (hauing himſelfe a greedy deſire to that realme, as did afterwards appeare)could ſecretly croſſe.

Arragonois ſpoiled of their ancient priuiledges by the King.

Motiues of the bad vſage of the Arragonois for their liberties.

Don *Iohn* beeing much grieued in heart at this eſcape, yet ſeeming ſtill very obſequious and dutifull to the King,hauing in ſome ſort cauſed the Spaniards and Italians to retire,but not far off, and keeping the Germaine Collonels at his deuotion, and not cauſing them to rerire, hee afterwards ſeazed vpon the Caſtle of Namur, whereby all his practiſes were diſcouered,and many letters were intercepted, written by him and *Eſcouedo* his Secretarie: Wherevpon hee was declared an enemy to the Lowe Coun- F tries. Then hee beegan to treate ſecretly, and to make priuate alliances in France, with the Duke of Guiſe, all without the King of Spaines priuitie and knowledge, the which did mooue him much, obſeruing theſe courſes of Don *Iohn* and his Secretary *Eſcouedo*: whereof *Antonio de Vargas*, Ambaſſador for the King of Spaine in France, aduertiſed *Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State to the ſayd King, who preſently acquainted his maiſter therewith. Among other things,that Don *Iohn* ſaid, that hee had rather ſeeke

his fortune in France with 6000. foote, and 2000. horſe, then to ſtay any longer in the A
gouernment of the Netherlands. On the other ſide, Don *Iohn* by his letters which hee did write into Spaine, made ſtrange complaints, full of bitterneſſe and deſpaire, yea with threates; if they ſuffered him to languiſh any longer in that eſtate: and his letters were ſeconded by *Eſcouedo*, who wrote to *Antonio Perez*, whom he held to be a friend to Don *Iohn* and himſelfe; but hee diſcouered all their ſecrets vnto the King; as it appeared by letters written from *Perez* vnto the King, and noted in the margent with the Kings owne hand.

During all this buſineſſe, *Eſcouedo* beeing ſent for into Spaine, the King reſolues to haue him made away, either by murther or poyſon, as well for the great liberty and boldneſſe hee vſed in his writing, as for the ſtrange ſpeeches he ſometimes vttered, which were B
very diſpleaſing vnto the King, taking for a coulour a certaine propoſition made by him to fortifie and man the rock of Magro, and of ſome 6000. Ducats imployed by him, contrary to the Kings intent. In the end, after that he had conferred with the Marquis of Velez, and duly conſidered of all *Eſcouedos* practiſes: holding it a dangerous matter to ſend him back to Don *Iohn*, the King found it expedient to haue him ſlaine. So *Eſcouedo* returning home to his lodging in the night, he was murthered in the ſtreete by *Garcia* of Arres, and his confederates, at the induction of *Antonio Perez*, who had receiued commandement from the King. Hauing beene formerly concluded betwixt the King and *Perez*, that if the murtherers ſhould chance to bee apprehended, that *Perez*, taking the C
fact wholy vpon himſelfe ſhould flie into Arragon, whereas the King might more eaſily defend him then in Caſtile. *Eſcouedo* beeing murthered in this manner, the fact began to be diſcouered. The widow and her ſonnes made their complaints againſt *Perez*. The King receiued them into his Councell of State, but hee ſent them not before their Ordinary Iudge, himſelfe giuing the whole knowledge of the fact to the Preſident of Caſtile, and commanding him to talke with *Eſcouedos* ſonnes, and to the Secretary *Mathew Vaſques*, who preſented their complaint, to the end they might bee ſilent. But all the Preſidents admonitions were of no force, yea hee made them more violent in their complaints. *Perez* aduiſed the King to ſuffer this fact to come to a triall of lawe, with a moderate & ſlow pourſute, yet not to decree any thing, or elſe that he would giue him leaue D
to retire from Court; the which the King tooke in ill part, promiſing him by the faith of a Knight, neuer to abandon him, and that hee would keepe him in his ſeruice. But *Perez* in the meane time ſaw the ſtorme approching, whereof hee was the more aſſured after the death of the Marquis of Velez, who had beene a liuely witneſſe vnto him. The King ſeeing him perplexed, and in diſtreſſe for this death, did confirme this promiſe againe vnto him more ſtrictly. In the meane time they doubled their complaints, the which (in like maner tending to the diſhonor, and to charge the Princeſſe of Eboly) the complainants framed at large by writing, and preſented it to the King, yet for all this hee gaue no ſentence: but being preſt by *Vaſques*, to whom he had begun to diſcouer himſelfe, as appeared by the anſwer which hee made him in writing, coppyed by *Perez*, with a poſtſcript E
of the Kings.

In the end the King commanded his Confeſſor to reconcile the Princeſſe and *Perez*, with *Vaſques*: wherevnto the Princeſſe would not giue eare, finding her ſelfe wronged, for that ſhe held him vnworthy to conferre with her. The which did wonderfully diſcontent *Perez*, not daring to mooue her therewith, for that he held himſelfe bound vnto her ſeruice, for the fauours he had receiued from her. And ſeeing that by their reiterated complaints, notwithſtanding the Kings promiſe in the faith of a Knight, they purſued him with all violence: he beſought the King, at the leaſt, to do him this fauour, that hee might retire himſelfe. The king finding himſelfe wronged on both ſides; by the Princeſſe, for that ſhe would not reconcile her ſelfe with *Vaſques*, as hee had commanded; and with *Perez* F
for that he would retire himſelfe. After that hee had conſulted with his Confeſſor, and with the Earle of Barayas, he cauſed the Princeſſe and *Perez* to be committed to priſon, vpon a coulour, that by this impriſonment hee ſhould force them to bee reconciled, the King himſelfe beeing a ſpectator of this apprehenſion, made by his commandement, the which was in the yeare 1579.

The

A The next day, the King ſent to viſit *Perez* wife, and to comfort her, wiſhing her not to be troubled for her husband. Hee in like manner ſent his Confeſſor to viſit *Perez*, ſeeming to haue a care that hee ſhould be well intreated. After that he had beene detained ſome moneth in priſon, hee ſent him with a certaine guarde home to his houſe, where he commanded *Perez* that he ſhould ſweare to Don *Roderigo Manuel*, by the faith of a Gentleman, that he would continue friend with *Vaſques*: *Perez* remitting his ſplene (yet hauing the knife neere his throte) yeelded therevnto: and ſo continued in his houſe, bearing the charge thereof, vntill the yeare 1585. and receiuing no allowance nor fee. At the end of which time (to the end the blind ſhould not ſee any thing) hee was with other Secre-
B taries put to the Viſita (which is a lawe to examine the actions of ſuch as they meane to intrap.) *La viſita in Spaine is the law of ſifting.*

The charges of this Viſita were more honourable to *Perez* then hurtfull. They did conſiſt of two points, the one concerning the Kings ſecrets, whereof hee aduertiſed the King, for that he would not diſcouer them, ſeeing that they meant to force him thervnto; hauing alwayes faithfully acquit himſelfe in keeping them in his boſome, as the King had truſted him. Hee in like manner informed the Confeſſor, ſhewing vnto him for his diſcharge, a writing of the Kings owne hand: wherevpon the Confeſſor did forbid him to purge himſelfe by his Kings writing: wherevnto he obayed, for that he would not diuulge his ſecrets: ſuffering himſelfe to bee condemned in a fine of thirty thouſand
C Ducats, ſuſpenſion of his office, two yeares impriſonment, and then to be baniſhed eight yeares. The which *Perez* endured by the perſwaſions and goodly promiſes of this Father Confeſſor.

This condemnation was made by the ſtrangeſt Act that hath beene ſeene, whereof the Councell had no knowledge, neither was it ſigned, nor any iudiciall ſentence pronounced. The Act beeing inſinuated to *Perez*, being lead from his houſe to the Caſtle, his goods before ſeazed on were freed, and it was told him that hee ſhould not per- *Trick of a falſe Monke.*
forme the ſaid Act, ſo as hee would deliuer the papers and Inſtructions which hee had written vnto the King, and from the King to him: that by this meanes hee might wholy diſcharge the King, and lay all vppon *Perez* owne head, wherein conſiſted the end of
D their proceeding. For there were yet two ſecret points in the ſentence: the one was, they would make *Perez* guilty of *Eſcouedos* death: the other, that hee had no meanes to complaine of force and violence in his Country of Arragon: beſides an accuſation of ten thouſand Ducats wherewith they charged him, whereof by many liuely reaſons, and by a note of the Kings owne hands hee was diſcharged. Which note hauing beene deliuered into the Confeſſors hand, hee read and retained it, and afterwards denyed the hauing it.

When they came to execute the ſaid Acte, *Perez* thinking to preuent it, fled into a Church for liberty (fearing that his enemies would murther him in priſon) from whence notwithſtanding hee was drawne, but hauing obtained a ſentence to his aduan-
E tage, this execution was ſtopt. Notwithſtanding hee was afterwards taken againe, and carried to the Caſtle of Turnegano, where hee was cruelly intreated by one *Torres* of Auila a Licentiat, who kept him ninety dayes in Irons, from the ſight of his wife and children, who were in like manner committed to priſon; to the end they ſhould not demand Iuſtice, as the wife had done once at Lisbone, vppon the Kings promiſing *by the faith of a Knight*, the which was done to the end they might the better come to the Kings papers and her husbands, which this Friar *Diego Chaues* hunted ſo after, knowing how much they did import to free the King. To attaine vnto the which hee had already written two letters (by the meanes of the Earle of Barayas Preſident of Caſtile) to *Perez* wife, ſending her word, that there was no other meanes
F to ſee her husband in liberty, then in yeelding vp the ſayd papers: and in ſo dooing, that both ſhee and her husband ſhould bee deliuered out of priſon, wherevnto ſhee reſiſted couragiouſly, refuſing flatly to giue them. So as in the end her husband did write a note vnto her with his owne bloud (ſo ſtraightly was he kept) that ſhe ſhould deliuer them, the which ſhe did, yet by a diuine inſtinct ſhee reſerued ſome, ſending them in two cofers to the ſaid Confeſſor, beeing at Monzon, with the Keyes, the which were

deliuered into the Kings owne hands by him that had charge of the cofers; by the de- A
liuerie of which papers, the Lady onely was ſet at liberty.

At the Kings retnrne from Monzon, the papers beeing read, *Perez* was ſomewhat inlarged in the towne of Madrid (but not without a further meaning) for the ſpace of foure moneths, hauing leaue to bee viſited, and the weeke before Eaſter to go to Maſſe, but this was a ſhort ioy, for *Eſcouedos* ſonne came to renew his old complaint, and *Perez* was againe ſent to the Caſtle to priſon, and ſoone after hee was called into the Court: where beeing examined vpon this complaint, hee continued faithfull and conſtant vnto the King; refuſing to declare any thing according to his commandements and promiſes; aduertiſing him notwithſtanding what the euent might be of ſuch kinde of proceedings: B
but all was in vaine; for it was ordred that hee ſhould anſwer within ten dayes, vnto the cheiſe points of a proceſſe, which had laſted ten yeares. At this examination the Confeſſor aduiſed him, to confeſſe *Eſcouedos* murther, but not to declare the motiues and reaſons; which *Perez* did not approoue. But rather, to the end the King might bee diſcharged, to compound with *Eſcouedos* children, who were the parties interreſſed, the which was effected at *Perez* charge, for twenty thouſand Ducats, and it was preſently paid. All this did not ſerue the turne, for the Preſident *Roderigo Vaſques*, a Kinſman to *Eſcouedo*, ſeeing that *Perez* could auoyde all ſtormes, wrote vnto the King that hee ſhould conſider well of the compoſition which *Perez* had made, by the which the world did murmure and ſurmiſe, that his Maieſtie had cauſed him to do it. And therefore his regall C
authority required, that hee ſhould declare, or cauſe *Perez* declare the reaſons of this accord; whereby his Maieſty ſhould ſtop all mens mouths, and *Perez* ſhould bee better diſcharged. Whereupon the king did write vnto *Perez*, to tell the reaſon why, by his commandement and for his ſeruice, hee had cauſed *Eſcouedo* to be ſlaine. This note and command from the king, made the greateſt to murmure; for (ſaid they) if the king hath commanded him to murther *Eſcouedo*, what reaſon, or what reparation do they pretend? Is it now time, after twelue yeares ſince it was done, to demand the cauſe? yea a Cardinall, & the Popes Legat ſpake vnto the Confeſſor in *Perez* behalfe: To whom he anſwered, that they ſhould reſt ſatiſfied, and that what had beene done, was to giue contentment to the Preſident *Roderigo Vaſques*, and that all ſhould be well. As in like manner Father *Salinas* a D
preaching Friar, diſcourſed ſufficiently in a Sermon which he made in the kings Chappel, in Iuſtification of *Perez*, but all was without effect, the Confeſſor holding it a ſinne to demand Iuſtice: Notwithſtanding *Perez* remained firme and conſtant, and being examined vpon the Kings note, he would not declare any thing, for he did not eaſily giue credit thereunto: whereupon the Iudge tooke occaſion to put *Perez* to the rack (although his minde were ſufficiently tortured, with the confuſion of a precedent order) yet relying
An. 1591. vpon the Kings firſt inſtruction and commandement, he continued conſtant, & endured
Arragon action. the torture, euen to the effuſion of his bloud, yet in the end hee was forced to declare the motiue cauſes of the murther of *Eſcouedo*, with the circumſtances, producing the Kings originall letters to that end, and an Autentike witneſſe, who was yet liuing: whoſe teſti- E
mony they receiued, but all making for *Perez*, they ſuppreſt his depoſition, and the Kings billet, and did not produce it. *Perez* finding by all theſe violences and out-rages, that they
Peres eſcapes out of priſon, and flies into Arragon. would draw his life into queſtion, he found no better means, then to ſeeke how he might eſcape out of priſon in Caſtile: as he did by the aſſiſtance of his wife, and of *Giles de Meſa*, a Gentleman of Arragon, his kinſman, in the night, the Thurſday before Eaſter: running thirty leagues poſt, without any reſt, vntill he came into Arragon: for the which his wife and children ſmarted, for they were caſt into priſon, with a friend of *Perez*; which cruelty was intollerable before God, as in ſuch euents, whereas wiſe men are dombe, God makes fooles to ſpeake, and to tell Kings and Princes the truth, to their confuſion. For *Thio Martino* the kings foole, & a natural, hearing that the chiefe in Court reioyced F
that *Perez* had ſo eſcaped, asking the King what that *Perez* was, for whom euery man did ſo much reioyce? Surely ſaid he, he was not guilty, and therefore Sir, be thou alſo glad. Theſe words by a foole were obſerued by the wiſeſt. It ſeemed that impriſonment of *Perez* wife and children, proceeded from hatred, or to ſtop their iuſt complaints, or elſe that the Confeſſor ſought to be reuenged of them, for that the ſaid Lady had once charged

him

A him that inſteed of a Confeſſor, hee was a Soueraigne Iudge, teaching him what was written of the poore widdow in the holy Scripture. And alſo for that which Donna *Gregoria Perez* their daughter, after a long purſute, ſpake with great courage and griefe of heart, vnto the Preſident *Rodrigo Vaſques*, that ſhe was come with her yong Brethren and Siſters, to the end that without making them to languiſh any longer in miſery, hee ſhould make haſt to ſuck vp their bloud, and that they were come to that end, deſiring rather to dye at once, then they ſhould thus ſuck their blouds by degrees. Wherewith the Preſident was no leſſe terrified, then the Confeſſor was at the Mothers words. *Perez* hauing recouered Arragon with great difficultie, beeing much broken with the Racke,
B and his long and miſerable impriſonment, hee ſtayed ſome time at Calatajub, where hee retired himſelfe into a Monaſterie. There were priuate letters ſent to a Knight of that towne, without any Act, or ſufficient warrant, to draw him from thence: the which not able to effect, beeing hindered by the religious men of that Conuent, hee gaue him a Monkes Sell for his priſon. *Perez* did write from this place vnto the King, but all was in vaine; for vpon new complaints and accuſations, hee was drawne out of this Conuent by the Kings expreſſe commandement (not without ſome mutinie of the townesmen) and lead to Saragoça, from whence hee did importune the King with new letters, ſending a religious man expreſly, with good inſtructions of all matters. This religious man ſpake vnto the King, who gaue him good words: but hee was not welcome to
C the reuered father the Kings Confeſſor. But nothing could helpe him, to ſtay theſe purſuites begunne: or elſe God would haue the truth knowne to all the world, the which ſome priuate mens mallice ſought to ſuppreſſe.

Perez ſeeing that hee preuailed nothing, hee had recourſe to his papers, letters, and inſtructions, as well from the King, as from ſome others, which had beene kept ſafe by his wiues induſtrie: whereof hee made a collection, deciſering the whole eſtate of his buſineſſe, and made a Booke, the which hee preſented vnto the Iuſtice: whereby his aduerſaries ſeeing themſelues confounded, and that hee ſhould be abſolutely diſcharged, they inuented an other meanes to intrappe him: which was that the King reſeruing all his rights, ſhould deſiſt from this action againſt *Perez*; and that they would charge him
D to haue ill acquitted his duty to his Prince. Although that this ſeperation of the cauſe was repugnant to the cuſtomes of Arragon, and that the King might not doe it: yet they gaue it forth that they had inſtructions, impugning them of *Perez*, the which was alledged wholy againſt the Kings authority, to the blemiſh of his reputation, and contempt of his writing, the which *Perez*, neither in priſon, nor out, for the onely reſpect he bare vnto the King, would euer ſhew, but onely at this laſt charge, where hee was forced to make vſe of them, leaſt he ſhould fall into the like inconuenience that *Piſo* had done, who would not iuſtifie himſelfe of *Germanicus* death, by the writings of *Tiberius Cæſar*, who had commanded him: *Perez* diſcharge beeing the more receiuable, for that hee did make euery man know by liuely reaſons, what had mooued the King to doe it. *Perez*
E enemies ſeeing there was no aduantage to bee gotten of him before the Soueraigne Iudge, they drew him to the ſeate of the Inqueſts of Arragon, where as the King is both Indge and party. There he was examined vpon the old Artlcles, the fift day after the ſeparation, and alſo vpon two new points: by the which in their Interrogatories they did obiect againſt him, that when as he heard the French King did proſper, hee reioyced, and contrarywiſe hee was ſad, when as he heard of the King of Spaines good ſucceſſe. Moreouer that he had a deſire to retire himſelfe into Berne, or into Holland and Zeland. To whom he anſwered, that they ought not to ſearch into the ſecret Cabinet of God, who alone knowes the hearts of men, proteſting of the force and violence they offred him, to the preiudice of the Kings ſeruice: Offring yet to produce more Inſtructions before any
F third perſon, whom it ſhould pleaſe the King to name, and eſpecially before the Archbiſhop of Saragoça: But this offer was not allowed, nay not any one durſt deale in his buſineſſe, no not his owne Aduocate, hearing the threats of the Marquis of Almenare, who had corrupted ſome witneſſes vpon *Perez* retreate into Holland.

Yet this Inqueſt could not worke out any thing to preiudice *Perez*: then his aduerſaries tooke a new reſolution, to deliuer him ouer to the Inquiſition, vppon

thoſe witneſſes which had beene ſuborned by the Marquis of Almenare, touching his A
reeate into Holland, accuſing him alſo of Inchantment. This forged Act of the Marquis, was cenſured throughout the realme, and euery man would take knowledge thereof, who found it to be ſuch, as it was nothing preiudiciall to *Peres*: yea the Salmedine of Saragoſſa (which is the ſupreame Magiſtrate of the towne) was afterwards committed to priſon, for that he had receiued the depoſitions of theſe falſe witneſſes: whereby all the people and Eſtates of Arragon, did ſee with what paſſion and ſpleene they did
Peres put into the Inquiſition. proceed againſt *Peres*: and would haue them iudge definitiuely, whether he were guilty or not, the which if they refuſed to doe, then ſaid they, *Peres* cauſe was good. Notwithſtanding the Officers of the Inquiſition, (contrary to the priuiledges of the manifeſta- B
tion, and other rights of the realme) came vpon the fiue and twenty of May, that yeare 1591. and tooke him out of the priſon, leading him to the Inquiſition; but within foure houres after, the Inquiſitors were forced through a mutiny of the people, to deliuer him back to his firſt priſon of the manifeſtation: the tumult was very great, with the effuſion of ſome bloud, and the burning of houſes: yea, the Marquis of Almenare, for that he had done againſt their priuiledges, was committed to priſon, hauing a thouſand in-
An. 1591. iurious ſpeeches giuen him by the women and children, and beeing out-raged and beaten by the skumme of the people: whereof fifteene dayes after, (hauing in his extremitie freed *Peres*) he dyed in priſon. *Peres* enemies being not yet ſufficiently taught, by
Arragon. this third bloudy and horrible error, they perſiſted in their obſtinacie to haue him in the C
Inquiſition: wherevpon thirteene Lawyers of the realme, were appointed to Iudge, whether *Peres* cauſe deſerued to be ſent thether, or not. At the firſt they ordeined, that it was againſt all right to deliuer him to the Inquiſition: But afterwards by the ſollicieting of *Iohn Lewis Murano*, who had wonne moſt of them with preſents, they gaue an other ſentence, contrary to their firſt, directly impugning the priuiledges, examples, concordants and declarations of the realme, which diſanull the Edicts of Confiſcation, proceeding from the Inquiſition. Yet his aduerſaries would proceed, and the rather, for that the King had commanded the Gouernor of Arragon, to keepe *Peres* in perpetuall priſon: or at the leaſt that he might neuer goe out of the realme of Arragon: wherein the deputies, to obey the King, agreed moſt together. The people notwithſtanding were D
reſolute, ſeeing the wrong and violence they not onely did to *Peres*, but alſo to his wife and ſmall children, yea to religious men that were his ſollicitors: the which all the world deteſted: and in like manner to his reuenewes, ſo as in priſon hee liued onely of almes, the which were grudged him, beſides the wrong which was done vnto his mooueables, baſely ſold at an out-cry, yea the ſhirts and ſmocks of his little Infants borne in the priſon, with the thimble and needle wherewith Donna *Gregoria* his eldeſt daughter did ſow; beſides many other great indignities, which were done to him, his wife and children, whereof the people had great pitty; concluding thereby, that whatſoeuer he endured, proceeded onely from reuenge, hatred and ſpleene, and that he was not culpable.

His purſuing enemies knowing well, and hauing found it by experience, how the peo- E
ple ſtood affected to their priuiledges, and to *Peres*, durſt not attempt to put him againe into the Inquiſition (which ſhould haue beene done on the twentith of Auguſt) without force: and therefore they gathered together a good number of the Kings ſoldiers, with many Noblemen and Knights of the Viceroyes houſe (which had neuer beene ſeene before) the which troubled both the Citty of Saragoſça, and the whole realme, for that it was directly againſt their priuiledges: but all turned for this time into ſmoake, they not daring to effect any thing. Not content herewith, they made better prouiſion of men on the 24. of September following, hauing raiſed 2000. men to take *Peres*, beeing aſſiſted by the Officers, Noblemen and Knights. On the day appointed, the Gouernour called his ſoldiers together before the breake of day, and put them into battaile: and to F
ſtrike terror into the Burgeſſes, he cauſed them to giue a charge of ſhotte, where there was a yong child ſlaine, and ſome hurt by the Gouernours owne hand. At the houre of Councell, the Inquiſitors arriued, who demanded to haue the perſons of *Peres* and of *Iohn Franciſco Maiorini* deliuered into their hands. Vpon which demand (notwithſtanding, a petition preſented at the ſame time, by ſome good Countrymen) they

obtai-

A obtained, *Fiat*. Whereupon many Noblemen and officers went to the priſon to receiue him. Whether being come, a Lieutenant called *Micer Claueria*, with the Officers of the Inquiſition, beeing accompanied by ſome ſoldiers, leading with them two Notaries, the better to qualifie their exploite, they entred into the priſon, and cauſed *Peres* to come downe, where hauing obſerued the ceremonies of his euocation, they demanded to haue him for ſome points concerning religion, and the faith. *Peres* ſeeing this, and ſtanding vpon his right and the priuiledges of the realme, nothing would preuaile, but they put Irons vpon both his legges, and prepared to lead them away. Whileſt that the Viceroy, or Gouernour, the Soueraigne Judge, the great Noblemen, Earles and Knights of this
B company, were in Armes in houſes neere vnto the priſon: at the ſame inſtant the people came running in great troupes, crying, Liberty, liberty, (the which in the like caſe vpon the breach of their priuiledges, is lawfull.) At the firſt they were but a multitude of labourers, and the skumme of the people (whereof few were armed) which fell vpon them that were vpon the place of Iuſtice. The reſt of the people ſeeing that they had no leader, and that it was not onely for *Peres*, but alſo for their liberties, that made them to ſtirre, they went and intreated *Giles de Meza* to bee their head, who hauing taken vpon him this charge, with thoſe men he had, and ſuch as came ſcattering vnto him, hee charged the horſemen, and the reſt of the Gouernours ſouldiers, whom he preſently put to flight, who were alſo ſet vpon by two hundred children, armed according to their ages
C and ſtrength, and a poore naturall foole, who played his part with ſtoanes. Finally, their fury was ſo great, as they ſlew the Coche Moyles, and burnt the Coches, which ſhould haue carried *Peres* and his companion into Caſtile, they alſo ſet fire of the houſe whereas the Viceroy and other Noblemen had ſaued themſelues, There were ſlaine in this tumult the ſaid *Iohn Lewis Murano*, and *Pedro Ieronimo* of Baradix, one of the chiefe Councellors of the towne.

Tumult in Saragoſſa for Peres.

This Combate, happened for their liberties, was done with ſuch zeale and heate, as a very old man would haue expoſed ſixe or ſeauen of his ſonnes to ſacrifice themſelues for this cauſe, commanding them to arme, and rather to dye: and a Gentlewoman of a good family, ſent her Nephew and onely heyre. The furie being paſt by the death of
D fifty or ſixtie perſons, and aboue a hundred and fifty hurt; the people returned to the priſon, with an intent to haue *Peres*. The Officers of the Inquiſition, ſeeing in what danger they were, tooke off his fetters, and by their Maiſters commandement, intreated him to goe out of priſon, fearing to be ſlaine there. *Peres* demanded an Acte, but for that by reaſon of the confuſion hee could not haue it, hee went forth, to the great ioy and content of all the people: who conducted him to the houſe of Don *Diego* of Eredia. This done, they went to retire *Iohn Franciſco Maiorini*, ſetting all the other priſoners at liberty. The ſame night *Peres* went out of Saragoça, with *Giles de Meza*, remaining three dayes vpon a Mountaine, during the which hee vnderſtood that the Gouernour cauſed him to be purſued, whereupon hee returned back into the towne, where
E he lay hid forty dayes, to vnderſtand what would become of this buſineſſe: which was that they prepared an Armie in Caſtile, to come towards Saragoça, and yet the Viceroy gaue out a brute of an Accord, which was but to vnderſtand where *Peres* remained: as appeared by the letters of an Inquiſitor, who had feed men to that end, hoping by ſuch a ſeruice to get an Archbiſhopricke: By reaſon whereof *Peres* retired the day before that Don *Alonſo de Vergas* entred with his Armie into Saragoça, hiding himſelfe among the rocks, vntill in the end hee came to Sala, where hee reſted himſelfe ſome dayes, vntill that hearing of the new and intollerable Accord, hee ſent *Gilles de Meza* vnto the Lady *Catherine* Princeſſe of Nauarre, the French Kings onely ſiſter, intreating her to receiue them vnder her protection and ſafegard. And hauing certaine in-
F telligence that they purſued him, and ſought him in all places, hee went by night from Sala and came to Pao, where hee found *Giles de Meza*, with an anſwer from the Princeſſe, which was that hee might come boldly, where hee ſhould find all freedom, going, comming, or ſtaying, with liberty of his religion, yea ſhee ſent ſome horſes to fetch him vnto her. Where beeing arriued, and hauing ſaluted the Princeſſe, ſhe gaue him as good a reception as he could expect of ſuch a Lady.

Peres eſcapes out of Arragon and comes to Paris.

Action of Arragon.

Peres

Perez beeing thus vnder the protection of this Princeſſe, the greedineſſe of the Spaniard to ſhed his bloud, did hunt after his death, offering new Accords, to entertaine him neere vnto them, vntill they might finde ſome meanes to effect their deſſeignes, to which end they bargained with diuerſe perſons for his life. Beeing at *Pao*, there was a very good agreement offred him by Don *Martin de la Nuca*, in the behalfe of the Viceroy, of Don *Alonſo de Vergas*, and of the Inquiſitors, but he durſt not truſt them. Many letters haue diſcouered the treaſons and practiſes to murther *Perez*, and the names of the vnder-takers: among others, of one *Baſtamantes* his owne kinſman: of another Arragonois furniſhed with poyſon, and letters from the Viceroy, found about him, who being diſcouered, hee was condemned to dye, but at the requeſt of *Perez*, the Princeſſe pardoned him: then there was another of Nauarre hired to that end, who diſcouered himſelfe to *Iohn Franciſco Maiorini:* to whom in the King of Spaines name, hee promiſed pardon and great rewards: But going about to perſwade him by his reaſons, that in executing the Kings will to murther or poyſon *Perez*, was no treaſon. *Iohn Franciſco* hauing diſcouered the ground of his ſpeech, hee reuealed him, and the Nauarrois was baniſhed. They would alſo haue ſuborned a naturall Foole to murther him, but he was wiſer then they that ſought to corrupt him.

All theſe practiſes and attempts were the cauſe that *Perez* retired into England, conſidering that in France hee ſhould neuer bee ſafe from ſuch practiſers againſt his life: Notwithſtanding that hee was comprehended in the letters of Pardon granted to them that had offended the King of Spaine, which were afterwards diſperſed throughout the world. Wherevnto hee would not truſt, taking example by Don *Bernardo de Cabrera*, the Kings Secretarie, who ſeeing how hee was enuied, retired from Court, and became a Prieſt, yet the King called him back againe, beeing loth to looſe ſuch a ſeruant: beeing returned, their enuie increaſed, and he was ſo violently purſued, as Don *Pedro* of Arragon cauſed him to looſe his head like a traytor: and yet afterwards, this Don *Pedro* dying, hee declared him an Innocent, and to haue beene faithfull: ſaying, that hee had been abuſed by his houſhold ſeruants, who hated *Cabrera*, commanding that all his lands and goods ſhould bee reſtored to his Nephew, which had beene confiſcated: In the meane time the Innocent man was dead, and had ſuffered wrongfully.

The like was ſeene at Bruſſells, in the Councell of the troubles, who put to death during their greateſt executions, a poore innocent man that was a priſoner, who had neuer beene called, heard, nor examined, ſo as ſome three or foure moneths after his death, when they came to call him to bee examined, they found that hee had beene executed, without any arraignment, or ſentence giuen. Wherewith ſome of the Councellors that were borne in the countrey, beeing troubled in conſcience, the Councellor *Vergas* a Spaniard, ſayd vnto them: Trouble not your ſelues, it imports not, if he bee dead an Innocent, his ſoule is the more happy, and his body is freed from all miſeries.

But returning to that which followed in the towne of Saragoça, after the departure of *Perez*. The King of Spaine, to bee reuenged for this tumult, gathered an armie together vpon the frontiers of Caſtile, giuing it out that it was to bee ſent into France, to ſuccour the League, of the which Don *Alonſo de Vergas* was Generall, who hearing that *Perez* was eſcaped, fell with all his troopes vppon the realme of Arragon, to puniſh them of Saragoça. There was a petition preſented againſt him and his armie, by the whole body of the realme of Arragon, to the end that the Iuſtice Maior, according to their ancient priuiledges, ſhould take armes, to repulſe the attempts of Don *Alonſo*. According to the which, by a decree of ſeuenteene, the Iuſtice with the whole realme, fell to Armes, diſtributed the Offices of warre, leuied men, and brought Saint *Georges* Standerd to field (an vſuall thing in ſuch caſes) and ſo marcht in good order out of Saragoça, but with bad ſucceſſe: for that the Captaines (traitors to their Country) baſely fearing the forces of Don *Alonſo*, reriring themſelues, abandoned their companies, ſo as the armie of Arragon came to nothing, euery one ſlipping away, through the treachery of a Maiſter Inquiſitor, who aduertiſed the King how many men there were, who were their Commanders and Captaines, with their names and ſurnames, and the meanes how to defeate them.

To

A To vnderſtand the reaſons of the Arragonois, to the end it may not be held a rebellion, lightly vndertaken without cauſe, or an alteration without ground. It ſhall be good for the better knowledge of the matter, to relate briefly, the eſtate, condition, and beginning of the realme of Arragon.

Since the generall loſſe of Spaine, which hapned vnder King *Roderigo*, by the meanes of Cont *Iulian*, for that he had defloured his daughter *Caba*. The Moores or Sarazins held Spaine long, without either King or Lord. In the end the realme of Arragon freed it ſelfe from the power of the Moores, and the Arragonois made themſelues their owne Maiſters and Lords, not acknowledging any particular Prince, and without any Sou-
B raignty but their owne. So as beeing weary of their reſt and liberty, they required (as the children of Iſraell did ſometimes to *Samuel*) to haue a King, and therein they demanded the Popes aduice: who anſwered them as *Samuel* had done the Iſraelits. But ſeeing they deſired to haue a King, he did wiſh them to preſcribe him lawes and conditions, and ouer him a Soueraigne Iudge, with aſſiſtants, to bridle his ambition. The Arragonois gaue credit to this Councell, and before they would chooſe them a King, they erected the dignity and preheminence of *El Iuſticia* of Arragon, which is a Soueraigne Iudge aboue the King, with ſeuenteene Aſſiſtants. And they made a law which was called the *Lawe of manifeſtation*, for the preſeruation of the Vaſſals right, againſt the out-rages and oppreſſions of the mighty, be hee King, Prince, or other Iudge. Which law, with other
C Statutes and Ordonances, together with their Priuiledges, are to be ſeene Printed, vnder the Kings royall authority, and haue continued many hundred yeares, to the honor and reputation of their Kings, and eſpecially of Don *Ferdinand* of Arragon, ſurnamed the Catholicke, who would not giue eare (being come to the crown of Caſtile, by D. *Iſabella* his wife) to the bad councell which the Spaniards gaue him, tending to the aboliſhing of the ſaid priuiledges, ſaying: *So long as the two ballances of the King and realme, ſhall be in a iuſt Counterpeſe, the king and realme ſhall continue and flouriſh together, but if one of the Scales ſeeke to weigh downe the other, the one or the other will fall to ruine, or it may bee both together.* Moreouer the Arragonois made a law of vnion, conſiſting in two points worthy the knowledge, for the cleering of this preſent diſcourſe. The one is, that whenſo-
D euer the king ſhall breake their lawes, they may chooſe an other. For you muſt vnderſtand that they do not ſweare vnto their Kings, but conditionally in theſe termes. *Nos que valemos tanto come vos, y vos tanto come nos, oz hazemo nueſtro Rey y Senor contal, que nos gardays nueſtros fueros, y libertades, ſy no, no.* And hee muſt humble himſelfe vpon his knee, bare-headed, before the Soueraigne Iudge, which is *El Iuſticia*, and ſweare firſt, and then the Arragonois after him. The ſecond point of this vnion is, that the Princes and Noblemen of the realme, may make leagues and confederations againſt their King in caſe of oppreſſion, or of breach of their priuiledges. And vpon theſe conditions they did chooſe their firſt King, who was a Knight of Arragon, called *Garci Ximenes*, and after him three or toure: But this election continued not long: for the King D. *Pedro*, called
E with the Poignard, deſiring to make the realme ſucceſſiue and hereditarie, inſiſted in an aſſembly of the Eſtates, to diſanull this law of election; the which in the end was granted, by the foure members of the realme, reſeruing all their other rights and priuiledges but that: the which he did willingly accept, and after this Accord made (holding the Charter of this Election in his hand) he drew out his Poynard and cut it in peeces, ſaying theſe words. *Que tal ſuero y fuero dy poder eligir Rey los vaſſallos, ſangre de Rey auia de coſtar*, and withall ſtab'd himſelfe through the hand: from which time the King was called Don *Pedro* with the Poynard: as his effigie is to bee ſeene at this day, in the royall hall of the deputation in the towne of Saragoça, whereas all the Kings his ſucceſſors are, vnto *Philip* the ſecond laſt deceaſed. By vertue of the law of vnion, and of their priuiledges, the
F Arragonnois tooke Armes this yeare 1592. prooceeding thus iuſtly in their buſineſſe, the chiefe Iuſtice cauſing the ſentence to be inſinuated to Don *Alonſo de Vargas*, by two Notaries and two Vſhers: who hauing made their inſinuation vnto him, vpon the penalty of body and goods, they returned freely to Saragoça. Of which their proceeding may appeare by the Commiſſion giuen to Don *Iohn de la Nuca* choſen Generall of the armie, ſigned by *El Iuſticia*, by the Abbot of Piedra, *Lewis Nauarra*, *Ihon Lewis* of Marcuello,

Saying of Don Ferdinand King of Arragon.

Manner of the King of Arragons othe.

Don

Don *Iohn de Luna*, *Ieronimo de Oro*, and others, and the Realme. Wherefore all things being thus ordred according vnto law, and paſt by the Iuſtice, and Soueraignty, the Preachers in their Pulpits, and the Prieſts in their Confeſſions exhorted the people to do it: yea a Secretary of the Inquiſition ſigned the reſolution of the realme, as well grounded. The Army of Arragon beeing thus diſperſed, and come to nothing, as wee haue ſayd, before that Don *Alonſo* entred into Saragoça, the King wrote goodly letters to diuerſe of the chiefe Noblemen of the Realme, as Don *Alonſo* did in like manner, to giue ſome coulour to his bloudy exploite, ſaying, that it was to goe into France, and ſwearing that it was the leaſt of his thoughts to doe them any harme: yea that hee was a better Arragonois then any one of them. A

Vpon theſe letters he was ſuffered to enter freely with his armie into Saragoça: hauing lodged his men, hee began to impriſon all men whom hee pleaſed, Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, Lawyers, Marchants, and Bourgeſſes of all qualities: the Deputies of the Realme and the Cleargie were leaſt ſpared: there were alſo many Ladies, Gentlewomen, and other women priſoners, and Lieutenants of Soueraigne Iuſtice, as *Michel Claueria*, and *Miter Spinoſa*, whom they forced to renownce their Offices, ſubſtituting others, whom the King before for their offences had declared incapable, to the blemiſh of his authoritie, their election beeing againſt all right and law. They did alſo confiſcate (contrary to the lawes of Arragon) not onely the goods of the husbands, but alſo of the wiues of ſuch as were abſent. And aboue all the Soueraigne Iudge of Arragon was taken, and within twenty houres loſt his head, without any other ſentence, but of a little ſcrowle written with the Kings hand, in theſe termes, *Hauing read this, you ſhall preſently apprehend Don* Ihon de la Nuca, *chiefe Iuſtice of Arragon, and let mee haue newes of his death, as ſoone as of his Impriſonment.* The which was done, notwithſtanding his appellations and Proteſtations, without the priuitie of any man, vntill hee came vnto the Scaffold to bee executed, whereas many had gone before him, and many followed after. Thus the Realme of Arragon thinking to preſerue their priuiledges and liberties, loſt them, with the chiefe of the Nobility, and a great number of men of good quality. B C

This yeare 1592. the King of Spaine hauing put many to death at Saragoça, for that they had taken armes for the defence of their liberties, and burnt *Antonio Perez* Image. The Eſtates of the Country hauing aſſembled at Tarracone, and giuen ſatisfaction vnto the King, hee was content to ſend a generall pardon into the Prouince. Wherevpon all *Vargas* Souldiers were drawne out of Saragoça, except ſome fewe that were left to garde the Inquiſition. The Turke beeing in Armes, and threatning eſpecially the houſe of Auſtria, the Catholicke King grew iealious, that by this diuerſion hee might bee much troubled in his warres of Flanders, where as the vnited Eſtates were very ſtrong, beeing aſſiſted from other Princes: hee therefore ſent *Charles Cigala* to Conſtantinople, vnder coulour to viſit his brother, but it was generally thought, that his going was to ſaue his country from inuaſion, but *Cigala* could not obtaine what hee deſired, for that the Turkes landing diuerſe times, carryed away many thouſands of Chriſtians, and committed great ſpoyles vpon the coaſts of Calabria, and Apulia, comming neere vnto Naples, as alſo in Sicile. D E

Cont Fuentes ſent into the Low countries.

Newes beeing come into Spaine, that the Duke of Parma was returned very ſicke from the Spawe, and that the Phyſitions deſpaired of his life: the Cont of Fuentes was preſently ſent into the Lowe Countries, with Commiſſion to command the armie after his death, (the which ſome imputed to the Spaniards) whither he went in poſt, but the Duke of Parma dyed before his arriuall in Arras, and was much lamented.

This yeare there beeing a Commiſſion granted by the Queene of England to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for an expedition to the weſt Indies: he armed fourteene or fifteene good ſhips of warre, whereof two were the Queenes, and beeing accompanied by a troope of reſolute Gentlemen, hee began to bee ready to goe from the Weſt Countries, but hee was ſo long ſtayed there by contrary windes, as the fitteſt ſeaſon for Sayling was paſt, his peoples mindes began to alter, and his victuals conſumed. Wherevpon the Queene called home Sir *Walter Raleigh* in Maye, commanding him to giue ouer his intended F

voyage,

A voyage,and to leaue his charge to Sir *Iohn Bourrough*,and Sir *Martin Frobiſher*: but hee finding his honor ingaged,would not leaue the fleete beeing now vnder ſaile,but beeing taken with a ſtrange tempeſt on the 11. of May,and in danger to be ſwallowed vp in the ſea,he reſolued to returne,and to leaue the charge to the aboue-named, giuing them directions to diuide their fleet in two,one to lye vpon the South Cape of Spaine,and the other to attend at the Ilands, which made the Admirall of Spaine to ſtay vpon that coaſt,and to neglect the wafting of the Caracks. Sir *Iohn Bourrough* ſayling towards the Açores,hee diſcouered a Carack called Santa Cruz, comming from the Eaſt Indies, which getting neere the land, the Portugalls carried what goods they could out of her, B and ſet fire of the ſhip. There they vnderſtood by certaine priſoners,of three other Carracks that were comming from the Indies, which Sir I*ohn*,with his conſorts,reſolued to attend. After ſixe weekes patience, they diſcouered a huge Caracke called Madre de Dios,one of the greateſt belonging to the Crowne of Portugall,which after a long and furious fight ,was in the end borded by the Engliſh; they found the hatches ſtrewed with dead carcaſes , and with wounded men languiſhing. Don *Fernando de Mendoça* was commander of this Caracke,whom Sir I*ohn Bourrough*,of an honorable diſpoſition and pittying his eſtate,ſent away freely with moſt of his followers to his Country. This Caracke was eſteemed to be of a thouſand ſixe hundred tuns,and did carry nine hundred tuns in bulke of Marchandize, there were in her ſixe or ſeauen hundred perſons: her C chiefe commodities,beſides Iewels,were Spices,Drugs,ſilks,China ſilkes,Callicoes,with Pearle,Muske, Cyuet and Amber gris, with diuerſe other commodities, the which at reſonable rates was valued at an hundreth and fifty thouſand pounds ſtarling. The loſſe of theſe two Caracks brought D.*Alphonſo de Bacan*, General with the Spaniſh fleet,in diſgrace with the King,who imputed it to his negligence.

Carrake called Santa Cruz ſet on fire.

Carack called Mombre de Dios, taken by the Engliſh.

In the yeare 1593. the King of Spaine ſent the Duke of Feria into France, to offer all his forces to fauour the League, and the election of a new King, beeing aſſembled together at *Paris* to that end,where it beeing propounded, who ſhould bee called to the Crowne, the Duke of Feria did inſiſt for the eldeſt daughter of Spaine, who he ſayd had moſt right,the realme falling to the Maſculine line of *Capet*, the which hee maintai- D ned for many defects might not pretend,ſo as the I*nfanta* comming of the ſiſter, who was elder then *Henry* the third, ſhee ſhould alſo bee preferred to the Crowne, and the rather for that ſhee ſhould bee marryed to ſome Prince in France, ſo as it ſhould not paſſe to a ſtranger,but this Prince ſhould be choſen by the King of Spaine.This propoſition was diſtaſtfull to moſt of the aſſembly,who ſayd that it was againſt their Salike law.

1593. *Duke of Feria ſent to the league in France.*

King *Philip* hauing conquered Portugall, which hee pretended to bee due vnto him in the right of his mother, and expelled Don *Anthonio*, who was held baſe, hee gaue the gouernment thereof to Cardinall *Albertus* of Auſtria, yonger ſonne to the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond, a Prince endowed with many great vertues,and therefore very acceptable to the Portugalls. In which gouernment hee did ſo carry himſelfe, as E hee gaue great ſatisfaction both to the King and his ſubiects . P*hilip* beeing now growne old , and vnfitte for the gouernment of his realmes, his ſonne *Philip* beeing yet too young, hee called the Arch-duke *Albert* out of Portugall into Spaine, who came vnto the King on the eleuenth day of September , hee beeing at the Monaſtery of Saint Lawrence(commonly called Eſcuriall) where hee gaue him an honourable reception. The King calling *Albert* vnto him, let him vnderſtand with what cares and toyle hee had for ſo many yeares gouerned his hereditary kingdomes, and ſtates, but beeing now broken with age, hee was no more fitte for command: hauing hetherto by all meanes ſought to procure the peace and quiet of his ſubiects,but he had bin interrupted by the practiſes of ſome turbulent men, ſo as hee could not maintaine F peace in all his Prouinces.Hee was therefore greeued that hee could not deliuer vnto his ſonne a quiet eſtate,and the rather for that his ſonne beeing yong of yeares, was not yet fit to gouerne kingdomes,that his couſins wiſedome and integritie had beene tryed vnto him, the which he had hetherto vſed among the Portugals,knowing it to be ſuch , as hee durſt ſafely commit the gouernment of all his other realmes to his faith.

Hauing now reſolued (after ſo many labours paſt,for the glory of God, and the quiet of

of his ſubiects) to giue ouer the gouernment, and to ſpend the remainder of his dayes in contemplation, giuing God thankes for the proſperous courſe of his life, and the happines of his Eſtates, retyring himſelfe into ſome Religious place, and there pray continually for his ſoules health: And to reſigne vp the gouernment of his Realmes to *Philippe* his ſonne, and to *Albert* his couſin, that with their ioynt Councels and cares they might gouerne his ſubiects, vntill his ſonne grew to more yeares, and were capable of the ſole commaund. That hee would alſo adde vnto their Councels fiue of the cheiſe Noble-men of the Kingdome, Spaniards borne, whoſe councell, helpe, and authority, if need were, they ſhould vſe, but I doe not find that this reſolution tooke effect. A

Muley Zecq becomes a Chriſtian.

Muley Mahomet ſometimes King of Fez and Marrock, was expelled by his vncle *Muley Moluc*, who imploring ayde from *Sebaſtian* King of Portugall, they both dyed in battell, as you haue heard. *Mahomet* had a ſonne called *Muley Xecq*, who had beene giuen in hoſtage with ſome Noblemen to *Sebaſtian*, who ſent him to Mazagon. After the battell hee was conuayed with his company into Spaine, where hee was brought vppe vnder the protection of King *Philippe*, and this yeare beeing inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, hee became a Chriſtian, and was Chriſtned in that famous Monaſtery of Saint Laurence (called *Eſcuriall*) with his couzin and other Courtiars, all making profeſſion of the Goſpell. B

1594. The Turke this yeare made all Italy to tremble, for that *Cigala* beeing come forth with an hundred and threeſcore Galleys and other veſſells, it ſeemed at the firſt, that hee had a deſſeyne to enter into the gulphe, but finding the Venetians to make great preparation, they fell vppon the coaſt of Calabria, where they did much harme vntill the comming of Prince *Doria* into thoſe Seas, who ſeeyng the Turke gone retyred himſelfe, but the Turkes hauing fortified their Fleete with more Gallyes, returned againe and threatned Italy: Whereuppon *Carlo Spinelli*, by commandement from the Viceroy of Naples, cauſed the Citty of Rhegium to bee abandoned with ſome others vppon that coaſt. C

Turkes inuade Italy.

Cigala comming to Rhegium, and finding their goods carried to ſome ſafer place, hee burnt it in diſdaine, and threatned to paſſe farther into the countrey. The miſery which the poore people endured, and the cruelty which thoſe Barbarians vſed was exceeding great, the ſpoyles they made were valued at many hundred thouſand crownes: And for that the King of Spaine had need (if hee would defend his owne Eſtates, and the honour of the holy Church from the Armes of Infidells) of great ſummes of gold, he made requeſt vnto the Pope, that the Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Toledo being dead in Spaine, and hauing left a million of crownes to bee imployed in godly vſes, he would make declaration that the ſaid ſumme might bee imployed in thoſe godly and important warres, wherein the Pope tooke deliberation, and did ſoone after ſatisfye the King, confirming the Cardinall *Albert* of Auſtria in the ſucceſſion of the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, hauing beene named by his Maieſty. But to treate more ſtrictly with him of many affayres importing Chriſtendome, he ſent *Iohn Franciſco Aldobrandini* Ambaſſadour into Spaine, who was receaued there with royall magnificence and great ſhewes of honor and loue. D E

Albert of Auſtria Archbiſhop of Toledo.

1595. In the beginning of this yeare 1595. the warre began to grow hotte in the Franche Conty of Bourgundy, betwixt the French and the Spaniard, whether the King of Spaine reſolued to ſend the Conſtable of Caſtile, who was Gouernor of the Dutchie of Milan, with 4500. ſouldiers of the Realme of Naples, and he gaue commiſſion to *Fernando de Toledo*, *Lodowicke Melzi*, to *Alexander Carraciola*, and to *Alexander Gonzaga*, either of them to raiſe a troupe of horſe, and that they ſhould leauy a thouſand foot in that eſtate, and three thouſand in the Duchy of Vrbin.

Conſtable of Caſtile ſent vnto the Franch Court.

Proteſtation of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at the abſolution of the French King.

The French King hauing left the religion wherein he had beene bred, and fallne to the Romiſh Church, was after great ſute and inſtance, abſolued by the Pope with the accuſtomed ceremonies. Before the doing whereof, the King of Spaines Ambaſſadour made a proteſtation in the King his Maſters name, that whatſoeuer the Pope intended for to doe in the ſaid buſineſſes, ſhould not any way preiudice his Maſters rights to the Realme of Nauarre, nor to the Duchy of Bourgondy, nor yet to the F

great

A great treaſure hee had diſburſed at the requeſt of the Catholikes of France, where- 1595
of hee meant to bee repaied, and that hee would not deſiſt from armes, vntill that Realme had ſatisfied him: which proteſtation being accepted by the Pope, the ſaid embaſſadours Secretarie cauſed a publike inſtrument to bee made with licence from his Holineſſe. And this yeare died D. *Antonio* of Portugall at Paris, which newes were verie ioyfull to the king of Spaine, being freed from the apprehenſions of dailie troubles in that realme, by meanes of his pretenſions. *Death of D. Antonio king of Portugall.*

The Archduke *Erneſtus* of Auſtria being Gouernour in Flanders for the king of Spaine, the earle of Fuentes commanded the armie by prouiſion vntill the comming
B of a new gouernour, the king reſoluing to ſend the Cardinall *Albertus* to ſucceed his brother: vpon whoſe diſpatch (whether it proceeded from the kings own diſpoſition, or a deſire in him to make himſelfe the more acceptable to the people of thoſe Prouinces, at his firſt comming) there were many Ships of the Eaſt Countries, and the Netherlands, (which had beene ſtaied in Spaine, to ſerue as men of warre, and to waſt home the Indian fleets) diſcharged in diuers Hauens and Ports: And at *Seuille* the Duke of Medina Sidonia, told the Merchants and Maſters of ſhips, that it was the kings pleaſure and command, being mooued there unto by the Cardinal of Auſtria, and that from thenceforth their ſhips ſhould haue free paſſage into Spaine, and haue paſports to goe and come if they would demaund it, hoping they would
C in time acknowledge the kings gratious fauours, and ſubmit themſelues vnto their naturall Prince: And the better to perſuade the vnited Prouinces of the kings loue and fauour towards them, hee ſet *Philip* of Naſſau, Prince of Orange, and Earle of Buren, at libertie, hauing beene long reſtrained in Spaine, which was thought to be done at the inſtance of the Prince of Spaine, and of the Archduke, to the end hee might haue him with him into the Low-Countries. *Ships of the vnited Prouinces, diſcharged in Spaine.*

Experience hath often taught that armes are more fortunate, and produce greater effects in an enemies Countrie, than at home, and that there is no ſuch triumph as that which is fetcht farre off. The French held that all their combuſtions had bin forged in Spaine, that the Ieſuits had beene the chiefe workemen: The attempts a-
D gainſt the French kings perſon, by *Iohn Chaſtell* who had hurt him in the face, and other their diſciples, did verifie this opinion; Beſides the French king, had by his letters giuen the Eſtates of Arthois and Henaut to vnderſtand, that if they did not deſiſt from relieuing his rebellious Leaguers, vpon the frontiers of Picardie, hee was reſolued to make warre againſt them, prefixing them a certaine time, to giue him anſwere, which they neglected: whereupon the French king grounding the neceſſitie of his armes, vpon theſe conſiderations, hee made a declaration at Paris, in Ianuary this yere, by the which, for certaine reaſons therein contained, he denounced war againſt the king of Spaine and all the Low-countrie Prouinces vnder his obedience, as his enemies, cauſing it to bee proclaimed in all the frontier Townes of his Realme. *French king proclaimes war againſt the king of Spaine.*

E After the publication hereof, there was the like proclamation made at Bruſſels, in the name of the king of Spaine, againſt the French king (whome hee tearmed Prince of Bearne) and againſt all the French that held his partie: the Leaguers were excepted, whome hee called the good confederate French Catholikes, and he promiſed to aide and aſſiſt them with all the meanes which God had giuen him, promiſing the like to all the French, of what qualitie ſoeuer, that ſhould within two moneths after that proclamation forſake him, and giue good teſtimony that they are no enemies to the Romiſh, Catholike, and Apoſtolike Religion, nor to the king of Spaine. This Edict was made in March, and proclaimed in all the Low Country townes vnder the kings obedience. *King of Spaine proclaimes war againſt the French.*

F In the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred ninetie and ſixe, the king of Spaine made 1596
an edict, complaining that the reuenues of his crowne and the treaſure which came yearely from the Indies, were conſumed by reaſon of his great charges, for the defence of his Eſtates, and of all Chriſtendome, imputing the cauſe to the great intereſt which he paid for the exchange of money, and vpon other contracts made with the Merchants in his Majeſties name, ſo as in a manner all his receipts and reuenues were *King of Spaine breakes with the Merchants,*

1596 ingaged to others, being without any treaſure to ſupply his wants, for that the G
Bankers (who had been accuſtomed to furniſh him by exchange) made now ſome difficultie to deale any farther, hauing in a manner all the reuenues of his Crowne in their poſſeſſion: for the preuenting of which inconuenience, hee found no better meanes than to repaire the treaſure, and to free it from the wrongs it hath ſuffered by intereſts, which hee hath allowed in his contraction, to auoid greater daunger which might grow by the want of meanes, to ſupply the neceſſities of the warre, the which his meaning was to preuent by theſe meanes, being impoſſible to vſe any other vpon thoſe occaſions: wherefore (to cut off the ſaid intereſts) his meaning was to reſume vnto himſelfe all the aſſignements which hee had giuen vnto any Mer- H
chants and Bankers, for what ſummes or contracts ſoeuer, which haue beene made by his commandement, ſince the decree made by him the firſt of September, one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and fiue, and the fift of December one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and ſeuen, vnto the twentieth of Nouember this yeare one thouſaud fiue hundred ninetie and ſixe, which aſſignations hee ſuſpended, ſo as the Merchants might not receiue them, but the reuenues ſhould be broght into his Cofers, and all contracts for intereſt ſhould ceaſe; Confirming whatſoeuer had beene concluded by his royall Councell in this behalfe, as done by his expreſſe commaundement.

Merchants breake by reaſon of the Edict

This Edict being publiſhed, it bred a ſtrange alteration among the Merchants in Spaine, Italie, and the Low-Countries. The Cardinall *Albertus* hauing taken vp mo- I
ney at Andwerp for the paiment of the armie, and ſent his bils of exchange into Spaine, they were not accepted, but ſent backe againe and proteſted, which was a blemiſh to his credit, and made many merchants to breake, imputing the cauſe vnto the Edict.

Titles forbidde in Italie.

The corruption of titles being brought out of Spaine into Italie, men honouring one another in their ſpeaking and writing with affected courteſies in ſuch ſort, as they found not titles ſufficient to ſatisfie their arrogant ambition, ſo as to tearme meane men, moſt worthy or excellent (which was due to Soueraigne Princes) they held it no flatterie, the which was growne ſo familiar among all ſorts of people, as euen baſe and obſcure men did arrogate it: the king hauing made a prouiſion in K
Spaine ſome yeares before for this abuſe, this yeare *Henry de Guzman* Earle of Oliuares, being Viceroy of Naples, did ſet downe an order for that realme, the which was in ſome ſort obſerued in the Duchie of Milan; ordaining that in their letters there ſhould bee no title of courteſie giuen to any but onely the dignitie which hee held, as to the Duke, Prince, Marqueſſe, Earle or Doctor, ſuch a one, taking away all ſuperfluitie or ſuſpition of flatterie, as well within as without the ſaid letters: the which was rigorouſly obſerued in the Realm of Naples. But the Court of Rome and the Clergie men, diſliking to receiue a law from any other than from the Pope, would not ſuffer it to be obſerued.

The King of Spaine being deſirous to be reuenged of the ſpoiles which the Eng- L
liſh made daily, as well in Spaine as in his other dominions, gathered all his ſea-forces together, in the beginning of this yeare one thouſand fiue hundred ninetie and ſixe, appointing the Rendes-vous to bee at Seuille, but this ſudden preparation was diſturbed by diuers accidents. The firſt was the ſtrange ſwelling and ouerflowing of the Riuer of Guadalquibir, to the great ſpoile of the neighbour Countrie, for paſſing ouer her bankes, there were many perſons drowned, with much cattel, and very many buildings ouerthrowne, but the greateſt loſſe was at Seuille, in which port there lying many Ships of the Fleet, they were ſtaied long from making of their preparations. And in the meane time, whileſt they proceeded ſlowly in this action, according
to the cuſtome of that nation, who perſuade themſelues to doe great matters with M
fame onely, and repoſe the chiefe of their moſt important enterpriſes, in tyring the enemie, and conſuming him at leyſure, the Engliſh armie appeared vpon their coaſt, as you ſhall heare.

Inundation of the riuer of Guadalquibir.

Armie of Engliſh for Spaine.

The charge of the Engliſh fleet and armie was giuen to the Lord *Charles Howard*, high Admirall of England (who at his returne from that ſeruice, was by the Queenes Maieſtie

A Maieſtie made Earle of Nottingham) and to the Earle of Eſſex, being ioyned together in Commiſſion. Being vpon their going from the coaſt of England, they did publiſh in print in ſeuerall languages, the true, iuſt, and vrgent reaſons which had mooued her Maieſtie to vndertake the ſending forth of ſo great an Nauie, with a full declaration of her Majeſties pleaſure, and ſo they ſet ſaile from Plymouth vpon the third of Iune, this yeare, the whole Engliſh fleet conſiſting of ſome hundred ſhips of all ſorts, the which was diuided into foure ſquadrons, of the which the Lord Admirall commaunded the firſt, the Earle of Eſſex the ſecond, the Lord *Thomas Howard* (now Earle of Suffolke) the third, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* the fourth. 1596

B On the tenth of Iune this fleet got ſight of Caliz, or Cadiz, in Andaluſia, but they kept not the order appointed for their comming in, by reaſon of the miſtaking of their maſters and their falling in the night with the Weſt, ſooner than they expected, which made them ſtand vpon another boord, and had ſomewhat diſordered their fleet. The Lord Admiral (one of the Generals) was with the greateſt part of the fleet ahead to the Windward of the other Generall the Earle of Eſſex and his Squadron, the wind being then at South; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was by reaſon of ſome chaſe in the night to Leeward, and aſterne.

Engliſh fleet enters into Cadiz roade.

The Spaniards which were to the number of fiftie and ſeuen ſaile, rod vnder the Towne of Caliz and the Gallies being ſeuenteene lay in the mouth of the Bay, to co-
C uer the ſhips and to attend the landing of the Engliſh: The Lord Admirall came to an anchor before the Southweſt point of the Iland, called Saint Sebaſtians, the Earle of Eſſex ſeeing the Gallies rowe towards the landing place which hee had choſen, bore with them vntill hee made them leaue their courſe, and then looſt vp, and came with his ſquadron to an other anchor by the Lord Admiral, which the reſt of the fleet ſeeing, came all vnto them, only the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the Sea-honor anchored between them and the ſhoare. The Generals called a Councell, where it was ioyntly agreed vpon by them that their men ſhould bee landed, and the Town preſently attempted on the Weſt ſide, which was next to the anchoring, for which purpoſe the Earle of Eſſex Lord Generall, Sir *Francis Vere* Lord Marſhall, and ſir *Coniers Clifford* Sergeant Maior, went to
D draw together as many ſouldiers and Gentlemen as their boats could wel carrie at once: which being done, and all their boates about the Lord Admirals ſhip, ſir *Walter Rawleigh* (who was but then arriued in the Due Repulſe) came and proteſted againſt their landing, holding the attempt to be dangerous, and the performance (as the wind blew and billowe went) impoſſible, for indeed it was growne to a ſtorme; whereupon it was reſolued that the ſouldiers ſhould bee returned to their ſhips, and the Spaniſh fleet firſt aſſailed, according to ſir *Walter Rawleighs* aduice.

It was paſt noone before this later reſolution was taken, and more than two houres after before the Souldiers could bee carried backe vnto their Shippes, ſome of their boates miſcarrying before they could recouer their ſhippes: which
E being done, my Lord *Thomas Howard* weighed anchor firſt, to giue the other ſhips ſcope to caſt about; then the reſt of their principall ſhips, as they could get leaue of the ſmaller Veſſels which rodde cloſe by them, who alſo put themſelues vnder ſaile; but the winde was ſo ſtrong, and in ſuch a place, as moſt of their ſhips had beene driuen too farre to leeward, if they had not come to anchour, which the chiefe leaders perceiuing, they came to a roade: Beſides, the Sunne being not verie high, they thought that the bringing in of ſo grear a fleet towards night, would ſo diſorder them, as the attempt ſhould bee made to their great diſaduantage. So as the firſt day there was nothing executed by reaſon of theſe accidents. Onely, in the euening from the Bulwarke called Saint Philip, from the Ships of warre which lay at An-
F chor, and from the Gallies which did aduance a little towards them, ſome few Canon ſhot were beſtowed vpon the Due Repulſe, who anſwered them with the like, eſpecially againſt the Gallies, when they approached, to make them know the Engliſh could entertaine them, if they came on.

That night the gallies coaſting by the ſhore, betwixt S. Mary Port & Rotta, came to obſerue what order was kept by the rereward of the Engliſh fleet, but they were ſoon turned

1596 backe. On Munday earely in the morning, there was a Councell held aboord, the G
Lord Admirals Shippe, where it was reſolued to weigh anchor preſently, and to aſſaile the Spaniſh fleet, the which was accordingly performed, after this maner.

The Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (for ſo the Generall had appointed it) bare right in the middeſt of the Chanell with the kings great ſhips which retyred before them, ſcorning to beſtowe a ſhot on the gallies, which diſcharged their Canon as they paſſed by them. The Lord Marſhall being in the Raine-bow, looſt vp the Gallies, which lay vp with their ſternes cloſe vnder the Towne, and kept their prowes towards the Ships that ſhould paſſe by them: The Rainebow was a good while in fight, before that any other ſhip came vnto her, and was plyed H
with ſhot both from the gallies and from the Towne.

The Earle ſeeing her ſo ouer-matcht, made haſte vnto her, and ſo making the enemie a fairer marke than the Rainebow (which was a farre leſſer ſhip) eaſed her of many blowes. Some other ſhips ſhot, but farther off, and to leſſe purpoſe. This incounter with the Gallies, was a verie great aduantage vnto the enemy, they hauing ſo many to ſo fewe, for in effect theſe two ſhips aboue mentioned performed this whole ſeruice. Beſides, there were two Bulwarkes of the Towne on their ſide: all which notwithſtanding, the Gallies were forced to flie before them into the Baie, two onely except, which Sir *Iohn Wingfield*, comming then vp in the Vangard, did keep ſo in as they durſt not looke out. I

During the fight with the Gallies, the wind calmed, and the Engliſh fleet went ſlowly ahead, moſt of the Spaniſh ſhips neuer ſtaied vntill they came to Portreal which is the furtheſt part of the Bay, the ſhips mooued themſelues with their broad ſides towards the Engliſh, that they might fight to their greater aduantage. The Engliſh maſters of ſhips were generally of opinion, that they could not go neer without danger of running on ground; the which did much croſſe the forwardneſſe of the chiefe Commanders of the formoſt ſhips, led by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, whoſe deſire being to draw as neere the enemy as they might, were notwithſtanding inforced to come to anchour, without the reach of Muſket ſhot, and to attend the flood, where they fought with perpetuall volleys of the Canon, from ſixe in the K
morning to eleuen of the clocke: the ſhips that followed them neereſt were commanded by Sir *Francis Vere*, Lord Marſhall, Sir *George Carew*, now Lord *Carew*, Viceadmirall of Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Squadron, and Generall of the artillerie, by Sir *Robert Dudley*, Viceadmirall of the Lord Admirals Squadron, by Sir *Robert Southwell*, Viceadmirall of the Lord *Thomas* Squadron, by Sir *Robert Croſſe*, the Earle of Suſſex being aboord him, and by Sir *George Gifford*. The Earle of Eſſex and the Lord Admirall came vp an houre before the flood, hauing beene all that morning ſoundly battered by the forts of Cadiz: And for that the Arke drew too much water for the narrowneſſe of the Chanel, where thoſe ſhips did ride, who alſo took vp the whole breadth of the riuer, the Lord Admirall put himſelfe into the Lord *Thomas Howards* ſhip. L

Spaniſh ſhips runne aground at Cadiz.

When the flood beganne to ſwell, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* determined to lay the Armadoes aboord with the Queenes ſhips, (for the hulkes filled with Musketiers, which were promiſed, came not) but as ſoone as *Soto* the Spaniſh Admirall perceiued that the ſaid Leaders beganne to hoyſe their top-ſailes, they preſently cut their Cables by the halfe, and draue a ſhoare, ſauing as many of themſelues as they could carrie at once in their boates; of the reſt ſome were ſlaine in the furie, and the reſt taken to mercie.

The Admirall of the Spaniards called the Philip, a goodlie and a powerfull ſhip, tooke fire before ſhe could be entred, by an inch of a match fired, and laied in the mouth of a barrell of powder in her gunner roome: But the Lord *Thomas Howard* and ſir *Walter Rawlegh* ſaued the Mathew and Andrew, Viceadmirall and Rereadmirall of the Spaniſh fleet, the other ſhips were ſet on fire by certain Negros, who leapt into the riuer and ſaued themſelues by ſwimming. M

The Indiã fleet of merchants being about 40 ſaile, were gotten vp 4 Engliſh miles into the riuer; for the redemption of which the K. officers in Cadiz offered the Engliſh 600 thouſand

A thouſand pounds ſterling: The Earle of Eſſex was often preſt to haue them firſt taken and then ſolde, but hee beleeued that ſuch as offered the compoſition had meant *bona fide* to pay the money from which hee could not bee diſſuaded, vntill he ſaw the ſhips all in a flame, which the duke of Medina Sydonia commanded to bee done. *Spaniſh ſhips fired by themſelues.*

The number of the Spaniſh Fleet was fiftie ſeauen ſhips, foureteene of the kings men of warre, and three great Fly-boats which brought the Treaſure from Portricco; the reſt were Merchants, all faire ſhips, full of good ordnance, and richlyer laden than euer any Fleet was that went to the Weſt Indies. Here alſo I ſhould remember, that during the fight, the gallies and Fort of Pontall, plaied continually
B vpon the Engliſh ſhips.

The Engliſh hauing obtained this great victorie by Gods eſpeciall fauor, the earle reſolued to follow it with all poſſible expedition, and ſo immediately hee diſpatcht the Sergeant Maior to get as many Gentlemen and old ſouldiers into boates, as might well bee landed at once, which being performed, his Lordſhip and the Lord Marſhall went to diſcouer the landing, and finding it good, he put betwixt two and three thouſand men on land, returning the boates to fetch my Lord Admirall with his ſeconds. *Engliſh land at Cadiz.*

Theſe being put in battell, he commanded the Marſhall to march directly with his regiment to the other ſide of the Iland, which was halfe a mile from their lan-
C ding, his Lordſhip with the reſt that were on ſhoare following him ſpeedily. Beeing come to the Southſide, the Earle diuided his troupes equally, ſending the one halfe with Sir *Coniers Clifford*, ſir *Charles Blunt*, and ſir *Thomas Gerrard*, to breake downe a bridge called El Ponte del Suaſſo, at a ſtreit, that keepes the paſſage from the maine; marching himſelfe with the other halfe towards the Towne: the like directions hee gaue for the ſeconds, to bee equally diuided, and ſent theſe two waies. When hee came within halfe a mile of the Towne, a cornet of horſe, with ſome ſhot, made offer to skirmiſh, but they were ſoone put to flight: when they came within musket ſhot of the Towne, there ſallyed forth great troupes both horſe and foot, vnder fauor of their wals, with their Cornets and Enſignes, which the earle diſcouering from
D a little hill as they fell out of the towne, hee gaue direction to the formoſt of the troups being ſome thirty pikes, and as many ſhot, to runne away as ſoone as the enemie offered to charge them; the which they did, giuing the enemy courage to come farther on than they firſt intended, but the Engliſh charged them ſo faſt, as they had ſcarce time to recouer the Port and ſhut it.

The Horſemen which ſallied out of the Towne, were called the Knights of ſhires: they could not get into the Towne being ſo cloſely followed by the Engliſh foot; whereupon they forſook their horſes, & leapt ouer the wals at the weſt corner, by which the Engliſh alſo entred. The Engliſh in purſuing the Spaniards ſtaied not vntill they came to the foot of their formoſt rampar; and then the Earle diuided his troupes equally, conſiſ-
E ting of twelue hundred men, keeping the one halfe with himſelfe on the Southſide of the Port, and ſending the Marſhall with the reſt to the Northſide. The Earle of Eſſex, on this ſide, with much adoe found meanes for himſelfe and ſome few others, to get vp, where he ſaw on the one ſide a Parapet of ſtone almoſt inacceſſible, for that neither the bulwarke nor any part of the Courtine was finiſhed. There the Engliſh did firſt beate the enemie from the Parapet, yet they lay open to another ſquare bulwarke of ſtone, which flanked them within a pikes length, but they did ſo beſet the bulwarke with ſhot, as the enemie did them little harme: Notwithſtanding, conſidering that they muſt quit the place for that their men lay vncouered, the earle ſought for an entrance, which being found, the leape downe being a pikes length, hee commanded one *Euans* which ſtood next him, *Cadiz entred by the Engliſh.*
F being Lieutenant to the Earle of Suſſex to enter, which after he and foure or fiue other ſouldiers more had done, the like charge was giuen to Captaine *Pooley*, who carried the Generals red Enſigne, whereupon ſir *Arthur Sauage*, Captain of the Earles company, with diuers Gentlemen followers and ſeruants to his Lordſhip, took the ſame courſe. In the mean time, whileſt that thirtie or fortie were thus entred into the Towne, the Lord Marſhal who beſides his own ſoldiers, had with him the generals gard of Partizans,

1596 forced the Port, which his Lordſhip eſpying, being not ten paces from it, hee preſently G
turned from the leape, and entred that way, carrying with him all the chiefe Aduentu-
rers of the armie, and worthy Sir *Iohn Wingfield* (who before had ſlaine a Commaunder
of the enemies with his pike, and was caſt behind) hauing a ſhot in the thigh, but hauing
recouered one of the enemies horſes, hee came vp preſently to ſecond them, not ſtaying
for any dreſſing.

From the entrance of the Engliſh into the Towne, vntill they came vnto the Market
place, the enemie fought with them continually, and kept them play aboue halfe an
houre before they could recouer it, yet at the laſt hauing wonne the place from them,
they notwithſtanding ſo flanked it, and kept their houſes (which were built like ca- H
ſtles) as they ſlue many of the Engliſh, and among others that valiant gentleman
Sir *Iohn Wingfield*, who though vnarmed, offered himſelfe continually to all daungers,
ſo as hee was ſhot in the head from the caſtle which did continually play vpon thoſe
that made good this market place.

At length they got into the houſes which annoyed them, and ſlue thoſe they found
in them: And as the Lord Generall before it was darke cleered all thereabouts, but
the caſtle, or that which they call the vpper Towne, ſo the Lord Marſhall cleered
all the other ſide towards the water, and brought thoſe that were in the Fort and
Bulwarke of Saint *Philip*, to ſue for mercie: which done, the Generals entred the
Towne-houſe, whither all the chiefe citizens came to kiſſe their feet. I

The next morning, both the Caſtle and forts yeelded to their mercie, without a-
ny other conditions. The poore and baſer ſort were diſmiſt, and all women of qualitie
whatſoeuer. The Corrigidor deliuered his ſword vnto the Generall, offering to bee his
priſoner, and to giue for himſelfe and ſome others of good place twelue thouſand du-
cats: no man was ſlaine vpon cold bloud: it was held there were about two thouſand
Spaniards ſlaine in the furie of the fight.

Beſides the chiefe Commanders of the armie, who had giuen many proofs of their
valor and experience in martial affairs, there were many gallant gentlemen which ſerued
worthily in this action, whome in the end the Generall rewarded with the honour of
knight-hood. I may not forget to make particular mention of Sir *Samuel Bagnol* who K
receiued eight wounds with the pike, and ſword, whome the Lord Generall (meeting
in the market place all bloudie) knighted, to the incouragement of all others, be-
fore that either the caſtle was taken in, or the whole Towne wonne.

The towne was verie rich, and did much inrich the armie, but the worthieſt men got
leaſt, for they were fighting, whileſt the baſer ſort intended nothing but pillage
and ſpoile. There was good ſtore of braſſe ordnance, and though no great, yet very hap-
pie ſtore of poulder; for the Engliſh hauing not aboue twelue hnndred men, their
poulder was ſpent, and they were ouerlaied on all ſides, with the number of the enemies
ſhot, who hurt and ſlue their men from the houſes: when they had made them quit the
ſtreets, they found by chance by the market place, ſuch poulder as they had brought L
for their owne defence, and the ſupply of their men that ſhold fight there, with the which
they ſerued their turnes, till their ſuccours were entred and the Towne aſſured.

King of Spaines loſſes at Cadiz. The Prouiſions of Sea for the kings fleet, as maſtes, pike-ſtaues, deale-boards,
caske, and all kinde of ſhot, cables, anchors, wine, oyle, vinegar, rice, ſugars,
and ſuch like things, were of great value, and will not be ſupplied by the king of Spain
in many yeares. And as for his loſſe in ſhipping, the kings Officers of his nauie, who
were then taken priſoners, did proteſt with ſighes and teares, that nineteene of the
ſhips which they had ſpoiled, with the S. Mathew and Saint Andrew, which they had
taken, were able to beat the greateſt part of ſhips that the king hath in all the world. So
as laying together the ruining of the Kings Fleet, the enioying of ſome of his M
great ſhips of warre, which before had neuer beene done; the burning of the Indi-
an fleet of Merchants, whoſe lading the priſoners confeſt to haue beene worth
eight Millions; the impeaching him to ſend that yeare to releeue his men at the
Weſt-Indies, and ſo by conſequence to receiue no treaſure from thence the next
yeare; the taking of the Citie, wherein were foure thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred
horſe

A horſe of the chiefe caualiers of Andaluzia; the ſacking of this place, from whence he is to ſet out all his fleets for the Weſt Indies, and the ſpoyle of all his prouiſions there: All this, I ſay, layed together, will proue one of the greateſt blowes that euer Spaine receiued. Yet all this was done in one day, and without any great loſſe; for in the whole fleet there was not any man of note, but Sir *Iohn Wingfield*, ſlaine. At the aſſault and winning of the towne many gentlemen were hurt, and ſome ſlaine; and yet not many, conſidering the ſtrength of the place, and the nature of the attempt. 1596

As ſoone as the Engliſh fleet was entred into the road, and that the Spaniards had
B diſcouered the Dutch ſquadron in the fight, immediately, both at Seuille, Saint Lucar, and ſome other places, they did not onely arreſt all ſuch Dutch ſhips as dealt with them friendly by way of trade and marchandiſe, but did confiſcat their goods, and did impriſon the marchants and owners of the ſame, and, as it was reported, did intreat many of them verie cruelly.

The Engliſh being maſters of the towne of Cadiz, the two Generals had an eſpeciall care for the well-intreating of all religious perſons, both men and women, whom they cauſed to be freely tranſported ouer to port Sancta Maria, without any ranſome or other moleſtation; and, giuing the biſhop of Cuſco free paſſage without ranſome, they let him vnderſtand, That they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, and
C men of peace, or with children; neither was it their intent to make this voyage for gold, ſiluer, or any other riches: but that their onely comming was to meet with their diſhonourable practiſes, and many injuries, and to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England; and to let them vnderſtand, that whenſoeuer they attempted any baſe and diſhonourable practiſe againſt their Soueraigne Queene and Miſtreſſe, that it ſhould be reuenged.

The day before the Engliſh departed from Cadiz, being the firſt of Iulie, the citie was burnt, the Ladies, Nunnes, and other women and children, being ſafely ſent to Saint Marie port, with their apparell and jewels, euerie man being forbidden to ſearch them vpon paine of death.

D I haue thought good to annexe vnto the end of this relation, for a remembrance to poſteritie, the names of ſuch as receiued the Order of Knighthood from the Generals, as a teſtimonie of their well deſeruing in this worthie action.

Names of ſuch as were knighted at Cadiz.

Sir *Samuel Bagnol.*	Sir *Chriſtopher Heydon.*
Sir *Arthure Sauage.*	Sir *Francis Popham.*
The Earle of Suſſex.	Sir *Philip Woodhouſe.*
The Lord *Burke.*	Sir *Alexander Clifford.*
Cont *Lodowike.*	Sir *Maurice Barkley.*
Sir *William Howard.*	Sir *Charles Blunt.*
E Sir *George Denereux.*	Sir *George Gifford.*
Sir *Henrie Neuel.*	Sir *Robert Croſſe.*
Sir *Edwin Rich.*	Sir *Iames Eſcudamore.*
Sir *Richard Leuen.*	Sir *Vrias Leigh.*
Sir *Peter Egomort.*	Sir *Iohn Leigh alias Lee.*
Sir *Anthonie Aſhley.*	Sir *Richard Weſton.*
Sir *Henrie Leonard.*	Sir *Richard Wainman.*
Sir *Richard Leuiſon.*	Sir *Iames Wotton.*
Sir *Horatio Vere.*	Sir *Richard Ruddal.*
Sir *Arthure Throgmorton.*	Sir *Robert Manſel.*
F Sir *Miles Corbet.*	Sir *William Mounſon.*
Sir *Edward Conway.*	Sir *Iohn Bowes.*
Sir *Oliuer Lambert.*	Sir *Edward Bowes.*
Sir *Anthonie Cooke.*	Sir *Humfrey Druel.*
Sir *Iohn Townſend.*	Sir *Amias Preſton.*

Si

1596

Sir *Robert Remington.*
Sir *Iohn Bucke.*
Sir *Iohn Morgan.*
Sir *Iohn Aldridge.*
Sir *Iohn Aſhindon.*
Sir *Mathew Browne.*
Sir *Iohn Acton.*
Sir *Thomas Gates.*
Sir *Gillie Merricke.*
Sir *Thomas Smith.*
Sir *William Pooley.*
Sir *Thomas Palmer.*
Sir *Iohn Stafford.*
Sir *Robert Louel.*
Sir *Iohn Gilbert.*
Sir *William Harney.*
Sir *Iohn Gray.*
D. *Chriſtopher* prince of Portugal.
Sir *Iohn Vanderfoord*, Admiral of the Hollanders.
Sir *Robert Dudley.*

8 Auguſt.

Thus this triumphant Engliſh armie left Cadiz, hauing receiued from the duke of Medina Sidonia nine and thirtie Engliſh priſoners, which had beene ſlaues in the Spaniards hands: Which done, they paſt along the coaſt of Portugall, they tooke, ſpoyled, and burnt Farol, they marcht into the countrey thereabouts, after which exploit they ſhaped their courſe for England.

Farol burnt by the Engliſh.

Hauing done this great affront to the king of Spaine, they left him full of rage, and deſire of reuenge: whereupon, preſently after the retreat of the Engliſh, he gaue commandement to the Adelantado of Caſtille, to prepare a mightie fleet; wherein he imployed great care and diligence, ſo as it was readie the ſame yeare. But this fleet had a farre different ſucceſſe to that of England. It conſiſted of foureſcore ſhips, which went out of Lisbone the eighth of October 1596. They coaſted along Gallicia, to goe and joyne with the Generall of Biſcaie, where they had leuied ſome troupes of ſouldiers: the Adelantado comming to double cap S. Vincent in the night, it ſeemes he miſtooke his reckoning, and fell ſhort of the cap, where they were taken with a cruell ſtorme, in the which fiue and fortie of their ſhips were caſt away, on *Symon* and *Iudes* day, and the reſt were ſo ſhaken with the ſtorme, as they had great difficultie to ſaue them: ſo as their enterpriſe proued vaine that yeare.

Fleet of Spaniards prepared againſt England

Spaniſh fleet caſt away.

This yere alſo they treated in Spaine of the canonizing of bleſſed S. *Raymond*, the which was afterwards effected at Rome. They renewed their ſuit vnto the Pope, which had bin made many yeares before to diuers of his predeceſſors. After that inſtance had bin made vnto his Holineſſe by the townes of the realme of Arragon, who had ſent *Paul Coſtabile*, Generall of the preaching Friers, of which Order S. *Raymond* had beene alſo Generall, the Pope hauing pronounced, that they ſhould paſſe on to perfect this buſineſſe, the Archbiſhop of Taracona came to Barcellona with two biſhops, and the Proctor generall of S. *Dominicke*, to reuiew Saint *Raymonds* bodie: the which was done with great ceremonie, and authenticall writings ſent to Rome to proſecute the reſt. About the ſame time *Luca Calnacanti*, Chamberlaine to the Pope, arriued, being ſent with two cardinals hats by him, to *Francis d'Auila*, Archdeacon of Toledo, and to *Ferdinand Nugnes de Gueuara*, Preſident of the royall Councell, who had beene newly created cardinals, being exhorted by his Holineſſe to paſſe with all ſpeed to Rome, as they did that Winter: ſo as in the beginning of the next yeare they came into Italie, hauing a good opportunitie to paſſe in thoſe gallies which were come from Genoua; whither the duke of Maqueda ſhould alſo haue gone, being appointed by the king to be Viceroy of Sicile: but he was ſtayed many monethes by ſome ſiniſter accidents. And there arriued alſo *Alphonſo Gariglia*, who required a great aid of money for the prince of Tranſyluania, to maintaine the warre againſt the Turke, who found the king verie well affected, notwithſtanding that hee was inforced to maintaine warre in diuers places, to his exceeding great toyle and charge. Yet he ſatisfied that princes deſire with a bountifull hand, and gaue free libertie to the Popes Agents, to buy a quantitie of corne in his realmes, to ſerue the ſtate of the Church. And then about the end of September, the Indian fleet arriued ſafely at Seuille, being verie rich, the which did much comfort the Spaniards after the great loſſes they had ſuſtai-

Canonization of S. Raymond deſired by the Spaniards.

1597

A ſuſtained by the Engliſh armie. There was nothing did more afflict the minds of the Spaniards, than their hatred and diſdaine of the Engliſh, being not able to endure, not onely to be troubled in their traffique to the Indies, and their rich fleets to be layed for, piercing euen into the heart of America, but alſo to inuade the continent of Spaine with a royall armie, and to land there by by force, incountring, ſpoyling, and burning their ſhips euen in their ports. Being therefore tormented with a deſire of reuenge, and grieued that the laſt yeares fleet, being ruined by tempeſt, could not effect what they had deſigned, there was a new order giuen, that many galleons ſhould bee armed, and new troupes of ſouldiers ſhould bee leuied, not onely in Spaine, but alſo in Italie.

Spaniards incenſed againſt the Engliſh.

Preparation in Spaine for a new armie.

B The king therefore, touching matters of warre, gaue an extraordinarie authoritie to the Cont *Fuentes*, who was newly returned from the gouernement of Flanders: They cauſed all ſhips of foreine countries to be ſtayed within their ports, with an intent to make vſe of them in this armie: but the king falling verie ſicke, this preparation was ſomewhat ſtayed, they being doubtfull of his life, both in reſpect of his great age, and the violence of his infirmitie. And ſo the ſouldiers which were leuied for this ſeruice, were ſent to lodge, ſome in Gallicia, and ſome in Biſcaie, to bee fitly imbarked when time ſhould ſerue.

The important cauſe concerning Marchants and Bankers, was now in queſtion in Spaine, they hauing for many yeares furniſhed the king with money for his warres C in Flanders, and other places, a buſineſſe which troubled all the Bankes of Europe, as one depends vpon another, with their ſubalternall credits and intereſts. Wherefore ſome princes were moued by an act of true bountie, to helpe their ſubjects that were marchants, leaſt they ſhould faile in their credit. Beſides the kings ſouldiers being, by reaſon thereof, in great want, they fell to mutinies. In this buſineſſe therefore of ſo great importance, and wherein the king pretended to bee defrauded in diuers manners, of many hundred thouſands of crownes, this controuerſie with the kings officers was long and tedious, the marchants at the laſt beeing well content to come to any reaſonable agreement; the which at the length was made about the end of this yere. And for that it had been diſcouered, that *Girolamo Lomellino* had ſent great ſummes D of money into Fraunce, the which had beene verie prejudiciall vnto Spaine, and forbidden, by reaſon of the ware which continued yet with France, he was ſubject to a rigorous puniſhment.

Controuerſie in Spaine touching the Bankers.

There fell out a great accident in the Venetian embaſſadours palace at Madrid, whoſe name was *Auguſtine Nani*, a man of great judgement, and of a generous ſpirit, in maintaining the dignitie of that charge which hee held neere the king: The Prouoſt Marſhall of the citie would haue apprehended one who had retired into his palace, flying from the Sergeant which followed him, hoping hee ſhould be ſafe there, as in a place of franchiſe, according to the vſe of Courts: the Prouoſt carrying himſelfe too imperiouſly (as ſuch people are accuſtomed to doe) a gentleman of the E embaſſadours, of the houſe of *Badoero*, and his Secretarie, comming at this noyſe, could not endure it; ſo as from great words they fell to deeds, and the Prouoſts wand was broken (the which they are accuſtomed to carrie, as a marke of their authoritie) with other accidents; ſo as moſt of the embaſſadours familie came running at the noyſe: whereupon the kings officers complained. But matters were afterwards tempered by the king, with the equitie and reſpect which ought to bee had to the accident and perſon. Yet the State of Venice, being willing to take away all cauſes of diſtaſt, that might grow, made a ſpeedie election of a new embaſſadour, which was *Francis Soranzo*; but hee paſt not into Spaine vntill the next yeare, all ſhadowes of diſlike being in the meane time vaniſhed away, taking all occaſions to ſhew mutuall kindneſſe betwixt F them and the embaſſadour *Naui*, who was extraordinarily fauoured by the king and prince; and at his departure hee was made a knight, and honoured with rich preſents.

Quarrels in the Venetian embaſſadors houſe.

They were verie carefull this yeare in Spaine, to preuent the Engliſh, leaſt they ſhould haue ſome new opportunitie to annoy them, as they had done at Cadiz; which citie and

1597 and caſtle they did fortifie better, with all other places vpon the coaſt, the earle of Fuentes lying continually towards the ſea with great forces, and hauing good garriſons in the coaſt townes, hee ſent his horſemen to runne along the coaſt, that they might bee free from feare. G

Mariage of the prince of Spain publiſhed.

And for that the king of Spaine, by the continuall indiſpoſition of his bodie, the great trouble of his mind, hauing ſuch a world of weightie affaires, could not hope for any long life, he ſought to prouide for the future gouernement of his ſubiects. Wherefore he did publiſh the future mariage of his ſonne D. *Philip* vnto the eldeſt daughter of *Ferdinand* Archduke of Auſtria, whom ſome call *Gregoria Maſſimiliana*, others *Marie*. But whileſt they made preparation for the ſolemnitie of this mariage, and ſent to the Pope for H diſpenſations, as well for this, as for the future mariage betwixt the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta D. *Iſabella*, they had newes that the ſayd princeſſe was ſuddenly dead, hauing left the greatneſſe of this world, to attaine vnto a better life in heauen.

Preparation for the iſland voiage.

The fortunat ſucceſſe of the Engliſh the laſt yeare at Cadiz, hauing affronted the king of Spaine at his owne doores, gaue them courage to make new attempts this yeare, and to ſend forth a goodlie fleet to ſea, vnder the commaund of the earle of Eſſex, who was both Admirall at ſea, and Generall of the land forces. This fleet conſiſted of an hundred and twentie ſaile, whereof there were threeſcore men of warre, the reſt were victuallers, and ſhips for tranſportation of ſouldiers, and to attend the Engliſh fleet. I The Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces ſent ten tall flie-boates vnder the commaund of Monſieur *de Duniuord*. This fleet was victualled for three monethes, with large allowance, with a ſupplie of apparell for the mariners and ſouldiers. It was diuided into three ſquadrons: the Admirals ſquadron, the Lord *Thomas Howards* ſquadron, who was Vice-admirall, and Sir *Walter Rawleighs* ſquadron, being Rere-admirall. The Netherland flie-boats were commaunded by their owne Admirall. There were ſix thouſand ſouldiers appointed for the land ſeruice, with ten peeces of ordnance for the field and batterie, with all neceſſarie prouiſions. And there were in this fleet about fiue hundred voluntaries, of knights and gentlemen. The chiefe Commaunders of theſe land forces, were, the Earle of Eſſex Generall, the Lord *Montioy* his Lieutenant generall, Sir *Francis Vere* Marſhall of the field, Sir *George Carew* Maſter of the ordnance, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Major of the armie, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* Colonell generall of the foot, with all other officers neceſſarie in ſuch an action. In all this great K fleet there were not aboue eighteene or twentie ſhips of her Majeſties royall Nauie, the names of which, and of the Captaines that commaunded in them, I leaue to a particular diſcourſe written of this voyage, by a worthie knight, who was an eye witneſſe, and an actor in it; the which I hope hee will ſuffer to come to the preſſe.

Deſignes of the Engliſh fleet.

This goodlie armie being readie, it ſeemed they had three ſeuerall deſignes, to defeat the king of Spaines fleet, commaunded by D. *Martin de Padiglia*, earle of S. Gadea, and Adelantado Major of Caſtille, if they met it at ſea, or to ruine it in the harbour of Farol, L if they found it there; and to take all fleets of treaſure, or any Eaſt or Weſt Indian fleets they ſhould find at ſea, in the way to Spaine: and laſtly, that they would take the iſland of the Terceres, which they held to bee an action of great importance. With this reſolution they put to ſea with this gallant fleet; but neither of theſe enterpriſes ſucceeded: for bending their courſe directly for Farol, they were incountred with verie ſtormie weather, and contrarie windes, ſo as the whole fleet was ſcattered, and many of the ſhippes in verie great daunger, a great part of the fleet beeing forced to put backe againe into Plymouth. The ſhippe wherein the Generall was, had a verie daungerous leake, and her maſtes crackt in diuers pla- M ces; yet hee held it out as long as poſſibly hee could, till in the end her vpper workes gaue way, and her maine beames did teare, ſo as they looked hourely when the Oretoppe would fall, and the ordnance ſinke downe into the Keele. Whereupon hee was forced to put backe to Plymouth, where hee found a great part of the

A the fleet. There they repaired their ſhippes, and the earle tooke another, his owne being made vnſeruiceable: But they were kept in by continuall ſtormes and contrarie windes, vntill their three monethes victuals was in a manner ſpent, and the ſickneſſe growne great in the flie boats which carried the land armie. Whereupon the Generall had order to diſcharge his land forces, all but a thouſand old ſouldiers which had beene drawne out of the Low Countries; ſo as they were made vnable to land any forces at Farol. After which there was a project made by the earle, to ſend in certaine ſhips of fire, and to burne the king of Spaines fleet as it ſhould lye in the harbour, without any daunger to the queenes ſhips. Which counſell being allowed of at Court, they put the B ſecond time to ſea. But ſome of good judgement in the fleet, held this exploit vnfeaſable, they hauing not ſufficient forces to performe it; neither could they attempt it without apparent daunger, as indeed it ſucceeded not; for that the Saint Mathew, one of the chiefe ſhips which ſhould haue beene imployed in that action, had loſt her foremaſt, and was put backe into England, as they pretended: So as hauing no meanes to doe any ſeruice vpon the fleet at Farol, they concluded for the intercepting of the Indian fleet, and defeating of the Adelantado, if he did put to ſea: for there was no meanes to take in the iſland of Tercera, their land forces being diſcharged. Whereupon they ſhaped their courſe for the iſlands, where they layed wait for the Indian fleet; but they eſcaped them, and got into Tercera road. What the reaſons of the miſſing of this Indi- C an fleet were, and what was elſe done at the iſlands by this armie, I leaue to an ample relation of him who was an eye witneſſe, and did well obſerue it. And ſo hauing failed in all their deſignes, this fleet returned home into England. 1597

Spaniards preparation at ſea.

The Spaniards did in like manner arme. There was the regiment of *Alexander de Monti*, conſiſting of 15 companies, imbarked at Naples, the which had like to haue beene caſt away in a ſtorme vpon the coaſt of Romania. In the end they came to Genoua, and there joyned with the troupes of Gambalaita, all which were tranſported into Spaine in *Doria's* gallies, paſſing from Barcelona to Cadiz, where a part of the fleet lay: there they imbarked their land forces in certaine galleons, being ſix thouſand Italians, going towards the Groine, with an intent (being joyned with the Adelantado, and the reſt of the D fleet) to make ſome attempt vpon England. But on the eight of September they had ſo cruell a ſtorme, as they were ſcattered from their Admirall, and in exceeding great daunger, whereof ſome were caſt away. A galleon, wherein *Alexander de Monti* was, and ſome of his companies, hauing loſt her maine maſt, was driuen to the Canaries, and after that to the coaſt of Africke, hauing loſt his pilot with moſt of his mariners: there he ran her on ground, and recouered Mazagon, where he furniſhed himſelfe of all that hee wanted; and then he paſt towards the ſtrait, meeting with an Engliſh ſhip, which fought long with him; but in the end he tooke her: Then joyning with D. *Pedro de Toledo*, with ſome other veſſels, they ſcoured the coaſt of Barbarie, ſecuring the coaſts of Spaine, and in the end they came to winter in Saint Marie port. The reſt of this Spaniſh fleet, after this E cruell ſtorme, for the moſt part, recouered Farol. Thus both fleets this yeare, without any fruits, put themſelues to the hazard of the ſea, and receiued great loſſes.

Mediation for a peace betwixt France and Spaine.

The warres hauing continued long betwixt France and Spaine, many princes deſired to ſee the miſeries of Chriſtendome at an end. Pope *Clement* the eight as much affecting this generall peace as any of his predeceſſors, conſidering the great miſeries which the diuiſions of the French and Spaniards did cauſe, and that the Turke made his profit thereof, and had incroached farre into Chriſtendome, hee reſolued to reconcile theſe two kings of Spaine and France. Father *Bonauenture Calatagirone*, a Sicilian borne, Generall of the Franciſcanes (and who afterwards was made Patriarke of Conſtantinople) was ſent by him into Spaine, vnder colour to viſit the Conuents of his Order; but in effect F it was to ſound king *Philip*, whether he had any inclination to a peace with France: where hee found all things well diſpoſed, and the Spaniards deſirous to change the doubtfull euents of a troubleſome warre, with the aſſured and more profitable effects of peace; his old age, his ſon young, whom he deſired to marie, and to leaue him his Eſtates quiet, his eldeſt daughter, to whom he would giue the Low Counties, marying her to cardinall *Albert* of Auſtria, who like new Lords ſhould haue need of the loue and good neigh-

1698 neighbourhood of a French king, the French being vnited, and their ciuile warres ended, they were likely to tranſport the warre into his countries, hauing taken Amiens by force, euen in view of his armie. All theſe conſiderations made the king of Spaine incline to a peace, not onely with the French, but with the Queene of England and the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands. *Calatagirone* being returned to Rome, aſſured the Pope that hee had found a diſpoſition and deſire of peace in king *Philip*, and that he was wearie of the warres. So the Pope continuing in this good deſire, ſent this Franciſcan into France, to perſuade the king to peace and friendſhip with the king of Spaine. *Alexander* cardinall of Florence, his Holineſſe Legat in France, vnderſtanding the Popes pleaſure, together with *Calatagirone*, perſuaded the king to yeeld vnto a peace. And on the other ſide, by the exhortations of the Patriarke *Caietan*, his Holineſſe Nuntio at Madrid, the king of Spaine referred the whole treatie of the ſaid peace to his nephew cardinall *Albert*. G H

Whileſt that *Calatagirone* went to Bruſſels, to ſolicite the cardinall to ſend the deputies to Veruins, the French king aduertiſed all his allies, to the end they might be comprehended in this accord with the Spaniard, if they thought good. The queene of England (who had more annoyed the Spaniard than all the princes of Chriſtendome) refuſed to be comprehended in the accord, and ſo did the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, who ſent their embaſſadours to the French king, to diſſuade him from a peace with the Spaniard. The king of Spaine did greatly deſire a peace with them, and ſought it by the meanes of his kinſmen and allies, who, at his requeſt, ſent their embaſſadours to that end into England, and the vnited Prouinces, but without effect. The king of Spaine hearing of all their aunſwers, and being out of hope of a peace with the Engliſh and Hollanders, cauſed them to proceed in the treatie with the French: whereupon the deputies of either king came to Veruins: Who hauing long diſputed, and being often readie to breake off, almoſt in deſpaire, in the end a peace was concluded, in Iune this yeare 1598. The deputies for the French king were, Monſieur *de Bellieure*, Counſellor of State, and Monſieur *de Syllery*, Counſellour alſo of State, and Preſident of the Court of Parliament at Paris: And for the Catholike king, *John Richardot*, knight, Preſident of his priuie Councell, *John Baptiſta Taxis*, Commaunder *de los Santos*, of the Order of Saint *Iames*, and of his Councell of State and warre, and *Lewis Verreichen* knight, chiefe Secretarie and Treaſorer of the Charters of the ſaid Councell of State: who according to their Commiſſions concluded in the name of the ſaid kings. I K

Queene of England & Eſtates of the Low Countries refuſe a peace with the Spaniard.

Peace betwixt Spaine and France.

Contents of the articles of the peace.

That the treatie of peace made at Caſtle Cambreſis, in the yeare 1559, betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, ſhould be newly confirmed and obſerued.

That all hoſtilitie and quarels ſhould ceaſe, with promiſe not to annoy nor prejudice one another.

That their ſubjects ſhould haue free traffique.

That all places taken ſince the treatie of Caſtle Cambreſis, ſhould bee reſtored of either part within two monethes. L

That the ſaid kings and the Infanta of Spaine, reſerued vnto themſelues all the rights, actions, and pretenſions, by reaſon of the ſaid realms, countries, or ſeigniories, whereunto they or their predeceſſors haue not expreſly renounced, to make their purſuit by ſome friendlie courſe, or by juſtice, and not by armes.

Ceſſion of the Low Countries to the Infanta of Spaine.

The force and life of king *Philip* began to decline, which he foreſeeing, hee was deſirous to effect the promiſe which he had made to the Archduke *Albert*, his nephew, and if the mariage betwixt him and the Infanta *Iſabella* his daughter were not conſummated, yet they might be aſſured by the ceſſion of the prouinces, which he meant to make in fauour of it. Whereupon, the ſixt of May, he cauſed to be read at Madrid (in the preſence of prince *Philip* his only ſon, who was then about 20 yeres old, of D. *Gomes d'Auila*, marques of Vellada, Lord Steward of the princes houſe, D. *Chriſtopher de Mora*, earle of Caſtell, *Roderigo*, great Commaunder of the Alcantara, D. *Iohn d'Idiaques*, great Commaunder of Leon, all three Counſellours of State, and *Nicholas Damant*, knight, Preſident and Chauncellour of Brabant, with *la Loo*, Secretarie of the affaires of the Low Countries) the contract, by the which he did inſtitute the future ſpouſes, and their heires, of what M

ſexe

A of what ſexe ſoeuer, ſoueraigne Lords of all the Prouinces of the Low-coun- 1598
tries, of the franche countie of Bourgondie, and of the countie of Charolois; with condition that the donation and ceſſion ſhould be void, and of no force, in caſe the marriage were not accompliſhed. That the eldeſt of the lawfull children iſſuing of this marriage, ſhould be preferred before the younger, and the male the female, iointly in all the Prouinces, without any diuiſion: That for want of lawfull heires it ſhould returne to the Crowne of Spaine: And that they ſhould not alienate any part thereof without the conſent of the heires and ſucceſſors of the king of Spaine. That the Princeſſe, heire of the Netherlands, being a maiden or widow, ſhould marrie the king of Spaine, or
B the prince his Sonne; and if ſhee haue neither will nor power to doe it with the Popes diſpenſation, ſhee ſhall not take any aliance but with the conſent of the kings of Spain: And ſo of the heirs and deſcendents of the future Spouſes. That al negotiation and traffik to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies ſhall bee forbidden them and their ſubiects. That the Arch-duke ſuruiuing the Infanta, hee ſhould hold thoſe Countries during his life. That hauing children, their portions ſhould bee aſſigned them, vntill that the elder after the deceaſe of the father ſhould take poſſeſſion of the whole. That onely the Catholike, Apoſtolike and Romiſh religion ſhould bee maintained in the ſaid Prouinces, and in caſe of contrauention by them or their deſcendents, they ſhould loſe their rights to the ſaid Countries.

Articles of the ceſſion.

C Prince *Philip* did conſequently ratifie this donation, more (as ſome thought) to pleaſe the king his father, than for any good liking hee had of it, for ſhe depriued him of many goodlie and rich Prouinces: And the Infanta his Siſter hauing accepted the tranſaction, ſent her fathers and bothers letters Patents to the Gouernours and Councels of the Prouinces, with their letters which promiſed all aſſiſtance for the warre, and her owne which contained a declaration of this accord. Thus the Archduke, as the Hiſtorie ſaith, married a great Princeſſe, a troubleſome quarrell, and a long ſute, all in one day. From which time ſhee did write vnto him, as a wife doth vnto her husband, taking vpon her the titles of all thoſe Countries and Prouinces, and ſending him a procuration to take poſſeſſion in her name. The empreſſe, mother to
D *Albertus*, and ſiſter to the king of Spaine, receiued the promiſe of marriage for her Sonne, and did alſo make a promiſe in the name of the Archduke *Albert*.

Donation ratified by Prince Philip.

The king of Spaine would moreouer ſhew, that in giuing his daughter the Infanta to the Archduke, hee would not abandon them for want of money to continue the warre againſt the vnited Prouinces: hee made a new contract with *Camillo*, *Soniolla*, *Maluenda* and *Grimaldi*, to whome hee did reaſſigne and confirme the reuenues of Spaine, and reuoked the edict which had beene made at Pardo, vpon condition that for an ouerplus and new loane, they ſhould furniſh him with ſeuen millions and two hundred thouſand ducats, paying euerie month two hundred and fifty thouſand ducats to the Archduk *Albert*, to ſupply the charges of the low countrie warres, & that for the ſpace of
E eighteen monthes, the firſt paiment whereof ſhould be due the laſt of Ianuarie, in the ſaid yeare 1598, the whole ſumme for the Low countries amounting to foure millions and a halfe. The reſt ſhould be paied in Spaine, or where hee ſhould command, after the rate of an hundred and fiftie thouſand ducats monthly, for eighteene monthes together: both which parties amount to 7200000 ducats.

King of Spaine makes a new contract for the paiment of his debts.

The king of Spaine ſent in the beginning of this yere 4 thouſand Spaniards, Beſognes, into the Low countries, to fortifie the Archduke *Albert*, whoe as it ſeemes did not greatly truſt the Wallons. *D. Sancho de Leua* was their cheiſe commaunder ouer foure Colonels: they came by ſea in 40 ſhips, the leſſer got ſafely into Callice for that the Eſtates ſhips had bin forced by fowle weather to weigh anchor, yet they took one of the greateſt;
F in the which was *Alonſo Sanches* of Villareal with 150 Spaniards, and made foure more to runne on ground to ſaue the ſoldiers.

Spaniards ſent into the Low-Countries.

The States of the vnited Prouinces, finding the number of their ſhipping to bee great, & that they wanted imployment for them, not daring to traffik into Spaine, where their ſhips and goods were daily arreſted, and their men impriſoned, whereby in time their Nauigation would decay, they reſolued to ſeeke their fortunes at the Eaſt

Vnited Prouinces ſaile vnto the Indies.

1598 and Weſt Indies, whether the Spaniards would neuer allow them to goe, whereupon they gaue leaue, and aſſiſted certaine priuat Merchants, to goe and ſeeke trade at the Eaſt Indies, and in thoſe Ilands whereas the Portugals had no commaund, ſo as this yeare there went to the number of eightie ſaile out of Holland and Zeeland, towards the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Breſill, Caſtell de Mine, to the coaſt of Afrike, and Guinee, whoſe ſucceſſe was diuers. Many of theſe vnder the charge of *Baltazar Moucheron*, had commandement from Prince *Maurice* and the State, to meet at the Iland del Principe. *Iulian* of Cleerhagen as Generall in the abſence of *Moucheron*, and *Gerard Stribos* as Admirall, parted in March with fiue Ships, one hundred and fifty Souldiers, and two hundred Mariners, who arriued ſomewhat late in Auguſt at the ſaid Iland: where *Cleerhagen* found a ſhip, in the which a Nephew of *Moucherons* commanded, who being well knowne in the Iland by reaſon of his trading there, was a meanes that the Generall became Maſter of it without any oppoſition, for hee drew the Gouernour and chiefe Officers of the place to come aboard, where they made them good cheare. After which the Generall acquainted them with his Commiſſion, and to what end hee was come. The Ilanders ſeeing themſelues ſurpriſed, ſeemed content, and yeelded to their wils: then, hauing taken an oath to *Cleerhagen*, they all landed, whereas the Generall in *Moucherons* name was proclaimed Generall of the Iland.

Surpriſe of the Iland del principe.

Three daies after the taking of the oath, the Portugals and Ilanders conſpired againſt the Hollanders, and came ſuddenly with great fury to charge *Moucherons* men, but they were repulſt and ſcattered in the Iland; but vpon proclamation of a pardon they returned, and ſubmitted themſelues againe to the Hollanders; whereupon there was a new accord made betwixt them, but it continued not aboue ſixe weekes, by reaſon of *Cleerhagens* diſordered actions, who did not obſerue the courſe that was preſcribed him, neither was hee carefull to build the forts which had beene drawne, hauing good meanes. The Portugals and Ilanders ſeeing his careleſneſſe, made a new attempt againſt him, which being diſcouered vnto the Hollanders, they ſeazed vpon the *Padre Vicario*, meaning to execute him, but as *Francis Fort* with the Iudge *Steuen Quareſmo*, went to viſit this *Vicarios* houſe, they were ſlaine by his ſlaues, which cauſed a new tumult, whereupon the *Vicario* was condemned and hanged with one of his confederates. This death made them ſend to D. *Antonio de Meneſes* Geuernour of the Iland of Saint Thomas for ſuccours, who a month after ſent the Gouernour of Caſtell de Mine with fiue hundred ſouldiers, by whoſe perſuaſion they were reſolued to make warre againſt *Moucherons* men.

The Generall *Cleerhagen* fell into diſgrace with his Companie, and died of greeſe: *Stribos* the Admirall ſucceeded him, and dyed alſo with ouer-toiling himſelfe in the fortifications. Whereupon the Hollanders erected a Councell of foure to gouerne the eſtate of their affaires in the Iland: but after a months ſufferance, their Souldiers being ſomewhat waſted, they began to faint and to be out of hope of ſuccours, ſo as they ſhould not bee able to maintaine themſelues againſt ſo many enemies. Whereupon they abandoned the Iland, and ſetting their fort on fire, they imbarked, there comming ſupplies of men and victuals vnto them from *Moucheron* within fifteene daies after, but it was too late: and ſo the Iland was ſoone wonne and as ſoone loſt.

Coaſt of Spaine annoyed by the Engliſh.

This yeare in the Spring the Spaniards began to apprehend ſome new attempt of the Engliſh vpon their coaſt, for that thoſe Seas were ful of Engliſh men of warre: yea, there was a fleet ſet forth by the Earle of Cumberland, which after it had cõmitted ſome ſpoile about Caſcais, lay many daies in the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbone, keeping in the galleons of Portugal, which lay ready to go to the Eaſt-Indies, but it was without any fruits, the Weſt-Indian fleet being ſafely arriued at Seuille, after that it had beene ſcattered by a ſtorme neere vnto the Terceres.

The treaſure which came in this Indian fleet gaue the kings miniſters meanes to prouide more commodiouſly for the great affaires of ſo many kingdomes, and to continue the war, which hee mainteined in diuers places. Wherefore they leuied new men to ſend into the Low-Countries, and others to man certaine veſſels which were ſent forth to bridle

A dle the attempts of the Turkes vpon the coaſt of Spaine, and Afrike: They were fiue and twenty gallies vnder the charge of D. *Pedro de Toledo*, whereof ſome were of Spaine, and ſome of Naples: there were two regiments of Italians in them, the one was commanded by *Alexander de Monti*, the other by *Ceſare d' Euoli*; but hee dying before at the Groine, they were both then commanded by *Monti*. Theſe gallies hauing not met with any Pyrats at ſea, paſt into Barbarie, where they landed a good number of their men, with the which *Monti* did preſently march, & ſet vpon a towne, the which was taken by ſcalado, where breaking open the ports, & drawing in all his men, it was ſackt & then burnt, taking making ſlaues, with great ſtore of wealth: yet this could not be ſo ſoon executed, but
B many horſemen Moores, came poſting thither from the neighbour places, ſo as *de Monti* was forced to make an orderly retreat, putting his men into ſquadrons & the rereward skirmiſhing ſtill with the enemy, wherein they all in generall ſhewed ſuch valour, as this actiõ was more eſteemed, althogh they loſt ſome men, than the winning & ſpoiling of the town without any loſſe. The Colonel *de Monti* was ſtill in the rereward, who with great iudgement and valour gouerned the retreat vntil they were all imbarked, being ſo fauored by the gallies ordnãce, as the Mooriſh horſemen, being many in nũber, were forced to retyre with great loſſe. The gallies after they had run along that coaſt, & made the Barbarians feele the ſpoils which they cõmitted vpon the weaker parts of Spain, they were called home to lie in gard in the ſtreit of Gibraltar, to hinder the enemies attempts. But the
C Engliſh fleet aboue mẽtioned hauing left the riuer of Lisbone, took many Eaſterlings, & other ſhips carrying victuals & other commodities into Spain, which being that yere verie ſcant of corn, which was then brought vnto them from other countries, & taken at ſea, it bred a great ſcarcitie. Whileſt that Lisbone was preſt with this extremity, by great hap there was a Galeon of Tuſcany got in, being laden with corne and other commodities fit to relieue their wants. Yet the dearth of corn increaſed, notwithſtanding that the Hollanders being greedy of gain did often attempt to bring ſome, and ſo they did in Sicile & other places. Some held that this dearth grew through the want of men to till the ground (whereunto that nation is nothing inclined) hauing been alſo conſtrained to ſend foorth great troups of men to the wars of France & Flãders; beſides others which went daily by
D thouſands out of that realm vpon diuers occaſions. They did alſo aleage another reaſon of the ſcarcity, for that ſome yeres before Corne had bin ſet at an vnder rate, ſo as ſtrangers had no care to bring in any, neither did the countrie men much care for tillage.

1598

Alexander de Monti ſurpriſeth a towne in Barbarie.

Dearth in Spaine and the reaſon.

During the great dearth of corn, Spaine felt a general ioy for the peace which had been concluded with France, the which was proclaimed at Madrid in the end of Iune, and it was increaſed with a priuat content by the mariage of the duke of Alcala, with the daughter of *Chriſtopher de Mora*, being honored with the preſence of the Prince D. *Philip*, & many Grandes of the court. And ſoon after were celebrated the mariages of two of the Marqueſſe of Pozzas daughters, the one vnto the eldeſt ſon of the duke of Seſſa, who was then embaſſador at Rome, & the other vnto the heire of Cordoua: but the ioy was much greater when the future mariage of Prince *Philip* with *Marguerit* of Auſtria, and of the Infanta D. *Iſabella*, with the Archduke *Albertus* were publiſhed. Whileſt that k. *Philip* ends as hee had begun his raign with the wars of the Low countries, behold many touches of the miſeries and pouertie whereunto humanitie is ſubiect, made him remember that hee was a man. He could not feele that contentment in his ſoule, like vnto the firſt man of Greece in his time, who dying, held himſelf happy, for that neuer any Athenian had mourned by his occaſion: yet at the leaſt he hath this conſolation, that after the expence of ſo much mony, & the ſhedding of ſo much bloud, hauing with ſo great rigour and bitterneſſe purſued the ruin, & haſtned the deſtinies of the goodlieſt eſtate of Europe, he ſees the two firſt monarchs of Chriſtendome vnited by a firm bond, & cõmon peace, and his children ready to
F enter into allyances; which content him. He now feeles that his houre is come, & that he muſt leaue the ambitions of this world, and that the fleſh ſtriues in vaine againſt the ſpirit, when as the one muſt part company from the other. Wherefore carrying alwaies a great deuotion to the Monaſterie of Saint Laurence, and being much affected to his moſt ſumptuous and incomparable Palace of the Eſcuriall, 7 leagues from Madrid, his ſicknes increaſing daily, after the reſignation of the Low countries, to his daughter D.

Marriage of the duke of Alcala.

King Philip growes towards his end.

1598 *Iſabella*, he would needs be carried thither, to ſeek a ſafe rampar, againſt the aſſaults which G
an inteſtine warre was readie to giue him vpon the troubleſome diſſolution of the ſoule and bodie. He, whom Hiſtories obſerue to haue beene greater than any one of his houſe, who without danger ſitting in his Cabinet, hath diſpoſed of more famous actions than any of his predeceſſors, finds now that the Soueraign Creator hath made the pooreſt cottager equal to the greateſt king in many reſpects. He hath giuen them the earth for their abode, for they nurſe and common mother, the ſame beginning of creation, one common heauen, one ſunne, one Moone, the aire and water common; the ſoules of one and other haue one nature; they come all into the world naked alike, and all haue one iſſue out of this life. He finds now that death feares no gards; that he knocks as familiarly at Princes H
Palaces, as at the cottages of poore Shepheards, hee laies hold of them, when as teares preuaile not, armes are of no force, praiers cannot moue him, nor preſents corrupt him, the Phiſitions art cannot ſtay him, nor drugs and receits preuent his power: Yea, that ſometimes he takes them away when they haue not leaſure to deliuer their laſt will. Finally after this end they muſt all run one courſe, when as their bodies ſhall putrifie alike.

He had ſurmounted the croſſes of fortune, and great accidents in his time, but hee could find no preſeruatiue, to make him inſenſible of greefe. The gout, a feuer, a filthy Phthiriaſis, an apoſtume on his right leg, foure other, wonderfull foule and ſtinking, on his breaſt, an infinit number of lice, breeding of that corrupt & ſtinking matter, & diſperſing themſelues ouer his whole bodie, gaue him to vnderſtand, that nature could make a I
wretched Anatomie of his bodie, as well as of the meaneſt of his ſubjects. Being come to the Eſcuriall, and his paines increaſing, hee prepared himſelfe for death, and after hee had receiued the Sacrament, hee deſired to ſee D. *Garcia* of Loyola ſolemnly conſecrated Archbiſhop of Toledo, by the Popes Legat, it being reſigned vnto him by the Archduke *Albert*.

His feuer and infirmities increaſing in the beginning of September, hee called for D. *Philip* his ſonne, and the Infanta *Iſabella* his daughter; where in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Toledo and ſome others, he ſhewed his body vnto the Prince, and ſaid vnto him, *Behold prince the greatneſſe of this world, ſee this wretched carcaſſe, whereas all human help auailes nothing*. He then cauſed a braſen coffin to be brought, and a deths head to bee K
ſet vpon a cupbord with a Crowne of gold by it. He then commanded D. *Lewis de Velaſco* a gentleman of his Chamber to fetch a ſmall Casket, wherein there was a rich Iewell, the which he gaue vnto his daughter in the Princes preſence, ſaying, *This Iewell was your mothers, keep it in remembrance of her*; And forthwith he drew out a paper which he gaue vnto the Prince ſaying, *That it was an Inſtruction how he ſhould gouerne his eſtate*. After which, he drew forth a whip, at the end whereof appeared ſome markes of bloud, and holding it vp he ſaid, *that it was bloud of his blond*, although it were not his own bloud, but the emperor his fathers who had vſed it: which done hee diſpoſed of the order of his funerals. After which, in the preſence of the Popes Nuntio, he recommended the Sea of Rome, the Pope, and the Catholike Apoſtolike and Romiſh Religion to his children, deſiring the L
Nuntio to giue him abſolution of his ſinnes, & to bleſſe his children. He did recommend the Infanta vnto the Prince his Son, and the good eſtate of her Countries. He did not remember the children of D. *Catherina* ducheſſe of Sauoy his other duughter, to whom before ſhe died he had bequeathed for a remẽbrance the picture of our Lady of Lorette. He was ſo reſolute and ready to die, as his Confeſſor did wiſh that hee might die of that diſeaſe, and in that eſtate, leaſt that his recouerie ſhould alter that good & happy diſpoſition. The continuall feuer, whereof he had languiſhed three yeres, and the violent torments of the gout, had prepared him for death, long before he was ready to take him. He gaue no eare to any diſcourſe but touching his departure. A gentleman of his chamber ſeeing him to haue ſome intermiſſion of his pains, aduiſed him to remoue into ſome other cham- M
ber that was more chearefull, the Phyſitians warranting that hee might liue two yeares longer; Giue (ſaid hee) this picture of our Ladie, to the Infanta, it was the Empreſſe my Mothers, and I haue worne it fifty yeares: He ſpake of his departure, as of a royall entrie into goodlieſt Cities vnder his obedience; and of his funeral, as of a Coronation. I will (ſaid hee) haue this Crucifix hung at my neck, and reſting vpon my breaſt: I will

A will haue that in my hand with the which my father dyed. Hold a candle of Mont Sarrat readie, and giue it me when I am in the Agonie. Goe (ſaid hee) to two Religious men, and meaſure my fathers Herſe, obſerue how hee is laid, I will be ſo, and with no more ceremonie than the pooreſt Monke in this Monaſterie. They that were about him, ſpake of his conſtancie, as Saint *Auguſtin* did of the admirable reſolution of a holy Spaniard. The violence of his paine was great, but the force of his courage was greater, the one ſuffered, and the other ſung, the fleſh ſuffered and the ſpirit ſpake. Nothing liued more in him than a feeling of his ſinnes, the which toucht him ſo neere, as after that they had made an inciſion in his knee, and B the Prince his Sonne asking him if he felt not the paine of his greene wound, I feele (ſaid the king) the wounds of my ſinnes much more. 1598

Approaching towards his end, hee commaunded that the Marqueſſe of Mondejar ſhould bee ſet at libertie, but reſtrained from comming to court; and that the wife of *Anthony Perez* (ſometimes his Secretarie) ſhould bee ſet at libertie, vpon condition that hee ſhould retire himſelfe into ſome Monaſterie. Hee receiued the extreme vnctions from the Archbiſhop of Toledo, after that hee had demaunded the manner of the adminiſtration thereof, for that hee had neuer ſeene it giuen. Hee had reſolued to ſend the Prince and the Infanta to Madrid, for that they ſhould not bee preſent at the pitifull ſpectacle of the ruine of his bodie, but hee changed his opinion, and C would haue the Prince preſent when they gaue him the extreme vnction: after which hee commanded them to leaue him alone with his Sonne, to whome hee ſpake theſe words: I was deſirous my ſon you ſhold aſſiſt at this laſt actiõ, to the end you ſhold not liue in ignorance, as I haue done, how this holy Sacrament is adminiſtred, & that you might ſee the end of kings, and whereunto their Crownes and Scepters are reduced. Death is readie to ſnatch the Crowne from my head, and to ſet it vpon yours. Therein I recommend two things vnto you; the one is, that you remaine alwaies obedient vnto the Church; the other that you doe juſtice to your ſubiects. The time will come when this Crowne ſhall fall from your head as it doth now from mine: you are young, I haue beene ſo, my daies are numbred and are ended, God keepes the D accompt of yours, and they ſhall likewiſe end. They ſay that hee did enioyne him, with paſſion, to make warre againſt Heretikes, and to entertaine peace with France.

King Philips laſt ſpeech vnto his Sonne.

The Prince thinking that his end approached, demaunded the golden key of the Cabinet from D. *Chriſtopher de Mora*, meaning to grace the Marqueſſe of Denia his fauourite therewith: but hee deſired the Prince to pardon him, ſaying that hee might not leaue it whileſt the king was liuing, but by his expreſſe commandement: whereat the Prince was offended.

D. *Chriſtopher* complained hereof vnto the king, who neither commended the demaund being too ſudden, nor allowed of his refuſall, commanding D. *Chriſtopher* to carrie it vnto the Prince, and to craue his pardon: who returning to viſit his fa- E ther, D. *Chriſtopher de Mora* kneeling downe, kiſt the key and deliuered it vnto him; the which the Prince tooke and gaue to the Marqueſſe of Denia: And as the prince and the Infanta ſtood before his bed, hee ſaid vnto them, I recommend vnto you D. *Chriſtopher de Mora*, the beſt ſeruant I euer had, with all my other ſeruants: And ſo giuing them his laſt farewell, and imbracing them, his ſpeech fayled him; continuing two daies in that eſtate vntill hee died, being ſeuenty and one yeares old, and hauing raigned fifty.

He was borne at Vailledolit the fiue and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred twenty and ſix, and dyed the thirteenth of September 1598. He was but little of ſtature, yet of a pleaſing aſpect, but no goodlie man by reaſon of his great nether F lip, which is hereditarie in the houſe of Auſtria, otherwiſe he was faire of complexion, rather reſembling a Fleming than a Spaniard: of ſo ſound a conſtitution of body, as he was ſildome or neuer ſicke. He was ſometimes troubled with faintings: and did neuer eat any fiſh: he was of a conſtant reſolution, and of a great ſpirit, apprehending preſently the ends of things, and foreſeeing them with an admirable wiſdome and iudgement.

Birth and ſtature of the king of Spaine.

Pope *Clement* the eight, hearing newes of his death, aſſembled the Conſiſtorie,

1598 where after audience giuen vnto the Cardinalls, hee told them in a graue ſpeech G
Popes iudgment vpon the death of king Philip. full of paſſion: That if euer the holy Sea had cauſe of greeſe and affliction, it was for the death of that Prince, the Church hauing loſt a great Protector, and her perſecutors a mightie enemie. That his whole life had beene nothing but a warfare againſt infidelities, hereſies, and errors. That two things did comfort them in this loſſe: the one, that being dead with an admirable conformitie in the will of God, an incredible patience in his paines, and an vnchangeable conſtancie in his Religion, he held him rewarded in heauen with immortall glorie: the other, that hee had left a Sonne which made them hope that it was rather a reſurrection of the father than a ſucceſſion of the Sonne. In the end hee recommended them both to their praiers, H
paying thereby for what the one had done, and what the other offered to doe by his letters for the good of the Church.

Vertues of king Philip. To ſpeake of his vertues: it is ſaid that all good Princes may bee written in a ring. *Philip* had great vertues, it were a rare thing to haue all. The ſeedes of ſuch princes as haue no defects are in heauen. Hee was great in pietie, Religion, juſtice, liberalitie and
His pietie. conſtancy. As for his pietie and religion, hee hath beene heard to ſay, that if the prince his Sonne became an Heretike, or a Schiſmaticke, hee would bring fagots himſelfe to burne him. He alwaies proteſted that his deſignes in warre, and his exerciſes in peace did onely tend to the aduancement of Religion. The laſt words he pronounced with his laſt gaſpe, were, That he died a Catholike. He reſpected the Pope as hee that carried the keies I
of heauen in his hand, the prince of the Church, and Gods Lieutenant generall ouer mens ſoules. The Popes reſpected him as the chiefe ſupporter of the peace and vnion of the Church: *Pius* 5. did ſo terme him when they made the league againſt the Turke: and his ſucceſſour *Gregorie* 13 anſwered him that cauſed his health to be prayed
» for at Rome, My life imports the Church little, the which after me may haue a better
» Pope: Recommend the king of Spaines health vnto God, for it is neceſſarie for all Chri-
» ſtendome. And he himſelfe held his aſſiſtance neceſſarie for the affaires of Chriſtians; for being ſicke, and the Phiſitian doubting to let him bloud by reaſon of his weakeneſſe, *Feare*
Speech of the king of Spaine. *not (ſaid he) to let me bloud, the eſtate of Gods Church permits not that I ſhould die of this diſeaſe, nor of this bloud letting.* Euerie man knowes in what credit hee was in the Conſiſtorie, to K
haue his intention approued, and likewiſe in the Conclaue for the election of Popes.
This is ſpoken for the penſions of Cardinals which are at the deuotion of Spaine. Hee held Rome by the haire and the throat, being in his power to famiſh it, refuſing the commodities which they may draw at need out of his eſtates which inuiron it.

As he honoured the Pope, ſo did hee much eſteeme the Prelates of the Church, and had a great care to preferre men of vertue and merit to eccleſiaſticall dignities. There was a great controuerſie betwixt the archbiſhop of Valencia, and the Viceroy, to know to whome they ſhould firſt preſent the Pax and the Cenſor: the which hee ended, commanding that hee that preſented vnto his Maieſtie, ſhould giue it firſt vnto the archbiſhop, thinking that the honor that he did vnto Gods Miniſters was an infinit glory vnto him, and that a prince ſhould affect no other commendation, than the care and zeale of L
Religion, when it is without diſſembling or hypocriſie. Hee did witneſſe his zeale and paſſion in the ſeeking out of many relikes of Saints, eſpecially to haue the body of
His curioſitie to find out Relikes Saint *Eugenius* Biſhop of Toledo, hauing to that end ſent embaſſadors expreſly to king *Charles* the ninth, and to the Queene Mother, who granted it, contrarie to the aduice of the Cardinall of Lorraine, Abbot of Saint Denis: hee went to receiue it at Toledo, and cauſed it to bee conducted to the Eſcuriall. How much did he ſpend for the canonizing of Frier *Diego* of Alcala of the order of Saint *Francis*, and of Frier *Raymond* of Pegnafort a Iacobin, famous among learned men, for that he gathered the decretales into one bodie, and throughout all Spaine, for that hee paſt like another *Elizeus* vpon his cloake from Majorca to Barcelona, and that which is very rare in our age, re- M
fuſed the Archbiſhopricke of Tarragone. Wee find not any now that hide themſelues in caues from ſpirituall dignities, or that out off their noſe and eares to make themſelues incapable of church preferments, which requires ſound bodies and ſanctified ſoules. No affaires could interrupt him in the courſe of his deuotion, and we in the relations of *Antonio Perez* that hee did often referre the care of buſineſſe to another

day,

A day, when he was preparing of his conſcience, or among his Monkes at the Eſcuriall. He went bare headed in the proceſſion of the Sacrament, and being on that day at Cordoua, ſome one did aduertiſe him, that the Sunne was offenſiue: to whom he aunſwered, *That the Sunne that day would doe him no harme.* Being a religious prince, he loued no new religions. He neuer receiued the Capuchins. They of his houſe haue built many colledges of Ieſuites in diuers places, at Vienna in Auſtria, at Turnant in Hungarie, at Prague in Bohemia, at Hal, at Grats, at Munch, at Inſpruke, and he alone of his houſe is dead without any memorie of his bountie towards them. Speaking againſt that great multitude of religions, and the increaſe of regular Orders, hee ſaid, That they ſhould reduce the B new to the auncient, and maintaine thoſe in the firſt integritie of their inſtitution, and that it was to be feared the world would abound more in religious Orders than in pietie. Hee vſed them of Saint *Dominicke* in his confeſſions, and in his other deuotions the Ieronimits, to whom he gaue that rich temple of the Eſcuriall. He did ſo reſpect *Dominicke de Chaues*, his Confeſſor, as he cauſed him to be viſited in his cell by the Preſident of Caſtille, when he was in doubt of any point of conſcience or of penance. 1598

En eſte dia no haze mal el Sol.

He had a Councell of conſcience for the direction of his enterpriſes. This Councell hath often drawne him out of many difficulties, and hath freed him from the bond of his promiſes. The hiſtorie of Portugall doth furniſh a memorable example. The duke of Oſſuna, and D. *Chriſtopher de Mora*, had promiſed mountaines of gold to them that C ſhould be oppoſit to D. *Antonio*, and ſhould fauour the kings right to the Crowne of Portugall. He being expelled, theſe men demaunded the effects of thoſe promiſes, and that their bills ſhould be diſcharged. The king commaunded that all ſhould bee ſent to the table of conſcience. The Iudges payed them with this ſentence: Seeing that king *Philip* is heire to the realme of Portugall, the petitioners could not compound for his right for money, gifts, or promiſes, and haue deſerued death, for that they did not willingly yeeld it vnto him: If the realme did belong to *Antonio*, they could not then deliuer it: And therefore king *Philip* is no way bound to performe thoſe promiſes which his embaſſadors and agents had made vnto the petitioners: But vſing his clemencie and mercie, he freed them from the paine of death, which they had vpon this occaſion de- D ſerued.

Councell of conſcience.

Aduice of the king of Spaines Councell of conſcience.

As for his juſtice, the example of his ſon is ſufficient to ſhew his rigor. It is true, that in many actiõs he hath proceeded more by his abſolute power than by the ordinarie courſe. Theſe great motions cannot alwayes be ruled by the ordinarie formes, nor ſubiect themſelues to the judgement of reaſon, nor to humane diſcourſe. Yet hee proteſted, being neere his end, That he had not done wrong nor injuſtice to any one, but through ignorance, or falſe impreſſion. It is an act of juſtice in a prince, to ſuffer them to tell him of the vnjuſt actions of his gouernement. It is true, that it cannot be tearmed an act of juſtice, to haue made his creditors ſo often to looſe that which they had lent him, nor to reduce the 18 millions of gold, which he did owe the Genouois, to 12.

King of Spaine a ſeuere iuſticer

E His liberalitie hath appeared in recompenſing the merits of many of his ſeruants. He made his Schoolemaſter Primat of the Church of Spaine, as his father had aduanced his vnto the Popedom. There are few ſuch princes now, that vſe ſuch requitals. There are no more *Alexanders*, who gaue eight hundred talents to his Schoolemaſter *Ariſtotle*. Kings haue long hands, but few haue them ſo large after this proportion. The king of Spaine did neuer leaue any goodlie action either of learning, juſtice, or warre, without reward. Hee did not onely doe good vnto the good, to make them better, but alſo to the bad, leaſt they ſhould grow worſe. But he did neuer aduance them hee loued to fauours diſproportionable to their condition: He did much for *Ruy Gomes*, for the loue of his wife the princeſſe of Eboly: Yet this liberalitie did neuer make a paſſage for him to F great affaires. He was verie circumſpect in the diſtinction of great charges, eſpecially of ſuch as concerned the adminiſtration of juſtice, whereon, as *Plato* ſaid, depends the ſafetie and ruine of an Eſtate. And although that the earle of Chinchon, being bred vp with him in his youth, ſhould haue expected more than any other, yet he obtained nothing but what he held fit for his qualitie. He was woont to ſay, That all ſtomackes were not fit to

His liberalitie.

That is 480000 crownes.

Honours ruine them that deſerue them not.

1598 to diſgeſt great fortunes, and that ill meat did not corrupt ſooner, and turne to bad humors, than honour in a ſoule without merit. G

His conſtancie. As for his conſtancie againſt afflictions, fortune could neuer ſhake him. In two diuers accidents, happening at two diuers times, he ſhewed the conſtancie of his mind, and the equalitie of his affections; neither puffing him vp inſolently in proſperitie, nor deiecting himſelfe baſely in aduerſitie. When the poſt brought him newes of the victorie of Lepanto, he thought to ſee him much tranſported with joy, but hee made no ſhew of any alteration; and hauing vnderſtood the order and ſucceſſe of the battell, hee ſpake theſe words coldly, *D. Iohn hath hazarded much.* Now, when another poſt did bring him newes of the loſſe of that great nauie at ſea, thinking it would haue plunged him into a gulph of cares and perturbations, at the report of ſo fatall an accident, hee was not a whit mooued; ſaying onely, That hee had ſent it againſt men, and not againſt the windes and waues. Vulgar ſpirits are tranſported with choler at euerie croſſe accident, this vnmatchable loſſe doth not trouble this prince, who continued his deuotion in his Oratorie. Some other would haue torne his haire, and haue whipt the Ocean, as *Xerxes* did. The duke of Medina Sidonia, Generall of this armie, ſending to know his pleaſure, if hee would haue him come and giue an account of his charge, he anſwered, That hee ſhould firſt goe home to his houſe, to refreſh and reſt himſelfe before he came to Court.

His great moderation in proſperitie. H

His conſtancie in aduerſitie.

Vices of the K. of Spaine. It were fit we ſhould ſee the backſide of this Medaile, and ſpeake ſomething of the errours and vices of this prince, as well as of his vertues, ſeeing it is fit to ſpeake all for examples ſake; yet it is not good to trouble the reſt of the dead. *Nicons* image ouerthrew him that ſtrooke it with a ſtaffe: A dead ſtone did reuenge the injurie that was done vnto a dead man. It is ſufficient to ſay, That as this prince was commended for many great vertues, ſo hee was blamed, in his youth, of great diſſolution to voluptuouſneſſe, and a violent propenſion to crueltie. Theſe two vices doe ſeldome abandon one another: Euerie voluptuous prince is cruell, if neceſſitie conſtraine him. This plague doth infect and blemiſh the glorie of vertues, how bright ſoeuer they be in the life of a prince. *Victorinus* might haue beene compared to the beſt Emperours, yea hee ſhould ſurpaſſe *Traian* in bountie, *Antonine* in clemencie, *Nerua* in grauitie, *Veſpaſian* in ſparing of his treaſure, *Pertinax* and *Seuerus* in the integritie of his life, and in the ſeueritie of militarie diſcipline: but all theſe vertues were ſo quencht by voluptuouſneſſe, as no man durſt ſpeake vnto him. The king of Spaine hath put many to death in the exceſſe and firſt fits of his choler. He was as ſuſpitious, diſtruſtfull, and cruell, as euer any was. He did not allow the prince his ſonne to ſpeake with the Infanta his daughter, but by permiſſion, and in the preſence of their gouernors. The jealouſie of Soueraigne power makes no diſtinction of perſons, nor ſpareth not his owne bloud, as appeared by his owne ſonne: and Sultan *Solyman* cauſed his ſonne *Muſtafa* to bee ſtrangled, for that the Ianizaries made great acclamations of joy at his returne from the warres of Perſia. I K L

King of Spaine iealous and diſtruſtfull.

Some write of him, That, beſides the aboue named vices, he was fearefull, doubtfull, cloſe, and a diſſembler, ambitious, and proud beyond the condition of man, and nothing religious of his word in matters of Eſtate; the duke of Vilhermoſa, and the marqueſſe of Fuentes, are good witneſſes; he put them to death after that he had pardoned them the reuolt of Arragon. And thoſe words which he ſpake in his laſt inſtruction to his ſonne, ſpeaking of the Low Countries, doe verifie it; *It is true* (ſaid hee) *I haue giuen them to your ſiſter, but it imports not; you haue an hundred euaſions, which you may vſe in time.*

His ambition appeared, in that he affected the Empire by all poſſible meanes, which not able to obtaine, he ſought the title of Emperour of Spaine: yea ſome write, That he was reſolued to goe vnto the Indies, to take vpon him the title of Emperour of America. M After all his ambitious proiects againſt Africke, his attempts againſt England and Ireland, and his intelligences with the Turkes, Barbarians, and Perſians, whom hee hath ſought to diuide, and to make vſe of, euen againſt Chriſtian princes, yet in the end he was forced to confeſſe, *That all the power and pompe of this world was meere vanitie.*

He

A He had foure wiues, but he was vnfortunat in the firſt, the which was *Marie* princeſſe of Portugall, who bare him one ſonne, whoſe name was *Charles*; but his life was ſhort and vnfortunat, and his end violent, being charged by the Inquiſition to haue thought ill of the Faith, and to haue had intelligence with *Chaſtillien* Admirall of France, and with the prince of Orange touching the Low Countries. His ſecond wife was *Marie* queene of England, by whom hee had no iſſue. His third was *Elizabeth* of France (ſurnamed by the Spaniards, the Queene of Peace) who brought him two daughters, the Infanta D. *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, now Archducheſſe of Auſtria, and Ladie of the Low Countries, and the Infanta D. *Catherina Michelle*, who was ducheſſe of Sauoy. His B fourth wife was *Anne* of Auſtria, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and his owne neece, by whom he had three ſonnes and one daughter, of the which, at his death, there remained onely the prince, who was then called *Charles Laurence*, but at his comming to the Crowne he was ſurnamed *Philip* the third. 1598 *His wiues and children.*

He ended his dayes with an act of wiſedome worthie of his long experience. Princes cannot enter into their realmes by a better port, than the loue of their ſubjects. If their fathers be dead, deſired, and lamented, they muſt doe ſome great matter to mollifie this ſorrow. Painters are no more bound to repreſent the true lineaments of the face, than princes are to repreſent their fathers vertues, whoſe liuelie images they are. Before his death hee made an Edict which could not be pleaſing vnto his ſubiects, who began to C murmure, and it ſeemed that they would not be ſo ſatisfied, if they proceeded to execution. It was not made for that the king of Spaine had any deſire to haue it executed and obſerued, but to the end he might giue the prince his ſonne a good occaſion to win the peoples hearts; for he ſayed preſently, that hee would neuer allow of the execution of that Edict, and that he would breake his head that ſhould firſt ſpeake it; the which hee ſpake ſo lowd, as euerie man thought himſelfe happie to liue vnder the command of ſuch a prince, who would proue better than his father. *Wiſedome of the King of Spaine.*

We haue formerly made mention of a paper which the king drew out of a casket, and deliuered to his ſonne, the which contained this inſtruction following.

My ſonne, I haue beene euer carefull to leaue you your Eſtate ſetled and in peace; but *Inſtruction of the King of Spaine to his Sonne.*
D neither the many yeares which I haue liued, nor the aſſiſtance of princes my allies, could euer purchaſe it. I confeſſe that I haue ſpent in leſſe than thirtie three yeares, fiue hundred ninetie and foure millions of ducats, all which haue bred me nothing but cares and troubles. It is true, I conquered Portugall, but as France did eaſily eſcape me, ſo may this be " wreſted from me. I would to God I had followed the aduice of the Emperour *Charles*, " my deceaſed father, of famous memorie, or at the leaſt that you would beleeue and fol- " low mine. I ſhould then beare my croſſes more willingly, and ſhould die with more con- " tent, leauing you in this vallie of miſeries. Behold then what I leaue you for an euerla- " ſting teſtament, beſides ſo many kingdoms and Eſtates, that you may ſee, as in a glaſſe, af- " ter what maner you ſhall gouerne your ſelfe after my death. "

E Be alwayes verie watchfull of the alteration and change of States, to make your profit " thereby according to occurrents. Haue a vigilant eye ouer them that are moſt familiar " with you in councell. You haue two meanes to entertaine your realmes of Spaine, the " one, the preſent gouernement, the other, the trade to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. As for the " gouernement, you muſt either relie vpon the nobilitie, or vpon the Clergie. If you leane " vnto the Church-men, keepe the other in awe, as I haue done; but if you fortifie your " ſelfe with the nobilitie, ſhorten the reuenues of the Clergie as much as you may. If you " ſeeke to countenance them alike, they will conſume you, and trouble your realms, where- " of you ſhall neuer ſee a finall concluſion. If you will make good vſe of the nobilitie, my ad- *Conſideration of Forraine Princes.*
F uice is, that you keep good correſpondencie with the Low Countries, for they are friends " to the, French Engliſh, and ſome princes of Germanie: therein you can haue little aſſi- " ſtance from Italie, Poland, Sueden, Denmark, or Scotland. The king of Scotland is poore, " Denmarke drawes his reuenues from foreine nations, Sueden is euer in faction, and not " well ſituated, the Polonians are alwaies maſters of their kings, Italie, although it bee rich, " yet is it far off, and the princes are of diuers humors: On the other ſide, the Low Coun- " tries are populous, rich in ſhipping, conſtant in labour, diligent in ſearch, hardie to vnder- "

take,

1598 „ take, and willing to endure. It is true, I haue giuen theſe prouinces to your ſiſter, but it G
„ imports not, there are an hundred euaſions whereof in time you may make your profit:
„ The chiefe are, that you keepe your ſelfe alwaies gardian to her children, and that there be
„ no alteration concerning religion: for theſe two points taken away, you are quite depri-
„ ued of thoſe countries: And then will ſome other princes preſent themſelues, and bind
„ them vnto them by ſome meanes, which may proue your ruine. If you thinke to fortifie
Aduice touching the Pope. „ your ſelfe againſt this by the Clergie, you ſhall purchaſe many enemies: I haue tried: yet
„ keepe good correſpondencie with the Popes, be bountifull and kind vnto them; entertain
„ ſuch cardinals as they fauour moſt, and labour to beare a ſway in the Conclaue. Keepe
„ friendſhip with the biſhops of Germanie, but commit not the diſtribution of their penſi- H
„ ons to the Emperor. Let them know you, they will ſerue you the more willingly, and will
„ receiue your preſents more thankfully. Draw not any neere vnto you that are of baſe con-
„ dition, neither reſpect the nobilitie and commons alike: for, ſeeing I muſt now ſpeake the
„ truth, their pride is great, they are verie rich, they muſt haue what they deſire, they will be
„ burthenſome vnto you, and in the end will be your maſters.

„ Serue your ſelfe then with ſuch as are of the nobleſt families, and aduance them to pre-
„ ferments of great reuenues: the common ſort are not ſo needfull, for they will procure
„ you a thouſand diſcontents, which will conſume you. Beleeue not any of them, if
„ they be not of qualitie. Free your ſelfe from Engliſh ſpies, and French penſions. Imploy
„ ſome of the noblemen of the Low Countries confidently, whom you ſhall haue bound I
Councel touching the Indies. „ vnto you by fealtie. As for the Nauigation of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, therein conſiſts
„ the ſtrength of the kingdome of Spaine, and the meanes to curbe Italie; from the which
„ you ſhall with much difficultie reſtraine France and England: their power is great, they
„ haue many mariners, the ſeas are ſpatious, their marchants too wealthie, their ſubiects too
„ greedie of gaine, and their ſeruants too faithfull.

„ I haue excluded the Low Countries, but I feare, in time, mens humors may change; and
„ therefore you muſt often change your miniſters at the Weſt Indies. Such as you call
„ home make them of your Councel for the Indies, and ſo, in my opinion, you ſhal neuer be
„ circumuented, but both the one and the other will acquaint you with the gaine, aſpiring
„ to more honour. See how the Engliſh ſeeke to depriue you of that commoditie: they are K
„ mightie at ſea both in men and ſhipping. As for the French, I doe not much feare them.
„ Fortifie your ſelfe with them of the Low Countries (although they be partly heretikes,
„ and would continue ſo) with this prouiſo, That they ſhall freely ſell their marchandiſe in
„ Spaine and Italie, paying the kings cuſtomes, and other dueties. And in taking paſports to
„ ſaile to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, let them put in caution, & take an oath to diſcharge their
„ goods in Spaine at the returne of their ſhips, vpon paine of puniſhment if they infringe
„ this order: the which I think they will willingly offer to obſerue. By this means the riches
„ of the Indies and Spaine ſhall haue free commerce with the Low Countries, whereby
„ both France and England ſhall be diſappointed.

„ My ſon, I could preſcribe you greater deſignes for the conquering of kingdoms, but you L
„ ſhal find in my ſtudie ſuch aduertiſements & diſcourſes as haue bin giuen me: commaund
„ *Chriſtopher de Mora* to deliuer you the key preſently, leaſt thoſe ſecrets ſhold fal into ſome
„ ſtrangers hands. I did cauſe ſome briefs of thoſe inſtructions to be burnt the 7 of Septem-
„ ber; I doubt all are not ſuppreſt, be carefull to ſeeke for them. I haue this day added, if you
„ can, win *Antonio Perez*, that he may ſerue you in Italie, or in ſome other of your Eſtates,
„ but ſuffer him not to returne into Spaine, nor to go into the Low Countries. Touching
„ your mariage, the inſtructions are in the cuſtodie of the Secretarie *la Loo*. Read this often
„ that is written with mine owne hand Haue a watchful eye ouer your moſt ſecret counſel-
„ lors, acquaint your ſelfe with cyphers, diſcontent not your Secretaries, keep them alwaies
„ imployed, be it about matters of importance or otherwiſe; make triall of them rather by M
„ your enemies than by your friends. If you diſcouer your ſecrets to any familiar friend,
„ keepe alwaies the moſt important within your owne boſome.

Archduke Albert goes into Spaine. The king of Spaine fearing that in his life time the mariage of his daughter with the Archduke *Albert* would not be conſummated, and that after his death the Infanta *Iſabella* would like better of the donation than the mariage, hee tied her vnto it with ſtrict con-

A conditions, deſiring aboue all things, that ſhe ſhould liue vnder the protection of the Crowne of Spaine, whereunto this new alliance did particularly bind her. Whereupon the Archduke gaue order for the gouernement of the Low Countries, and prepared himſelfe to goe into Spaine, to marie the Infanta. But the king of Spaine, before his death, had concluded a mariage betwixt prince *Philip* his ſon, and *Marguerite* daughter to the Archduke of Auſtria of Gratz, being younger ſiſter vnto *Marie* (who had bin promiſed vnto the prince, but dyed before the conſummation of the mariage:) Wherefore the Archduke *Albert* had commaundement to goe and receiue the ſaid ladie *Marguerite* at Gratz, and to conduct her into Spaine. Being readie to goe on his journey, 1598

B hee receiued newes of the death of the king of Spaine; yet hee went on his journey, and paſſing by the countrey of Treues, the Palatinat, and the duchie of Wirtemberg, into the limits of Bauaria, he came into the countie of Tyrol, being receiued in all places with great pompe and preſents, and his traine diſcharged. In this countie hee met with the ladie *Marguerite* of Auſtria, and *Marie* of Bauaria, her mother, neere vnto the place whereas the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of Romans, met, in remembrance of which happie enteruiew there was a table of braſſe hung vp for a monument, and is yet to be ſeene; which table doth repreſent them as they imbraced one another. This ladie was attended on by 500 gentlemen of high Hungarie, whereas the Archduke her father makes his chiefe reſidence.

He meetes with the future Queene of Spaine.

C Hauing joyned their troupes, being about two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand fiue hundred foot, they paſt by Bolſene, and came to Trent the nine and twentieth of October, where they ſpent ſome dayes, to viſit the reliques of Saints. Then entring into the territories of Venice, which was neere, they were honourably receiued by two Senators, at a village called Delce, vpon the riuer of Adde, where there was a bridge made by commaundement of the State, for them to paſſe ouer. They went on by ſmall journeyes through the Venetians countrey, who defrayed the charges of them and their whole traine ten dayes together.

Venetians defray the charge of the future Queene of Spaine.

Hauing paſt Verona, they entred the duke of Mantouas country, who came in poſt with ten noblemen to Oſtia (a ſmall village vpon the riuer of Po) to ſalute the queene; where

Duke of Mãtoua entertaines the Queene of Spaine.

D there were many boats made readie, among others there was a nuptiall barge, verie ſumptuouſly made, and couered with tapiſtrie of ſiluer, the which was diuided into chambers, halls, and cabinets. The future queene, her mother, the Archduke *Albert*, with ſome noblemen and ladies, entred this barge, where they found the tables readie furniſhed with all exquiſit meats. The reſt of the traine paſt the riuer in three great boats, vnto the other ſide, whereas Rouere ſtands, a towne belonging to the duke of Mantoua, from thence going downe the riuer they were carried to Ferrara, whereas the Pope was, with many Cardinals (whither he came after the compoſition of Faence, with D. *Cæſar* of Eſte.)

Pope ſendes a preſent to the Queene of Spaine.

The Pope being certified of the queenes comming neere the towne, hee preſently ſent forth two Cardinals Legats, which were, *Aldobrandin* and Saint *Clement*, with a

E great number of Prelats and gentlemen. Hauing gone three miles, they receiued the queene verie honourably, at a place called the iſlands, euen as ſhe landed, in the name of the Apoſtolike Sea, and of the Pope, preſenting vnto her, in his name, a rich caroch, whereof all the yron-worke was gilt, being drawne by ſix white horſes, in the which the queen, her mother, and the Archduke, entred into Ferrara.

Preſent ſent by the King of Spaine to his Queene.

Without the citie gates the duke of Seſſa, embaſſador for the king of Spaine, preſented vnto her, in his maſters name, a litter couered with cloth of gold, and richly appointed, both in the yron-worke, which was of ſiluer and gilt, as of all other royall furniture; hauing two white mules, and the muleters, in the like liuerie, and withall a carroch with ſix pied horſes, and two coach-men clad in cloth of gold, which made a gliſtering ſhew.

Arriuall of the Queene of Spaine into Ferrara.

F At the port called Angels gate, ſhee was receiued by two other Cardinals, *Sforce* and *Montalto*, and conducted into a houſe artificially made, where ſhee was ſeated in a royall throne, where ſhe ſtaied vntill the reſt of the Cardinals came to viſit and receiue her.

After this reception the queene was mounted vpon a white horſe, and the princeſſe her mother vpon the like (which the Pope had ſent them) & in that maner ſhe entred the city,

being

1598 being late, vnder a canopie of cloth of ſiluer, and betwixt the two Cardinals which G
had receiued her at the port. There were a great number of coaches and wagons which went before with much baggage; then followed two companies of horſe, hauing mourning weeds vpon their armes, by reaſon of the late death of the king of Spaine: after whom followed a troupe of courteors on horſebacke, then two other companies of horſe ſent from the Pope to receiue the Queene, followed by ſuch as ſerued the Cardinals, and other noblemen: After whom came a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, verie gallantly appointed. Such as carried maces of ſiluer (which is the marke of a Cardinall) being mounted vpon mules, with ſolemne ornaments, marcht before the companie of Cardinals, who were attired in violet, which H
is their accuſtomed habit to mourne in.

The Queene went betwixt the two Cardinals *Sforce* and *Montalto*, hauing her Dutch gards about her, and her mother, with the Archduke *Albertus* following her: After whom followed the great Conſtable, gouernour of Milan, the duke of Aumale, the prince of Orange, the earles of Egmont, Gand, Barlamont, and Ligny, with many other lords and ladies of great ſtate, and a great number of carroches and coaches full of ladies and gentwolemen. In this order they came to the Emperours embaſſadours lodging, paſsing vnder many triumphant Arches that were ſet vp in euerie ſtreet.

Entrie of the Queene of Spaine into the Popes Palace.

The king of Spaines ſpouſe being come vnto the palace, ſhee mounted vp betwixt I
two images of the two Apoſtles Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, princes of the Church, which were ſet at the ſtaires foot; and then ſhe retired her ſelfe into a chamber, joyning vnto the which was the ſacred Conſiſtorie, where the Pope was ſet in his Pontificall throne, with his whole colledge of Cardinals, where ſhe ſtayed vntill the Oration was ended, which was pronounced by *Bernardin Leſcot* of Milan, in prayſe of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the happie arriuall of the ſaid future Queene: After which, ſhe with her mother and the Archduke, were brought in, and ſuffered to kiſſe his Holineſſe feet: who receiued them graciouſly, and gaue them his bleſſing. After which the ſaid future Queene was conducted to her cabinet, which was prepared for her after a royall maner. The next day, hauing aſſiſted at a Maſſe which the Pope himſelfe did ſay, the Queene, her mother, and the Archduke, were feaſted at the Popes owne table. But the Sunday, being K
the fifteenth of Nouember, was the day appointed for the celebration of the mariage, at which time they all left off their mourning weeds, which they had worne for the death of the king of Spaine, and put on their nuptiall robes, where both princes and princeſſes, and the whole Court, ſhewed themſelues ſo rich and ſumptuous, euerie one ſeeking to note his familie by the inuention of his liueries, as the like had neuer been ſeene in Ferrara.

Marriage of the King of Spaine.

On the day appointed for this great ceremonie, the Pope went before to the Cathedrall church, being ſet in his throne with his Pontificall robes and diadem, readie to ſay Maſſe. The Queene being attired all in white, after a royall manner, and gliſtering with L
pearles and pretious ſtones of ineſtimable value, being followed by her mother, the Archduke, and all the princes, noblemen, and ladies, was ſo conducted as a bride vnto the ſame church, by the Cardinals of Santiquatro and Farneſe, the which gliſtered, being hung with cloth of ſiluer.

The Queene being ſet in a throne of cloth of gold, vnder a cloth of Eſtate of the ſame, and her mother with her, the Archduke being alſo ſet in one of the ſame, the Pope began the Maſſe. After the Canticle had beene ſong, the Queene was conducted neere vnto the Pope, by the ſaid Cardinals, with her mother, and a great troupe of ladies, and in like manner the Archduke approached, being followed by the princes and noblemen. The king of Spaines procuration directed to the Archduke, being read, the Pope did M
conſummate the mariage, betwixt *Philip* the third, king of Spaine, in the perſon of *Albert*, his vncle, deputed by him to that end, and appearing in his name, on the one part, and Queene *Marguerite*, being preſent, on the other. She being conducted backe vnto the throne, there was an acclamation of all the princes, congratulating the mariage with wiſhes of all happineſſe.

The

A The Archduke ſtaied ſtill before the Pope, vntill that the duke of Seſſa came with the like procuration from the Infanta D. *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*: which commiſſion being read, the ſaid Infanta was maried by her Proctor to the Archduke *Albert*, by the Popes hands. Maſſe being ended, the Pope cauſed the maried queene to approach neere the altar, to whom he preſented a conſecrated roſe all of gold, the which his Holineſſe doth commonly giue to queenes and princeſſes, as a ſword and a hat hath beene vſually ſent by Popes to the chiefe princes of Chriſtendome. After which all the citie of Ferrara was full of feaſts and joy, for the ſolemnization of this mariage. All places, ſtreets, waies, and houſes, both publike and priuat, did ring with acclamations of joy, the citie was full of maskes
B and dauncings, and there was nothing omitted that might in any ſort giue delight and contentment. 1599 *Mariage of Archduke [illegible] betweene [illegible] of [illegible] Pope [illegible] of Spaine.*

Hauing paſſed thoſe few dayes which they remained at Ferrara in great joy and feaſting, they made preparation to goe to Mantoua. The duke attended them at Rouere, hauing ſent foure companies of men at armes before, who conducted the queene to Gouberne (which is a caſtle ſituated vpon the riuer of Mince:) there the queene going into the Bucentaure, which was a verie ſtately gallie, ſhe was carried downe the riuer within a mile of Mantoua; where landing, ſhe was entertained by the princes, and then entred the citie in a Carroſſe with her mother, being honoured with pleaſing ſights in all places as ſhe paſt. The palace wherein ſhe was to lodge, was royally appointed; but the Sunday
C after her arriuall there was a tragicall commedie repreſented vnto her beyond all admiration. The duke of Mantoua entertained the queene ſo royally, as beſides the rich preſents which he gaue, he defraied 5000 foot and 4000 horſe for the ſpace of nine daies together. *The queene of Spaines entrie into Mantoua.*

The queene, her mother, and the Archduke, going from Mantoua paſt by Cremona to Milan. It were tedious to make repetitions of all the honours that were there done vnto the queene. And for that Milan is now held by the king of Spaine, they reſolued to ſtay there, and to attend the kings good pleaſure, being vnfit to paſſe into Spaine during the Winter ſeaſon, where the duke of Sauoy came to viſit the queene with a gallant traine. *Entrie into Milan.*

The greateſt Monarches of the world are forced to giue time to time, and to refer vnto it the accompliſhment of their deſires: Their power (be it neuer ſo abſolute) cannot make
D the ſeaſons ſubiect to their wils, neither aduance nor keepe them backe according to the commoditie of their deſignes. If this could haue beene effected, the queene of Spaine had not ſtaied ſo long in Italie, the deſire ſhe had to ſee the king D. *Philip* 3, would haue giuen her wings to flie from Milan to Vailledolit: but the vnſeaſonable Winter made her to ſtay vntil the Spring, from whence they went to Genoua, where they imbarked in the beginning of March: they paſt to Sauone, where, for the diſcommoditie of the ſea, they were forced to ſtay ſome dayes, at the end whereof they went along the ſhore by Monaco and Villa-franca, and came to Nice in the countie of Terra-noua, which at this day the duke of Sauoy holds, but in former times was belonging to the countie of Prouence. After which they came and caſt anker in the port of Marſeilles, where they reſted to eaſe the queene. 1599 *Queene of Spaine imbarks for Spaine.*

E The duke of Sauoy had entertained and feaſted her verie royally: neither did the duke of Guiſe (who was the kings Lieutenant in Prouence) omit any thing, being ſo commanded by the king; where he refreſht the gallies with victuals and all other neceſſaries. The queene would not land but onely to heare maſſe in a tent which was pitcht vpon the key, in forme of a chappell. The Archduke landed there with two gallies, and went to viſit the reliques of S. *Victor*, and other venerable reliques: which done, hee returned preſently vnto the queene, and ſo they parted from Caſtle Ifz in a cleere and calme day, but there followed a preſent ſtorme, the which had caſt them vpon the ſands, whereas the riuer of Rhoſne diſchargeth it ſelfe into the ſea, if the wiſedome and foreſight of *Doria* had not preuented it. He knew the place and the danger, and doubting of the inconſtancie
F of the weather, he would not paſſe without the aduice of the mariners, who were all doubtfull in their opinions. Prouidence is alwayes better than repentance. In this ſuſpenſion of judgement a mariner paſſing by, wiſht them not to proceed, for in leſſe than three houres they ſhould haue a contrarie wind which would carrie them directly to the daunger, which they would willingly auoyd. *Doria* beleeued him, againſt the opinion of ſome, and the ſhewes of the weather, being loath to attend vntill he were forced to *Lands at Marſeilles.*

1599 take ſome daungerous reſolution. Wherefore he retired his gallies into a place of ſafe- G
tie, and the ſtorme did ariſe ſooner than the mariner had told them. They thought at
Marſeilles that all had beene loſt; and their beliefe had not beene vaine, if *Doria* had not
giuen credit to that which the beſt aduiſed could not beleeue. The daunger being paſt,
they continued their voyage along the coaſt of Cattelonia, they ſaluted Barcelona, and
came to the port of Rode, they ſurmounted the Promontorie of the Moone, and came
to Alfaques, which is at the ſtrait of Gibraltar, on Africke ſide, and in the end they put
Queene of Spaine arriues at Binaros. in at the port of Binaros, in the realme of Valencia: from whence the queene ſent prince
Dorias ſonne to the Catholike king, to aduertiſe him of her happie voyage, and ſafe arri-
uall. The laſt of March they came to S. Mathew, wheras the marqueſſe of Denia came to H
ſalute the queene, in the behalfe of the king her husband, and to acquaint her with his
Majeſties ſpeciall intentions. Paſsing from thence to Gabanes, and Villa-reall, they
went and ſtayed at Moluiedro, a village built of the ruines of Sagunt, an auncient towne
allied to the Romans. The Archduke *Albertus* tooke poſt there, and went with all ſpeed
to kiſſe the kings hands, and to viſit the Infanta, his ſpouſe: from whence hee paſt to
Madrid, to ſee the Empreſſe, his mother, where hee ſtayed foure dayes, and then retur-
ned to Valencia.

The king in the meane time burning with an amorous deſire to ſee his new queen, came
in a diſguiſed habit like one of his noblemen, making his pretence to be ſent from the king
to kiſſe her hands; but he was diſcouered by the princeſſes and ladies which then attended I
the queene, where he was receiued with an incredible joy and content to them all.

Magnificence at Valencia at the king of Spains mariage In the meane time they made wonderfull preparation at Valencia, for the celebration
of theſe mariages, all which being readie, on the ſeuenteenth day of Aprill the queene
made her entrie into Valencia, with ſo goodly a traine of princes and noblemen there aſ-
ſembled, as the gliſtering of their glorious and ſumptuous apparel, the varietie of colours,
and the ſhining of the gold, did dazle the eyes of the beholders. Before this royall aſſem-
blie there marcht fiue companies of men at armes, after whom followed thirtie kettle
drummes on horſebacke, with trumpets, clairons, and hautbois, which did ſound continu-
ally: then came the courteors in troupe, without any precedence or prerogatiue of rank:
among which there were foure hundred young noblemen like vnto pages of honour, gal- K
lantly attired, attended on by their pages and footmen, ſome hauing ſix, others eight,
ſome ten, yea twentie, twentie foure, twentie ſix, and more, attired in their liueries of di-
uers colours, richly appointed. There were moreouer 700 knights of honor in the queens
colours, which were white and crimzon gilt, the ground ſatten. Then there followed
foure knights, carrying royall maces; after whom followed the Stewards of the queenes
houſe, and then ſixteene of the Grandos of Spaine. Next marched the heraulds with
their caſſockes richly imbrodered with the kings armes: after whom went the Lord Stew-
ard and the Maſter of the horſe: and laſt of all came the queene on horſebacke, vnder a
canopie of cloth of gold, the which was carried by twentie of the chiefe nobles of Valen-
cia, and the reines of her bridle, being of ſilke and gold, were held by the greateſt lords of L
that kingdome. The queenes gowne was of cloth of gold, the ground ſiluer, very rich-
ly imbrodered with pearle and precious ſtones, ſo as there could be no more added. The
queenes mother and the Archduke *Albert* followed with the queenes cabinet, and a
great number of princes and noblemen, and to finiſh their nuptiall pompe, the princeſſes
and ladies came laſt of all in their carroches and coaches. Some thought that there were
ſpent in this nuptiall pompe three millions of ducats.

The queene hauing entred the port, where there was a ſtately triumphant Arch made,
ſhee was led vnto the church, which was hung with cloth of tiſſue. The high altar was
royally appointed, before the which there was an Oratorie erected, couered with cloth
of gold, able to containe three perſons: there was alſo another which might hold fiue, M
which was ſeene by them all, and was verie commodious to kneele in: thither
the queene went, after that ſhee had kiſt the Croſſe, which was wonderfully in-
riched with reliques, being preſented vnto her by the Patriarke, who was Archbiſhop of
Valencia.

The Catholike king came downe into the church with his ſiſter the Infanta, by a pri-
uie

A uie way, which was made of purpoſe, where the Popes Nuncio (the ſolemnitie of the ceremonie being ended) demaunded of the king firſt, and then of the Archduke, if they did ratifie the mariages which had beene contracted before by their embaſſadours, and celebrated by the Pope: Which either of them confirming, they all went vp vnto the altar, where kneeling downe, they aſſiſted at the laſt bleſſing of their mariage. The prayers being ended, they went from the church vnto the palace, where the nuptiall feaſt was made with all the pompe and ſtate that could be deuiſed. Two dayes after the king made three knights of the Golden fleece, which were, the Archduke *Albert*, the Conſtable of Caſtille, and Prince *Doria*. For the ſpace of eight dayes there were all B ſports and ſights that mans wit could inuent. There was a Theatre built, able to containe threeſcore thouſand perſons, fit to behold all kind of ſports, as baiting of the bull, Ioco di Canna, after the African manner, tilts, turneyes, and all other exerciſes wherein the Spaniards delight. 1599

This nuptiall pompe being ended, the king and queene went to Vailledolit, wheras the king ſetled his Court, after the example of *Charles* the fift, his grandfather, and not at Madrid, which, after the death of king *Philip* the ſecond, was abandoned. The king, after his mariage, gaue himſelfe wholly to the exerciſes of peace, and left the managing of affaires to his Councell, retiring himſelfe in a manner from the ſight of all the Grandos of Spaine, being loath to ſee, or to be ſeene of any, but of the marqueſſe of Denia, C whom he made duke of Lerma. Since that this prince tooke the ſcepter in hand, he hath made them change the conceits they had of him, and hath ſhewed more vigour than they did attribute vnto him. That which he wants by reaſon of his youth, abounds in his Councell, to whom he commits the conduct of his Eſtates. A prince muſt be wiſe, or elſe gouerne himſelfe by them that are wiſe. They did not like that he ſhould wholly giue himſelfe to the duke of Lerma. The Grandos of Spaine could not endure this vnequall diſtribution of the kings fauours, vpon one onely obiect, and were grieued, that this common Sunne ſhould haue no light but for two eyes; that this fountaine ſhould haue no water, but to quench one mans thirſt: which made them to grow into great diſcontents, and the rather, for that his wife was made chiefe Ladie of honour D to the queene, wherewith the greateſt houſe in Spaine would haue thought it ſelfe much honoured, being impoſſible that ſo great and ſudden preferments ſhould not be enuied and maligned. Hence grew complaints and murmuring, wherein the beſt wits imploied their tongues and pennes to write freely. This diſcontentment was ſeene in all the ſorts that malecontents could diſcouer it. They made images to ſpeake at the kings comming to the Crowne, and at the entrie which hee made at Madrid, they ſet vp *Iupiters* ſtatue, carrying a globe of the world vpon his ſhoulders, and diſcharging the one halfe vpon king *Philips*, with an inſcription, That the Empire was diuided betwixt *Iupiter* and *Cæſar*: they found in ſtrange caracters, and an vnknowne hand, at the foot of *Iupiters* image, theſe words; *This is the duke of Lerma.* They alſo made *Paſquin* to ſpeake. The king E of Spaine made requeſt vnto the Pope, to grant him the tenthes of the Clergie-liuings, beſides that which his predeceſſors had beene accuſtomed to take: The feare they had the Pope would not grant it, made them to write this on the palace gates at Vailledolit: *An vnkind Pope, an innocent King, and an inſolent Duke.* They made counterfeit letters, both without name and ſubiect, hauing nothing but a ſuperſcription. The king comming one day from walking, he found vpon his table a letter ſealed vp, with this direction: *To king Philip the third of that name, king of Spaine, being now at the ſeruice or deuotion of the duke of Lerma*: The poſt which brought it had not returned without an anſwer, if hee had ſtayed: The king, who knew that there is nothing makes ſuch brutes vaniſh ſooner than contempt, nor that reuiues them more than a feeling and apprehenſion, laught at it, and F turning to the duke of Lerma, ſaid, *See here what they ſay of vs.*

King of Spaine ſettles his Court at Vailledolet.

Fauors of princes full of enuie

Diuiſum Imperium cum Ioue Cæſar habet.

Paſquins.

They ſpake vpon ſtages, and in publicke Scenes. They made a Tragedie at Vailledolit: the actors were the King, the Conſtable of Caſtille, the Duke of Lerma, and the people: The Argument was the complaints and inſolencie of the duke of Lerma: the Cataſtrophe, the duke of Lermas death, who was torne in peeces by the furious multitude.

1599 They made fooles to ſpeake, who are about kings onely to tell truth, and to make wiſe G men, which dare not ſpeake it, to bluſh. A jeaſter paſsing betwixt the king & the duke of Lerma, juſtled him in ſuch ſort as he made the duke to ſtagger, and ſaid vnto him, Stand faſt, for if thou falleſt thou wilt neuer riſe again. The king taking the word, anſwered preſently, We will then fall both together. The Grandes, who ſmiled at the jeaſters ſpeech, were much amazed at the kings anſwer. All Spaine admires his fortune. The moſt happie hold, that who ſo will be fortunat, muſt bee borne vnder the ſame Planet. But no man knowes how long this happineſſe will continue: And in the end the great fauors of princes are prejudiciall and ruinous to their fauourites. One ſayes, That we muſt approach neere vnto kings, as vnto fire, neither ſtanding too farre off, leaſt we take cold, nor appro- H ching too neere, for feare of burning. This fauour is a fire, as it ſhines, it burnes. Courteors flie vnto it, and burne themſelues like Butterflies. Hee is not wiſe that vſeth it as a fountaine, and drinkes as much as he can, for the thirſt that is paſt, for the preſent, and that which is to come: but he is wiſe that drinks of theſe fauors as dogs do of the riuer of Nol, paſsing and running, leaſt they be deuoured of Crocodiles by enuie and jealouſie.

Archdukes paſſe for Flanders.

The Archduke hauing brought the kings wife into Spaine, and receiued the Infanta his wife, to conduct her into Flanders, & to take poſſeſsion with her of thoſe countries, which the king had giuen her in dowrie, hauing taken leaue of the king, queene, and empreſſe, his mother, he took his way towards the ſea, which was ſo fauorable vnto them, as imbarking at Barcelona the ſeuenth of Iune, they arriued in 18 daies at Genoua, where they re- I mained the reſt of that moneth in prince *Doria's* palace. From thence they paſt to Pauia, where the duke of Parma came to ſee them. Then they came to Milan; thither the Pope ſent cardinall *Dieteſtain* to viſit them, who preſented a ſword vnto the Archduke, in his Holineſſe name, and a roſe of gold to the Infanta: and ſo they paſt on their journey through the Griſons countrey.

Treaty at Boullen betwixt the deputies of England and Spaine.

At the concluſion of the peace of Veruins, betwixt the French and the Spaniſh, the queene of England was not comprehended in that treatie. The king of Spaine deſired to enter into a particular treatie with her, the French king being willing to further this good motion, offered the towne of Boullen for their Commiſsioners to meet at: whither they came, but it was of no effect, by reaſon of the precedence, which neither would yeeld to K other: for the Engliſh refuſing to yeeld to the deputies of Spaine, they returned without any fruits of this meeting, neither was there any one of them but thought it vnreaſonable to purchaſe a peace with ſo great a diſaduantage to his maſters ſeruice.

King of Spaine complaines that the French ſerue his enemies.

The king of Spaine being at peace with France, he thought him much wronged, & the the treatie infringed, that the French went to ſerue the vnited Eſtates: wherfore he gaue command- ment to his embaſſador in France, to make complaint vnto the French king, That contrarie to the conditions of the treatie of Veruins, and contrarie to the publike faith, the French went to ſerue prince *Maurice*, and by the fauor of their arms did countenance the vnited prouinces of the Netherlands in their rebellion: that a friendſhip in words without effects, was more prejudiciall, a peace which doth not obſerue the condi- L tions, was more hurtfull vnto him, than the acts of open war. The French king deſiring to obſerue the articles of the treatie ſincerely, & without any juſt exception, diſauowed all his ſubiects which caried armes in that qualitie, cõmanding them to returne home within ſix weeks, vpon paine of confiſcation of body and goods, forbidding all others to goe thither to that intent: yet hee grew jealous, for that there was an armie newly imbarked in Portugal, which made him ſuſpect ſome deſigne either againſt France or England: wherupon he commanded his ſeruants to ſtand vpon their gard.

King of Spaine demaunds the Duke of Sauois children.

This yere the marquiſat of Saluces was in queſtion betwixt the French K. and the duke of Sauoy, who in his proceedings ſeemed ſo diſcontented with the Spaniards, for ſundrie reaſons, and made them ſo jealous of him, as the Councell of Spaine demaunded the M prince his eldeſt ſon, and his eldeſt daughter, vnder a colour of bringing them vp after a royall manner, in the Court of Spaine, whereas they might one day hope to raigne. The duke was much diſcontented herewith, ſeeing that it proceeded rather from ſuſpition than affection; yet by the aduice of his Councell, hee gaue the king of Spaine to vnderſtand, That hee could not lodge his children better, being the true cyment of perfect

A ſect friendſhip, yet he reſolued to ſend one to make his excuſe, pretending, That the eſtate of his affairs would not ſuffer him to ſend them at that inſtant, nor to prouide them a train and things neceſſary for their voyage. But the king of Spaine, to preuent all excuſes, gaue order that money ſhould be prouided at Milan, perſuading the duke to ſend the cont *la Motte* as gouernour to the prince. But hauing the money, he kept his children ſtill, ſaying, That the ayre of Spaine would not agree with his children, and that their indiſpoſition and young yeares, would not ſuffer him to expoſe them to ſo long and daungerous a voyage. At which refuſall the king of Spaine was much diſcontented. 1599

Succeſſe of the Eſtates army at the Canaries.

The Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces not content to make head againſt the forces of
B Spaine within their countrey, they ſent forth a goodlie fleet, in the which were aboue 8000 ſouldiers and mariners, with all other neceſſarie prouiſions for ſuch a preparation. They ſet ſaile on the 25 day of May, hauing for Generall *Peter vander Does*, and went to affront the Spaniards at their owne doores. On the eleuenth of Iune comming neere the Groine, they met with two ſmall boats, which were ſent forth to diſcouer them: in one of them they found a Spaniard, by whom they vnderſtood, that they had beene aduertiſed of their comming vpon that coaſt, where they ſtood vpon their gard, and that in the Groine there were foure thouſand foot, and ſome horſe: which made the Generall (hauing called all the captaines to counſell) to thinke it not expedient to attempt any thing in thoſe parts. Which made them to hoiſe ſails, and to bend their courſe towards Cap S.
C Vincent: ſo paſsing the iſlands of Lancerote, Allegeance, and Forte-auenture, they diſcouered the great iſland of the Canaries, whereas the Generall *vander Does* came with his whole fleet before the towne of Alegoena, the 26 day of Iune, where he caſt anker vnder the great caſtle, which is on the Northweſt part of the towne; and cauſing thoſe ſhips to approach which had the greateſt ordnance, he began in like maner to batter the caſtle of Gratioſa. The Spaniards and iſlanders hauing three peeces of ordnance, reſolued to hinder their landing, after ſome great ſhot from the caſtle, which did much annoy the Hollanders. In the meane time the Generall put part of his armie into boats, to row to land, but not able to come vnto the ſhore, for want of water, he leapt firſt into the ſea vp to the girdle, being followed by all the reſt, who marched reſolutely to land, notwithſtanding all
D the attempts of the Spaniards and iſlanders, who kept their ground, and defended the landing verie valiantly: yet the Hollanders forced them, not without ſome loſſe of their men. At this charge the Spaniards loſt ſome fortie men, before they would quit the place: among others the gouernour (being on horſebacke) had a leg ſhot off with a great peece. The Generall of the Hollanders was hurt in the leg with a pike, and had three light hurts on the bodie, and if one of his ſouldiers had not ſlaine the Spaniard which incountred him, he had beene in daunger of his life. The iſlanders leauing their artillerie fled to the towne with their lame gouernour, and the Hollanders landed at their eaſe. They of the caſtle of Gratioſa ſeeing foure and twentie companies of Hollanders landed, and put in battell, and their colours flying, there came three mariners running from
E towards the caſtle, who told the Generall, That they of the caſtle would yeeld, if they might haue their liues and goods ſaued: whither hee preſently went with ſome captaines, to whoſe mercie the place was yeelded, they leauing their armes, nine peeces of braſſe ordnance, and ſix of yron, with all the prouiſion and munition. There were eight and fiftie priſoners, all the reſt hauing beene ſlaine by the canon, all which he ſent home in a Spaniſh ſhip which the fleet had taken, reſeruing onely three of the chiefe for his better inſtruction.

Caſtle of Gratioſa yeelded to the Hollanders.

The Hollanders meaning the next day to beſiege Alegoena, they were much annoyed by the canon of another caſtle which was neere vnto the towne, ſo as being forced to fetch their canon to batter it, they ſpent foure houres, the great ordnance playing of either
F ſide: in the end they within the caſtle being beaten from their defences, their ordnance diſmounted, and their men ſlaine, the Generall hauing alſo ſet one of the towne gates on fire; which they of the towne, caſtle, and a mountaine which ſhot with ſome great ordnance, ſeeing, they abandoned both towne, caſtle, hill, and artillerie, and fled to rockes and caues in the mountaines, carrying their plate, jewels, and the richeſt of their mouables with them, with their wiues and children.

Towne and caſtle of Alegoena abandoned.

1599 After this the Generall cauſed ſome ladders to bee brought, with the which they entred the towne, finding no oppoſition. His men ran directly to the caſtle, where the Spaniards, at their retreat, had left a mine, with a match burning, the which tooke fire before the Hollanders were entred, ſo as it did them no harme. They found fiue peeces of ordnance in the place, the which, with all the reſt of the bootie which they found, was carried into the Admirals ſhip, as the Eſtates had commaunded. The towne and caſtle being taken, the Generall put his men in battell, as if hee would muſter them, in a plaine within the towne. The ſouldiers brought a Fleſſinguer vnto him, whom they had drawne out of priſon: whereupon the Generall went vnto the priſons, and freed ſome ſix and thirtie perſons, who told him, that the inhabitants flying away, they had carried two priſoners with them, the one an Engliſh man, the other a Dutch, who were condemned by the Inquiſition to bee burnt. Towards night the whole armie was quartered, and lodged within the towne, except ſuch as were appointed to bee in gard towards the mountaines, whereas the iſlanders did ſometimes ſhew themſelues in great troupes. The towne was ſpoyled of all that remained, the beſt beeing carried away; and then the Generall cauſed a proclamation to bee made, That no man ſhould appropriate any goods vnto himſelfe, for ſuch was the will of the Eſtates.

Eſtotes men ſlaine in the mountaines.

On the nine and twentieth of Iune ſome mariners went vp into the mountaines to get ſome bootie, but the iſlanders intercepted them, and ſlue ſome twentie. Towards euening the Generall ſent three hundred men to a ſmall caſtle, halfe a league from the towne, but the garriſon ſeeing them approach abandoned it preſently, and fled to the mountaines; whereas the Eſtates men found three peeces of ordnance, and leauing a ſquadron there, the reſt returned to the towne. The laſt of Iune the Generall commaunded that the wine, oyle, and all other goods, ſhould bee imbarked. The Spaniards that were in the mountaines did often make offer to treat, but the Generall hearing their firſt demaunds, which hee held impertinent, diſmiſt them, and would giue them no more audience. The Hollanders being maſter of the towne, the Generall cauſed the bells, artillerie, munition, and all other commodities which the iſlanders had left behind them, to be ſhipt, and then he ſent two thouſand to charge them that were fled into the mountaines, who at the firſt made head, and fought valiantly; where, although the Spaniards had great aduantage, yet they retired into the mountaines, where the Hollanders not knowing the paſſages, durſt not purſue them, but returned to the towne with the loſſe of ſeuentie men and one ſea captaine.

Alegoena burnt by the Hollanders.

The next day the Generall blew vp the caſtle of the towne, and burnt all the churches and religious houſes, both within and without it: then, being readie to make his retreat, he drew forth his men in battell, and cauſed the towne to be fired: Then they marcht to Gratioſa, ſome halfe mile from the towne (which caſtle they alſo blew vp) where their boats attended them to carrie them aboord. They were no ſooner imbarked, but the iſlanders came running from the mountaines to quench the fire. The Generall being at ſea, hee called all the captaines to councell, asking their aduice what was to bee done, and to informe himſelfe of the ſituation of other iſlands in thoſe parts. At this time there came certaine Spaniards to the ſhore, which deſired a parley. Whereupon the Generall ſent forth a boat to fetch them: Their comming was onely for thoſe priſoners which had beene taken in the caſtle of Gratioſa; whoſe ranſomes being payed, they were let goe.

Gomora taken by the Hollanders.

Leauing this iſland, within few daies after the fleet diſcouered the iſland of Gomora, one of the Canaries, whereas they landed without any reſiſtance, the Spaniards and iſlanders being fled to the mountaines and caues, as they had done from Alegoena. The Hollanders hauing taken Gomora, and ſeeing the iſlanders flie to the mountaines, there were foure companies, which landed firſt, purſued them, to cut off their paſſage: but being ignorant of the paſſages, they were charged by the Spaniards, who ſlue 80 of their men. The Generall hauing cauſed the ordnance, bells, wine, and ſuch other commodities as he found there, to be imbarked, he ſet fire of the towne, which the iſlanders came running downe to quench, as they had done at Alegoena.

Behold

A Behold how theſe two Ilands of the great Canarie and Gomora, which in a hundred yeares had not ſeene any enemies, were ſpoyled and burnt by the States armie, the which diuided it ſelfe into two partsfiue; and twenty ſhips were ſent homeward with the ſpoile they had taken, vnder the command of the Admirall *Iohn Gheerbrantſen*, who arriued ſcatteringly about the middeſt of September. The Generall *Vander Does* bent his courſe with thirty and ſixe ſhips towards the Iland of Saint *Thome*, which is vpon the coaſt of Guinee, directly vnder the Equinoctiall line. This Iland is inhabited with naturall Portugals, and abounds with Sugars, which is their greateſt trade: whereof they became Maſters vpon their firſt approach, without any reſiſtance or loſſe. But the Hollanders B being more accuſtomed to the cold blaſts of the Northerne Region, than to the violent heat of the burning Zone, they were not long Maſters thereof, but there fell a contagious ſickneſſe among them, wherof they died in very great torments. The Generall ſeeing this, cauſed them to imbarke the ſpoile with *Franciſco de Meneſes*, Gouernour of the ſaid Iland, his priſoner: but this infection did not leaue them being at Sea, for they dyed in ſo great numbers, as the Generall *Vander Does*, and all the Captains but two or three, with three parts of the Mariners & Souldiers had no other Sepulchres but the Sea, ſo as they had ſcarce men to gouerne their ſhips, yet in the end they got home ſafely by one and one. 1599

Saint Thome taken by the Hollanders.

In the beginning of this yeare began the Iubile at Rome, which although it doth not C directly concerne this Hiſtorie of Spaine, yet haue I preſumed to make a little digreſſion to relate the maner of this ceremony. This action of Iubile was in old time ſo rare, as few men might ſee it twiſe in their times. *Boniface* 8 ordained firſt of all that it ſhould be celebrated at Rome euerie hundred yeares, and made it to be paſt in forme of a law, which before was done but by deuotion. *Clement* 6 abridged it to fiftie, to reduce it to the prefixed time of the ceremoniall law, which yeare all debts and iniuries were aboliſhed, and the trumpets and cornets did ſound lowder than of cuſtome. *Vrban* 6 had another conſideration: Our Sauiour had liued thirty and three yeres in the world, and therefore he wold that men reuerencing the yeare which fell out at the end of that ſpace, ſhould ſanctifie it with the celebratiõ of the Iubile. *Paul* 2 finding the time yet too long, diuided the hũdred D into foure parts, that as the Buls are proclaimed at the foure corners of Rome, and bind thẽ that pretend to obtaine the pardons which are granted in this reuolution of yeres, to viſit the foure principall Churches, ſo the foure parts of the world ſhould bee inuited to frequent this Iubile, ſo called of the Hebrew word Iobel, which ſignifies a Rammes horne, for that it was publiſhed that yeare by the ſound of the Cornet with reioycing. It doth commonly begin on New yeares eue, with a ſolemne proceſſion, in the which the Pope, the Cardinals, the Embaſſadors of Chriſtian Princes, the Prelates, Clergie and Officers of the citie of Rome, march according to their ranks, with a world of people, vnto the doore called Holy, which finding walled vp, and neuer open but the yeare of Iubile, they put a candle into one of the Popes hands, and a little ſiluer hammer into the other, E with the which hauing ſtrooke thrice vpon the wall, it is preſently beaten downe by men appointed to that purpoſe, whereupon the people carrie away the peeces with great preaſe and deuotion. 1600

Iubile at Rome.

Clement had preſidents for the deferring of this day *Iulio* 3 began his Iubile in the yere 1550, on S. Mathias day, for that the Sea had been void vntill then. The importune paine of the gout ſhold haue made *Clement* delay this ceremony: but the concourſe of people was greater at Rome than had bin in the memory of man: the Pilgrimes were exceeding poore, and a longer ſtay wold haue bin very hurtfull vnto them. Which inuited the Pope not to fruſtrate their expectation: wherefore hee was carried in a chaire according to the cuſtome, and gaue his firſt bleſſing to this worke the firſt day of the yeare.

F The French king hauing long expected reſtitution of the Marquiſate of Saluſſes, which the duke of Sauoy detained from him, or ſome recompence, was forced to ſeek it by arms: whereupon he came in perſon with an army into Sauoy, and tooke the chiefe places of ſtrength. The earle of Fuentes Gouernor of Milan fortified the duke with foure thouſand Spaniards. The Miniſters of Spaine murmured much at the French kings approaching ſo neare Italie, ſaying, that the Marquiſate of Saluſſes was the pretext, but Milan

Spaniard apprehends the French kings taking of Sauoy

or

1601 or Naples was the true cauſe of this warre. Italie was in alarme, who thought that the G
idleneſſe of the French at home would make them trouble their neighbours: The Pope feares that theſe firſt ſparkles will ſet all their neighbours on fire: The duke of Seſſa, king *Philips* embaſſador at Rome preſſes him; hee cries out of the miſeries & calamities which the continuance of this warre would cauſe; hee doth intreat, beſeech, and coniure the Pope to ſend Cardinall *Aldobrandin* his nephew to the moſt Chriſtian king to quench the fire of this great diuiſion, and to exhort them to come vnto the effects of the treatie of Paris: which the Pope did willingly yeeld vnto.

Spaniſh forces keep Chriſtendome in alarme

After an accord made betwixt the French king and the duke of Sauoy, all things ſeemed quiet, but ſuddenly both Italie and France were in alarme, hauing intelligence that H
both the duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, kept their forces together, and increaſed them daily, and that they had ſome great deſigne which could not be yet deſcouered, they threatned many, to ſtrike but one, but no man knew where the chance would fall: that all the Princes of Chriſtendome had cauſe to doubt him, and that the king of Spaine would make himſelfe fearefull by armes in the beginning of his raign: but they knew not whether his deſigne was againſt Aſia, Afrike or Europe. Men ſpake diuerſly of this preparation; In France ſome ſaid that the king of Spaine would reuiue the pretenſions of his Grand-father, *Charles* the fift, againſt the Venetians: others ſaid, and with ſome reaſon, as the iſſue will verifie, that hee threatned to enter the eſtates of the great duke of Tuſcany, with this mightie army, if he deliuered not into his hands that man I
which for ſome yeares had qualified himſelf, D. *Sebaſtian* the true and lawfull king of Portugall, who being baniſhed from Venice vpon this occaſion, had beene ſtaied at Florence as hee paſt, thinking to imbarke at Liuorne to get to Marſeilles, and ſo come vnto the king during the warre of Sauoy. The Venetians gaue order for their Gulphe, and did thinke to demaund *Frances de Bonnes* Lord of Des Digueres from the French king, to be their leader, if they were inuaded; to the end that as France had lately furniſhed the Emperour with a Lieutenant General, and Malta with a great Maſter againſt the Infidels, it might alſo ſupply them with a great Captaine againſt the Spaniards, if hee did attempt to trouble the quiet of their eſtate.

At Rome it was bruted that Geneua was in danger, and that the Marqueſſe of Aix K
was ſent thither to intreate the Pope to bleſſe the enterpriſe, and to fortifie it with his meanes. In England they thought that ſome great men had ſome practiſes in Caſtille; and the yeares following will ſhew that their jealouſie was not vaine. The Flemings ſaid that it was to make king *Philip* to be declared king of Romans: but it were not conuenient to breed new factions among the Princes of Germany, when as the Turke was ſo powerfull in Hungarie.

All theſe erred in their iudgements, time had diſcouered that this great armie which ſo troubled mens affections, was entertained for an enterpriſe which they had vpon Marſeilles, but one of them which ſhould haue deliuered the Towne to the Earle of Fuentes, diſcouered it to the duke of Guiſe, and ſo they were diſappointed. L

Gentleman of Venice executed.

During the ſtay of this army in Italie, a Venetian Gentleman of the houſe of *Donati*, appointed to be gouernour of Creme, was conuicted to haue intelligence with the Spaniard, and publikely executed; hee teſtified that this army had many and diuers deſignes at one inſtant, of the which if any one had ſucceeded, it may be they had not loſt their time and paines at ſea, as they did at land. But ſeeing all their deſignes proue vain both in Italie and Prouence, the army imbarked at Vada, in the State of Genoua, in two troupes, the one vnder the commaund of D. *Iohn Andrew Doria*, and the other vnder *Charles Doria* his Son, and ſo they bent their courſe towards the Turkes, being in all ſeuenty gallies, to the which the Pope, the king of Spaine, the great duke of Tuſcanie, the duke of Sauoy, and the great Maſter of Malta had contributed. The Venetians would not infringe the peace M
they had with the great Turke, and yet they prouided for all things neceſſarie for their defence, both by ſea and land, if any did quarrell with them.

Enterpriſe iuſt but not bleſt of heauen.

The enterpriſe was iuſt and worthy of the firſt ſtratagems of a Prince, who deſires to begin his raigne by ſome worthy act; the opportunity of doing well being ſo fauourable, as if Chriſtendome could haue made her profit by the diuiſion which was then

in

A in *Mahomets* eſtate, by the mutinies of the Ianiſaries, and the reuolts in Aſia, they might in ſhew haue aduanced the accompliſhment of that prophecy, whereof the Turkes doe not ſpeake but with ſighes, That by the common armes of the Chriſtians they ſhall be rooted from the face of the earth. 1601

This armie being imbarked they came, in the beginning of Iuly, to Naples to make prouiſion of great ſtore of armes, and a good number of Petards, which made the world thinke that hee would both arme ſome of the Turkes ſubiects, which were ready to reuolt, and that he had intelligence in ſome place to ſurpriſe it ſuddenly. And for that footmen are alwaies weake if they bee not ſeconded by ſome horſe, they made pro-
B uiſion alſo of fifteene hundred, or two thouſand armors for horſemen.

The Venetians ſeeing them bend their courſe towards Meſſina, entred into new apprehenſions, that if they attempted any thing in Albania they ſhould bee troubled in their gulphe, but being come to Trepany, which is the promontarie of Sicile next to Afrike, they were freed from this feare. Hauing paſt the Ilands of Baleares, they then thought it was for Alger. But *Cigala* of Sicile was come from Conſtantinople with fifty gallies to croſſe his deſignes, and to watch him vpon his retreat, being loth to fight at one inſtant againſt the Chriſtians and againſt the Moores, their ſlaues and rebels; for it was giuen out that the Chriſtian army ſhould be aſſiſted with eight or ten thouſand Moores, and ſome Chriſtians. Wherefore *Cigala* had drawne all them that dwelt along the Sea-
C coaſt, and might fauour this army into the Towne, and did ſhut vp aboue tenne thouſand ſlaues in caues, tyed with double chaines, and ſtraitly garded.

There was great hope of good ſucceſſe of this enterpriſe; and the Spaniards ſaid, that the King would giue good teſtimony of his affection to Chriſtendome. Prince *Doria* the better to fauour this deſigne, had intreated the great Maſter of Malta, in the king of Spaines name, to ſend ſome gallies to ſpoile in the Leuant ſeas, and to make a diuerſion of the Turkes forces, and to aduertiſe him of their courſe. They were verie fortunate in the deſigne, for paſſing into Morea with fiue gallies, *Beauregard* a French knight had commandement to ſet a Petard to the gate of Chaſteauneuf, which the Turkes call Paſſaua, and in the meane time ſome other knights ſhould
D attempt it by Scalado on the other ſide. As nothing is eaſie to cowards, ſo the valiant find nothing difficult: where they entred with ſuch furie, as they forced the ſecond Port, and yet it was valiantly defended by ſeuen or eight hundred Turkes, where they tooke many ſlaues, cloyed their ordnance, ſpoyled and burnt the Town and countrie about it, and returned with ſpeed.

Chaſteauneuf in Morea taken by the knights of Malta.

The Sea armie of Spaine recouered the coaſt of Afrike, but both men at land, and windes at Sea were banded againſt it. God would not bleſſe this enterpriſe although it were iuſt and holie, the reaſons remaine in the Regiſter of his juſtice and infinit wiſdome: againſt the which wee may not murmure, as the Romanes did againſt the conduct and gouernment of their gods, when as they ſaw that *Pompey*,
E doing nothing according vnto juſtice, was fauoured with their aſſiſtence; and when as he fought for their laws and countrie, yea for the gods themſelues, he was moſt vnfortunate. Prince *Doria* ſeeing that both heauen, earth, and ſea did croſſe his deſignes, reſolued to retire and not attempt any thing.

The Prince of *Parma* did ſerue as a voluntarie in this army: who grieuing to ſee this great armie returne without any imployment, deſiring rather to erre in judgement than in the greatneſſe of his courage, told Prince *Doria*, That hee ſhould not ſuffer ſo goodlie an armie to returne without ſome attempt, the which had done nothing but incenſe a mightie enemy, who to bee reuenged of a dead enterpriſe ready for execution, would ſeeke to annoy the king of Spaine in all his eſtates. To
F whome the old man made this preſent anſwere; I know my charge, my head is growne white in learning this experience. Your excellencie is accomptable vnto the king my lord but for your pike onely, and I for a whole army, wherein although I haue beene vnfortunate, yet will I not that other parts belonging to my charge, as courage, authoritie and experience ſhall faile mee, or that any ſhall obiect vnto me that I haue erred therein. A gallant and worthy anſwere, to teach a yong Prince (how great

Prince of Parmas ſpeech to Prince Doria.

" *Prince Dorias anſwere*

1601 great ſoeuer hee bee in an armie) that hee muſt onely ſtudie to obey, and not to G
lead and commaund which was the Generalls charge.

So Prince *Doria* hauing diſcharged his armie went towards Genoua, choſing rather to giue them cauſe to ſpeake diſgracefully of his retreat, than to haue attempted an impoſſible enterpriſe in vaine. The Popes Gallies attended the Prince of Parma at Barcelona, who was gone into Spaine to kiſſe the king of Spaines hands. Thoſe of the great duke of Tuſcany went to Genoua, and from thence to Liuorne.

Moſt of the Souldiers came and lodged in the duchie of Milan, to the vtter ruine of
Policie of the earle of Fuentes. the Countrie. But the Earle of Fuentes, who neuer forceth the people when hee H
can perſuade them, found an inuention to make this burthen ſweet and ſupportable. Hee ſought to drawe their commerce by water from Milan to Pauia, and cauſed them to digge Trenches, to bring the Riuers together which are betwixt thoſe Townes.

The people ſeeing commodities that might well recompence their loſſes with aduantage, ſeaſoned the remembrance of their preſent harme, with the hope of ſo great a good. Many haue attempted the like, but in vaine, who in the end haue beene forced to giue ouer the worke, and to leaue the world as it was made.

The Emperour *Charlemaigne*, ſought to ioyne the Riuer of Rhin to the Danowe,
and the Morelle to the Rhin, to the end the French might traffike by water through- I
out all Europe, and to this end hee cauſed great and deepe Trenches to bee made, but finding lets, not fore-ſeene nor thought off, they remained vnprofitable and filled of themſelues.

And the Earle of Fuentes incounters great difficulties in this deſigne, which did fruſtrate their worke, and renewed the peoples complaints, when as they ſawe themſelues ſurcharged with the ruines of this laſt Ship-wracke, and that the Souldiers which came from the armie of Alger, liued in Lombardie at diſcretion and without diſcretion: wherefore to giue the Millanois ſome eaſe, hee entreated the duke of Sauoy to lodge the Regiment of *Barbo*, in the Marquiſate of Saluſſes, but knowing how difficult a thing it is to make the Spaniard leaue his lodging, he excuſed him- K
ſelfe vpon the ruine and miſerie of his eſtates.

In the end the king of Spaines Commiſſaries caſt thoſe companies of Italians that were in Alexandria, they wrapt vp their colours, diſarmed them, and left
Ten ſhillings ſterling. them in a manner naked, giuing to euerie one but fiue liuers of that Countrie money; the King of Spaine hauing no meanes to doe better, his Treaſure beeing much waſted in the charges of this laſt ſea armie, being alſo to furniſh money for the Suiſſes and Germanes.

This yeare the Queene of Spaine was brought in bed of her firſt Childe, the
Infanta of Spain borne. which although it were a Daughter, yet were the Spaniard as full of ioy as the French were for their new borne Daulphin, ſaying they had rather their Queene L
ſhould beginne with a Daughter than with a Sonne, leaſt they ſhould fall into thoſe difficulties which jealouſie and ambition doe breede, when as the Sonne growes vp ſo ſoone and ſolicits his father to be gone, when as their ages are in a manner confounded, the one being in the flower, the other in the ſeaſon of fruites, the which is fitteſt for gouernement; and that the deſire to ſucceede may not trouble the order of Nature, which makes the one repent that they are fathers, and ſhewes the other vnworthy to be children.

This Daughter was borne on Saint *Maurice* day, the ſecond of September, and was afterwards Chriſtned *Anna Maria Mauricetta*.

Outrage done vnto Rochpot embaſſador in Spaine. There fell out an accident this Summer, which had like to haue drawne the M
two great Monarchs of Chriſtendome into armes. The Maieſtie of kings is ſo intereſſed in the wrong which is done vnto their Embaſſdours, as there is nothing more ſenſible, nor a iuſter ſubiect to quarrell with them that doe the wrong: And this pretext is ſo nice, as the Prince which ſuffers the wrong vnpuniſhed, is no leſſe culpable than they that doe it.

This

A This accident did trouble the mindes of many, and tranſported their imaginations beyond the Pyrenees, if hee who quencht the laſt combuſtions of France, had not ſpeedily caſt water vpon this new fire which began to kindle. A nephew of the earle of Rochepots, embaſſadour in Spaine for the French king, bathing himſelfe at night with ſome other Gentlemen after the manner of the French: certaine Spaniards looking on them, vſed ſome ieſting ſpeeches, which were as ſuddenly anſwered, wherewith the Spaniards being mooued: caſt the French mens clothes into the water, the French attired themſelues with all ſpeed, and from words they fell to ſwords, in which conflict there were ſome Spaniſh Gentlemen ſlaine, and ſome hurt. The B kinſmen of the dead made complaint vnto the king of Spaine, who commanded his officers to doe juſtice as the cauſe required. And they, not remembring that the name of an embaſſador is inuiolable, euen among enemies, forced the doores of his lodging without any reſpect, and drew forth his Nephew, and ſome other Gentlemen to priſon. 1601

The French king, being aduertiſed of this affront, was much offended, and demanded ſatisfaction from the king of Spaine, elſe hee ſhould not take him for his friend, and withall hee called home his embaſſadour, forbidding all his ſubiects to traffike into Spaine and Portugall, vpon paine of corporall puniſhment, and the loſſe of goods, proteſting to bee reuenged if reaſon were not done him by ſome mild courſe: C whereupon hee went preſently towards the fronteers and came to Calais. The iniury done vnto Rochepot, the defence of traffike, and the kings approach, made all men thinke that this goodlie Sunne of peace, which began but to ſpred his beames ouer both realmes, would be ſoone ecclipſed, at the leaſt it would bee ouer-caſt with clouds, from whence would grow many great and ruinous ſtormes. *Traffike forbidden into Spaine*

The Archduke tooke an alarme at the kings approach, being then at the ſeege of Oſtend: wherefore hee ſent the Earle of Sora to beſeech his Majeſtie not to ſuffer his enemies to preuaile againſt him, and preſume to find a ſupport in him, which would be of dangerous conſequence for all other people that would ſhake off the yoake of obedience, and an odious example to princes from whome they ſhould D receiue a law. *Archduke iealous of the French king.*

And for that many thought the king would imbrace this occaſion of the ſeege of Oſtend, whereby it ſeemed he ſhould haue good meanes to enter into Artois, without any oppoſition, he ſent the duke of Eſguillon to aſſure the archduke that he had no other deſigne but to maintaine peace with all his neighbours; that his comming to Calais, was to view and to prouide for that which ſhould bee neceſſarie to aſſure the frontiers againſt all dangers. That he deſired peace, yet would not endure a wrong: And as he did hope, the king of Spain would do him reaſon for the affront done vnto his embaſſador, ſo he would not ſeeke any reuenge vntill it were denied him. But the Pope fearing that this violence offered to the French embaſſador, would not paſſe without ſome E reuenge, and that it might kindle a warre betwixt theſe two great kings, hee ſent into Spaine for the priſoners, the which were ſent vnto him, and hee preſently deliuered them into the hands of *Mounſieur de Bethunes*, embaſſador for the French king at Rome: and ſo the peace was continued. *French king ſends to the Archduke.*

I muſt now make ſome mention of a wonder or miracle in Spain, wherof the Spaniards brag much, but I leaue it to the iudicious Reader to beleeue what he pleaſe: it is a bell in Arragon, which they ſay, doth ſometimes ring without any mans help, and therefore they cal it, The miraculous bell. *Bell in Arragon miraculous.*

Neere vnto the riuer of Ebro, whereas in old time was a colony of Romans, called Curia Celſa, from whence they broght goodly veſſels of Alabaſter, as *Titus Liu-* F *ius* and others doe witneſſe, there is a place, the ruines whereof ſhew that there hath been a great town which is now demanteled, and did ſtretch from Villila vnto a place called Celſa, which keeps ſtil the old name though it bee corrupted.

Neere Villila there is a little hil, on the top wherof there is a little church dedicated to S. *Nicholas*, where among other things there is a ſquare ſtone of alabaſter, very ancient, on the

1601 the which there are many perſonages cut in ſtone, kneeling before a Bell, which hangs G
in a Tower of that ſteeple. But now the Church hath a Tower vnderpropt with three pillers, in the which there hangs two bels, one a little one, which cals the neighbours daily to diuine ſeruice, and the greater is commonly called by them the miraculous Bel, the which is ten ſpannes about, and there is printed on it on two places. The picture of Chriſt crucified, with that of the Virgin Mary and Saint *Iohn*, the one towards the Eaſt and the other towards the Weſt; and in like manner two croſſes, one towards the South, and the other towards the North, and about it there are Letters grauen which containe this Sibilline propheſie: *Chriſtus Rex venit in pace, Deus homo factus eſt.* This bell by ancient tradition, as they affirme, hath often ſounded of it ſelfe, and hath foretold ſtrange H
and vnexpected euents.

This yeare one thouſand ſixe hundred and one, on the thirteenth day of Iune, this bell did ſound without the helpe of man, and without any ſhaking, the knepple ſtriking ſometimes on one ſide alone, and ſometimes on both ſides of the bell; at the firſt it gaue ſixe ſtroakes, then nine, and afterwards twelue, fifteene, and in the end thirty ſtroakes, continuing ſtriking after this manner for the ſpace of two houres; and the greateſt blowes were for the moſt part giuen towards the Eaſt, and towards the South: and diuers daies following it ſtrooke ſundrie times in the preſence of the Curate of the place, and of an infinite number of people, vntill Saturday the ſixeteenth of that moneth: So as the bruit of this noueltie was ſpred ouer the whole Countrie, and in the end it came I
vnto Sarragoſſa the chiefe Towne of the Realme of Arragon, whereas D. *Garcia* of Villiapando, Lord of Quinto and Villila, was at that time, who hearing theſe news went with his wife, and daughters, and many others of good accompt, preſently to Villila, being deſirous to ſee that with their eyes which had beene reported: and for that after their arriuall the bell ſtood ſtill ſome daies, they held themſelues very vnfortunate, that they came not in time, fearing it would ſound no more.

But the next day which was Thurſday, being *Corpus Chriſti* day, about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, when they were ready to goe in proceſſion, it beganne to ſound very lowd, and ſo continued diuers times, vntill the day after Saint *Iohn Baptiſts* day, that it ſtayed for a time, and afterwards as if the clapper had beene K
guided by ones hand, it gaue twenty great ſtroakes towards the Eaſt verie melodiouſly, and ſo it ceaſed.

They ſay that they haue autentike teſtimonies in their Annales, that this bell did ſound of it ſelfe, when as *Alfonſo* the fift, king of Arragon, went into Italie, to take poſſeſſion of the Realme of Naples; and when as the Emperour *Charles* the fift, died: In like maner when as D. *Sebaſtian* king of Portugall went into Afrike; and when as king *Philip* the ſecond was extreamely ſicke at Badajos, at which time his wife Queene *Anne* dyed; from which time vntill now it had neuer ſounded. This Bell did ſound (as I haue ſaid) when as D. *Sebaſtian* went into Afrike, and the Portugals (who alwaies produce ſome Propheſies,) aſſure that this bell did ſound this L
yeare for the returne of their king D. *Sebaſtian*.

D. Sebaſtian king of Portugall.

The accident of a man which termed himſelfe D. *Sebaſtian*, ſometime king of Portugall, is ſo common throughout all Chriſtendome, as there is not any Nation but talkes of him, yet diuerſly: The verification thereof would not onely giue pleaſure and profit, but would rauiſh many of them with admiration, who beleeue him to be ſo, as well as the others, who hold him to bee an Impoſtor, or a Magitian: And with all it might ſerue for an example, as well to thoſe that are now or ſhall come heereafter, in matter of wilfull and malitious incredulitie, as well as in too indiſcreet and light beleefe.

Opinion of the Spaniards of D. Sebaſtian.

The Spaniards in this beleefe are contrarie to the Portugalls, for they hold him M
for an Impoſtor. Some among them ſay, that he is a Calabrois, borne at Tauerne: others maintaine that he is Monke, which had renounced his order: And others hold that it is one *Mark Tulle Catizon*, born in a town of Apulia, & that he hath a wife liuing at Meſſina, being induced by ſome Portugalls enemies to the Spaniards, who by this pre-

text

A text would seeke the deliuerie of the realme of Portugall, which they say, is held by the violence of the Kings of Castille: That it is most certaine the king *D. Sebastian* was slaine at the battell in Afrike: That he being dead, his bodie was knowne and redeemed by king *Philip* the second for a hundred thousand crownes. Others say, that the Moores deliuered it without any money, by reason of the accord made betwixt *Muley Mahut*, and king *Philip*: it is true that king *Philip* did solicite them for it by reason of his pretensions. That hee was honourably interred at Belem by Lisbone. That foure kings, accompting the election of *D. Antonio*, haue raigned since his death. That it is not likely that king *Sebastian* should haue continued two and twentie yeres a prisoner, and a wanderer about the world, and not haue a desire, nor find any means to make himselfe to be knowne for
B him who this Impostor saies he is. Moreouer, the miserable estate wherein this affronter hath long liued among poore people, and in the end was seene in Italie before hee saied who hee was, hauing not written vnto any of the Princes of Christendome. That hee could not answer pertinently to all the demands made vnto him by the Seigniory of Venice, who had deliberately examined him both in prison and at liberty. And that he had not all the markes which the deceased king *D. Sebastian* had. That the king *D. Sebastian* was flaxen haired, and this Impostor is blacke. That he doth not speake good Portugall. That in all Ages there haue beene some seene to resemble one an other in countenaunce, to be of the like stature, and to haue like markes. That it is not now alone that there haue beene such Impostors which said they were the king *D. Sebastian*; yea a Mason borne in
C the Iland of Tercere, was so impudent as to affirme himselfe to be the same, who was followed by some Portugalls armed, and if he had entred into Lisbone on Assention day, as he had resolued, and had written vnto the Gouernour, he had been receiued by all the Portugalls for their king *D. Sebastian*: but others say, that onely some pesants of the countrey followed him, and that he had written vnto the cardinall *Albert* to leaue Portugall; but being taken and knowne for an Impostor, he was hanged. That also in a Prouince of Portugall called Beira, a certain Portugall of base condition maintained himself to be the king *D. Sebastian*: the which was giuen out to be so true, as *Albert* Cardinall of Austria then Viceroy of Portugall, was resolued (as the Portugalls themselues say) to retire himselfe into Castille; yet by the aduice of the fiue Gouernors of Portugall, which go-
D uerned the realme ioyntly with him, he sent to captaine *Gill de Mesa* (who at this day is one of the French Kings chamber) to go and apprehend him with his companie of two hundred men, and to bring him with honour and respect: for if haply hee were the same whom he vaunted himselfe to be, hee would deliuer vp into his hands the sceptet and crowne of the kings of Portugall, with his realmes. *Gill de Mesa* went into the prouince of Beira, and came to the towne of Pena macor, where he tooke him easily, and carried him to Lisbone, who being knowne for an impostor, he was publiquely whipt and sent to the gallies; which Impostor liued of late yeeres, and was called *Sebastian* in derision, who was not hanged notwithstanding, for that in his processe hee was not found charged with any other crimes than with that of his intention: But one who ter-
E med himselfe Bishop of La gard was hanged, for that hee had persuaded this man: And as for the cardinall *Albert*, he would not retire, but whenas the King *D. Antonio* came into Portugall with his sea armie. That there haue not onely beene such Impostors, who termed themselues to be the king *D. Sebastian*; but that lately in Castille, there was a pie baker at Madrigal, who gaue it out secretly, that he was *D Charles* prince of Spain, whom king *Philip* his father had put to death twenty yeeres before, who beeing knowne for an abuser was hanged: Others say, that this pie baker termed himselfe king *Sebastian*, being incited thereunto by *Michel de los Sanctos* an Augustine Frier, Preacher to Queene *Katherine*, who was hanged in his religious habite. That in like maner other ages had
F furnished the like Impostors which had taken vpon them the name of Kings and Princes.

1602

The Portugalls on the other side maintaine, that this is their true king by many and sundry great markes, which he carries like vnto those of the true *Sebastian*, wherein they are the better confirmed, for that the Spaniards (say they) ground onely vpon simple, common, and light presumptions, the which doe in no sort ballance so many marks and reasons

Portugalls opinion touching D. Sebastian.

1601 reaſons which juſtifie this to be the true king: And moreouer, that the Spaniards, who G
ſay that he is a Calabrois, a Monke, or *Marc Tulle Catizon* of Apulia, haue not yet produced any apparent proofes of his life and means whom they call an Impoſtor. The which they may ſo eaſily doe; by the authoritie and abſolute power which they haue in thoſe Prouinces, as the Portugalls doe not receiue their negatiue, but for a meere ſlander: but on the other ſide they repeat the life of *D. Sebaſtian* from his birth, vnto his comming to Saint Lucar of Barameda, with many prophecies, ſignes, and predictions: the which we haue added, that it may ſerue as an example to poſteritie.

Birth of D. Sebaſtian king of Portugall.

D. Sebaſtian (as you haue heard) was the onely ſonne and after-birth of the Prince *D. Iohn* ſonne to the king *D. Iohn* the third, who died yong, leauing D. *Ioane* of Auſtria, princeſſe of Caſtille, and daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fift with child, who was deliuered of D. *Sebaſtian* on Saint *Sebaſtians* day, eighteene dayes after the fathers death, who H
as it ſeemes was in a maner wreſted out of the hands of God, by the great prayers which were made generally throughout the realme of Portugall, to the end the crowne ſhould not be left without lawful heires males in the ſucceſſion of great *Alphonſo* the firſt king of Portugall. They were induced hereunto by the predictions and reuelations which had beene giuen to the ſaid *Alphonſo* the firſt founder of the ſaid realme: by the which it was promiſed them of God, *To warrant his poſteritie in ſuch ſort as it ſhould not faile vpon the earth, yet, at the ſixteenth deſcent from him, it ſhould haue great tribulations and afflictions.*

By this Oracle it appeareth it was ſpoken of his birth, for the which alſo the Portugals I
made ſuch praiers, and ſhewed ſuch deuotion, for that they feared to fall vnder the Spaniards yoake, who are their naturall enemies: either for that the Portugalles had in olde time their beginning from the French, as the name doth ſhew, for that the French comming into thoſe parts did inhabite that countrey, and gaue it their name; or elſe for that the Spaniards beeing enuious of their proſperities, ſeeking alwayes to raigne ouer them, are become their enemies without cauſe.

The king *D. Sebaſtian* being ouerthrowne at the battell of Alcaſerquibir in Afrike, the Spaniards ſay that ſome noblemen of Portugall which followed him, ſeeing all loſt, aduiſed him to retire, but he anſwered that he had rather die, and ſo thruſt into the middeſt of his enemies, where ſome noblemen entred with him, where they beleeue he died, whoſe bodie they ſay was buried at Belem. K

But the Portugalls ſay, that they did neuer beleeue that it was *D. Sebaſtians* bodie, or that he was dead, but that he imbarqued (as you ſhall heare) and that he went into Algarue, and put himſelfe into a monaſterie of Ieronomits, or according vnto ſome, of S. *Francis*, whom they called *los Deſcalgos*, or the bare footed, and there hee cauſed his wounds to bee cured; the which they ſay had beene verified by a ſeruant to Cardinall *Henrie* the Kings vncle, who was a Church man and truſty to his maſter, and brought an Act ſigned by the Gardian and monks of the ſaid monaſtery of Ieronomits: this ſeruants name was *Manuel Antonez*: But cardinall *Henrie*, who was acknowledged king, did not then ſpeake, neither did the ſaid *Manuell Antonez*: the which (as they ſay) was afterwards L
the cauſe of great miſeries in Portugall: for the cardinall dying, notwithſtanding that the Portugalls did after him chooſe D. *Antonio* a prince of Portugall for their lawful king, yet the king of Caſtille ſeazed vpon the Realme, and held it by force. Afterwards the ſaid *Manuel Antonez* reuealed this Act, ſeeing that in the yeere 1598, it was ſaid that *D. Sebaſtian* was recouered; who beeing ſent for by king *Philip*, hee went vnto him, but no man knew what was become of him, ſome ſaid he was dead.

How the Portugalls beleeue that D. Sebaſtian ſaued himſelfe from the battell.

The Portugalls beleeue, that the king *D. Sebaſtian* ſeeing the battel loſt, that hee was in daunger to be taken, but that defending himſelfe valiantly, hee ſlew ſome which ſought to take him, and hid himſelfe amongſt the dead carkaſſes vntill night, at which time hee went towards the ſea, where the reſt of his armie lay in the roade. There hee met with the Duke of Auero *Chriſtopher de Tanora* his great fauourite, the Erle of Redonde, and other noblemen, with whom he imbarqued, and went into Algarue, as you haue heard, ſending his ſhippes away: where hee reſolued with the ſaid noblemen to wander ouer all Europe, Afrike, and Aſia, into Ethiopia to *Prete Ian*, and into Perſia, where he was in battells againſt the Turke, and receiued many wounds. M

Being

A Beeing wearie of running, and tired with the vanitie of the world, hee came vnto an Hermitage, where hee continued vntill hee had viſions and reuelations both to himſelfe, and to an Hermite with whom hee liued: ſo as after many delayes he left him: which was in the yeare 1597. And that being in Sicile he ſent letters into Portugall, by *Marc Tullio Catizoni* a Sicilian, who neuer returned, and was neuer ſeen ſince. That king *Sebaſtian* after hee had attended him long, parted from Sicile, with an intent to manifeſt himſelfe vnto the Pope. But there fell out an other accident, his ſeruants robbed him, and ranne away, ſo as he remained naked and without meanes, being forced to begge vp and downe Italie: and in the end hee came to Venice in Iune 1598, hauing but one gazette, which is not a peny of our Engliſh mony: being there, he got into a Cooks houſe, B and lodged in a poore cockeloft or garret, the Cookes name was *Franciſco*, borne in Cypres, who (being but a poore man and charged with wife and many children) entertained him aſwell as he could, for the vertues and good parts which he ſeemed to haue, being continually at his prayers. 1601

Within few dayes he was diſcouered by the Portugals to be *D. Sebaſtian* king of Portugall, whereupon ſome of them carried him to Padoua, whether it were vpon hope to be aduaunced by him, or otherwiſe, ſo as there was a great bruite of him. The Embaſſador of Spaine made his complaints, and the Seigniorie ſent to the gouernors of Padoua to chaſe away this man, who called himſelfe *D. Sebaſtian* king of Portugall, within 3 daies out of their towne. This ſentence being ſignified vnto him, touched him ſo neere as hee C fell ſicke. Being recouered, he reſolued to go in perſon to Venice to yeeld an accompt of himſelfe. He preſents himſelfe vnto the Senate, relates the hiſtorie of his life, his rout in Afrike, his retreit into Calabria, his reſolution neuer to haue ſhewed himſelfe in anie place of knowledge for the ſhame of his diſgrace, and the puniſhment of his raſhneſſe, if the Spirit of God had not inſpired him with another will, and giuen him a certaine aſſurance to make him known for him that he was borne. He added moreouer, that among all the ſoueraigne Eſtates of Europe, he would not haue recourſe to any, but to the common weale of Venice, to iudge the truth of his condition. And for a proofe, hee remembred vnto them with all circumſtances, the Embaſſadors which they had in former times ſent vnto him, the anſwers and diſpatches which they had brought backe from him, and D the difficulties that were of either ſide. The Senate cauſed their records to be ſearcht, and found them conformable to his words. They queſtioned with him, with great wiſedome and iudgement, of many other matters of importance; whereunto hee anſwered ſo pertinently, as many held him to be the true king D. *Sebaſtian*, and others tooke him to bee a magitian, for that no other but himſelfe could be informed of ſuch ſecret matters, without the ſpirit of *Pithon*.

Then grew there a great rumour in Venice, the people fauoured him with their wiſhes and praiers, euery man deſired to ſee him ſeated againe in his throne. But hee had a violent enemie, the Embaſſadour of Spaine, who maintained for his maſter, that hee was an impoſtor, charging him moreouer, with many horrible and deteſtable crimes (which E beeing prooued could not haue deſerued leſſe than fire) he made himſelfe partie againſt him, and got him to be committed. Being in priſon, the Senat deputed Iudges to make his proceſſe, who vſed all diligence to informe vpon the crimes imputed vnto him by his aduerſe partie, but they found him innocent. They examined him eight and twentie times, at all the which he ſhewed ſuch an vndaunted courage and countenance, as he ſeemed rather capable to iudge the Iudges, than to vndergoe their cenſures. In the end, imagining that their demands were more curious than iuſt, and that they fauoured the greedineſſe of the Spaniard more than the truth of his cauſe, hee would not anſwer any more, but did inſiſt vpon his firſt requeſt, That they would let him be ſeene vnto the Portugals, and to ſuch ſtrangers as had knowne him before he paſt into Afrike, and if he were F a counterfeit, hee was in their hands to doe that iuſtice on him which an impoſtor deſerued.

D. Sebaſtian imprisoned at Venice.

This Seductor (ſaid the Embaſſadour of Spaine) is borne in Apulia, and married at Meſſina, we haue the depoſitions of his wife, that his name *Marco Tullio Catizoni*; that he had beene procured & inſtructed by certain Portugals, enemies to the Eſtate of Spaine,

Reaſons of the Embaſſadors accuſing D. Sebaſtian.

1601 who vnder this pretext would ſtirre vp a rebellion, which they call a deliuerie or reſtoring G
of the realme of Portugall: what Prince of Chriſtendome would deale in the affaires of
this affronter? The qualitie of thoſe perſons whom hee hath followed ſince the time
that he hath wickedly taken vpon him the name of D. *Sebaſtian*, doth it not ſufficiently
prooue that he is a man of a bad life? Hee hath ſome markes which D. *Sebaſtian* had on
his bodie when he liued, but moſt of them are counterfeited by art. The King *Sebaſtian*
was flaxen haired, and this impoſtor is blacke; neither doth he ſpeake good Portugal. By
theſe and many other reaſons he concluded, that the priſoner ſhould vndergoe the ſame
puniſhment which they had ſuffered which were culpable of the ſame crime, during the
raignes of the laſt king and gouernours of Portugall.

Portugals defend him. The Portugals defended him with as great animoſitie as the Spaniards accuſed him H
with paſſion: they maintained that their king D. *Sebaſtian* beeing grieued, that through
the violence of his courage he had made Afrike the ſepulchre of ſo many thouſands of
men, who might haue done more profitable ſeruice vnto Chriſtendome; and beeing a-
ſhamed after ſo great a loſſe, had wandred vp and downe the world, vntill that the diui-
ning prouidence had forced him to manifeſt himſelfe. His aduenture was no ſtranger,
nor more incredible than that of *William* 5 duke of Aquitaine, who hauing maintained the
Antipope *Leon* ſurnamed *Anaclet*, againſt *Innocent* 2, who was lawfull Pope; notwithſtan-
ding that Saint *Bernard* had exhorted him not to countenance a Schiſme in the Church,
againſt the ſeruice of God: the ſaid duke hauing diſplaced the Biſhops of Poictiers and
Lymoges, and aduanced others, of his owne authoritie, beeing toucht with remorce, I
and a deſire of penance, he left his Eſtates, to lead a ſolitarie life like ſome poore man:
with this deſigne he reconciled himſelfe vnto the Pope, and by his aduice went to Ieru-
ſalem, with a Secretarie of his called *Albert*; there he liued nine yeares in great abſtinence.
At his returne to Rome, he thought to haue taken partie in the warres which were then
in Italie, but knowing that this aduice was a temptation of the deuill, he returned to Ieru-
ſalem, and afterwards came backe into Italie, where he built diuers monaſteries, and in the
end died, in the yeare 1154.

If this prince had had a meaning to returne and take poſſeſſion of his Eſtates,
ſhould he haue found the like inhumanitie among the princes and common weales of
Chriſtendome? ſhould he haue had ſuch toyle to verifie the true qualitie of his per- K
ſon? The Portugals did neuer beleeue that their king D. *Sebaſtian* was ſlaine at the Bat-
tell of Alcaſar. If they would haue the people beleeue it, they ſhould haue cauſed his
body to be viewed by ſuch as were intereſſed, and that knew him, for that they had beene
brought vp with him, and the markes which he carries on his perſon: and not to poore
priſoners taken in the warres, to whom vnder promiſe of libertie, they might drawe what
depoſitions they pleaſed. There is nothing more eaſie than to ſuppoſe a bodie, to put it
into a beere, to interre it royally, and to proclaime, This is the body of the deceaſed D.
Sebaſtian king of Portugall.

As for impoſtors which haue qualified themſelues with his name, haue they found a-
ny beleefe, but with the ſimple, and people of no ſort? Haue we not abandoned them as L
ſoone as euer their falſhood was diſcouered? The Maſon of Tercere, was he not han-
ged by a publike conſent? That other raskall of Pegnamacor, who did for a time trou-
ble Cardinall *Albert*, and the fiue gouernours of Portugall, was hee not declared a ſedu-
cer, publikely whipt, and ſent to the galleys.

But what credit may be giuen to the depoſitions of a ſilly woman, who for a peece
of money will ſing any note you pleaſe? wee haue witneſſes to whom ſhee voluntari-
ly declared, that ſhee came to Venice againſt her will: That ſhee is the wife of *Marco*
Tullio Catizoni, but had not ſeene him ſince hee parted, with many letters to goe into
Portugall. Wee knowe moreouer, that hee diſtributed the greateſt part of them, and
that hee died at Lisbone, attending the returne of ſome that were abſent, to deliuer them M
to their owne hands. The king D. *Sebaſtian* had during his raigne more intelligence
with this Seigniorie, than with all the other Eſtates of Chriſtendome: and therefore
had rather addreſſe himſelfe vnto them to bee relieued in the iuſtice of his cauſe. The
afflictions and miſeries which haue oppreſt him ſince hee began to diſcouer himſelfe,

haue

A haue forced him to accept of that which is allowed the moſt infortunate in a ſtrange coun- 1602
trey: to receiue courteſies, and to bind himſelfe indifferently to all men for their good deeds. They haue examined his life exactly, and theirs whom he hath frequented: could they conuict him of any crime? of any vice? if it bee not a crime or vice to ſpend many daies of the weeke in faſting with bread and water, in continuall prayers, and in giuing vnto the poore the remainder of the almes which had beene giuen him. The Spaniards which ſay that he is a Calabrois, a Monke which hath quit his Order, and which call him *Marco Tullio Catizoni*, ſhould they not rather deſire that he ſhould be brought forth vnto vs, to examine him, to ſee him, to heare him, and to know him? If hee bee a ſeducer,
B and if we be impoſtors, what meanes ſhall wee haue with him to auoyd the puniſhment which the Lawes inflict in ſuch caſes? Wee know the markes and characters which Nature, not without ſome great miſterie, hath ſet vpon the bodie of the king D. *Sebaſtian*; Let vs ſee this priſoner, if he carries them, it is a great preſumption for many other ſignes which we haue: if there be art, we wil be the firſt that ſhal crie out againſt the abuſer. And vntill this be done we cannot take the Spaniards negatiue, who are the vſurpers of Portugall, but for a meere ſlander.

If the king Don *Sebaſtian* hath changed the colour of his haire ſince his youth, what maruaile is it? Is it not ordinarie, that a flaxen haire turnes blacke with age? But moreouer, doe not wee know, that if any one that is as white as ſnowe, paſſe the
C Equinoctiall line, if he make a voyage to Guimey, to Saint Thome, or to ſome other part of Ethiopia; if hee ſtay ſome yeares in Barbarie, hee will become blacke as pitch, and the whiter a man is, the ſooner he growes blacke. Wee haue a familiar example in the perſon of Don *Chriſtopher* Prince of Portugall: From his youth vntill the age of eighteene, that hee paſt out of England into Barbarie, wee haue ſeene him white as milke, faire, and of a cleere complexion; but hauing liued at Marroc little aboue three yeares, hee grewe ſo blacke, as at his returne we did not know him. Hee is yet liuing, and no whiter than when hee returned out of Barbarie. If little aboue three yeares had ſuch power to breed ſo ſtrange an alteration in Don *Chriſtopher*, what might aboue twentie yeares doe in the king Don *Sebaſtian*? Neither may we find it
D ſtrange, if conuerſing with ſo many Nations, differing in language, he hath forgotten ſomething of the true and naturall pronunciation of ours. Thus our enemies grounding onely vpon ſimple and light preſumptions, cannot ouerthrowe ſo many certaine markes and reaſons which iuſtifie this man to bee the true and lawfull Don *Sebaſtian* king of Portugall.

The Venetians would gladly their priſoner were gone to ſeeke juſtice elſewhere, for they found no lawfull ſubiect to condemne him, and they could not openly giue him meanes to eſcape, but they muſt incenſe the king of Spaine. The greateſt part of their Senat found great likelihoods that he ſhould be the ſame, others knew not what to ſay, neither durſt they intreat him as a king. They therefore gaue the Portugals to vn-
E derſtand by the Archbiſhop of Spalato, who knew him particularly, and had kept him ſometime in his houſe, That they ſhould bring vnto them the true and naturall markes of the king Don *Sebaſtian* well verified, without the which they might not ſee him; for that hauing ſo great a deſire to free themſelues from the Caſtillans commaund, if need were they would maintaine a Negro to be the king Don *Sebaſtian*.

Venetians demand an atteſtation of the Portugals.

Doctor *Sampayo* a Iacobin goes to Lisbone, from whence he returnes to Venice with a Chanon, and brings an inſtrument made by an Apoſtolike Notarie, containing all the markes teſtified by many others, and beſeecheth the Seigniorie to confront them, and to vnderſtand the truth. They anſwered, that the reaſon of Eſtate did not allow them to enquire whether he were a king, or not, vnleſſe they were required in his
F fauour by the kings and princes of Chriſtendom. After this the Portugals went to begge fauour in France, Germanie, England, with the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, and elſe-where. In the end Don *Chriſtopher* younger ſonne to the deceaſed Don *Antonio* king of Portugal by Election, who died at Paris, beeing come to Venice with letters from the Eſtates and prince *Maurice*, obtained audience, and deliuered that which hee pretended in writing. The Counſell aſſembled foure ſeuerall daies for the priſoners af-

1601 faires, and concluſions beeing taken the 16 of December, 1600, he was called vnto the G
Senat at ten of the clocke at night, where there did aſſiſt aboue 200 of the chiefe men of
that State; where the ſame iniunction which had beene made vnto him by the Pode-
ſta of Padoua, in the yeare 1598, was againe intimated vnto him by foure Deputies
of the Seigniorie, all ſtanding vp bare headed, with great reſpect: where they pronoun-
ced this ſentence vnto him, and he ſtill couered, if we ſhall beleeue the Portugals.

Going forth of the Senat many preſented themſelues to accompanie him to his lodg-
ing, but he would not ſuffer them. The Portugals which were at Venice, *D. Chriſtopher,*
D. Iohn de Caſtro, Diego Manuel, Roderigo Marques, Sebaſtian Figueyra, Franciſco Antonio,
Sampayo and *Chryſoſtome* Monkes, with many others, whereof ſome had ſeene him often H
in Portugal, and ſince in Barbarie after the defeat, proteſt that at the firſt ſight of him they
were much amazed, for that they ſaw him differ ſo much in age and haire; but hauing
well obſerued his countenance, his forehead, his eies, his noſe, his lippe of Auſtria, that is
to ſay, greater than the ordinarie, the which moſt of the Princes of that houſe haue (from
whence he was deſcended by his grandmother *Catherine*, ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles*
the fift, and by his mother *Ioane* daughter to the ſaid Emperour) his ſtature, his ſpeech, his
writing, all the viſible markes of his bodie, whereby they did know him infallibly; the left
parts, as his arme, hand, leg, and foot, ſhorter than the right; his wart vpon the little toe
of the right foot, which was almoſt like vnto a ſixt toe, the moles of his face and hands,
his hurt vpon his right brow & head, the place where he wanted a tooth in his right jawe I
beneath, the which *Sebaſtian Nero* his Chirurgion had once pulled out: all which markes,
with many other, did rauiſh them with wonderful admiration, & forced them to confeſſe
that he was their true & naturall king, who was miraculouſly preſerued for the reſtoring
of Portugal, and for the benefit of Chriſtendome, and they liue yet in this expectation.

Sampayo a Doctor and profeſſour of Diuinitie at Tolouſa, and a Iacobin by profeſſion,
to giue an indubitable beleeſe to this new manifeſtation, and to make the world thinke
that it were Atheiſme not to beleeue it, writing to Paris, preſumed to deliuer theſe
words: I aſſure you that Ieſus Chriſt is no more the ſonne of the true and eternall God,
Preſumption of Doctor Sampayo. whom I call to witneſſe, than this is *D. Sebaſtian* our true and naturall king and Lord. A
bold ſpeech, although it were an vndoubted truth, confeſt by all the world; the compari- K
ſon is vnlawfull, the which I doubt cannot be made without blaſphemie, ſeeing there is
no proportion betwixt the Creator and the Creature.

Beeing at libertie, the Portugals which were at Venice beſought him to ſpeake vnto
them, to the end they might ſee if his ſpeech would giue them as much knowledge of his
qualitie as his countenance had done, not being able to iudge of the inward man by the
outward parts: wherupon he ſpake vnto them after the Portugal manner, proudly & roy-
ally, telling thē what he was, & what his life had bin ſince his ouerthrow in Afrike, which
forced teares from him in ſpeaking, and from them in hearing. Being thus reſolued, they
were much troubled how they ſhould ſaue him from the ambuſhes of the Spaniards, for
they were aduertiſed that the Embaſſadour of Caſtille laid wait for him at euery paſſage. L
The duke of Sauoy & the Earle of Fuentes had the like charge. The Archbiſhop of Spa-
lato offred to conduct him ſafely in his Caroche vnto the frontiers of Germany, but they
would not truſt him, & yet they knew not what to reſolue: ſome would carry him to Li-
ons, where they treated of a peace with the duke of Sauoy: whereas when they ſaw any
troup of horſe a far off, they ran to meet them, with acclamations, hoping to ſee *D. Sebaſti-*
an king of Portugal, & thereupon built goodly caſtles in Spaine. Others deſired he ſhould
rather paſſe by Florence, to imbarke at Liuorne, & ſo get to Marſeilles. But as euery one
in particular ſought to haue the honour to preſerue the king, their obſtinate diſagree-
ment ſpoiled all. They made choice of the worſt, & followed the aduice of *Sampayo*, who
was a turbulent & cholericke man: they attire him like a monke of the Order of S. *Domi-* M
nike, & imbarke him in a gondole in the night, from whence he goes to Padoua: there he
D. Sebaſtian ſtaied priſoner at Florence. changed his habit for a cloake and a rapier, & ſo went to Florence, whereas the duke cau-
ſed him to be ſtayed, by the aduice of the Archbiſhop of Piſa, where he kept him vntil the
23 of Aprill.

The king of Spaine beeing aduertiſed that hee was at Florence, preſt the great duke

A to deliuer him vnto the Viceroy of Naples, and to his entreaties he addes threats. But why ſhould he deliuer him, ſeeing that the Venetians ſeeme rather by their ſentence to giue their priſoner means to ſeeke juſtice elſewhere, than to take knowledge of his cauſe? Shall he violate the law of nations, in deliuering him that truſted vnto his protection? Being thus in ſuſpence betwixt the feare of threats, and the reaſon of deniall, they repreſent vnto him a great armie, at the king of Spaines deuotion, the which affrights all Italie, and threatens his eſtates. He deſires rather to auoid the ſtorme, than to incenſe a mightie Prince, and to draw a warre vpon him, the end whereof muſt needs be ruinous. Whereupon he ſent him to Orbitello, where ſome, appointed by the Viceroy, receiued him, and conducted him ſafely to Naples. 1601

King of Spaine demands D. Sebaſtian.

He is deliuered to the Viceroy of Naples.

B Seeing himſelfe in the Caſtillans power, and that he had nothing free but theayre and his tongue, he poured forth all that might be ſpoken againſt one that may be taxed of treaſon, inhoſpitalitie, and treacherie, as the violence of choler thruſt him on to ſtrange imprecations againſt them that do ſo deliuer vp the poore, vnjuſtly afflicted, which commit themſelues to the ſafegard of another. Notwithſtanding theſe violent humors, he preſented himſelfe before the earle of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples, with as ſetled a countenance as he had done to the Senat of Venice, and the great Duke; yea (the Portugals ſay) with as great majeſtie, as if he had beene ſitting in his royall throne at Lisbone: For at his comming in, to a great hall, ſeeing the Viceroy bare headed, whether it were to reſpect the title of a king, which he did attribute vnto himſelfe, or by reaſon of the heat, *Co-*
C *uer you Earle of Lemos*, ſaid he, with ſuch a hardie grauitie, as it amazed the whole companie. The Viceroy demanded of him, *Whence comes this authoritie to commaund me?* To whom he anſwered, *It is borne with me. You ſeeme not to know me, I know who you are: doe you not remember that the deceaſed king* Philip *mine vncle ſent you twice vnto me when I raigned in Portugall?* Declaring vnto him euery particular ſo preciſely, as it bred ſome ſcruple in the minds of the hearers, and did much diſtemper the Viceroyes thoughts: who dying ſome moneths after, charged his ſonne and ſucceſſor to carrie himſelfe diſcreetly and moderatly to this priſoner, as indeed he had intreated him (as the Portugals ſay) with little rigour and much courteſie. But this new keeper, whether that he had a contrarie commaundement from his Soueraigne, or to inſinuate more into his fauor, or elſe fearing the corrup-
D tion of ſome Portugals, who followed him a farre off, to ſee his ſucceſſe, he reſtrained his priſoner, and doubled his gards, giuing him no more libertie than to many others, to goe out on Sundayes and feſtiuall daies to heare Maſſe in a chappell within the caſtle. Yet the Viceroy, who would not publikely ſeeme to conſent to the affliction of this vnfortunate man, diſpenſed with himſelfe to call him Impoſtor: who finding himſelfe much toucht with this reproch, fell to thoſe armes which his condition did furniſh him, which were as bitter words as might be giuen to any one that would not reſpect his qualitie. Theſe violent words did not free him from a hard priſon in the caſtle d'Ouo, in the which he did not find any thing (according to the report of the Portugals) but a cord, and a long knife, fit inſtruments for ſome deſperat malefactor, who would free himſelfe from ſome exempla-
E rie puniſhment. There he continued three daies without bread, wine, water, or bed. On the fourth the Auditor generall being followed by two Regiſters, came to viſit him, and finding him ſafe and well (for there was no great likelyhood that with ſuch cruell vſage he ſhould ſeeke to prolong his life, eſpecially hauing ſuch fit inſtruments to end his miſeries, and to free himſelfe from a more ſenſible ignominie before men) he ſaid vnto him, That if he did not forbeare to ſay and maintaine himſelfe to be *D. Sebaſtian* king of Portugall, they had not any thing to ſuſtaine his hunger nor thirſt, nor to giue him reſt. *Doe what you pleaſe*, ſaid the priſoner, *for I am* D. Sebaſtian, *the true king of Portugall, and no other. God forbid that I ſhould fall into ſo great a miſchiefe, and ſo contrarie to my ſoules*
F *health, that for feare of men I ſhould denie the truth, and confeſſe that which is not. I am that* D. Sebaſtian *king of Portugall, who in the yeare* 1578 *paſt into Africke againſt the Infidels: he who to augment the number and power of Chriſtians, put his life in hazard: that vnfortunat man who for his ſinnes loſt a battell, which was the cauſe of ſo great alterations in Chriſtendome. This is the very truth, and I can ſay no other.*

D. Sebaſtian in the caſtle d'Ouo.

The

1601 The Auditor and the Regiſters departed with this anſwere: from which time they G
gaue him bread and water for his diet; but ſome dayes after he had fiue crownes a
moneth giuen him, and a man to ſerue him, without any further proceeding in his
cauſe, vntill the ſeuenteenth of Aprill 1602. Vpon which day the Viceroy ſent to
know if he perſiſted in his firſt depoſition, and that he ſhould be now well aduiſed to
anſwere pertinently. This is not (ſaid he) the right courſe they ſhould take to exa-
mine and judge my proceſſe: preſent me vnto the Portugals, who haue bred me, knowne
me, and ſerued me; vpon whoſe ſaying and teſtimonie the whole proſe and verifica-
tion of my cauſe doth depend. If I ſhould liue a thouſand yeares, yea more, I would
neuer anſwere otherwiſe. If you be reſolued to put me to death without any other
proſe, I take God for my onely judge, who knowes the truth of my cauſe. I am H
D. Sebaſtian the true king of Portugall: you may now deale with me as you haue
heretofore pretended. After which he diſpoſed himſelfe to die, made a generall
confeſſion, and receiued the Sacrament, ſtill maintaining, that he was as he had
ſaid.

Whileſt that he attended the houre of his death, they ſent againe vnto him to make
his laſt anſwere; that is to ſay, he ſhould ſing a new ſong, and recant the former: but
he made the ſame anſwere: And vpon this laſt anſwere he was at the inſtance of the
Caſtillans exorciſed by the Biſhop of Rhegium, as a Magitian, for that he had anſwe-
red very pertinently to all they had demaunded of him. During which action hee
ſhewed vnto the Biſhop with a cheerefull countenance a Crucifix, which he carried at I
his breaſt: *Behold* (ſaid he) *the Image of the Maſter in whom I truſt, and for whom I would
die.* Wherewith the Biſhop went away, confounded with his conjurations, as ſome
report, who ſay they were then preſent. After which he was ſet vpon an Aſſe, the laſt
D. Sebaſtian led ignominiouſly through the ſtreets. day of Aprill, and carried publikely through the ſtreets, hauing three trumpets go-
ing before him, and proclayming his ſentence, by the which he was condemned to be
led ignominiouſly through the ſtreets of Naples, and then put into the galleyes, for
that he had called himſelfe *D. Sebaſtian* king of Portugall, being but a Calabrois. At
this crie when he pronounced this word King, he anſwered with a loud voice, *So am I*;
and when he added, being but a Calabrois, he ſaid, *That is falſe*. Neither did any of the
officers or people hinder him, or once moue: Euerie man heard him with admiration K
crying at the corners of the ſtreets: *I am in my enemies hands, let them doe with my bodie
what they pleaſe, I recommend my ſoule vnto God, who hath created it, and knowes the truth,
that I am as I ſay.*

He is put into a Galley. Hauing thus led him through the citie, they put him into the royall Galley, where
they attired him like a ſlaue, and cut off the haire both of his head and beard, which
ſome gathered vp, either through reuerence or ſuperſtition, as a matter of great eſteeme,
and then they faſtened him to the chaine, yet aduiſing them that they ſhould not force
him to rowe.

The galleyes paſſing from Naples to Barcelona, arriued in Auguſt 1602, at the
port of S. Lucar of Barameda, whereas the Duke of Medina Sydonia and his wife L
His diſcourſe with the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Ducheſſe. were deſirous to ſee him: who hauing deuiſed long with him, he demaunded of the
Duke if he had the ſword which he had ginen him, when he imbarked to goe into
Barbarie. The Duke anſwered, It is true Don *Sebaſtian* king of Portugall preſen-
ted me with a ſword, which I keepe among others. Seeing you haue it yet, ſaid the
Gallerien, I pray you let me ſee it: for although it be foure and twentie yeares
ſince I gaue it you, yet will I know it. Whereupon the Duke cauſed a dozen
to be brought, but it being not among them, he ſent for others. The Gallerian ſee-
ing it in the bringers hand: behold (ſaid he vnto the Duke) the ſword which I gaue
you when as I vndertooke my voyage into Afrike. Then, turning vnto the Du- M
cheſſe, who was *Anna de Silua*, daughter to the prince of Eboli; Couſin, ſaid
he (after that he had told her what ſecrets had paſſed betwixt them when he tooke
his leaue of her at Cadis) I remember that I gaue you a jewell, haue you it al-
ſo? The Ducheſſe made the like anſwere vnto the Duke her husband, That

the

A the king *D. Sebaſtian* had giuen her a jewell: he then replyed, Shew it me; I ſhall know it well, and ſhall tell you of a ſecret which it may be you know not: then hauing choſen it out from among many, he ſaid vnto her, That to proue his ſaying true, ſhe ſhould cauſe the ſtone to be taken out, vnder which ſhe ſhould find his name and cypher grauen. There was a Negro in the Ducheſſe companie, whom he knew, ſaying, that ſhe had ſerued him for the waſhing of his linnen, when he raigned in Portugall. The Duke and Ducheſſe ſeeing theſe apparent things, and ſo conformable to truth, went away with heauie countenances, and as it were weeping for compaſſion to ſee this miſerable prince in ſo wretched an eſtate. Many old Portugals ſaw him, knew him, and did aduow him to be the true *D. Sebaſtian*, king of Portugall. Finally, the Portugals (if 1601

B wee may beleeue them) report ſo many particularities touching this man, as it would require a whole volume to relate them all: adding, that they that haue ſeene him, and knowne him, haue giuen this teſtimonie, that he is the ſame, or a deuill incarnate.

Predictions alledged by the Portugals in ſtaun of D. Sebaſtian.

But beſides theſe probabilities, which they take for truth, they arme themſelues with certaine predictions or prophecies, which they ſay muſt needs haue relation to the aduentures of this poore *Gallerien*, whom they maintaine with an obſtinate conſtancie to be their lawfull king. S. *Iſodore*, ſonne to *Seuerian*, the ſonne of *Thierry*, king of the Eaſt Gothes, and of Italie, did leaue in writing aboue a thouſand yeares ſince, *That a hidden king, twice giuen by prayers and deuotions, ſhall come into Spaine vpon a*

C *horſe of wood, whom many ſeeing, ſhall not beleeue that it is he, &c.* And for the vnderſtanding of this prophecie, which they attribute particularly vnto king *D. Sebaſtian*, they ſay, that he was twice giuen; firſt, by the interceſſion of the people of Portugall for his birth, when they ſaw his father die, leauing no other iſſue but what might be hoped for from a woman with child: the ſecond by the acknowledgement they haue made of him at Venice, after that he had wandered twentie yeares vnknowne throughout the world: That the woodden horſe is the galley vpon the which he came from Naples into Spaine.

Sampayo ſweares, that he found this other prophecie at S. *Victors* Librarie at Paris: *That the king* D. Sebaſtian *ſhall goe out of Naples vpon a horſe of wood: that out of the Me-*

D *diterranean ſea he ſhall enter into the Ocean, and that his horſe ſhall ſtay at S.* Lucar *of Barameda.* The which is accompliſhed, when as the galley paſſing from Naples to Barcelona, entred into the Ocean ſea.

This other was found in a Caſtillan Author, in his language: *The vnknowne ſhall come, yea without doubt he ſhall come: he ſhall enter into the garden by the gate which is moſt on this ſide the wall: and that which ſeemes obſcure, ſhall be ſeene clearely and plainely.* By this garden they vnderſtand the countrey which is on this ſide Mont Calpe vnto the riuer of Guadalquibir, which they call the garden of Spaine, for that it is pleaſant and fruitfull: the wall is Cadiz, the gate S. Lucar of Barameda.

That the labourers of Portugall did hold for a moſt auncient tradition, That a

E time will come, when as a King, whoſe name ſhall be as *Beſtia*, ſhall vaniſh out of ſight, and that after he and his realme haue ſuffered many great afflictions and miſeries, the ſame king, whom all the world held for dead, ſhall riſe againe, and recouer his throne with incredible proſperitie. Which they ſay muſt needs be applyed to their king *D. Sebaſtian*, for that the peaſants in Portugall, in ſtead of *Sebaſtian*, ſay *Beſtiam.*

And as they hold theſe predictions to be accompliſhed in the perſon of this priſoner, ſo it is not poſſible to root out this beleefe, That he is the true and naturall *D. Sebaſtian*, king of Portugall. *Sampayo* after he had proclaimed this miraculous aduenture ouer all Chriſtendome, and runne into a thouſand dangers for his ſake, he went a-

F gaine into Portugall with Frier *Bonauenture*, a Franciſcan: where publiſhing this opinion as a moſt certaine truth, they bred ſuch a mutinie among the people, as they were ready to make a generall reuolt, if they had found any aſſiſtance with ſtrangers: but being in the end diſcouered at S. Lucar, they were degraded of their Orders, and hanged at Lisbone, with horrible torments; the which notwithſtanding could not ſtop their mouthes,

Sampayo and Bonauenture hung for this Gallerien.

but

1601 but they tooke earth, heauen, and all heauenly creatures, yea and God himſelfe, to G
whom the moſt hidden ſecrets are knowne, to witneſſe of their innocencies and words,
the which they maintained vnto the laſt gaſpe to be as true as the Goſpel; ſo as through
compaſſion of their cruell tortures, and the firme beleefe which they had ſetled in the
hearts of their countrimen, they drew many thouſands into danger. Some retired them-
ſelues vnto their friends, to eſcape the ſearch which was made for the adherents of this
noueltie: ſome got them away diſguiſed, and eſcaped into diuers prouinces here and
there. Some comming to Paris preſented a petition vnto the king in the name of the
Portugals oppreſſed by the tyrannie of the Caſtillan, beſeeching his Maieſtie to ſuccour
them onely with two thouſand men, commaunded by a Prince, or ſome great man of
Fraunce, ſuch as he ſhould pleaſe to name, and ſome ſtore of armes to diſperſe among H
the people at their arriuall, beeing aſſured (ſaid they) of money for their entertainment,
and other munition of warre both by ſea and land, which the Queene of England and the
Eſtates ſhould furniſh them, to reſtore their lawfull king, and free them from the com-
mand of ſtrangers. Moreouer, they gaue hope, in caſe they might recouer their king D.
Sebaſtian, vniuſtly detained priſoner, whenas they ſhould cauſe him to be duely acknow-
ledged, and reſtore vnto him his inheritance, to marrie the duke of Vendoſme with the
daughter of D. *Catherina* ducheſſe of Bragance, who had right to the ſucceſſion of the
realme of Portugal, and to crowne him king of Portugal, if it ſhould ſo pleaſe the moſt
Chriſtian king his naturall father. But God hath not bleſt the voyages made into Por-
tugal, with a deſigne to drawe it from the Spaniard, who hath enioyed it quietly for ma-
ny yeares; and a wiſe man will not prouoke the wrath of a mightie prince, by drawing I
him into warre, the end whereof muſt needs be doubtfull and ruinous.

The Spaniard conſidering the attempts of the Portugals, who would willingly trou-
ble heauen, earth, yea and hell it ſelfe, to free themſelues from his ſubiection, hee cauſed
their pretended king to be taken out of the royall galley of Naples, and to be brought to
Seuile in the galley of D. *Pedro de Toledo* the Generall, there to be more ſafely kept. But
afterwards, to take all knowledge from the world, hee cauſed him to be ſhut vp in the ca-
Gallerien put in the Caſtle of S. Lucar. ſtle of S. Lucar. The Portugals hope that hee ſhall come forth in deſpight of all his ene-
mies, and fulfill all the prophecies that are made of him, and recouer poſſeſſion of his
realmes. It is in the power of the king of Spaine, but it is not likely that hee will ſeeke K
to verifie the qualitie of this perſon by any other meanes: for if hee cauſeth him to bee
declared an impoſtor, and to be puniſhed, the Portugals who had procured him to main-
Policie of the Counſel of Spaine. taine himſelfe to be their king, might hereafter ſuborne another to the ſame end; where-
as ſo long as they ſhall beleeue this man is aliue, they will not attempt any thing in fa-
uour of another, and this man beeing detained perpetually in priſon, or in the galleys,
ſhall daily feele the paines of death, without dying. And if he were duely proued to be
ſuch as he qualifies himſelfe, reaſon and equitie would require that he ſhould bee reſto-
red to the iuſt and lawfull poſſeſſion of his Eſtates, which is the faireſt roſe of the Spani-
ards girland, and the rareſt pearle of his cabinet.

Whatſoeuer hee bee, *Donatus* and *Delphinus* Procurators of Saint *Marc* at Ve- L
nice, beeing ſent to congratulate the French kings victories, and his mariage, they
were demanded by the Prince of Conde, what iudgement the ſeigniorie of Venice
made of him who called himſelfe king of Portugall; to whom they made no other an-
ſwer, but that the State had done what it might in his cauſe, and that he had beene ill
counſelled and conducted.

Spaniards ſent into Ireland. This yeare the Queene of England was much troubled with her rebels in Ire-
land, by reaſon of the aide and ſupport they receiued from Spaine: the king ſending
D. *Iohn d'Aguilar* vnto them, with aboue two thouſand old ſouldiers in ſixe ſhips: they
came to Caſtel-hauen, Baltemoore, and Beer-hauen, all three important places, here M
they landed their men, with an intent to fortifie them, beeing then about the end of Sep-
tember. Sir *Richard Leuiſon*, who was Admiral of ſome of the Queens ſhips, lying then in
the hauen of Kinſale, & hearing of the Spaniards comming into the aboue named ports,
he drew forth his ſhips both againſt wind and weather, & went & fought with the Spani-
ards within Caſtel-hauen, where he did ſo batter them, as he made 5 of their 6 ſhippes vn-

ſeruiceable,

A ſeruiceable, moſt of their men were landed before he came, by reaſon of the weather, who played dangerouſly vpon him with their ordnance from the land, whereof they were wel furniſhed with great ſtore of munition. Preſently after, D. *John d'Aguilar* put himſelfe into Kinſale with moſt of his Spaniards, where he fortified himſelfe: whither in October after, the Lord *Montioy*, Lord Deputie of Ireland, and Generall of her Maieſties forces in that kingdome, came with an armie to beſiege him; the which continued long, in a very vnſeaſonable time, and was in ſhew very dangerous for the Engliſh: for they within the towne were for the moſt part old ſouldiers, well armed, and in no want, as was ſuppoſed, and without the rebels were all in armes, and had drawne their forces together, which were the greateſt that euer had bin ſeene together in Ireland, being ſixe thouſand
B foot (whereof there were ſixe companies of the new arriued Spaniards) and fiue hundred horſe, and began to march towards Kinſale, with an aſſured hope to releeue the towne, raiſe the ſiege, and defeat the Engliſh, if they of the towne did ſallie forth when as *Tyrone* and *Odonell* ſhould giue charge vnto the campe: they had great reaſon to hope for good ſucceſſe, for the Engliſh were ſcarce ſo many in number, all in a manner tyred with the miſeries of a long winters ſiege, their horſes weake and decaied, and likely to want victuals. Notwithſtanding, continuing their approaches ſtill towards the towne, as if they regarded not the rebels, on the twentieth of December at night, the Lord Deputie had intelligence that *Tyrone* and the rebels would campe the next night within a mile and a halfe of them, with all their forces; and ſo on the 21 day at night he ſhewed himſelfe, with
C moſt of his horſe and foot, vpon the toppe of a hill, within a mile of the Engliſh campe. I muſt craue pardon if I make a relation of this battell, and the ouerthrowe of the rebels armie in this hiſtorie of Spaine, both for that they were then releiued by the king of Spaine, with money, men, and munition, and ſupported in their rebellion; and alſo for that the yeelding vp of Kinſale by the Spaniards, depended wholly vpon this action.

Tyrone ſhewing himſelfe (as I ſaid before) and ſeeing two regiments of foot, with ſome horſe, drawne out of the campe, and marching towards him, he retired to the other ſide of the hill, where he camped that night, beeing fortified both with woods and water. One the three and twentieth day the Lord Deputie was aduertiſed, and had alſo inter-
D cepted letters, written from D. *John d'Aguilar* Generall of the Spaniards, and commaunder within the towne, by which he did preſſe and importune *Tyrone* to make an attempt vpon the Engliſh campe intimating his wants, and likelihood to be ſoone forced, putting the rebels in mind of their faithfull promiſes to ſuccour him, and of the eaſineſſe of the enterpriſe, and vndoubted ſucceſſe, aſſuring them that the Engliſh were much decayed in numbers, and that thoſe which remained were much weakened with that long winters ſiege; ſo as it was not poſſible they ſhould be able to maintaine ſo much ground as they had taken when their ſtrength was full: if they on the one ſide, and he on the other, charged them at one inſtant, which he for his part promiſed to doe whenſoeuer they ſhould giue the attempt. It ſeemeth that vpon this aduice they reſolued to put it in execution that night, or the next following. In the meane time they gaue the Engliſh continuall
E alarmes, and made ſallies from the towne, keeping them ſtill in action, that they might be the leſſe able to make reſiſtance when they were charged. But the Lord Deputie prouided for all inconueniences, making forts, barricadoes, and trenches, and fortifying all the approaches to the towne, keeping good gards, and his armie ready vpon all occaſions. On the 23 day at night hee was aſſured that the next day the rebels would charge his campe, whereupon he commanded the whole armie to be in readineſſe.

Tyrone had an intent early in the morning to put all his Spaniards into the towne, with eight hundred of his beſt Iriſh, vnder *Tyrrell*; but ſeeing at the breake of day ſome of the Engliſh troupes aduance, hee made a ſtand, and then retired to the body of
F their armie. The Lord Deputy giuing the charge of the camp to Sir *George Carew* then L. Preſident of Munſter, to attend the Spaniards within the towne, hee drewe forth part of his forces, beeing about foure hundred horſe, and a thouſand and two hundred foot, and hearing that the enemie retired diſorderly, hee aduanced towards them, who ſtill retired with feare. In the end, (omitting euery particular circumſtance touching the marſhalling of the Engliſh armie, to them that write that hiſtorie) they

1601

Kinſale beſieged vvas in the Spaniards in it.

Reaſon why Ivas s incerted into the hiſtory.

Letters from D. Iohn de Aguilar to the L. Deputie.

Rebels and Spaniards defeated in Ireland.

1601 they ouertooke the rebells, charged them, and put them to rout. The Spaniards (being G
abandoned by the Iriſh) were almoſt all ſlaine, *D. Alonſo d'Ocampo* their colonell, with three Captaines, ſixe Alferez, and fortie ſouldiers were taken priſoners. There were found (of Iriſh onely) twelue hundred bodies dead vpon the place, and about twelue hundred hurt, whereof many died that night. The rebels loſt two thouſand armes which were brought forth, all their munition, their drummes, nine enſignes, whereof ſixe were Spaniſh: the Engliſh had but one man ſlaine, and not aboue tenne hurt. Thus they got a miraculous victorie, to the great honor of the Lord Deputie, and of all that commanded vnder him.

After this glorious victorie, the Lord Deputie poſted that preſent day vnto the camp, leſt the Spaniard ſhould haue made ſome ſally in his abſence, but they had not attempted any thing; the next day he commaunded the approaches vnto the towne ſhould be aduaunced nearer: But after fiue or ſixe daies worke, *D. John d'Aquilar*, who commanded the forces within the towne, offered to parle, and ſent a drumme with a letter ſealed vp to the Lord Deputie, by the which he demaunded that ſome men of qualitie and ſufficiencie might be ſent into the towne from his Lordſhip, to conferre with him, whom hee would acquaint with ſuch conditions as hee then ſtood vpon: whereunto the Lord Deputie condeſcended, imploying ſir *William Godolphin* in that buſines; the which was managed after this maner, according to the originall. H

D. Iohn d'Aquilars ſpeech.

D. John told ſir *William*, that hauing found the Lord Deputie (whom hee termed
« Viceroy) although a furious and powerfull, yet an honourable enemie, and the Iriſh not I
« onely weake and barbarous, but (as he feared) treacherous friends, he was ſo farre in his
« affections reconciled to the one, and diſtaſted with the other, as it did inuite him to make
« an ouerture of ſuch a compoſition as might be ſafe and profitable for the ſtate of Eng-
« land with leaſt preiudice to the Crowne of Spaine, by deliuering into the Viceroyes po-
« wer the towne of Kinſale, with all other places in Ireland held by the Spaniſh, ſo as they
« might depart vpon honourable termes, fit for ſuch men of warre, as are not inforced by
« neceſſitie, to receiue conditions, but willingly induced vpon iuſt reſpects, to diſingage
« themſelues, and to leaue a people, by whom their king and maſter had bin ſo notoriou-
« ſly abuſed, if not betrayed. That if the Viceroy liked to entertaine further parley touch-
« ing this point, he would firſt be pleaſed to vnderſtand them rightly, and to make his Pro- K
« poſitions ſuch as might be ſutable to men throughly reſolued, rather to bury themſelues
« aliue, and to indure a thouſand deaths, than to giue way to one article, that ſhould taſt
« of baſeneſſe or diſhonor, being ſo confident of their preſent ſtrength, and the royall ſuc-
« cors of Spaine, as they ſhould make no doubt of yielding a good accompt of themſelues,
« and of their intereſt in this kingdome, but that a juſt diſdaine and ſplene conceiued a-
« gainſt the nation, diſſuaded them from beeing farther ingaged for it, than of neceſſitie
« they muſt.

Sir *William Godolphin* hauing charge from the Lord Deputie, only to receiue *D. Johns* propoſitions and demaunds, hauing made this relation to his Lordſhip, and the Councell, he was ſent backe by them with this anſwer following. L

Anſwer from the Lord Deputie to D. Iohn.

That although the Lord Deputie hauing lately defeated their ſuccours, did ſo well
« vnderſtand his owne ſtrength and their weakeneſſe, as it made him nothing doubt of for-
« cing them within a ſhort time, whom hee knew to be preſt with vnreſiſtable difficulties,
« how much ſoeuer they laboured to couer and conceale them: yet knowing that her ſa-
« cred Maieſtie out of her gratious and mercifull diſpoſition, would think the glorie of her
« victorie blemiſhed, by a voluntary effuſion and obſtinate expence of bloud, was content
« to entertaine this offer of agreement, ſo as it might be concluded vnder ſuch honoura-
« ble Articles for her Highneſſe, as the aduantage ſhe had againſt them gaue reaſon to de-
maund. The which were the ſame that are ſet downe in the Articles of Agreement fol- M
lowing, ſigned by the Lord Deputie, *D. John* and others: ſauing that there was an Article more in them, for the leauing of his treaſure, munition, ordnaunce, and the Queens naturall ſubiects to her diſpoſition; all which points he did peremptorily refuſe: Proteſt-
« ing that both he and all his would rather indure the laſt of miſeries, than be found guilty
« of ſo foule a treaſon againſt the honor of his prince, and the reputation of his profeſsion,

although

A although hee ſhould find himſelfe vnable to ſubſiſt, much more now when as hee might not onely hope to ſuſtaine the burthen of the warre for a time, but with patience and conſtancy in the end ouercome it. That hee tooke it ſo ill to be miſunderſtood in hauing articles of that nature propounded vnto him, as were they but once againe remembred in the capitulation, the Viceroy ſhould from thenceforth vſe the aduantage of his ſword, and not the benefit of his former offer: adding, that the Viceroy might rather thinke to haue made a good and profitable purchaſe for the realme of England, if with the expence of two hundred thouſand ducats hee had procured D. *Iohn* to quit his intereſt and footing but in Baltemore alone, ſpeaking nothing of Kinſale, Caſtel-hauen, & 1601
B Beerhauen: for ſaid he, ſuppoſe that all wee with the reſt of our places here had periſhed, yet would that Peninſula, being ſtrong of its owne nature, bettered by our art and induſtrie, (furniſhed as it is with victuals, munition, and good ſtore of ordnance) preſerue vnto the king of Spaine, a ſafe and commodious Port for the arriuall of his fleet, and bee able to maintaine it ſelfe againſt a Land armie of tenne thouſand, vntill Spaine (being ſo deepely ingaged) did in honour releeue them: which would drawe on a more powerfull inuaſion than the firſt, being vndertaken vpon falſe groundes, at the inſtance of a baſe and barbarous people, who in diſcouering their weakeneſſe and want of power, haue armed the king my maſter to relie vpon his owne ſtrength, being bound in honour to relieue his people which are ingaged, and to cancel the memorie of our former misfor-
C tunes. But this is ſpoken, ſaid he, in caſe the Viceroy be able to force this town, as I aſſure my ſelfe hee cannot, hauing vpon mine honour, within theſe walles at this inſtant, aboue two thouſand fighting men, which are ſtrong and able, beſides which ſome hauing been ſicke and hurt recouer daily; the greateſt part of theſe conſiſting of old Soldiers, which fal not but by the ſword, and thoſe that were new, being now both trained to their arms, and acquainted with the clymate, are more able to endure than at the firſt: our means as good as they haue beene any time theſe two moneths, ſuch as Spaniards can wel indure, and able to ſuffice vs three moneths more: wee lodge in good warme houſes, haue ſtore of munition, and (which is beſt of all) ſtand well aſſured, that our ſuccour will be here ſhortly. To bee plaine, wee preſerue our men, and reſerue our ſtrength the beſt we
D may, hoping to front you in a breach, which (if our hearts faile vs not) wee haue hands and breſts enow to ſtop, againſt treble your forces: but I wil giue the Viceroy this right, that his men are paſſing good, yet ſpent and tyred with the miſeries of a Winter ſeege, which hee hath obſtinately maintained beyond my expectation, but with ſuch caution, and vpon ſo good gard, as hauing nicely watched all aduantages, I could neuer faſten a falley yet vpon him, but with loſſe to my ſelfe: wherein I muſt confeſſe my hopes were deceiued, that grounding vpon ſome error in his approaches, I promiſed vnto my ſelfe the defeat of at leaſt a thouſand men at one blow. But when wee meet vpon a breach, I am confident vpon good reaſons, to lay fiue hundred of your beſt men on the ground, and reſt hopefull that the loſſe of thoſe will make a great hole in an army, which hath al-
E ready ſuffered ſo much extremity.

But to conclude our buſineſſe: the king my maſter ſent me to aſſiſt the Condees, *Oneale* and *Odonnel*, preſuming on their promiſe, that I ſhould within few daies after the arriuall of our forces haue ioyned with them: I expected them long in vaine, ſuſtained the Viceroys armie, ſaw them drawne to the greateſt head they could poſſibly make, lodged within two miles of Kinſale, fortified with certaine companies of Spaniards, euerie houre promiſing to releeue vs, and being ioyned together to force your campe: At laſt wee ſaw them broken with a handful of men, and diſperſed into diuers parts of the world, *Odonnel* into Spain, *Oneale* into the fartheſt parts of the North: ſo as now I finde no ſuch Condees *in rerum natura*, as I came to ioine with: and therefore haue mooued this accord
F the rather to diſingage the king my maſter from aſſiſting a people ſo vnable in thēſelues, as the whole burthen of the warre muſt lie vpon him, and ſo prefidious, as perhaps they might be drawne in the end to betray him.

Vpon relation made, by Sir *William Godolphin*, to the Lord deputy & Councel, of theſe offers made by D. *Iohn*, it was thoght good, for many important reaſon to proceed roundly to an accord, there being nothing propounded by him that admitted any exception,

1601 but that he demanded to carrie away his ordnance, munition & treaſure, which did not ſo much import, as it ſhould breake off the treatie which concerned the common good and ſafety of the kingdom: wherupon a compoſition was made vpon theſe articles following. G

Articles of the accord at Kinſale.

1 That ſaid D. *Iohn d' Aguilar* ſhall quit the places which he holds in this kingdome, as well the towne of Kinſale, as thoſe which are held by the Spaniards, or other ſouldiers vnder his command in Caſtell-hauen, Baltemore, and in the Caſtell of Beerhauen, or other places, to the Lord deputie, or to whome he ſhall appoint, giuing him ſafe tranſportation & ſufficient ſhipping and victuals for his ſaid Souldiers, with the which the ſaid D. *Iohn* may paſſe with them into Spaine, if he may, at one time, if not at two ſhippings.

2 That the Souldiers which are at this preſent vnder the command of the ſaid D. *Iohn* in this kingdome, ſhall not beare armes againſt the Queenes Maieſty of England, whenſoeuer ſupplies ſhall come from Spaine, vntill the ſaid Souldiers be vnſhipped in ſome of the Ports of Spaine, being ſent away as ſoone as may be by the Lord Deputy, as hee promiſeth vpon his faith and honour. H

3 For the accompliſhment whereof, the Lord deputy offereth to giue free paſport to the ſaid D. *Iohn* and his army, as well Spaniards as other nations whatſoeuer, that are vnder his command, and that he may depart with his armes, munition, money, enſignes diſplaied, artillerie, and any other prouiſions for warre, or other things, both that which is in Caſtel-hauen, Kinſale, and other places.

4 That they ſhall haue ſhips and victuals ſufficient for their money, after ſuch rates as they vſe here to pay. That all the Souldiers and the ſaid things may be ſhipt if it bee poſſible at one time, if not at two, and that to bee within the time aboue mentioned. I

5 That if by contrarie winds, or any other accidents, there ſhall come into any of the ports of Ireland or England, any of thoſe ſhips wherein the ſaid Soldiers ſhall paſſe, they ſhall bee intreated as friends, and may ride ſafely in the harbour, & be victualled for their mony, & ſhal moreouer haue ſuch things as ſhalbe needful to furniſh thē for their voiage.

6 That during the time they ſhall ſtay for ſhipping, victuals ſhall be giuen to D. *Iohns* people, at reaſonable rates.

7 That there ſhall be ceſſation of armes of either ſide, & ſecurity giuen that no wrong be offered to any one. K

8 That the ſhips wherein the ſaid Souldiers ſhall be tranſported for Spaine, may paſſe ſafely by any of the queenes Maieſties ſhips, of England, and ſo ſhal the ſaid Queenes and her ſubiects by thoſe that ſhal go from hence: and the ſaid ſhips being ariued in Spaine, ſhall return as ſoone as they haue vnſhipt their men without any impediment giuen thē by his Maieſtie, or any other perſon in his name, but rather they ſhall ſhew them fauour, and help them if they need any thing: and for ſecuritie thereof they ſhall deliuer into the Lord deputies hands three Captaines, ſuch as he ſhall choſe.

9 For aſſurance of the performance of theſe articles D. *Iohn* promiſeth that hee will confirme and ſweare to accompliſh this agreement, whereunto ſome of the captaines vnder his charge ſhall in like maner ſweare. L

10 That the ſaid D. *Iohn* ſhall remain within the realme of Ireland, where the Lord deputy ſhal appoint, vntill the laſt ſhipping, vpon his Lordſhips word, & if it happen that his ſoldiers be ſhipt all at once, the ſaid D. *Iohn* may go in the ſame fleet without any let, but rather the Lord deputy ſhall giue him a good ſhip wherin he may paſſe, and if his men go in two ſhippings, then he ſhall go in the laſt.

11 And in like maner the ſaid Lord deputy ſhal confirm & ſweare the ſame, & giue his word in the Q. Maieſties behalf & his own to keep & accompliſh this accord, & that the chiefe officers of the camp, with the councel of ſtate, & ſome nobles ſhold ſweare the like.

Theſe were the articles of the accord made before Kinſale, for the ſending the Spaniards out of Irelād, & freeing this kingdō from an imminent danger. They were ſigned & ſworn accordingly on both parts the 2 of Ianuary, and the towne yeelded vp on the ninth. M

Anſwer made by the French king to the embaſſador of Spaine.

At ſuch time as the duke of Birons treaſons were diſcouered in France, the king of Spain had an army ready to paſſe at Pont de Greſin, vpon the frontiers of Bourgundy vnder color of paſſing into Flanders: but the paſſages being kept by the marſhal *Lauerdin*, *Taxis* embaſſador for Spain demāded paſſage of the king, beſeeching him to think that the king his

A his maſter had not ſought to draw the duke of Biron from his obedience. To whome the king anſwered, you wold haue me belieue that the king your maſter was not acquainted with the practiſes which the marſhal of Biron had with the Cont *Fuentes*, & I tel you that it is impoſſible his treaſure ſhold haue bin ſo freely diſtributed, without the conſent of his counſel: I haue no reaſon to leaue my frontiers diſarmed vntill that all the marſhals conſpiracy be diſcouered by his proceſſe. In the mean time I do not mean to hinder the commerce according to the treaty. 1602

The Cont of Fuentes not able to diſſemble his diſcontent, to ſee matters fal out ſo contrary to his deſignes, he diſchargeth his rage vpon the marqueſſe of Final, ſometimes pre- *Earle of Fuentes takes the Marqueſate of Finall.*

B tending a donation of the ſaid Marquiſate to the king of Spaine, when as the Marqueſſe was verie ſicke: and ſometimes that he ſhould haue a principality in the realm of Naples in exchange, but he firſt ſeaſed vpon the place, and then publiſhed his pretenſions: Hee ſent D. *Diego Pimentel* his nephue, & D. *Sancho d' Luna* with ſome troups of ſoldiers, who ſurpriſed Final, hauing corrupted the Lãdsknits which were there in garriſon with a promiſe of 16 moneths pay, aſſuring himſelfe both of the countrie and Port by a garriſon of 200 Spaniards vnder the commãd of D. *Pedro de Toledo*. Milesimo a place nere vnto it was by the ſame right purchaſed by the king of Spain. The Marques of Final, who is vaſſall to the emperor, made his cõplaints vnto the pope, & vnto his imperial maieſty, but they had no other effect, but that he had a penſion giuẽ him during his life, & ſo was forced to yeeld

C vnto the ſtranger. By this priſe the Genetiois did hereafter reap no profit by their Commerce with Spain, but what pleaſed the gonernor of Final. Doubtleſſe that ſeruant loues his maſters greatnes with paſſion, which doth rauiſh another mans inheritance without any lawfull cauſe, or precedent wrong, neither reſpecting reaſon nor equitie, nor conſidering that God is offended with ſuch violences. But king *Philip* did not limit and bound his hopes with ſo ſmall a purchaſe. That great leuie which was made at Naples, in Sicile, in the dutchie of Milan, and in many eſtates of Italy, witneſſed that his deſignes flue a higher pitch. It was thoght they wold either renew the enterpriſe of Alger, or make head againſt *Cigala*, who they ſaid was comming ont of Conſtantinople with a fleet of 100 ſaile. As the deſigne was ſecret, ſo was it not known who ſhould be generall. *Andrew Doria* *Armie of Spaniards at Sea.*

D had demanded leaue to retire himſelfe; he had been vnfortunat the yeare before, & therefore he thought the Spaniards wold not willingly imploy him againe. The duke of Sauoy ſeemed willing to accept of this charge, if it were offered; but it was giuen to D. *Iohn de Cordoua*, who ſhal be no more fortunate in his enterpriſes than *Doria*. The chief deſigns of this army were rather againſt the Chriſtians than the Turks & Moors, althogh it were giuen out that the king of Fez had intelligences vpon Alger, & that he had promiſed the K. of Spain to make him maſter therof: yet this army did not forſake the ſight of Europe, & ſome thoght it lay houering to ſee what wold become of the treaſons which were practiſed in France. But want of money & ſome other diſcommodities made them to giue ouer al attempts for this yere againſt the Turks. Theſe were the opinions of the king of Spains

E deſigns, & withall they added that *d' Albigny* was gone to Milan to the earle of Fuentes, that the marques of Aix had paſt into Spaine, and that the duke of Sauoy was ready to in- *Duke of Sauoie reſolues to ſend his ſonnes into Spaine.*

gage himſelf wholy to the wil of the coũcel of Spain, to whom he did conſign his 3 Sons; That he had made them knights of his order, to prepare thẽ for the voyage, & had ſent an extraordinary embaſſador to Rome to beſeech the Pope to ſend them his bleſſing.

There were 8 great gallies made ready this yere at Scuile, the which were appointed to be ſent into Flanders to the Archduke, vnder the command of *Fredcric Spinola*, to annoy *Gallies ſent out of Spain into the Low countries.*

the coaſt of England, Holland & Zeland. There were 400 men in either of theſe gallies, beſides the ſlaues, and 800 ſoldiers more which they tooke in paſſing by Lisbon. Two of theſe gallies called the Trinity & the Occaſion were ſunk by ſir *Rich. Leuiſon* vpõ the coaſt

F of Portugal, the reſt a while after went on their courſe towards the low-countries. Comming betwixt England & France, they were firſt diſcouered & purſued by ſir *Robert Manſel*, being then admiral of the queens maieſties ſhips in thoſe ſeas, who lay there of purpoſe to attend them, he hauing them in chaſe, the States ſhips which lay in the downs vpon his aduertiſement came in, & in the end the ſaid gallies were defeated, ſome were ſunk and the reſt made vnſeruiceable. This great ſeruice was diuerſly reported according to the humors & paſſions of men. The Hollanders did challenge all the honor of this action, & did pub-

1602 liſh it in print in diuers languages. Sir *Rob. Manſel* finding the ſtate intereſſed, & his repu- G
tation ſomewhat blemiſhed by their pamphlets, made a true relation of the whole ſeruice, the which he preſented vnto the lord admirall, vnder whoſe cõmand he was, & publiſhed it to the view of the world, with an offer to maintaine it by any courſe fit for a gentleman that profeſſed arms. And for that the Statesmen haue left their aſſertiõs recorded in their hiſtory, & haue made the French to write it after the ſame maner, I haue thought good for the better ſatisfaction of poſterity, to inſert it in this hiſtory, in the ſame words and phraſe as hee himſelfe hath ſet it down, ſpeaking in his own perſon as followeth.

On the 23 day of September, being in the Hope, & hauing in my company, the Aduan- tage only of the Q. ſhips, which captain *Ionas* cõmanded, & two other Dutchmen of war I H
rid more thẽ half chanell ouer, towards the coaſt of Frãce, vpon a northweſt & ſoutheaſt line, my ſelf being nereſt that coaſt, captain *Ionas* next vnto me, & the Dutch men of war a ſea-boord, & to the Weſtward of him. The ſmal force at that time preſent & with me re- maining, thus diſpoſed for the intercepting of the gallies, hauing diſmiſt the Dutch men of war that ſerued vnder me, vpõ their own intreaty to reuictual & trim: & hauing imploy- ed the reſt of the Q. ſhips vpon eſpecial ſeruices, I deſcried from my top maſt heads, 6 low ſailes, which ſome made for gallies, others affirmed thẽ to be ſmal barks that had ſtrooken their top-ſailes, being bound from Diep towards the Downs. To which opinion (though I inclined moſt) yet cauſed I the maſter to waie and to ſtand with them, that I might learne ſome news of the gallies, which by your Lordſhips aduertiſement ſent me, I knew had ei- I
ther paſt me that night, or were nere at hand, vnleſſe the ſea had ſwallowed them vp in the ſtormes which had raged 3 daies before. Hauing ſet my ſelfe vnder ſaile, the weather waxt thick, which cauſed me to lask ſome two points frõ the wind, towards the Engliſh coaſt, leaſt the continuance of that dark weather might giue them power to runne out ahead of me. About 11 of the clock the weather cleared, when I diſcoured them plainely to be the Spaniſh gallies ſo long time expected; at which time with the reſt, I plied to receiue them by croſſing their forefoot as they ſtood alongſt the Chanell: which they en- deuoured, till they perceiued that by the continuance of that courſe, they could not eſcape the power of my Ordnance.

All this time theſe two Fly-boats were betwixt them and me, and as the ſlaues report K
that ſwamme aſhoare at Douer, they determined with three gallies to haue boorded each of thoſe ſhips, and would haue executed that reſolution, but for the feare of her Maieſties great Gallion (as they tearmed the Hope) whoſe force that they ſhunned in that kind (conſidering the diſaduantage that twice ſixe of the beſt gallies that euer I ſaw, hath by fighting againſt one ſhip of her force) I doe as much commend, as otherwiſe I doe deteſt their ſhamefull working, in that, full of cowardlineſſe and weak- nes, they rowed backe to the Weſtward, and ſpent the day by running away, in hope that the darkeneſſe of the night would giue them liberty ſufficient to ſhun the onely ſhip they feared, or that was indeed in the ſea at that time, to giue them cauſe of feare, I meane betwixt them & Dunkerk or Newport. This error only of theirs bred their confuſion, as L
you may perceiue by the ſequel. For they no ſooner began that courſe of rowing backe a- gain; but I inſtantly made ſignes for Captaine *Ionas* in the Aduantage of the Queenes, to come vnto me whom I preſently directed to repaire to Calais road, & thence to ſend the alarm vnto the States army prepared before Sluce: and to aduiſe ſuch men of warre as kept on the coaſt of Flanders, vpon any other occaſion, to ſtand off to the ſea, to meet with the gallies in the night, which ſhold be chaſed by me with my lights in my top-maſt heads & a continual diſcharging of my ordnance. Captain *Ionas* hauing ſhap't his courſe accor- ding to my directions, I gaue order for hoyſing & trimming of my ſailes by the wind, to keep ſight of the gallies: the two Fly-boats being ſtil aweather of me, did the like. Which chaſe we held til ſunne-ſetting, obſeruing this courſe following all the day. They being M
a weather of me, kept their continuall boords, that the gallies were alwaies betwixt thẽ. And my ſelf being to leeward, made ſuch ſhort turns, as I kept al the afternoon in a maner, euen in the verie eye of their courſe, betwixt thẽ & the place of their deſign: euer diſchar- ging my beſt ordnãce to warn the Anſwers of her Maieſties, that rid by my directions at the Downes, vpon important ſeruice as your Lordſhip knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, hauing left the Sea vpon vnknowne groundes to mee (yet ſent from

Portſmouth

A Portſmouth, by the moſt prouident direction of her ſacred Maieſtie, to awaite the comming of the Gallies, vpon aduertiſements that her Highneſſe receiued of their being put to ſea, to ſet ſaile, who elſe had receiued no vnderſtanding of the Gallies, neither came they within ſhot of them, till after night, how ſoeuer the reputation of the ſeruice is wholy chalenged by them. 1601

Hauing giuen your Lordſhip an accompt how this day was thus ſpent by me, from eight of the clocke vntill the euening, and with theſe onely helpes: I beſeech your Lordſhip to be pleaſed to vnderſtand, that with the ſetting of the Sunne, I could both diſcerne the ſhips laſt mentioned vnder ſaile at the downes, and the Gallies to haue
B ſet their ſailes: directing their courſe cloſe aboord our ſhoare, each of them beeing out of ſight of the other, and my Dutch conſorts by this time to haue beene left by the Gallies to a ſterne chaſe. When I perceiued them to hold that courſe, which would bring them within ſhot of the Anſwere, and the reſt that were in the Downes: I held a cleane contrarie courſe from them towards the coaſt of France, to confirme the ſecure paſſage they thoght to find on our coaſt, which I continued, vntil the report of their battery gaue me aſſurance of the Gallies being engaged vnto them.

How the batterie began, who began it, how it was continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the ſeruice is due, I leaue to bee conſidered by your Lordſhip, by the peruſall of the true diſcourſe following. The Anſwere of the Queenes, which Captaine
C *Bredgate* commanded, as ſhe rid more Southerly at the Downes than the Flemings, ſo came ſhe firſt to the Gallies, and beſtowed 28 peeces of Ordnance on them before the Flemings came in, who at length ſeconded him with verie many ſhot.

During this batterie of ours vpon the gallies (which I ſo terme, becauſe they neuer exchanged one ſhot) at the very firſt report of the Anſwers ordnance, I directed the maſter of my ſhip to bear vp with the ſouth end of the Goodwin, with which directiõs I deliuerd my reaſons publikely, as I ſtood on the poope of my ſhip, viz. That if I ſtood directly into them, the gallies, before I could recouer the place, wold either be driuen a ſhoare or ſunk and ſo would there proue no need of my force; or elſe by their nimble ſailing they wold eſcape the ſhips, of whom (once getting ahead) they could receiue no impediment: for
D there was no one ſhip but the Aduantage in the ſea that could hinder them to recouer any port in Flanders or the Eaſt countries (Sluce onely excepted) vnleſſe I ſtaied them at that ſand head. Hauing recouered as neere that place as I deſired, I ſtaied at leaſt a quarter of an houre, before I could either ſee galley, heare or ſee any of thoſe ſhips, their lights or report of their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold opinion that they had outſailed the Anſwere, and the reſt of the Flemings, and ſhunned ſight of mee by going aſeaboord of my ſhip, which I ſo verily beleeued, as I once directly determined to ſaile for Sluce, with hope onely that the preparation which I knew the States had there, would be able to preuent their entrance into that place. Whilſt I remained thus doubtfull, or rather hopeleſſe to hinder their recouerie of Dunkerk or Newport, in caſe they had
E bin aſea-boord of me, ſome of my company deſcried a ſingle galley plying from the ſhoar to get ahead of my ſhip. When ſhe approached within caliuer ſhot, I diſcharged about 30 peeces of ordnance of my lower and vpper tire at her alone, my ſelfe with many other in my ſhip ſaw when her maineyard was ſhot aſunder, heard the report of many ſhot that hit her hul, heard many their moſt pittiful outcries, which when I perceiued to continue, & inſtead of making way from me, to neer me what ſhe could; I forbare ſhooting, & commanded one that ſpake the Portugal language, to tel them that I was cõtented to receiue them to mercy: which I would accordingly haue performed, had not the other 5 gallies offered to ſtand out ahead of me at that very inſtant, & thereby wold haue left me as they had both the firſt two Dutch ſhips, and afterwards the Anſwer with the reſt of the Fle-
F mings, had I omitted any ſmall time of executing the aduantage I had of their being on my broad ſide, which as appeares was ſo effectually imployed (howſoeuer the night wherein this ſeruice was performed, might hinder the particular mention of their hurts) as none can deny but that God pleaſed thereby onely to worke their confuſion. For ſince that time none hath ſaid or can ſpeake of any one ſhot made towards them: yet foure of them are ſunke and wrecked, the fift paſt doing the enemy ſeruice,

1602 and the ſixt they are forced to new build at Dunkerke, where (if I be not much deceiued) G
ſhe will proue more chargeable than profitable, if the default reſt not in our ſelues.

The diſagreement betweene the Dutch captaines themſelues touching the ſtemming and ſinking of the gallies (whereof one challenged before your Lordſhip, and in many other publike places, to haue ſtemmed and ſunke two himſelfe) and the printed Pamphlet containing the ſtemming and ſinking of three Gallies, giueth the reputation thereof to three ſeuerall Captaines, amongſt whome no mention is made of the firſt; and whereas there are but two in all ſunke; I leaue to bee reconciled amongſt themſelues, and to your Lordſhippe, whether that the ſame of right appertaineth not to her Maieſties ſhip the Hope, in reſpect of the allegations before men- H
tioned, euerie particular whereof being to bee proued by the oathes of my whole company and mainatined with the hazard of my life with that which followeth.

1 As the ſhooting of the ſingle Gallies mainyard aſunder, my beſtowing aboue thirtie peeces of ordnance vpon that one Gallie, within leſſe then Caliuer ſhot.

2 That they in the Gallie made many lamentable out-cries for my receiuing them vnto mercie.

3 That I would accordingly haue receiued them, but for giuing them ouer to encounter with the other fiue Gallies, which elſe had left me to a ſterne chaſe.

To theſe reaſons I adde the aſſertions of the Viceadmiral himſelfe, who told me (whatſoeuer he ſpake in other places) that one of the Gallies, which he ſtemmed, had her I
maineyard ſhot aſunder before his comming aboord her: by whom ſoeuer ſhe was then ſtemmed, your Lordſhip may iudge, who ruin'd her, conſidering ſhe made no reſiſtance, by his owne report, but by crying to him for mercy.

Touching the other galley ſtemmed and ſunke, I haue alreadie proued how ſhee (as all the reſt) had got ahead the Anſwer of the Queenes not named, and the reſt of the States men of warre with her, who challenge the whole credit of this ſeruice. They (as all other Sea-men) cannot deny but that the gallies will outſaile all ſhips, in ſuch a loome gale of wind and ſmooth ſea, as we had that night.

The Gallies being then quicker of ſale than they, how could they by any meanes poſſible fetch them vp, but by ſome impediment? impediment they receiued none, but by K
my ordnance: which amounted to fiftie great ſhot at thoſe fiue which came laſt from the ſhoare, when all the ſhips were aboue a mile aſterne.

Some notwithſtanding out of their detracting diſpoſitions may perchance ſay, that the two which were wrecked at Newport would haue periſhed by ſtorme, though they had not beene battered. Whereto though I haue ſufficiently anſwered, firſt in ſhewing that they might haue recouered any of the places thereabouts before eight of the clocke that night but for mee; and then the ſecond time before the morning, had they not beene encountred by me alone, at the South-ſand head: Yet for further proofe that they miſcaried by our batterie onely, I ſay that if one of the gallies which receiued leaſt damage by our ordnance did out-liue Fridaies ſtorme, continuing till L
Satturday noone, being driuen among the Ilands of Zealand to recouer Calais; then ſurely thoſe two (vnleſſe they had beene exceedingly torne) would haue made ſhift to haue recouered the ports of Newport, Graueling or Dunkerke; eſpecially ſith from the place where I battered them, they might haue beene at the remoteſt of thoſe places about foure houres before any ſtorme beganne. But ſuch ſeemed their haſt to ſaue their liues, as their thought ran of a ſhoare, and not of a harbour.

Now that I haue deliuered vnto your Lordſhip the whole & true diſcourſe of this buſineſſe, I ſhall forbeare to trouble your patience with any further relation of that night & next daies ſpending my time (though the ſame in their chaſe had like to haue coſt her Maieſtie her ſhip, and the liues of as many as were in her) and conclude with admirati- M
on of their not holding her Maieſties ſhip, nor I (her vnworthieſt ſeruant) and then and yet by her Highneſſe grace and your Lordſhips fauour, Admirall of the forces in that place, are not once mentioned: eſpecially ſith the ſixe Gallies might ſafely haue arriued before ſeuen of the clock that night at any of the Ports of Flanders to the Weſtward of Oſtend. And that the Dutch ſhips had not come frō an anchor in the Downes, but for

the

A the ſignes they receiued from me. Then that the force of her Majeſties ſhip, wherein I was, enforced them to keepe cloſe aboord the Engliſh ſhore, whereby thoſe ſhips in the Downes had power giuen them to come to fight, which fight was begun by the Anſwer of the queenes. 1602

And laſtly, ſith the gallies eſcaped their batterie, and had gotten ahead thoſe ſhips, aboue a mile at leaſt, and neuer receiued any impediment after, but onely by me, who lingered them (as you haue heard) vntill the comming vp of thoſe ſhips that challenge to ſtemme them: which being granted, I cannot ſee how any other credit can rightly be giuen them (for that ſtemme I meane) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead bodie
B which his maſter had ſlaine.

Thus much I haue ſet downe out of his owne mouth, touching the ſeruice that was done vpon thoſe ſix gallies of Spaine.

This yeare there was a new fleet made readie in Spaine, the which bred a jealouſie in the French, and made them to ſtand vpon their gard in Languedoc and Prouence. This fleet was readie to ſet ſaile, the which vnder colour of renewing the enterpriſe of Alger in Afrike, might frame ſome deſigne vpon that coaſt. Prince *Doria*, and D. *Iohn de Cordoua*, had beene both vnfortunat in their charges. The honour of Chriſtendome made all men wiſh, that this execution might proue more ſucceſſull than the reſt. But as bad deſignes do manie times proſper better than good, the ſucceſſe depending commonly on
C the blindneſſe of fortune, this enterpriſe of Alger was no more ſucceſſull than the two former. It was managed by a Franciſcan Frier, called Father *Mathew*, who promiſed as great glorie vnto himſelfe, in chaſing away thoſe petie kings of Afrike, as *Aratus* had of freeing Sicyonia of tyrans. He had negotiated with the king of Cycco, who promiſed (that for a certaine ſumme of money, whereof he ſhould receiue fortie thouſand crowns in hand) not onely to fauour any deſigne, but to declare himſelfe openly againſt the king of Alger, and to reduce the towne to what condition they would: but there is a great difference betwixt ſaying and doing: And it is a great ſimplicitie to giue credit to an Infidell, ſeeing that treacherie is inſeparable from his ſoule. The Viceroy of Majorca, who was Generall in this action, and with whom the king of Cycco had promiſed to
D joyne, approached with foure gallies vpon this aſſurance, and landed about an hundred men, to deliuer fortie thouſand crownes vnto the Moores; who receiued the money, and deliuered the men into the hands of the Viceroy of Alger, where the Frier was ſlain, and the Viceroy retiring, freed their neighbours from jealouſie. They of Barcelona (who are ſubiect to the king of Spaine) did no leſſe apprehend this armie than the Moores: they feared that the Catholike king would take their priuiledges from them, as hee had done from them of Arragon; yet the paſſage of the three princes of Sauoy into Spaine, renewed their jealouſie in France. The duke came with them to Nice, where they attended the commoditie of their imbarking, the princeſſe *Marguerite*, his eldeſt daughter, commaunding in Piedmont, and from thence they paſt to Barcelona, where they at-
E tended the kings pleaſure, and were entertained with all the honours that might be done vnto princes of that alliance. The king of Spaine rejoyced at the dukes reſolution, and ſeemed to haue a great deſire to ſee them. He ſent D. *Henriques de Guzman* to congratulate their arriuall, and to commaund them to take ſmall journeyes, by reaſon of the heat of the ſeaſon. Being come to Court, he made prince *Victor*, the dukes ſecond ſonne, Viceroy of Portugall: the which did much content the Portugals, to ſee the fruits of D. *Beatrix*, his great grandmother, who was daughter to D. *Emanuel* king of Portugall and maried to *Charles* duke of Sauoy. The third ſonne was afterwards made Archbiſhop of Toledo, and then cardinall.

1603 *Armie of Spain at ſea.*

Moors treacherous.

Paſſage of the prince of Piedmont into Spain

The queene of England being dead this yeare, and the king of Scotland come to the
F ſucceſſion of that Crowne, the king of Spaine ſent D. *Iohn Baptiſta Taxis*, earle of Villa Mediana, his embaſſadour into England, to witneſſe vnto the king the great contentment hee receiued by his happie comming to the Crowne, who after his firſt audience of congratulations and ordinarie complements, made a ſpeech vnto the king to this effect.

King of Spaine ſends an embaſſador into England.

The king of Spaine, my maſter, aſſuring himſelfe to find the ſame effects and affecti- «

ons

1603 „ ons of friendſhip in you, being king of England, which you haue alwayes made ſhew of G
Speech of the embaſſador of Spain to the king of England. „ vnto him being king of Scotland, hath ſent me vnto your Maieſtie, to confirme the ſince-
„ ritie, to deſire the continuance, and to preſerue it by all the proofes of friendſhip and aſſi-
„ ſtance which he offers you, which is the ſame that many great princes haue deſired, and
„ could not obtaine, and for that it is offered is no leſſe neceſſarie, and to be wiſhed for of
„ your Maieſtie. If the king D. *Philip* the ſecond, of glorious memorie, hath attempted
„ any thing againſt England, and queene *Elizabeth* againſt the Eſtates of Spaine, it was
„ more vpon ſome priuat ſpleene, than for any reaſon of State. But one tombe ſhould
„ interre both their bodies and their paſsions. The ſucceſſours doe inherit the great-
„ neſſe and power of their predeceſſors, but they are not tied to their deſignes, which haue H
„ no end but the ruine one of another.

„ The Catholike king hath ſuch rich and goodlie Crownes in Europe, Aſia, and A-
„ fricke, and at the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, as they are ſufficient to ſettle the deſire of his am-
„ bition within the bounds of his owne greatneſſe. If hee hath dealt in the affaires of a-
„ ny other princes, it was to ſupport them and keepe them from ruine, time hauing diſco-
„ uered how many things were readie to fall, if they had not beene vnderpropt by the
„ hand of D. *Philip*. The enemies of the houſe of Spaine haue publiſhed, That the am-
„ bition of this prince was to make himſelfe Monarch of all Chriſtendome, and that hee
„ had left theſe deſignes hereditarie to his poſteritie. But the wiſer ſort may eaſily judge,
„ that if hee had beene ſo affected, he would haue carried himſelfe otherwiſe, and begun I
„ the execution of the enterpriſe by Italie, in the which hee is the ſtronger, the conqueſt
„ whereof would be eaſie, hauing ſuch aduantages.

„ But as hee is contented to preſerue his owne, and deſires no leſſe to raigne juſtly,
„ than long and happily; ſo is hee grieued to ſee his friends croſſe him in a thing that is
„ ſo juſt and reaſonable. Complaints are free for all men, but they are more affectio-
„ nate among neighbours. My maſter, who holds you in this qualitie of a friend, and
„ will doe what poſſibly hee may that you bee neuer other, complaines to you of your
„ ſelfe. Hee cannot diſſemble how much hee thinkes himſelfe wronged, for that your
„ Majeſtie doth affect the defence and protection of the rebels of the Low Countries,
„ againſt their lawfull Lord, and that you haue lately graunted them a great leuie of Scot- K
„ tiſh men. Hee aſſures himſelfe of all friendſhip and juſtice from you, and hee in-
„ treats you, that in calling home theſe Scottiſh men you will puniſh them as they
„ haue deſerued. Hee deſires to treat ſincerely with you, and beleeues that your Maieſtie
„ (conſidering how much the friendſhip of ſo mightie a prince ſhould bee deere vnto you,
„ and will be profitable) will ſeeke and imbrace it, and will neuer be ſo careleſſe of his good,
„ as to wiſh him ill.

King of Englands anſwer to the Spaniſh embaſſador. The king returned him many good words, to witneſſe the allianee which hee deſired to entertaine with the king of Spaine, vpon the like tearmes hee had with him as king of Scotland. But aduowing the Scottiſh troups which were ſent to the generall Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, to be leuied by his commaundement, he ſaid they had not deſerued any puniſhment; giuing leaue to king *Philip* to make vſe of Scottiſhmen, if he pleaſed: and letting him know, that he had not tranſgreſt the lawes of neutralitie. And as for their protection, he deſired he ſhould vnderſtand, That the great intereſts which England hath with the vnited Prouinces, as well in regard of their townes which they haue ingaged, as for the ſuccours which they haue receiued from thence, did bind him to aſſiſt them, and to haue a care of their preſeruation, and to ſecond the intentions of the deceaſed queene, and to build vpon the foundations which ſhe had laied; yet he deſired to ſee them all well reconciled with the king of Spaine. L

Spaniards think none ſo powerfull as their own king. The embaſſador (as my Author ſayes) anſwered, That whoſoeuer knew the power of the king of Spaine, were not ignorant that he can eaſily bring the rebelled Prouinces vn- M
der the yoke of his obedience, when hee ſhall pleaſe to make an enterpriſe equall to his power: That no man ſhould doubt, that hee that had paſſed the Helleſpont, will eaſily paſſe the riuer of Granique; and that a prince which triumphes ouer ſo many nations, ſo many iſlands, ſo many ſeas, and ſo much firme land at the new-found world, will not adde the iſlands of Holland and Zeland to his triumphant chariot: the wiſe will

alwayes

A alwaies giue the counſell which *Phocion* gaue vnto the Athenians, either to make themſelues the ſtrongeſt, or to be obedient vnto them that were ſo. He then deſired leaue to enter into conference with ſome of his Maieſties Councell, and to conſult of the meanes of ſome treatie; which would be no leſſe profitable and honourable to England, than to Spaine: the which was granted him. After ſome meetings, the lords finding that he had no power to treat, they attended other deputies, who came the next yeare with an ample Commiſsion, as you ſhall heare. 1603

There fell out two accidents, which had like to haue troubled the quiet of thoſe two great Monarchs of France and Spaine. The yeare before king *Philip* and the Archdukes B had impoſed thirtie in the hundred vpon all marchandiſe which came in or went out of the countries that were vnder their obedience: the which did ſeeme directly to infringe the treatie of Veruins. The French king commanded his embaſſadors to deale with thoſe princes touching this impoſition, and to aduertiſe him of their reſolutions. But their aunſwers, and the force they vſed afterwards to the kings ſubiects, to make them pay the impoſition, did witneſſe ſufficiently, that they had no will to exempt them. Whereupon the French king made a defence, That no marchandiſe ſhould bee carried out of France into Spaine, or the Low Countries, that were vnder the Archdukes obedience, nor any bee brought from thence into France, vpon corporall puniſhment, and loſſe of goods. But this did not alter the peace, onely there were complaints made by the two kings one of C another. King *Philip* began: He tooke it ill that the French going volnntarily to ſerue the Eſtates, did prolong their rebellion, and did hinder the reduction of Oſtend: that the king did ſuccour them with men and money; and that hee had forbidden his ſubiects to traffique into Spaine and Flanders. But the king diſauowed them that went to ſerue the Eſtates: If hee ſent them money, it was (ſayed he) but to pay that which hee had borrowed: And the defence of traffique tended to no other end, but to force the king of Spaine and the Archduke to take away that intollerable impoſition, and to let him know, that France can liue better without the commodities of Spaine, than Spain without thoſe of France. 1604 *Impoſition exacted by the Spaniard.*

The ſecond accident, or cauſe of jarre betwixt theſe two princes grew alſo from D Spaine; the French king complaining, and juſtly, That the ſecrets of his cabinet were diſcouered to his enemies. Will the king of Spaine neuer ceaſe (ſaid he) to withdraw my ſubiects from their duetie and loyalties? Will hee ſtill entertaine ſome traytor within my realme? My embaſſadour complaines vnto me by his letters, that hee is ſo ſlowly aduertiſed of our affaires, as the king of Spaines miniſters know them before him. *Treaſon of Loſt.*

The king being much troubled to find out the ſpring from whence this peſtilent liquor of Infidelitie did flow, behold God diſcouered the treacherie of *Iudas*, by ſuch meanes as the wiſedome of man could not find out. *Villeroy*, the chiefe Secretarie of State, who managed the greateſt ſecrets of the kingdome, had an vnder clerke, E called *Nicholas Loſt*, in whom hee repoſed much truſt, and the rather, for that his father had ſerued him long. This young man hauing attended on Monſieur *de la Rochepot*, being embaſſadour in Spaine, there laied the plot of this treaſon, whereof you may read the whole diſcourſe at large in the hiſtorie of France.

There was ſome likelihood of a new enterpriſe this yeare vpon Africke. The king of Cuſco, who had promiſed the laſt yeare to joyne with the Spaniards againſt Alger, had receiued fortie thouſand crownes vpon the bargaine, and treacherouſly betrayed them that brought the money vnto their enemies, this yeare hee ſent an embaſſadour vnto the king, who gaue him audience at Valencia: Which made many thinke, that hee would make another attempt vpon Alger, for that he cauſed him to F be conducted home by a Maſter of the campe, and an Enginer, giuing him great ſtore of munition, and fire-workes, laden in three fregats. *Embaſſadours from the king of Cuſco at Valencia.*

The king of Spaine beeing aduertiſe out of England, from his embaſſadour *Taxis*, of the ſucceſſe of his embaſſage, and of the expectation of a treatie, hee appointed the Conſtable of Caſtille to vndertake this charge, giuing him an ample Commiſſion, to treat and conclude a Peace betwixt England and Spaine: hee paſt *Conſtable of Caſtille ſent into England.*

1604 paſt through France, where he was verie honourably receiued, and ſo came into Flan- G
ders to the Archdukes, from whence he went into England, for the concluſion of the peace.

Commiſſioners for the treatie of the peace for England.

There were Commiſſioners appointed on either ſide: For the king of great Britaine were named, the earle of Dorſet, high Treaſurer of England, the earle of Nottingham, high Admirall of England, the earle of Deuonſhire, Lieutenant of the kingdome of Ireland, the earle of Northampton, and the lord *Vicont Cranborne*, principall Secretarie, and now earle of Salisburie, and high Treaſurer of England; being all of his Majeſties priuie Councell.

Commiſſioners for Spaine.

For the king of Spaine there were deputed D. *Iohn de Velaſco*, Conſtable of Caſtille H
and Leon, Duke of Frias, Earle of Haro, &c. D. *Iohn Baptiſta Taxis*, Earle of Villa Mediana &c. and *Alexander Rouidius*, a Lawyer, and Senator of Milan. The Archdukes ſent for their Commiſsioners, *Charles* Earle of Aremberg, Counſellor of State, and Admirall to the ſaid Archdukes, *Iohn Richardot* Knight, Preſident of the priuy Councel, and Counſellor of State, and *Lodowike Verreiken*, Knight, their principal Secretarie. All theſe Commiſsioners, after many conſultations and conferences, in the end concluded a peace, on the 18 of Auguſt, betwixt the two kings, their Eſtates and ſubiects, vpon certaine articles, whereof I haue ſet downe the contents.

Aritcles of the peace betwixt England and Spaine.

1 Firſt it was concluded, That from thenceforth there ſhould be a ſincere and firme
league and peace inuiolably obſerued for euer, and in all places, betwixt the moſt renow- I
med king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the moſt renowmed king of Spaine &c. and the moſt renowmed Archdukes of Auſtria, Dukes of Bourgondie, their heires and ſucceſſors, their countries, dominions, and ſubiects, of what condition or degree ſoeuer they be, or may be.

2 That all acts of hoſtilitie ſhould ceaſe, and all wrongs and injuries done, during the troubles, be forgotten, ſo as there ſhould be no action pretended for any depredations or ſpoiles committed, but all ſhould be freely aboliſhed, except ſuch depredations as had beene committed ſince the 24 of Aprill 1603: and that from thenceforth they and their ſubiects ſhould forbeare from all depredations and ſpoiles, and cauſe reſtitution to be made of any that ſhould be after that time committed. K

3 That neither of the aboue named princes, their heirs or ſucceſſors, by himſelfe or any other, ſhould do, treat, or attempt any thing againſt the other, or againſt their kingdomes or dominions, vpon any pretence, nor aſsiſt or conſent vnto any warre, attempt, or treatie, to the prejudice one of another.

4 That they ſhould neither themſelues giue, nor conſent to be giuen by any of their vaſſals, ſubiects, or inhabitants, any aid, fauour, or ſupplie, vnto the enemies or rebels of either part, (whether they ſhall inuade their countries, or withdraw themſelues from their obedience and ſubiection) of ſouldiers, victuals, money, ordnance, and munition, or any other aid to maintaine warre.

5 That the ſaid princes ſhould, and did, renounce all leagues, confederations, and intel- L
ligence, made to the prejudice one of another, which did or might impugne this peace, & the contents thereof: all which they ſhal diſannull, and declare to be of no force.

6 That the ſaid kings and Archdukes ſhould reſtraine their ſubiects from doing any wrong, and ſhould reuoke all Commiſsions and letters of Repriſall and Mart, of what nature ſoeuer, being to the prejudice of the ſaid princes, or of their ſubiects, to whomſoeuer they haue beene granted: the which they ſhall declare to be void and of no force. And that whoſoeuer ſhould do to the contrary, ſhould be puniſhed criminally, and compelled to make reſtitution to the parties damnified.

7 That as concerning the townes of Fleſſingue, Brill, Ramekins, and other forts thereunto belonging, in the which the ſouldiers of the king of England did remaine in M
garriſon, foraſmuch as the ſaid king affirmed, that by contracts formerly made betweene queene *Elizabeth*, of famous memorie (vnto whom his Maieſtie did ſucceed) and the Eſtates of the vnited Prouinces, hee ſtood bound not to redeliuer the ſaid townes and forts to any, but to ſuch as had deliuered the ſame for caution; ſo as by the ſaid contracts his Maieſties faith & honor (which he reſolued to keep religiouſly towards all men) being inga-

A ingaged, he might not then reſtore thoſe places vnto the Archdukes; yet hee promiſed 1604
to enter into treatie with the ſaid Eſtates, wherein his Maieſtie would aſſigne them a conuenient time to accept of conditions conformable to juſtice and equitie, for a pacification with the renowmed princes, his deere brethren: which if the Eſtates ſhould refuſe to accept, then his Maieſtie, as beeing freed from the former conuentions, would determine of thoſe townes as hee ſhould thinke moſt juſt and honourable, wherein hee would doe all good offices for the ſaid Princes, his louing brethren.

8 That the renowmed king of England &c. would commaund the garriſon ſouldi-
B ers not to ſerue the Hollanders, nor to ſuccour them with victuals, armes, or any munition for warre, or other the king of Spaines or the Archdukes enemies, vpon any colour or pretext ſoeuer, nor doe any act of hoſtilitie againſt the king of Spaine, the Archdukes, or their ſubiects: And in like manner the king of Spaine and the Archdukes did promiſe, that no act of hoſtilitie ſhould be done againſt the ſaid garriſon ſouldiers, nor againſt the king of England &c. or his ſubiects.

9 That betweene the ſaid kings, their kingdomes, vaſſals, inhabitants, and ſubiects, there ſhould bee free commerce in all places where it hath beene formerly vſed before the warres, according to the auncient leagues and treaties; ſo as the ſubiects of either partie might goe and enter freely into the others countries and dominions both
C by ſea and land, without any Safeconduct, or other licence, and depart from thence with their goods and marchandiſes, paying the ordinarie cuſtomes and impoſts.

10 That it ſhould be lawfull to haue aceſſe vnto the ports of the ſaid princes, there to make ſtay, and with the like libertie to depart, not onely with ſhips for marchandiſe, but alſo for warre, whether they come thither being forced by foule weather, or for the repairing of their ſhips, or for prouiſion of victuals, ſo as they exceed not the number of ſix or eight ſhips, when they come in voluntarily, nor ſtay longer in the hauens than they ſhall haue cauſe, for the repairing of their ſhips, or to make prouiſion of neceſſaries, leaſt it ſhould cauſe an interruption of free traffique with other nati-
D ons in amitie. And if any greater number of ſhips of warre than is aboue mentioned, ſhall happen to haue acceſſe into thoſe ports, then it ſhall not bee lawfull for them to enter without the priuitie and conſent of the prince. Prouided, that they ſhould not commit any act of hoſtilitie within the ſaid ports, to the prejudice of the princes: and that there ſhould be an eſpeciall care had, that vnder the pretext of traffique there ſhould be no victuals, armes, or munition for warre, carried by the ſubiects of thoſe kingdomes, to the enemies of the one or other king. And whoſoeuer ſhould attempt the contrarie, ſhould bee puniſhed as ſeditious perſons, and breakers of the peace. It was alſo prouided, That the ſubiects of the one ſhould not bee worſe intreated in anothers dominions in his ſales and contracts of marchandiſe, than his owne naturall
E ſubiects.

11 That the king of England &c. after the concluſion of theſe articles, ſhould forbid by proclamation, That none of his ſubiects, or any inhabiting within his realme, ſhould carrie ouer in his owne name, directly or indirectly, or colour any ſhips, marchandiſe, or any other thing going out of Holland and Zeland into Spaine, nor any Holland or Zeland marchant, vnto the ſayd ports, vpon paine of puniſhment. And to auoyd fraud, all marchandiſe to be ſent out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the dominions of the king of Spaine and Archdukes, was to bee ſealed with the Towne or Citie Seale from whence they ſhould be laden: and that which was not ſo ſealed, ſhould bee taken for good prize, and confiſcated, and all Hollanders and Zelanders found in the ſayd ſhips,
F ſhould be alſo taken.

12 That all Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh marchandiſe, might bee tranſported out of thoſe countries into the dominions of the king of Spaine, without paying the impoſition of thirtie in the hundred, lately impoſed, but onely the cuſtomes and tolls vſually demaunded before the ſaid impoſition of thirtie in the hundred.

13 That

1604 13 That for ſuch marchandiſe as the Engliſh, Scottiſh, or Iriſh marchants ſhould G
buy in Spaine, or other the king of Spaines dominions, and ſhould carrie in their owne ſhips, or in ſhips hired or lent them (except they be of Holland Zeland) they ſhould only pay ſuch cuſtomes as were accuſtomed to be paied before the impoſition of thirtie in the hundred: prouided, that they ſhould carrie the ſaid marchandiſe to the realmes of the king of England &c. or to the ports of thoſe prouinces which obey the Archdukes. And to preuent the tranſportation of the ſaid marchandiſe to any other places, and eſpecially to Holland and Zeland, it was agreed, That the marchants ſhould enter bond at ſuch time as they did lade their ſhips in Spaine, or in any of the king of Spaines dominions, before the magiſtrat of the place where they ſhould lade, to pay the ſaid impoſition of 30 in the hundred, in caſe they carrie the ſaid marchandiſe to any other countries: H
and that they ſhould bring a certificat, within one yeare, from the magiſtrat of the place where they ſhould vnlade the ſaid goods, teſtifying that they haue diſcharged in the king of Englands dominions, or in thoſe prouinces which are vnder the Archdukes obedience; exhibiting of which certificats their bonds ſhould be deliuered vp.

14 That the king of England &c. ſoone after the confirmation of this accord, ſhould forbid his ſubiects to export any marchandiſe out of the K. of Spaines dominions, to any other places but to his Majeſties kingdoms, and the ſaid ports of Flanders, vpon paine of confiſcation of all their marchandiſe, to the vſe of the king of England &c. whereof the Informer is to haue the one halfe, the impoſition of thirtie in the hundred being firſt I
deducted, the which ſhall be payed to the king of Spaines officers; the prooſes being lawfully receiued in Spaine, and ſent into England in authenticall forme, ſhould be credited.

15 That the magiſtrats of any townes or cities within his Maieſties kingdoms, which ſhould make certificats of the vnlading of ſhips, and giue teſtimonie of the regiſtring of marchandiſe, ſhould not commit any fraud therein, vpon paine of the loſſe of their offices, and the kings diſpleaſure: With this prouiſo, That when as the king of Spaine and the Archdukes ſhall agree with the French king, or any other, touching the laſt Edict of thirtie in the hundred, and the commerce betwixt them be reſtored, then it ſhould bee lawfull for the ſubiects of the ſaid king of England &c. to tranſport their marchandiſe into K
his or their dominions vnto whom the commerce ſhall be reſtored, without the payment of thirtie in the hundred, paying onely the former vſuall cuſtomes.

16 That there ſhould be free commerce betwixt the ſubiects of the king of England &c. and the Archdukes, in all places where they had beene formerly accuſtomed to trade, both by water and land, hauing free libertie to enter into the dominions, townes, and ports one of another, and to buy, ſell, carrie and recarrie their marchandiſe, repaire their ſhips, prouide victuals, and all things neceſſarie, at reaſonable prices, and ſhould depart with the like libertie with their goods and marchandiſe, paying the vſuall cuſtomes. Prouided, that the ſubiects of the king of England &c. ſhould not vſe the ſhipping of the Hollanders, or the vnited Prouinces, nor bring any of their manufactures into the Arch- L
dukes countries, nor any other thing for the which any tribute was payed in Holland, neither ſhould they tranſport any thing from the Archdukes Prouinces, vnto the vnited Prouinces, vntill a pacification were made, neither ſhould they receiue any goods belonging to the vnited Prouinces, into their ſhips, nor put any of them into the vnited Eſtates ſhips, nor fraudulently colour the goods of any one of the vnited Prouinces: the which being found, it ſhould be held to be good and lawfull prize.

17 That the former Prouiſos ſhould not onely be vnderſtood of ſhips laden for marchandiſe, but alſo of ſhips of warre, which the ſaid princes ſhould ſend forth to preuent the attempts of their enemies: which ſhips of warre, not exceeding the number aboue mentioned, might freely enter into one anothers ports, being driuen by tempeſt, or to M
repaire their ſhips, or buy neceſſaries, and there ſtay, ſo as they committed no act of hoſtilitie, with the like cautions and exceptions as is contained in the tenth article.

18 As the ſaid kings and Archdukes did religiouſly promiſe, not to giue any warlike ſuccours to any of the others enemies, ſo it was prouided, that the ſubiects or the inhabi-

tants

A tants of their realmes, of what nation or qualitie ſoeuer, ſhould not vnder colour of com- 1604
merce, nor vpon any other pretext, giue any aid to the enemies of the ſaid princes, or ſup-
plie them with money, victuals, armour, munition, ordnance, or other warlike prouiſion:
and thoſe which ſhould do the contrarie ſhould be ſeuerely puniſhed, as breakers of the
league, and ſeditious perſons.

19 And for the greater benefit and good of their ſubiects, it was agreed, that the king
of England &c. and the Archdukes, ſhould do their endeuors, that their ſubiects ſhould
haue the paſſages open vnto their ports and dominions, ſo as they might freely come and
go with their ſhips, marchandiſe, and carriages (paying the ordinarie cuſtomes) to all the
B ſaid ports, kingdoms, and dominions, & depart when they pleaſe with the like libertie.

20 As touching the ancient treaties of commerce and traffique betwixt the realms of
England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions of the dukes of Bourgondie, and prin-
ces of the Low Countries, the which during the late troubles had beene intermitted, and
it may be in ſome parts impaired: It was concluded by way of prouiſion, That they
ſhould remaine in their auncient force, and be vſed on either ſide, as they had beene be-
fore the warre. And if it happen, that by both parts, or by any one, any breach thereof
be pretended: or that the ſubiects ſhall complaine, that the conuentions were not ob-
ſerued, or that more grieuous burthens than were accuſtomed were impoſed on them,
then there ſhould be deputies appointed on either part, which ſhould meet, and treat
C friendly, and reſtore ſuch things as ſhould be found out of courſe, or to haue beene alte-
red by the injurie of time, or by corrupt cuſtome.

21 And to make this peace fruitfull to the ſubiects of the king of England &c. it was
concluded, That ſuch as had recourſe to and from the realmes and dominions of the king
of Spaine and Archdukes, and ſhould remaine there for trade, ſhould not be moleſted in
the cauſe of conſcience: wherefore to the intent their traffique might be ſafe and without
danger both by land and ſea, the ſaid king of Spaine and Archdukes ſhould prouide, that
vſing their trade and commerce, they ſhould not be called in queſtion nor moleſted for
their conſciences, ſo as they gaue no ſcandall.

22 If any goods or marchandiſe prohibited to be carried, ſhould be conueyed out of
D the realmes and dominions of the ſaid kings and Archdukes, by the ſubiects of the one or
the other, that in ſuch caſe the perſon offending ſhall onely incurre puniſhment, and only
the goods prohibited ſhall be confiſcated.

23 That the goods of ſubiects dying within the realmes and dominions of either,
ſhould be preſerued for the right heires and ſucceſſors of the deceaſed, alwaies reſeruing
the right of any third perſon.

24 That graunts and priuiledges giuen by the princes to marchants of either of the
kingdomes, comming to their realmes, which priuiledges, by reaſon of the warres, haue
ceaſed, ſhould from thenceforth be reuiued, and ſtand in their full force and vertue.

25 And if hereafter any vnkindneſſe ſhould grow betwixt the king of England &c.
E and the king of Spaine, or the Archdukes, wherby there might grow any interruption of
entercourſe and traffique, the ſubiects of either prince ſhould be ſo aduertiſed thereof, as
they might haue ſix monethes from the time of the admonition, to tranſport their mar-
chandiſe, without any arreſt, diſturbance, or moleſtation in the meane ſeaſon, to be offe-
red or done them either in their perſons or goods.

26 That neither of the ſaid princes ſhould imbarre or ſtay for their prouiſion in war,
or for any other ſeruice, to the prejudice of the owners, the ſhips of the others ſubiects, ly-
ing in their ports or roads, vnleſſe one of thoſe parties to whom the ſhips do belong, bee
firſt aduertiſed thereof, and yeeld his conſent thereunto.

27 It was alſo accorded, That if during this peace and league of friendſhip, any thing
F ſhould happen to be attempted, or done, againſt the force and effect thereof, either by wa-
ter or by land, by any of the ſaid princes, their heirs and ſucceſſors, their vaſſals and ſub-
iects, or by their allies comprehended in this league, or by the heirs & ſucceſſors of any of
thoſe allies, their ſubiects or vaſſals, yet notwithſtanding this peace and amitie, ſhould re-
maine in his full ſtrength and vertue, and the attempters and ſuch as doe offend onely ſhal
be puniſhed for their attempts.

1604 28 That all priſoners taken in the warres, or condemned to the gallies, ſhould be releaſed and ſet free, the charges of diet, of ſuch as were not in the gallies, being firſt paied, and the ranſomes of ſuch as had before compounded for the ſame, being diſcharged. G

29 It was concluded, That all ciuile actions which were in force at ſuch time as the laſt warre begun, ſhould be continued and purſued, notwithſtanding any lapſe of time during the ſame warre, ſo as they ſhould not be any way prejudiced by the continuance of the warre: thoſe onely were excepted which were alreadie come to the princes treaſurie or Exchequer.

30 If any action ſhould be commenced in the realmes and dominions of any of theſe princes, by any perſon not being ſubiect to the ſame prince, touching any depredations or ſpoyles, the cauſe ſhould be remitted to the Iudge of the juriſdiction vnder that prince, againſt whoſe ſubject or ſubjects the ſuit is commenced. H

31 If the Hollanders and the other confederat Eſtates, would accept of conditions of pacification with the Archdukes, or their ſucceſſours, by the meanes of the king of England &c. the ſaid Archdukes and their ſucceſſours would alwayes willingly hearken vnto that which ſhould be propounded therein, and would deſire, that by the helpe of the king of England &c. they might be brought to imbrace equall conditions; wherein they ſhould well vnderſtand how much the ſaid Archdukes did attribute vnto the king of England.

The laſt three articles were for the comprehending of the allies, friends, and confederats of the ſaid princes in this preſent treatie, the which they did ſeuerally and particularly name: and for the ratification, confirmation, and due obſeruation of the ſaid treatie. I

There was alſo an order ſet down touching marchandiſe of high Germanie to be tranſported into Spaine, and free from the impoſition of thirtie in the hundred, whereby the Conſtable of Caſtille, hauing ſpeciall procuration from the Catholike king, did promiſe that it ſhould be lawfull for the ſubjects of the king of England &c. to conuey marchandiſe out of high Germanie, being ſubject to the impoſition of thirtie in the hundred, and could not without paiment thereof, be carried into Spaine, the ſame marchandiſe being firſt conueyed into England, and there diſcharged and cuſtomed, and from thence to bee afterwards tranſported into Spaine, or any other of the king of Spaines dominions, without paiment of thirtie in the hundred; ſo as the ſaid merchandiſe had not paid any thing to the Hollanders and Zelanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the Archdukes: which marchandiſe they ſhould conuey in their owne ſhips, and not in any belonging to any other prince or nation. And, to auoid fraud, the marchandiſe of high Germany, which ſhould be tranſported out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, into the dominions of the king of Spaine and the Archdukes, ſhould be regiſtred and marked with the ſeale of the towne from whence it came, and a certificat ſent from the magiſtrat of the ſaid towne, teſtifying, that the ſaid marchandiſe were diſcharged in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and that they had paid cuſtome there; vpon paine of the kings diſpleaſure, & the loſſe of their offices, and other puniſhments, to bee inflicted at the kings pleaſure vpon the magiſtrats of townes vnder the obedience of the king of England &c. which are to certifie the vnlading of ſhips, and the regiſtring thereof, if they ſhall herein commit any fraud. And what marchandiſe ſoeuer of high Germanie, ſhall not be diſcharged in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and yet to be tranſported into Spaine, and other the dominions of the king of Spaine, all ſuch marchandiſe ſhall be confiſcated, and reputed good prize. K L

There were alſo three articles concluded, concerning a moderation to be had in the proceedings in the Inquiſition in Spaine, againſt the king of Englands ſubiects.

Firſt, If they exceeded in any thing before their entrance into Spaine, they ſhould not be called into the Inquiſition for the ſame, neither ſhould they bee moleſted for any of thoſe things ſo committed out of Spaine, neither ſhould any account be demaunded of them for the ſame. M

2 That no man ſhould compell them to enter into churches, vnleſſe they would, but if they did enter, they ſhould performe thoſe dueties and reuerence which are vſed towards the holy Sacrament of the Altar, being there; and if they ſhould ſee the Sacrament comming towards them in any ſtreet, they ſhall doe reuerence by bowing their knees

A knees, or elſe they ſhall paſſe aſide by ſome other ſtreet, or turne into ſome houſe. 1604

3 If any of the ſaid perſons being maſters or maſters mates, or any other officers of ſhips which be not their owne, doe exceed in any of theſe things, the Inquiſition proceeding againſt them by office, is onely to ſequeſter their own proper goods, and are to leaue the ſhips and all other goods, not belonging to the offenders, free: and the ſame was to be vnderſtood for all traders and factors.

During this treatie betwixt England and Spaine, the defence of traffique betwixt France and the dominions of the king of Spaine and the Archdukes, was verie troubleſome. The French ſuffered great diſcommodities, and the Spaniards found this reſtraint *Diſcomodities for the ceſſation of traffique.*

B heauie and inſupportable, for that all things grew exceeding deere, and the tradeſmen murmured, and grew almoſt deſperat. The Pope commaunded his Nuntio to deale in this buſineſſe, and to reconcile theſe princes; but the French king would not yeeld to any thing, vntill that the Spaniards, who had firſt troubled the water, had cleered it againe, in reuoking the impoſition of thirtie in the hundred, which made the libertie of traffique a meere ſeruitude, and the profit an aſſured loſſe. This was verie ſeuere and rigorous. It is in euerie kind bitter vnto the marchant, couetouſneſſe hauing changed the firſt cauſe, as well as the quantitie of cuſtomes and impoſts. At the firſt they were paied onely to haue free libertie and aſſurance of paſſage from one place vnto another; and for that princes haue vnder their protection the highwayes (for the which they are called Royall)

C they did acknowledge this right of protection with ſome duetie. Such impoſitions for ſo neceſſarie cauſes are juſt, others are not, and yet they muſt be borne, being not lawfull for the ſubiect to murmure againſt the cuſtomes and impoſts wherewith the prince doth charge him. They ſaid, That the Spaniards, which are long in their conſultations, and conſtant in their reſolutions, would neuer reuoke this impoſition, for that they would not looſe the reputation of conſtancie in their lawes, and bee noted of inconſtancie and lightneſſe, by applying themſelues to the time and affaires. But there was no remedie, the deputies of the two kings and Archdukes meeting, tooke off the impoſition, and ſet the commerce free. *Commerce ſet at liberty in France.*

The peace being fully concluded betwixt England and Spaine, and ſworne by the

D king of England in the preſence of the king of Spaines Commiſſioners, the Conſtable of Caſtille hauing receiued great honour in England, both in his entertainment and preſents giuen him from the king, returned into Flanders, much ſatisfied in himſelfe, to carrie home with him ſuch joyfull tidings. From thence hee paſt into France, where the French king vſed him ſo royally, as hee afterwards ſaid, That hee had entertained him as a king, and intreated him as a kinſman. *Conſtable of Caſtille returns into Spaine.*

In the yeare a thouſand ſix hundred and foure the king of Great Britaine ſent the earle of Nottingham, high Admirall of England, into Spaine, to take the Catholike kings oath, for the confirmation of the peace, as hee did the earle of Hartford vnto the Archdukes, to the ſame end. The ſayd earle of Nottingham, being atten- 1605 *Earle of Notingham ſent into Spaine.*

E ded on by a gallant traine of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, arriued at the Groine, where hee was no ſooner diſcouered from the land, but D. *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo*, marqueſſe of Caraſcena, Gouernour both of the towne and of the countrey of Gallicia, gaue order for his entertainment, the which was verie royally performed.

At his comming into the harbour, a fort vpon the North ſide of the towne, did firſt ſalute him with twentie peeces of ordnance: then a fort lately built vpon a rocke, with ſix and thirtie peeces; and laſtly from the towne and caſtle with aboue thirtie peeces of ordnance: And the earles ſhip, with the whole fleet, beeing at an anchor, requited them with all their ordnance. Preſently after the Gouernour

F ſent foure chiefe officers of the towne, with D. *Iohn de Pacheco*, his brother, and D. *Lewis de Carilla de Toledo* his onely ſonne, to welcome the earle. After ſome time ſpent in complements, the Gouernour himſelfe came aboord the earles ſhip in a barge, the mariners and rowers being in blew ſilke caſſockes and cappes, and the barge couered with blew veluet. After hee had ſaluted the earle, he told him, That the king his maſter had giuen vnto him an eſpeciall charge to haue a reſpect

1605 who he was that came embaſſadour, from whom hee came, and to whom hee was ſent: G
and that he ſhould doe euerie thing for the honour of theſe three perſons, not ſparing any thing that might be fit for his Lordſhips entertainment. Wherefore hee did intreat the earle to goe to land, the which he did forbeare vntill the next day; ſo as that night hee ſent vnto his Lordſhip a preſent of fiſh, fruits, bread, and ſuch commodities as the countrey yeelded.

He lands at the Groine.

On Tueſday, the ſixteenth of Aprill, the earle of Nottingham prepared to goe to ſhore, to his lodging, which was appointed in the gouernours houſe. The gouernour hauing taken care to receiue his Lordſhip in moſt honourable manner, had (vpon notice of his comming to the Groine) cauſed a bridge of timber, being aboue fortie yards H
long, to be built and painted, the which was garniſhed with many penciles of ſilke of diuers colours. The way into the towne was ſet on either ſide with boughes of bayes and Orange trees, and ſtrewed with ruſhes and flowers. The whole garriſon of the towne, and other companies that were drawne out of the countrey, were there readie to make a gard for him.

His Lordſhip being readie to land, the gouernour ſent diuers of the Commaunders to let him vnderſtand, that he and the magiſtrats of the towne would attend him on the bridge. Whereupon the earle tooke his barge, and (being followed by his whole traine) went vnto the bridge, where the Spaniards entertained the Engliſh as they landed, the haultboyes and ſhagbots playing all the while. Being all landed, they entred into the I
towne an Engliſh man and a Spaniard marching together in verie good order. At their entrance into the towne they were ſaluted with a great volley of ſhot, both great and ſmall; and ſo they went on foot to the gouernours houſe, where, when the earle entred, there were many chambers ſhot off.

During the earle of Nottinghams ſtay at the Groine, hee ſolemnized Saint *Georges* feaſt, the which was performed with the greater ſtate, for that the people came thither in troupes to ſee that ceremonie; and it was thought the gouernor (being inuited) would haue dined with his Lordſhip, but hee fearing to heare ſomething that might touch the king, his maſter, in honour, excuſed himſelfe, and ſo retired, hauing ſeene his Lordſhip ſet downe: But hearing, after dinner, by his owne brother, that there was not any K
thing that might giue cauſe of offence, or exception, hee was ſorie, and did accompanie his Lordſhip at ſupper, whither many ladies and gentlewomen came to ſee the order of that State.

On the foure and twentieth of Aprill D. *Blaſco d' Arragon*, nephew to the duke of Terranoua, who had beene in England the yeare before with the Conſtable of Caſtille, came from Court, being ſent from the king his maſter, to ſalute his Lordſhip, and to acquaint him with ſuch preparations as were made for him and his traine for that journey. There was alſo D. *Gaſpar de Bullion*, the kings chiefe Harbinger, who came with commiſſion from the king, to prouide all things neceſſarie for his Lordſhips journey. After ſome conference (notwithſtanding they had promiſed there ſhould be no want of any thing) they L
found, that the whole countrey would not furniſh mules ynow, there being ſix hundred and fiftie perſons, beſides the carriages, which were verie many. Wherupon his Lordſhip reſolued to leaue ſome of his owne companie aboord his ſhips vntill his returne. There were foure coaches and foure litters attended them at Villafranca, beſides their riding mules, whereof there was a coach and a litter for his Lordſhips owne vſe, another coach and a litter for ſir *Charles Cornwallis*, who was then ſent to be embaſſador leager in Spaine, and the reſt for the knights and gentlemen which ſhould be ſicke.

During his Lordſhips ſtay at the Groine, hee was entertained with ſundrie ſports, the which were performed in a ſquare made of purpoſe on the market place; as aſſaulting of a caſtle by armed knights, and freeing a ladie from foure monſters which defended it, fighM
ting at barriers, and in the end verie rare fire-works, the which were generally commended for their ſtrangeneſſe. After which his Lordſhip, hauing all his traine furniſhed with mules, began his journey towards the Court the 3 of May, the gouernor and magiſtrats bringing him out of the town with muſick & ſhot. He was accompanied by *D. Blaſco d' Arragon*, & *D. Gaſpar de Bullion*, chief harbinger to the K. who had the charge of the conduct.

Earle of Nottingham goes from the Groine

His

A His Lordſhip paſt from the Groyne to Bytance, to Villa Alua Lugo, Terra Caſtella; 1605
Cebrera, Villa Franca, Bubibre, Aſtorga (where his Lordſhip ſaw a fayre caſtle belonging to the marqueſſe of Aſtorga) Baneſa, Benauent, Villa Garcia: and from thence hee had order to goe to Simancas, which was as farre as Vailledolit: To which towne his Lordſhip came in twelue dayes, hauing beene honourably receiued in all places where he paſt. His Lordſhip comming to Simancas on Tueſday the 14 of May, he had order from the king, not to come to Court till Thurſday. On the Wedneſday after dinner there came D. *Pedro de Suniga*, or *Eſtuniga*, newly appointed embaſſadour for England, and D. *Iohn de Taxis*, ſonne to the earle of Villa Mediana, then embaſſador in England;
B who hauing ſaluted his Lordſhip, departed againe.

On Thurſday, his Lordſhip being appointed to goe to Court, there came to attend *He goes to Court.*
him the marqueſſe of Cameraſa, D. *Pedro de Suniga*, D. *Iohn de Taxis* D. *Blaſco d' Arragon*, with diuers other knights and gentlemen of the kings houſe and chamber, bringing diuers coaches with them. Simancas was not aboue ſix Engliſh miles from Court. Vpon the way the earle of Nottingham was perſuaded to goe into a banqueting houſe which ſtood vpon the highway, and to ſee the delicacie of their orchards and gardens, and to taſt of the fruits: but it was rather to ſtay for the noblemen which were appointed by the king to meet him. During his ſtay in this garden, there was a horſe preſented vnto him from the king, which he did vſually ride on. After an houres ſtay, there came diuers
C Grandoes, and other noblemen, the chiefe whereof were, the duke of Frias Conſtable *Noblemen that met the Earle of Nottingham.*
of Caſtille (lately embaſſadour in England) the duke of Infantaſgo, the duke of Albuquerque, the duke of Cea, the duke of Seſſa, the duke of Paſtrana, the marqueſſe of S. German, the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Punno en Roſtro, the marqueſſe of Baneza, the earle of Aguilar, the earle of Beroſa, the earle of Nieua, the earle of Corunna, the earle of Paredes, the marqueſſe of Carpio, the marqueſſe of Tauera, the marqueſſe of Villanoua, the earle of Salinas, the marqueſſe of Seralua, the marqueſſe de Fuentes, the marqueſſe of Alcanices, the earle of Galues, the Admirall of Arragon, with many other lords and knights. The earle with all theſe nobles, and his whole traine, being vpon the way, the weather being exceeding hot, there fell a verie great ſhowre, which
D continued vntill they came into the towne, where his lodging was appointed in the houſe of the earle of Salinas, not farre from Court. There was a multitude of people, and eight hundred coaches (as it was thought) full of ladies and gentlewomen, gotten out of the towne to ſee the earle and his companie. I omit the manner of their marſhalling with the Spaniſh knights and lords. They entred by a gate called Puerta del Campo, and paſſed through the chiefe parts of the towne, by the Court gate, the king, queene, and ladies, ſtanding (as they ſaid) at certaine windowes, to take view of the companie. That night there came diuers noblemen, and the queene ſent her Major Domo to viſit his Lordſhip: which cauſed ſome admiration in the Spaniards, who ſaied, they neuer knew the like fauour done to any embaſſador.

E The day after, his Lordſhip comming to Vailledolit, D. *Franciſco Gomes de Sandoual*, duke of Lerma, the kings great fauourite, being accompanied by many dukes and earles, came to viſit him, and ſo conſequently all embaſſadours, and moſt of the Grandoes and noblemen of the Court, came to viſit him, and congratulate his comming. He had his firſt audience on Saturday the eighteenth of May. In the morning the king ſent the earle of Galues, and diuers of his priuie chamber, to viſit his Lordſhip. In the afternoone the Conſtable came accompanied with aboue twentie noblemen, wherof three or foure were *The Earle goes to Court.*
of the Grandoes, bringing many coaches with them, to conduct his Lordſhip and his companie to Court. The kings gard made a way for them them to the preſence chamber doore, they being three hundred in number, Suiſſes, Spaniards, and Wallons, at-
F tired in red and yellow veluet, but of ſeuerall faſhions. At the palace gate ſtood the duke of Infantaſgo, and the marqueſſe of Vellada, with diuers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, to receiue his Lordſhip, & to conduct the companie into the preſence, where the king ſat vnder a rich cloth of Eſtate, and by him eight Grandoes of Spaine couered. *His Audience.*
His Lordſhip hauing deliuered his meſſage by his interpretor, & his letters into the kings own hands, cõming from his chaire, he gaue his Lordſhip a very kind & honorable enter-

1605 tainment, cauſing him to ſit neere vnto him: which fauour was much obſerued, as a thing (ſayd the Spaniards) neuer vſed to any embaſſadour before that time. After ſome conference, the noblemen and gentlemen hauing kiſt the kings hand, his Lordſhip was conducted by the Conſtable and others, to the queenes preſence, where ſhee ſate vnder a rich cloth of Eſtate, and the Infanta by her: hee was receiued by the Major Domo to the queene, and conducted to her preſence: where hauing ended his complements, being ſomewhat late, he tooke his leaue, and returned with thoſe dukes and lords vnto his lodging. G

King of Spaine goes in proceſſion.

On the nineteenth of May, being Sunday, the king went in proceſſion, going firſt to S. *Paules* church neere the Court, and then through the town to S. *Maries*, after this maner. H Firſt went the Monkes and religious Orders ſinging, and bearing croſſes, banners, and other church reliques, the Sacrament being alſo carried by foure officers of the Church. Then followed diuers noblemen in their rankes, according to their degrees. And next before the kings owne perſon went the younger of the princes of Sauoy. After king followed the cardinall, being Archbiſhop of Toledo, and with him the prince of Sauoy his elder brother. Then followed the prince of Maroc, with the Emperours embaſſador, the embaſſador of France, and he of Venice: after whom followed diuers gentlemen of the kings chamber, and the reſt of the traine.

Chriſtening of the prince of Spaine.

After dinner the ſame day there was preparation made for the Chriſtening of the prince. There was a large ſcaffold made for their paſſage at the end of a long gallerie, I and joyned to the church; the timber of which ſcaffold was couered with rich cloth of gold. They came vnto the church after this manner. The trumpets were ſet in ſeuerall companies neere vnto the church, ſtill ſounding, and anſwering one another. About foure of the clocke there paſt by this ſcaffold, to go into Saint *Paules* church, the Knights, Lords, and Grandoes going before, and ſome Dukes of eſpeciall name bearing ſundrie ceremonies, as the ſalt carried by one, a wax taper by another: then came the Conſtable, who carried the Crowne, before whom went the king at Armes. The duke of Lerma bare the prince in his armes, being tied vnto him with a rich ſcarfe; he was aſſiſted by the prince of Sauoy, and the earle of Miranda. Then followed the Infanta in a chaire, the which diuers gentlemen of the kings bed-chamber, and priuie chamber, carried on their K ſhoulders, the younger prince of Sauoy going by. At the church doore the cardinall attended them in his pontificall robes, hauing three biſhops, and other officers of the Church with him; and ſo they conducted them with ſinging vnto the Font, the which was richly couered with a canopie of cloth of gold. The cardinall performed the ceremonie; the which ended with church muſicke, ſounding of trumpets, and other wind inſtruments: and ſo they returned as they came, being accompanied by moſt of the great Ladies of the Court and kingdome. The prince was Chriſtened by the name of *Philip Domingo Victor*. The elder prince of Sauoy was his godfather, of whom he tooke the name of *Victor*, and the Infanta, his ſiſter, was his godmother. The Lord embaſſador of England was placed in the earle of Ribadauias houſe, both to ſee the proceſſion in the mor- L ning, and the prince going to the Chriſtening: after which he was conducted by a priuat way into the church, to ſee the ceremonie.

Churching of the queene of Spaine.

The next day, being Monday, the embaſſador leger was preſented to the king, and gratiouſly allowed of by him. On Tueſday the Lord embaſſador was conducted to S. *Maries* church by D. *Blaſco d'Arragon*, to ſee the ceremonie of the queenes Churching, whither the king and queene came together, the king being on horſebacke, and the queene in a verie rich carroch of cloth of gold, drawne with foure horſes, hauing their furnitures of cloth of gold, with whom the Infanta ſat. After which, in another carroch, came the yong prince, in the armes of an auncient ladie: and then followed two other carroches of blacke veluet, with diuers ducheſſes, counteſſes, and other great perſonages, widowes. M Then came foure other carroches, all of one faſhion, with diuers ladies, the queenes maides. This was the firſt day of the queenes going abroad, and as it was held, her Churching day.

Earle of Nottingham feaſted by the Conſtable

That day the Lord embaſſador was inuited to dine with the Conſtable, where he was accompanied by the dukes of Albuquerque, & of Seſſa, & others: where there wanted not any

A any thing that the countrie could yeeld for his entertainment. On Friday being the 20 of May there were certaine preſents, ſent by the king of England, deliuered, the king and Queene comming themſelues into a priuat garden to receiue them. They were ſixe horſes, three for the king, and three for the Queene, with ſaddles and clothes verie richly imbrodered, two Croſſe-bowes with ſheafes of arrowes, foure fowling peeces, with their furnitures, all verie richly garniſhed and inlaied with plates of gold, and a couple of lime-hounds: which preſents were kindlie receiued, the king and Queene admiring the faſhion and richneſſe thereof. 1605

Preſents ſent to the king and Queen of Spain

On Tueſday the eight & twentieth of May, the Lord embaſſador, with all the Engliſh
B were inuited to dine with the duke of Lerma, where they were verie honorably entertained to their great contentment: he was accompained at the table by the duke of Lerma, the duke of infantaſgo, and the duke of Albuquerque. They were attended on at the table by Marqueſſes, Earles, Knights, and gentlemen of the kings priuy-chamber, and few others.

Embaſſador feaſted by the duke of Lerma.

Hauing receiued what pleaſure could be deuiſed at the table, they were afterwards caried down into a faire Court, paued with ſquare ſtone, in the middeſt wherof was a fountaine of cleere water; the whole Court was couered with canuas to keep them from the heat of the Sunne: There was a ſtage ſet vp in this Court with al things fitting for a play, which the embaſſadour and the reſt were inuited to ſee. The king and Queene were alſo
C in priuat to ſee this Comedie.

The day appointed for the taking of the kings Othe, was vpon Thurſday the thirtieth of May, being *Corpus Chriſti* day; on the which the king went in proceſſion; and for that hee would bee ſeene by the Engliſh, hee appointed to paſſe by the gate where the embaſſador was lodged, after this manner.

King of Spaine goes in proceſſion.

Firſt there came eight great Giants, three men, three women, and two Moores, with a Taber and pipe playing, and they dauncing: Then followed certaine Pilgrimes clad in blew: After whome fiue and twenty or ſixe and twenty croſſes, belonging to ſeuerall Churches, with many pictures and holy relikes, Monkes, Morris dancers like Gipſies, Beaſtes with fire workes, wild men, and ſuch like vanities, as it ſhould ſeeme, to draw the
D people more readily to admiration: After theſe followed diuers other Church-relikes, with certaine Auguſtine and Franciſcane Friers, with their relikes. Many Church-men had Tapers in their hands: the kings Pages bare Torches: Then followed the Sacrament carried by foure Church-men in rich Copes; after whome came the Noble men, and Grandoes of Spaine; and then followed the king with a Taper light in his hand, of white Virgin waxe: after whome came the Cardinals, the embaſſadors to the emperor, French, and Venetians, the Prince of Sauoy, the Prince of Maroc, with others, euerie one carrying a Taper light.

The ſame day D. *Blaſco de Arragon* brought word vnto the Lord embaſſador that the king expected his comming preſently vnto the Court for the taking of the othe: where-
E fore there was order taken that the Noblemen and Gentlemen which ſhould attend him thither, ſhould be furniſhed with Genets out of the kings ſtable. Being all mounted, the Conſtable D. *Pedro de Suniga*, with many other Lords and Knights, were ſent to accompany him: And at the court gate the duke of Lerma and ſome other of the Grandoes ſtaied to receiue him; by whome hee was conueied through a long gallerie into a preſence, and ſo into an inner chamber, where the king ſtaied his comming, and receiued him with a kind ſalutation, and ſo took him along with him. The kings Sergeants at armes going firſt, then followed the Noblemen and Grandoes of Spain, then the foure kings at arms, in their coats of armes; after whome came the duke of Lerma, bearing the ſword naked, not vpright, as the cuſtome is in England, but lying vpon his left ſhoulder; and in this or-
F der the king marcht to a verie faire banqueting houſe, newly built, the embaſſadour leeger, the Lords, and diuers others following.

King of Spaine takes the othe.

The king being ſet in his eſtate, the Lord embaſſadour & the Leeger were placed vpon his left hand, the Grandoes and other Noblemen of Spaine, beeing on the right, but two degrees lower. There was a little table ſet before the king, wheron lay the Bible and a Crucifix vpon it. The Archbiſhop of Toledo red the othe: at one part of the othe the embaſſador

1605 baſſadour held the kings hands betweene his, to which othe the king ſwore kneeling and G
laying his hand vpon the booke, and afterwards ſubſcribed the articles concluded by both kings.

Iuego de Toro and Iuego de Cana.

On the laſt of May there was preparation made for certaine ſports, as Iuego de Tora, & Iuego de Cana, where there was a careful order taken that al the Engliſh ſhold be placed to ſee thoſe ſights. About noone the king and Queene came on Horſebacke after the Spaniſh maner, being attended on by many Lords and Ladies. The Lord embaſſador was in one roome with the king and Queene, and the other Lords not farre off. Theſe ſports were performed in the market place, being built round about with ſcaffolds, & the ground couered with ſand. There were fourteen buls ſlaine that day, not without danger to ma- H
ny that were actors, and the loſſe of ſome of their liues. Which being ended began their ſports of Iuego de Cana, wherein the king himſelfe was an actor: Firſt there came in twelue Atabales or kettle drums; then followed thirty Trumpets, al clad in Caſſaks of red and white tafata; then followed twelue great mules, called Aſemulaes with couerings of crimſon veluet, bearing bundles of canes, chained together with great hooks of ſiluer; then followed the kings Gentlemen and Pages richly ſuited, being 32 in number.

For the two Princes of Sauoy, there came two Pages riding, bearing white targuets on their armes: after whome were led three horſes, with capariſons of blacke veluet, richly imbrodered with pearle: then followed twelue other horſes, their capariſons of blacke veluet, but imbrodered with ſiluer. For the duke of Lerma were led ſix horſes with capa- I
riſons of white and red; his Groomes and Pages attending were ſuteable. For the Conſtable were led foure and twenty horſes of ſeruice in white and greene, his Pages and groomes all ſuted alike. There were eighty horſemen which were actors that day in thoſe ſports, being diuided into eight bands or companies: beſides the king and the reſt aboue named, there were many of the Grandoes, and they were all men of ſpeciall note in the Court of Spaine: whoſe names for breuities ſake I omit: At the firſt they came riding in ſwiftly by couples, with their targuets on their ſhoulders, and ſhaking their ſtaues after the maner of the Moores and Arabians. Being all come in, they diuided themſelues into two parts, either ſide hauing foure ſquadrons, and euerie ſquadron ten in number: Being al ready, the kings ſide firſt gaue the charge, and the others anſwered them, & ſo they cō- K
tinued chaſing one another, ſquadron after ſquadron, and caſting their canes one after another, for the ſpace of an houre, and ſo the ſport ended.

Shew of the kings Horſemen

On the firſt of Iune, the Lord embaſſador was inuited to ſee the kings horſemen in arms in a ſpacious place called El Campo, conſiſting of launces, light horſemen and Carbines, to the number of two thouſand, of the which the duke of Lerma was generall: theſe troups after ſome ſallies one vpon another, and certaine skirmiſhes, drew themſelues into a ring, and ſo marching vnder the window whereas the king, Queene and embaſſadour ſtood, went their way.

Mask at Court.

On the ſixt of Iune he was requeſted to ſee a maske, & about ſix of the clock in the eue- ning D. *Blaſco d' Arragon* came to conduct his Lordſhip, and the reſt through a priuate L
gallery of the kings, to the appointed place which was the new built banqueting houſe, where his Lordſhip and his followers were conueniently appointed. The roome was furniſhed with 320 wax lights, all ſet in ſtanderds of ſiluer of diuers faſhions. Where after ſome ſongs and muſicke, the maske appeared after this manner.

There came firſt of al 30 muſitions, in long roabs of crimſon tafata, wel ſet out to ſhew, playing on ſeueral inſtruments. After whome followed ſix Virgins dancing, one bearing in her hand a ſun, another a branch of an Oliue tree, another an anchor, another a ſword with two points, on either point a bunch of flowers.

Then followed a Chariot of an antick faſhion, drawn by two liued horſes, being exceeding little: In the vpper part whereof ſat the Infanta, with a Scepter of gold in her hand, M
hauing the picture of a Doue at the vpper end of it: at her feet ſat two other Virgins, who attended her, and on either ſide went diuers pages bearing torches of white waxe.

At the vpper end of the hal there was a rich State built all of Maſons work aſcending vp by degrees, richly guilt, and garniſhed with ſundrie ſtatues guilt alſo; in which ſtate there were three chaires ſet, two great, & one leſſer, which was betwixt the other two. In which

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A which middle chaire the Infanta being taken out of her Chariot was placed; the two virgins neere her, and the other ſixe vpon the degrees at the foot of the eſtate. At the nether end of the Hall ſtood the maskers in a gallerie, made of purpoſe, who vpon drawing of a curtaine, appeared as it were in clouds: They were eight and twentie Knights & Ladies beſides torch-bearers, whereof the king and Queen made two, the reſt were al Grandoes, and men of great honour; the Ladies were the Queens Maides. The gallerie being built in maner of an arch, and ſet full with looking glaſſes, did with the light of torches ſhine as if it had beene ful of Starres. The muſick playing, the maskers deſcended by foure and foure at a time, vpon a ſtage made in faſhion of a cloud vntill the whole number was
B come forth dancing together in good forme and meaſure. Hauing danced a while, they all vnmasked themſelues, the king and Queene ſitting in the chaires aboue mentioned, where after ſome other dances the ſport ended.

On the ſeuenth of Iune the Lord embaſſadour was appointed to take his leaue of the king, and returne for England. Before his comming to Audience, the king ſent by D. *Pedro de Suniga*, and ſome others, to the number of foureteene chaines of gold, or thereabouts, for ſome of the kings Seruants, and his lordſhips chiefe officers: hauing likewiſe ſent before by the ſaid D. *Pedro*, vnto the Lords, and to many knights, and other eſpecial men of his Lordſhips companie, ſeuerall Iewels and chaines which were verie rich. In the afternoone the king ſent vnto the embaſſadour a verie rich preſent of Iewels, both for
C himſelf and his Lady, the which were preſented vnto him by D. *Blaſco*, and brought by the maſters and officers of the jewel houſe, whome he rewarded honorably.

Not long after the Conſtable came with ſome others to conduct him to his Audience, where, after ſome priuate conference with the king, hee tooke his leaue, hauing receiued many gracious words from his Maieſtie, as alſo a ring with a Diamond, which ſome valued at three thouſand pounds, the which the king put vpon his finger, in token (as hee ſaid) of wedding him perpetually in true loue. After which the king commanded the duke of Infantaſgo, to conduct him vnto the Queen, where hauing performed all due complements he tooke his leaue alſo of her Highneſſe. And the ſame day (being accompanied, a mile out of the Towne, by the Conſtable and ſome other Noblemen) he began his iour-
D ny towards England, and on the fifteenth day came to Saint Andreas where his ſhips attended him. Where being arriued, and all things ready for his imbarking, hee ſhewed his bountie in rewarding D. *Blaſco*, the Apoſentador or chiefe Harbinger, and al the kings officers & ſeruants that attended him, with great chains of gold, faire Iewels of good value, and large ſums of money, to their generall content. After which hauing feaſted them on ſhipboard, hee put to ſea on the 25 day of Iune.

Thus haue I ſummarily ſet downe the ſubſtance of the Earle of Nottinghams honorable entertainment at the Court of Spaine, when as he was ſent thither embaſſador for the ſwearing of the othe: with the which I will end this Hiſtorie, and conclude my labour with his Lordſhips ſafe returne into England.

FINIS.

G

Obſeruations touching the ſtate and gouernment of Spaine.

H

FOr as much as my Authour in the beginning of this Hiſtorie hath made an exact deſcription of Spaine, ſetting downe the number of leagues the whole continent doth containe in circuit, deſcribing the principall riuers within the Countrie, with their Springs and courſes, ſetting downe the mountaines and hils, and diſtinguiſhing the Prouinces, within the countrie, as they lye at this day, and by whome they were in ancient time inhabited, with a declaration of the fertilitie, riches, and commodities of the Countrie: I haue thought good to adde ſomething touching the gouernment of that ſtate, with ſome other obſeruations concerning that ſubiect, the which I haue collected out of ſuch as haue beene curious to ſee, obſerue, and write thereof. I

The king of Spaine, as hee is a potent Prince and Lord of many countries, ſo hath hee many Councels for the managing of their affaires, diſtinctly & apart, without any confuſion, euerie Councell treating only of thoſe matters which concerne their Iuriſdiction & charge, and meddle not one with anothers buſineſſe: with which Councels and with the Preſidents, being men of chiefe note, the king doth conferre touching matters belonging to the good gouernment, preſeruation, & increaſe of his Eſtates, and hauing heard euerie mans opinion, he commands that to be executed that ſhall be held moſt fit and conuenient. The firſt is, K

Councel of ſtate. The Councel of ſtate; wheron the reſt depend. They name Viceroyes for all the king of Spaines countries, and prouide for many things for the preſeruation of his realms. The king himſelfe is Preſident of this Councell: the Counſellours, who are the chiefe men in the court, haue no fees.

Councell of warre. The Councell of warre. It prouides for Generals, Colonels, Captaines, the Generall of the gallies, and for whatſoeuer concernes the war, with the aduice of his Majeſtie, who is preſident of this Councell. They puniſh all commanders and officers at warre that doe not their duties. And in like maner they diſpoſe of the companies of men at arms appointed for the gard of the kingdom, and they giue order for the artillerie, munition, and fortifications, or any thing that is neceſſary for the warre. The counſellors haue no wages. L

Councell of iuſtice. The royall Councel of juſtice. Here they treat of the good gouernment of all Spaine, they determine controuerſies betwixt Noblemen, and eaſe the greeuances of other Courts. This councell is of great preheminence: the preſident names al Iuſtices of Spain, the Prouoſts of the kings houſe, with many other Counſellors and Iuſtices. They take information how euerie one hath behaued himſelfe in his charge, puniſhing and changing as they ſhall think good, but with the kings priuity. There is a Preſident, and ſixteen counſellors, who haue all wages.

Councel of Italy. The Councell of Italie: which treats of matters concerning the realms of Naples and Sicile, and the Duchie of Milan. The Conſtable of Caſtille is Preſident: there are ſixe Counſellours, three Italians, and three Spaniards. In this Councell they diſpoſe of the gouernment of Italie, and giue aduancement to the Souldiers that ſerue in thoſe Countries; they appoint Gouernours, and Iudges in cities, and giue titles to Noblemen: but they firſt acquaint the king with their conſultations. M

The

A The Councel of the Indies. The Preſident is of greateſt eſteeme next vnto the councel royall: there are eight Counſellors, and haue all wages. They appoint Viceroys, for Peru, & Noua Hispagna, and a general of the army that goes into theſe parts, with all other Offices and Spirituall liuings. In this Councell they alſo treat of all greeuances and complaints, that come from the Indies, by way of appellation. All which things they impart vnto the king. They alſo appoint Viſitors to goe into thoſe Prouinces, to examine how all Officers carrie themſelues, and to heare the peoples greeuances; and they puniſh or diſmiſſe as they ſhall ſee cauſe. *The Councell of the Indies.*

The Councell of Orders. It hath a Preſident, and foure Counſellours, with wages, *The Councell of Orders.*
B hich muſt be Knights, of the Order of Saint Iames, Calatraua, or Alcantara. In this Councell they treat of ſuits, which happen in Prouinces belonging vnto theſe orders, and to ſee that the Knights weare their habits nearly. This Councell appoints two and twentie Iuſtices in their Prouinces, wherewith the royal Councell hath not to deale. They puniſh the Commanders and knights which obſerue not their orders. They diſpoſe of many Benefices, Vicarages, Chappels, and other Offices, in the Prouinces of their Orders; but all with the kings priuitie, and allowance.

The Councell which they call de Camera. It hath a Preſident and three Counſellors, *Councell de Camera.*
of the moſt ancient of the Councell Royall, which haue no wages. In this Councell they prouide ſuperiour officers for the Realme, and they diſpoſe of Biſhopricks, Chanonries,
C and other Eccleſiaſtical liuings, the king hauing the nomination from the Pope of Rome.

The Councell of Hazienda: where there is a Preſident and three Counſellors, without *Councell of Hazienda.*
fees, wherein they treat of the kings reuenues, and of all dueties, entries & accompts, like vnto our Exchequer in England.

There is a Counſell of accompts: which conſiſts of foure Counſellours, in the which *Councell of Accompts.*
two of the kings chiefe Auditours haue place, and the moſt ancient Counſellor preſides. In this councell they determine of ſutes touching the ſubſidies and taxes, and giue order to Collectors, for recouerie thereof.

The Councel of Cruzada. It hath a Preſident, two Counſellours and three Anditours: *Councell of the Cruzada.*
Their charge is onely to diuide the Cruzado by the biſhopricks, and to ſend forth Com-
D miſſaries to gather it.

The Councell of Arragon, Valentia and Cattalognia. It hath a Preſident, who is *Councell of Arragon.*
called Vicechancellour, with ſixe Counſellours, which haue wages. They treat of the gouernment of thoſe Realmes, and of the Ilands of Maiorca, Minorca, & Sardinia: they appoint gouernors and Iudges, and determine ſuits from thoſe places by way of appeale, and heare their greeuances, and to giue rewards in the kings chamber of thoſe realmes; all with his Maieſties approbation.

The Councell of the Inquiſition. The Preſident is called Inquiſitor Maior, an Office of *Councell of the Inquiſition.*
great dignitie, which moſt commonly the Archbiſhop of Toledo holdes: hee hath ſix counſellors, or Inquiſitors, they appoint all the Inquiſitors, Prouoſts, and Secretaries
E in all the Inquiſitions within the Realme, which are aboue twentie, in either of which are three or foure Inquiſitors: who deale in matters of Hereſie, & with ſuch men as do or ſay any thing againſt the church of Rome. And before they condemne any offendor they ſend him to this Councell to determine of him.

The Councell of Deſcargos, treates of the paying of the old kings debts, and the exe- *Councell of Deſcargos.*
cution of their laſt wils.

There are two Chanceries in Spaine, one at Vailledolit, and another at Granado, *Chanceries of Spaine.*
either of which hath a Preſident and twelue Counſellors. They take knowledge of all ciuill cauſes which come vnto them by way of appeale from other inferiour courts. They alſo take knowledge of ſutes, for the eſtates and inheritances of No-
F blemen, from the which they may appeale to the Councel royall, if the matter in queſtion exceed the value of foure thouſand ducats. There are foure Alcaldes or Prouoſts of the Chancerie, who determine of all ciuill and criminall cauſes, within fiue leagues; from whome they appeale to the counſellours of the Chauncerie.

There is a Councell for the realme of Nauarre, where there is a Regent, ſixe Councel- *Councell of Nauarre.*
lors, and foure Alcaldes, or Prouoſts, they take knowledge of ſuites, both ciuill and cri-
minall

minall within that Realme, and end them there, of what qualitie ſoeuer they be without G
appeale, whereof they conſult euerie weeke with the Viceroy, who determines what they ſhall doe.

Counſel of Gallicia. There is alſo a Regent, 4 Conncellors, and 4 Prouoſts in the realm of Gallicia, who end all ſuits within that realme, but they deale not in queſtions of Nobilitie and Gentrie, which goe to the Chancerie of Vailledolit.

Councell of Souille. The Citie of Seuille with the dependances, hath a Regent, 6 Councellors, and 4 Prouoſts, who take knowledge of all ciuill and criminall matters, whereof the iudges of the ſaid citie or realm haue giuen ſentence. There is an appeale from them to the royal councel: all queſtions of Nobilitie goe to the Chancerie of Granado. H

Power of the Preſident of the Councell royall. The Preſident of the Councell royall of Iuſtice appoints all the Councellors, Prouoſts, Preſidents, & Regents of the Chanceries, & changeth them from one to another, & draws them to be Councellors of that Court: Moreouer he names ſixty and ſixe Gouernors of Cities and Prouinces, changing them as occaſion ſhall require. Theſe Gouernors or Iudges, haue commonly two or three Lieutenants in the townes of their gouernment. They or their Lieutenants, gouerne the cities or prouinces which are vnder their charge, with twelue or more Aldermen which hee hath in euerie citie and towne: which Aldermen doe onely deale with the maintenance of the citie, and with the publike works wherein they haue a voice, but the gouernours or their Lieutenants determine of al murthers, theſts, or other miſdemeanors: and puniſh according to the qualitie of the fact, I
euerie Gouernour hath as much power in theſe matters, as the king himſelfe, the matter being iuſtifiable, and they may deale in al matters for that their Cõmiſſions are verie ample, repreſenting the kings perſon, from whome they doe appeale to the Chanceries of Vailledolit or Granado.

Reuenues of the king of Spaine. I am afraid to enter into any diſcourſe of the reuenues of this king, men write ſo diuerſly therof: ſome write that he hath but 14 millions of ducats, comming in yeerly, others ſay eighteen Millions, and ſome bring it to 23 millions, which differences may haply with ſome limitations bee reconciled: But whatſoeuer it bee, it is moſt certaine, that during the warres of the Low-countries, it was too little to mainteine his charge, for although K
that Naples, Sicile, Milan, Sardinia, Maiorca and Minorca, Flaunders and Burgondie, yeeld him aboue fiue Millions yearely, yet there comes little of all this to his cofers, being imployed in the entertainment of Viceroys, Gouernors, Captaines, Garriſons, Officers, and other charges in thoſe countries. The kings reuenues in Spaine, riſe not from his demeanes, as in ſome other Countries, but from the great impoſitions which hee rayſeth vpon the ports of the Sea, and from his drie Ports, which bee the paſſages from one kingdome to another: and of all Merchandize which is ſold, hee takes ten in the hundred, and how often ſoeuer it be ſold. A great part of which Gabelles & Impoſitions in Spaine ſtands ingaged vnto the Genouois & other merchants for the paiment of the kings debts. Some hold that he hath not aboue fiue millions of ducats comming in cleerely to maine-
taine the charges of his court, and all other extraordinary expences of war, gifts, penſions, L
voyages and ſuch like.

The Impoſitions which are raiſed in Spaine, are not laid equally vpon all his Countries, but they lie moſt heauie vpon the two Caſtilles, Leon and Andaluzia, for in the realmes of Valencia, Arragon, and Cattelonia, hee impoſeth little, but mainteineth their priuiledges which be great, and they themſelues receiue the Gabbelles and cuſtomes, & not the king: the profit which growes there by confiſcations and pecuniarie fines, doth ſcarce entertaine his Viceroys and other officers. So as it ſeemes hee hath but *merum imperium* in thoſe three countries, they being alſo bound to ſerue him in his warres.

The king reapes great commoditie, by the popes fauor, from the Clergie; he giues him Buls of Croyſadoe; he enioyes the maſterſhips of S. Iames, Calatraua, Alcantara, & diſ- M
poſeth of the Cõmanderies; he hath the firſt fruits of Eccleſiaſticall liuings, and a part of the tythes, which comes yearely to three millions of ducats at the leaſt; & he hath the nomination of all Archbiſhops, Abbots and Priors, yet he may not giue any benefices, but to naturall borne Spaniards, or to ſuch as haue beene formerly naturalized.

The

The Realmes which they number in Spaine, are theſe:

The Realme of Seuille.	The Realme of Gibraltar.
Cordoua.	Granado.
Iaen.	Murcia.
Toledo.	Caſtille.
Leon.	Gallicia.
Nauarre.	Arragon.
Valencia.	Cattelognia.

In theſe Realmes (beſides Arragon, Valencia, and Cattelognia) there are ſome Cities, which are called to the generall Eſtates, and haue voices for the Prouinces in which they are; the which be theſe:

Seuille.	Guadalajara.
Granado.	Segouia.
Cuenca.	Salamanca.
Madrid.	Zamorra.
Soria.	Vailledolit.
Auila.	Burgo.
Cordoua.	Toro.
Iaen.	Leon.
Toledo.	Murcia.

The names of all the chiefe Cities in Spaine and Portugall, and in what Prouinces they are:

In Gallicia.
Compoſtella.
Tuye.

In Aſturia of Ouiedo.
Mondenedo.
Leon.
Pomperado.

In Aſturia S. Ellene.
S. Ellene.

In Biſcaie.
Victoria.

In Nauarre.
Pampelone.

In Cattelognia.
Barcelona.
Tarragone.
Mouſon.
Seguença.

In Arragon.
Saragoſſa.
Tarrel.
Durago.
Valencia.

In Valencia.
Cuenca.
Segoruia.
Oraguella.

In Mancha.
Alacantye.
Segure.

In Granado.
Granado.
Almerie.
Carthagena.
Murcia.
Guadix.

In Andaluzia.
Seuille.
Cadiz.
Medina Sidonia.
Eſica.
Iaen.
Mallega.
Xeres.
Cordoua.
Vbeda.
Baeça.
Andujar.

In the Countie.
Aymonte.
Auyla.

In Caſtille.
Burgos.
Tarragone.
Guadalajara.
Segouia.
Calohorra.
Zamora.
Toro.
Medina del Campo.
In Spaine there are 57 *Cities.*
Salamanca.
Valentia.
Aſtorgo.

In Toledo.
Cuidad Royall.
Alcala de Henares.
Toledo.

In Eſtremadura.
Placentia.
Auyla.
Badajos.
Merida.

In Portugall.
Lisbone.
Euora.
Coimbra.
Porto.
Braga.
Bragance.
Cuidad Roderigo.
Beiria.
Cono.
Oliuenſa.
Eluas.
Guarda.
Settuual.
Selues.
Leria.
In Portugall there are 15 *Cities.*

Some haue obſerued in their late trauels, that the King of Spaine hath alwaies within that continent 56000 foot, which are muſtered and enrolled, and are bound to be readie in armes at the ringing of a bell, or the ſound of the drumme. The Grandos, Nobilitie, and Prelats of the Kingdome are charged with horſe, and they amount to the number of 16000. Beſides, the inhabitants of the ſea coaſts, and of diuers other Ports of his dominions within land, are bound to find horſe, which come to 12000 at the leaſt, all which muſt be readie at a moneths warning. This I had from the relation of a yong nobleman, wherein he hath ſhewed great induſtrie and judgement, but it may be there was ſome miſtaking in the writing of theſe great numbers of horſe.

A note of all the Hauens, Ports, and Fiſher Townes vpon the coaſt of Spaine, from Fontarabie in Biſcaie, to Barcelona in the Mediterranean ſea.

In Biſcaie.
Fontarabie, a bard hauen.
Paſſage and Renderie, an open hauen.
S. Sebaſtians, a bay hauen.
Sumaye and Guittario, bard.
Montrica and Deua, fiſher townes.
Mondac and Alequito, Fiſhers.
Vermeo and Placentia, Fiſhers.
Bilbao and Portugalete, bard hauen.

Aſturies.
Aluredo, a key hauen.
S. Ander, an open hauen.
S. Vincent de la Barkera, fiſher towne.
Aryba de Sella, Fiſhers.
Villaviciosa, Fiſhers.
Chynchon, a kay.
Torre, Fiſhers.
Peua, Fiſhers.
Loarca, bard hauen.
Auiles, bard hauen.

Gallicia.
Ribadeo, bard hauen.
Vuiero and Sidera, Fiſhers.
Farrol, open hauen.
The Groyne, an open hauen.
Mongea, bard hauen.
Corcauiana, bard hauen.
Muros, bard.
Porta viedra, bard hauen.
Vigo and Bayone, open hauen.

In

In the Countie.

Aymont, a bard hauen.
Selua and Palos, Fiſhers.

In Andaluzia.

S. Lucar de Barameda, it ſtands in the mouth of the riuer of Guadalquiuir, which goes vp to Seuille, Fiſher boats.
Seuille, bard hauen.
Rota, a kay.
Cadiz, an open hauen.
S. Marie Port, barred hauen.

Streits toward Barcelona.

Gibraltar, an open roade and kay.
Grand Malega, a kay roade.
Maruela, an open roade.
Velez Malega, a kay roade.
Almerie, Fiſhers.
Carthagena, a hauen.

In Valencia.

Alicante, which is the Port of Valencia, a hauen.
Valencia, a Creeke.

In Cattelonia.

Empullas, Taragona, Palamos, Empurias, Roſas } All Fiſher Townes.
Barcelona, an open hauen.

In Portugall.

Camina, a barred hauen.
Viana, barred.
Villa de Conde, barred.
Auero, barred.
Porto de Portugall, barred.
Caſcais, Fiſher Towne.
Lisbone, an open hauen.
Seſembrie, barred hauen.
Setun, an open hauen.
Largos, a kay.
Villanouas, a barred hauen.
Farouillas, barred.
Figera, Tauilla, Caſtromarin } Fiſher Townes.

I will not trouble my ſelfe nor the Reader in ſetting downe what ſhippes and barkes belong vnto theſe Ports and Hauens, as ſome haue done, being very variable and vncertaine: but I will onely make ſome mention of the king of Spaines forces at ſea, as I haue learned from thoſe that haue curiouſly inquired thereof, at their being in the countrey. The king maintaines vpon the coaſt of Spaine and Portugall ſome 40 good ſhippes and galleons, with 32 galleyes, beſides ſmaller veſſels. And beſides all theſe, he hath at Naples 25 galleyes, in Sicilie 16, and they of Genoua, which he entertaines continually, but the galleyes are none of his.

A Catalogue of the Princes which haue raigned in *Spaine ſince the euerſion of the Romane Empire,* with their Alliances and Succeſſions.

The Kings of the Gothes.

1 VAllia, *firſt King of the Gothes, which ſetled himſelfe in Spaine about the yeare of our Lord* 420
2 Theodoric *the firſt.* 440
3 Toriſmond. 453
4 Theodoric *the ſecond.* 458
5 Henry *or* Euric. 471
6 Alaric. 483
7 Genſalaric *or* Geſſelaric. 508
8 Amalaric. 511
9 Theude. 526
10 Theodiſcle. 544
11 Agila. 546
12 Aranagilde. 551
13 Luiba *the firſt.* 565
14 Leonigilde. 567
15 Ricarede. 585
16 Luiba *the ſecond.* 601
17 Victeric *vſurper.* 603
18 Gundamir. 610
19 Sizebuth. 612
20 Suintilla. 621
21 Sizenand. 631
22 Cinthilla. 637
23 Tulca. 641
24 Cindaſiunthe, *and his ſonne.* 642
25 Recceſiunthe. 652
26 Bamba. 672
27 Eruinge. 681
28 Egica. 688
29 Vitiza. 701
30 Roderic. 711

During the raigne of RODERIC, *laſt King of the Gothes,* the Arabians, Saracens, or Moores inuaded or conquered Spaine; againſt whom did riſe many Chriſtian Potentates, whoſe lines and deſcendant follow: that is,

The Line of Ouiedo and Leon. *Fol.* 1345
The Line of Caſtille. 1349
The Line of Nauarre. 1355
The Line of Arragon. 1362
The Line of Cattelogne. 1367
The Line of Portugall. 1369

The names of the Archbiſhops of Toledo. *Fol.* 1374

Moreouer, the names of the Kings and Princes Moores which haue raigned in Spaine, *Fol.* 1375.

The

The Line of Ouiedo and Leon.

I.

Pelagius first king of Ouiedo, ſonne to *Fafila*, Gouernour of Biſcaie.
Gaudioſa his wife.

Lawfull children { *Fafila.* / *Ormiſinda.*

II.

Fafila ſonne to *Pelagius*, in the yere 735, raigned two yeres, and died without children.
Froleua his wife.

III.

Alphonſo firſt of that name, ſonne to *Peter*, Gouernour of Biſcaie, in the yeare 737: he raigned 19 yeres.
Ormiſinda, daughter to king *Pelagius*, his wife.

Lawfull children { *Froila.* / *Vimaran.* / *Aurelius.* / *Odeſinde*, a daughter. / *Mauregat*, a baſtard.

IIII.

D. *Froila* the firſt of that name, ſonne to king *Alphonſo* 1. in the yeare 756: he raigned 11 yeres, 6 moneths.
Menine or *Momerane*, daughter to the Duke of Aquitaine, his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonſo.* / D. *Bermund*, or *Veremund.* / D. *Ximena*, mother to *Bernard del Carpio.*

V.

D. *Aurelius* brother to *Froila*, in the yeare 768: he raigned 6 yeares, and died without children.

VI.

D *Silo* husband to *Odeſinde*, daughter to king *Alphonſo* the firſt, in the yeare 774: he raigned 9 yeares, and died without children.

VII.

D. *Mauregat*, baſtard to king *Alphonſo* the firſt, an Vſurper, in the yere 783: he raigned fiue yeares and ſix moneths, and died without children.

VIII.

D. *Bermond*, or *Veremund*, ſonne to king *Froila*, and firſt of that name, in the yere 789: he raigned two yeares alone, and foure with *Alphonſo* his brother.
D. *Imelona* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Ramir.* / D. *Garcia.*

IX.

D. *Alphonſo* ſecond of that name, ſonne to king *Froila*, called the chaſt, in the yere 795: he raigned 29 yeres after the death of D. *Bermund.*
D. *Berſia* his wife, with whom he had no companie; and therefore he had no children.

X.

D. *Ramir* and D. *Garcia*, ſonnes to king *Bermund*, raigne together in the yeare 824: D. *Ramir* who ſuruiued, held the realme ſix yeares.

D. *Vrraca* of Caſtille wife to D. *Ramir*.

Lawfull children { D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*. D. *Garcia*.

XI.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, firſt of that name, and ſonne to the king D. *Ramir*, in the yere 831: he raigned 10 yeres.

D. *Nugna* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonſo*. D. *Bermund*. D. *Nugno*. D. *Odoaire*. D. *Froila*. D. *N.* a daughter.

XII.

D. *Alphonſo* third of that name, ſonne to king D. *Ordogno*, in the yere 841: he raigned 46 yeres.

D. *Amelina*, or as ſome ſay, *Ximenia* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Garcia*. D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*. D. *Froila*. D. *Gonſal* the Archdeacon.

XIII.

D. *Garria* firſt of that name, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the third, in the yere 886: he raigned three yeres, and had to wife the daughter of D. *Nugno Fernandes de Caſtille*, and died without children.

XIIII.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, ſecond of that name, brother to D. *Garcia*, in the yeare 889: he raigned eight yeres.

D. *Nugna* or *Eluira*, as ſome ſay, his firſt wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Sancho*. D. *Alphonſo*. D. *Ramir*. D. *Garcia*. D. *Ximena*.

D *Arragonde*, or it may be *Radagonde* of Gallicia, his ſecond wife, repudiated.

D. *Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, third wife to this king D. *Ordogno*.

XV.

D. *Froila* ſecond of that name, and third ſonne to king *Alphonſo* the third, an vſurper, in the yeare 897: he raigned one yeare ſix moneths, ſurnamed the cruell.

D. *Nugna* or *Munina* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonſo*. D. *Ordogno*, or *Fortun*. D. *Ramir*.

D. *Froila*, a baſtard, father to D. *Pelagius* the Deacon.

XVI.

D. *Alphonſo* fourth of that name, ſonne to the king D. *Ordogno* the ſecond, in the yere 898: he raigned 6 yeres.

D. *Vrraca Ximenes* Infanta of Nauarre his wife.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, called the bad.

D. *Ramir*,

XVII.

D.*Ramir*, ſecond of that name, brother to D. *Alphonſo* the fourth, in the yeare 904: he raigned 20 yeares.

D.*Thereſia* Infanta of Nauarre, his wife.

Lawfull children
- D.*Bermond.*
- D.*Ordogno.*
- D.*Sancho.*
- D.*Eluira*, a Nun.

XVIII.

D.*Ordogno* 3 of that name, ſonne to D.*Ramir*, in the yeare 924: hee raigned 5 yeares.

D.*Vrraca*, daughter to D.*Fernand Gonſales* Earle of Caſtille, his wife repudiated.

D.*Eluira* his ſecond wife, by whom he had

D.*Bermond.*

XIX.

D.*Sancho*, brother to D.*Ordogno*, in the yeare 929: hee raigned 12 yeares, the firſt of that name, and was ſurnamed the Groſſe.

D.*Thereſia* his wife, of whom was borne

D.*Ramir.*

XX.

D.*Ramir* third of that name, ſonne to D.*Sancho*, in the yeare 941, he raigned 24 yeares.

D.*Vrraca* his wife, by whom he had no children.

XXI.

D.*Bermond* ſecond of that name, ſonne to king D.*Ordogno* the third, in the yeare 965: he raigned 17 yeares.

D.*Velaſquita* his wife, of whom came

D.*Chriſtina* married to D.*Ordogno* the blind, & had iſſue:
- D.*Alphonſo.*
- D.*Ordogno.*
- D.*Pelagius.*

D.*Eluira* 2 wife, mother to
- D.*Alphonſo.*
- D.*Thereſia*, a Nun.

D.*Adoncia*, who was wife to D.*Pelagius* the Deacon aboue named, and had by him
- D.*Pedro Ordogno.*
- D.*Pelagius.*
- D.*Nugno.*
- D.*Thereſia.*

Of two ſiſters Concubines, he had

D.*Ordogno by the one:*

D.*Eluira* by the other.

XXII.

D.*Alphonſo* fifth of that name, ſonne to king *Bermond*, in the yeare 982: he raigned 46 yeares.

D.*Eluira* daughter to D.*Melendo Gonſales* his wife.

Lawfull children
- D.*Bermond.*
- D.*Sancha* married to D. *Ferdinand* firſt king of Caſtille.

XXIII.

D.*Bermond* third of that name, ſonne to D.*Alphonſo* the fift, in the yeare 1028: he raigned 9 yeares.

D.*Thereſia* his wife, daughter to *Sancho* Earle of Caſtille, who brought him

D.*Alphonſo*, who died an infant.

XXIIII.

D.*Sancha* heire to the realme, ſiſter to D.*Bermond*, was maried to king *Ferdinand* the firſt of Caſtille, and 24 of Leon, in the yeare 1037: he raigned 30 yeres.

Children

Children after ſhe came to the ſucceſſion of Leon
- D. *Vrraca.*
- D. *Sancho* king of Caſtille.
- D. *Eluira.*

Children after ſhee came to the Crowne
- D. *Alphonſo* king of Leon.
- D. *Garcia.*

XXV.

D. *Alphonſo* ſixt of that name, ſon to D. *Sancha*, in the yeare 1067: he raigned 41 yeares in Leon, and came to the crowne of Caſtille: he had many children by many wiues, ſpecified in the line of Caſtille, and among others,

D. *Conſtance* his fourth wife, a Spaniard, brought him

D. *Vrraca*, who was Queene of Leon and Caſtille, married firſt to D. *Raymond* of Burgondie, of whom came D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, king.

XXVI.

D. *Vrraca* had to her ſecond husband, D. *Alphonſo* king of Nauarre and Arragon, numbred for the ſeuenth of that name among the kings of Leon, in the yeare 1108: they had not any children.

XXVII.

D. *Alphonſo Raymond* eighth of that name, ſonne to D. *Raymond* of Burgondie, Earle of Galicia: he raigned in the place of D. *Vrraca* his mother 35 yeares, in the yeare 1122.

D. *Berenguela* daughter to D. *Raymond Arnold* Earle of Barcelone, by whom among other children named in the line of Caſtille, he had

D *Ferdinand* his ſecond ſonne, king of Leon.

XXVIII.

D. *Ferdinand*, ſecond of that name, and ſecond ſonne to king D. *Alphonſo* the eighth, in the yeare 1157: he raigned 31 yeares.

D. *Vrraca* of Portugal, his firſt wife.

D. *Alphonſo.*

D. *Thereſia* his ſecond wife, of the houſe of Lara.

D. *Vrraca Lopes* his third wife, mother to

D. *Sancho Fernandes.*

D. *Garcia.*

XXIX.

D. *Alphonſo* ninth of that name, ſonne to D. *Ferdinand* the ſecond, in the yeare 1188: he raigned 42 yeares.

D. *Thereſia* of Portugall his firſt wife.

Lawfull children
- D. *Ferdinand.*
- D. *Sancha.*
- D. *Dolce.*

D. *Berenguela* Infanta of Caſtille, his ſecond wife, mother to

Lawfull children
- D. *Ferdinand*, king.
- D. *Alphonſo*, Lord of Molina.
- D. *Conſtance*, a Nunne.
- D. *Berenguela*, Counteſſe of Brenne, and Queene of Ieruſalem.

Of a Concubine whoſe name is vnknowne,

D. *Roderigo Alphonſo* of Leon.

XXX.

D. *Ferdinand* the third, he raigned at Leon after his father D. *Alphonſo* the ninth, but he firſt ſeized vpon the crowne of Caſtille, by the diligence of D. *Berenguela* his mother: in him the two realmes were vnited, and neuermore diuided, in the yeare, 1230.

D. *Beatrix* daughter to the Emperour *Philip*: their poſteritie is in the line of Caſtille.

Line

Line of Caſtille.

D.*Nugno Fernandes* Earle of Caſtille, vnder the Soueraigntie of Leon, father or grandfather to

D.*Ximena* maried to D.*Gonſall Iuſte*.

D.*Diego Porcello* Earle alſo, or gouernour of Caſtille vnder the ſame Soueraigntie.

D.*Sulla* maried to D.*Nugno Bellides*.

Theſe two gouernours were ſlaine by king *Ordogno* the ſecond of Leon, in the priſon of Leon.

D.*Nugno Bellides* Earle of Caſtille.

D.*Sulla* daughter to *Diego Porcello* his wife.

Lawfull children. { D.*Nugno Raſure*. / D.*Iuſte Gonſales*.

D.*Nugno Raſure* father to

D.*Gonſal Nugnes*.

D.*Eluira* or *Thereſa Nugnes*, ſurnamed the Faire.

D.*Flauin Caluo* husband to *Eluira*, whence comes the race of *Cid Ruy Dias*.

Theſe gouerned the countrie of Caſtille, in qualitie of Iudges: after that it was drawn from the obedience of the kings of Leon, during the raigne of D.*Froila* the ſecond, about the yeare 896.

D.*Gonſall Nugnes* ſonne to D.*Nugno Raſure*, ſole gouernour of Caſtille.

D.*Ximena* daughter or grandchild to D.*Nugno Fernandes*, whom wee ſet in the firſt place in this Line, mother to

D.*Fernand Gonſales* their ſonne.

Firſt Soueraigne Earle.

D.*Fernand Gonſales* firſt Earle proprietarie of Caſtille, in the yeare 910: he gouerned 32 yeares.

D.*Vrraca*, his firſt firſt wife, mother to

D.*Vrraca*.

D.*Sancha* Infanta of Nauarre, ſecond wife to D.*Fernand*, daughter to D.*Sancho Abarca*.

Children { D.*Gonſal Fernandes*. / D.*Sancho Fernandes*. / D.*Garci Fernandes*. / D.*Pedro* father to two ſonnes, { D.*Gonſal Nugnes*. / D.*Fernandes Gonſales*. } / D.*Baldwin*. }

It is doubtfull by which of his wiues he had theſe fiue ſonnes.

II.

D.*Garci Fernandes* the third ſonne to D.*Fernand Gonſales*, in the yeare 942: hee held the Earldome 48 yeares.

D.*Argentina* his firſt wife, a French woman.

D.*Sancha*, *Ogna*, or *Abba*, his ſecond wife, mother to

Children { D.*Garci Roland*. / D.*Sancho Garcia*. / D.*Vrraca* a Nun. }

III.

D.*Sancho Garcia* the ſecond ſonne to D.*Garci Fernandes*, in the yeare 990: he gouerned Caſtille 38 yeares.

D.*Vrraca* his wife, mother to

Children { D.*Garcia*. / D.*Nugna* Queene of Nauarre. / D.*Thereſia* Queene of Leon. / D.*Tigrida* a Nunne. }

D.*Garcia*

IIII.

D.*Garcia* ſecond of that name, ſlaine at Leon before he was maried, ſo as the Earldome fell to his ſiſter.

D.*Nugna* Queene of Nauarre by the right of proximitie.

V.

D.*Nugna* ſiſter to D. *Garcia*, maried to the king.

D.*Sancho*, fourth of that name of Nauarre, in the yeare 1028, they held the Earldome ſixe yeares, then they gaue it to D.*Fernand* their ſecond ſonne, with the title of a King.

D.*Fernand*, ſecond ſonne.

The other children of this mariage are named in the line of Nauarre.

Firſt King of Caſtille.

D.*Fernand*, ſecond ſonne of D.*Sancho*, fourth of that name of Nauarre, had Caſtille for his portion, with the title of a king, being the inheritance of his mother D.*Nugna*: in the yeare 1034 he vnited Leon vnto it, by his wife D.*Sancha*, and raigned 32 yeares.

D. *Sancha* ſiſter to D.*Bermund*, third king of Leon, mother, among other children, to

D.*Sancho Fernandes*.

D.*Alphonſo*.

Their other children are named in the line of *Leon*.

II.

D.*Sancho Fernandes*, whom we will call the ſecond of that name, in regard of the Earle D.*Sancho Garcia*, in the yeare 1067: he raigned 6 yeares, died without children, and left his realme to his brother D.*Alphonſo* king of Leon.

III.

D.*Alphonſo* brother to D.*Sancho*, firſt of that name in Caſtille, and ſixt in Leon, in the yeare 1073: he raigned 34 yeares 8 moneths.

D.*Ines*, or *Agnes* firſt wife to D.*Alphonſo* a Spaniard.

D.*Conſtance*, ſecond wife, a Spaniard, and mother to

D.*Vrraca* Queene of Caſtille maried to D. *Raimond* of Burgondie firſt, by whom ſhee had { D.*Sancha*. D.*Alphonſo Raymond*.

D.*Maria* otherwiſe called *Caida*, a Moore, third wife to D.*Alphonſo*, mother to

D.*Sancho*.

D.*Berthe* fourth wife, an Italian.

D.*Iſabell*, fift, a Spaniard, mother to

D.*Sancha*.

D.*Eluira* Queene of Naples.

D.*Beatrix* a French woman, ſixt wife to D.*Alphonſo*.

By D.*Ximena Nugnes de Guzman* a Concubine, he had

D.*Eluira*, Counteſſe of Tolouſa.

Of another Concubine whoſe name is not knowne,

D.*Thereſa*, firſt Counteſſe of Portugall.

IIII.

D.*Vrraca* beeing the eldeſt, widow to D. *Raymond* Earle of Burgondie, was hereditarie Queene of Caſtille and Leon, ſhee tooke to her ſecond husband, D.*Alphonſo* king of Nauarre and Arragon, firſt of that name, from whom beeing diuorced, and liuing looſely in her countrie, the Eſtates did chooſe D.*Alphonſo Raymond* her ſonne for their king, during her life: yet we will ſet her in the fourth place.

D.*Alphonſo* husband to D.*Vrraca*, fourth king of Caſtille, in the yeare 1108, where hee raigned eight yeares.

V.

D.*Alphonſo Raymond*, ſonne to *Raymond* of Burgondie, and to D.*Vrraca*, in the yere 1122, he raigned 35 yeares, and is numbred for the third of that name.

D. *Berenguela*

D.*Berenguela*, daughter to the Earle of Barcelone called D.*Raymond Arnold*, his wife, mother to

D.*Sancho* king of Caſtille.
D.*Fernand* king of Leon.
D.*Iſabel* or *Conſtance* Queene of France.
D.*Sancha* or *Beacia* Queene of Nauarre.
D.*Garcia*.

D.*Rica* 2 wife to D.*Alphonſo Raymond*, aunt to the Emperour *Frederic* 1, mother to
D.*Sancha* Queene of Arragon.

D.*Marie* a concubine, mother to
D.*Eſtiennette*, wife to D.*Fernand Roderigo el Caſtellan*, whoſe ſonne D.*Pedro Fernandes de Caſtro* was.

D.*Goutrude* ſiſter to *Diego Apricio*, a concubine alſo, mother to
D.*Vrraca* Queene of Nauarre.

VI.

D.*Sancho*, ſonne to D.*Alphonſo Raymond*, in the yeare 1157: he raigned two yeares, the fourth of that name.

D.*Blanche* of Nauarre his wife.
D.*Alphonſo* their ſonne.

VII.

D.*Alphonſo* ſonne to D.*Sancho* 4 of that name, in the yeare 1159: he raigned 55 yeres.
D.*Leonora* daughter to *Henrie* the ſecond king of England.

Children:
D.*Blanche* Queene of France.
D.*Berenguela* Queene of Leon.
D.*Sancho* died an infant.
D.*Vrraca* Queene of Portugall.
D.*Fernand* died young.
D.*Malfade* died a virgin.
D.*Conſtance* a Nunne.
D.*Leonora* Queene of Arragon.
D.*Henrie* King of Caſtille.
Two daughters which died in their infancies.

VIII.

D.*Henrie* firſt of that name, ſonne to D.*Alphonſo* 4, in the yeare 1214: he raigned about three yeares.

D.*Malfada* of Portugall his wife.

The king D. *Henrie* beeing dead without children, his ſiſter D. *Berenguela* ſecond daughter to king D.*Alphonſo* ſeized vpon the realme of Caſtille, to the preiudice of D. *Blanche* mother to Saint *Lewis* king of France, who was the elder, and there ſetled D.*Fernand* ſonne to her, and to D.*Alphonſo* ninth king of Leon.

IX.

D.*Ferdinand* third of that name, ſonne to D.*Alphonſo* ninth king of Leon, and to D.*Berenguela* of Caſtille, obtained the realme of Caſtille, to the preiudice of Queene *Blanche*, mother to Saint *Lewis*, in the yeare 1217, and raigned 35 yeares.

D.*Beatrix* daughter to the Emperour *Philip*, of whom was borne

Lawfull chidren:
D.*Alphonſo*.
D.*Frederic*.
D.*Ferdinand*.
D.*Henrie*.
D.*Philip*.
D.*Sancho*.
D.*Emanuel*.
D.*Leonora* not maried.
D.*Berenguela* a Nun.

By

By *Ioane* or *Adella* as some write, of the house of Poictiers, his second wife, he had

Lawfull children { D. *Ferdinand*. D. *Lewis*. D. *Leonora*.

In this King the two Realmes of Leon and Castille were vnited, and were no more diuided.

X. King of Castille. 31. *of Leon.*

D. ALFONSO sonne to D. *Ferdinand* 3, numbred for the 5 of that name, and 10 in Leon: but they that joyne these two Lines, accompt him the 11, adding his great grandfather *Alfonso* 4 of Castille, who had no interest in Leon.

D. *Violant* of Arragon his wife, by whom he had

Children {
- D. *Ferdinand* called *de la Cerde*, who married D. *Blanche* daughter to S. *Lewis* of France, and had
  - D. *Alfonso* who married the Ladie of Lunet, named *Maffalda*, daughter to the Vicont of Narbone.
    - D. *Lewis* Earle of Clermont husband to D. *Leonora de Guzman*.——
      - D. *Lewis* earl of Clermõt
      - D. *Iohn de la Cerde*.
      - D. *Isabell* wife to *Bernard de Foix*, base, the stemme of the house of *Medina Celi*.
    - D. *John* Constable of France, named by some *Charles*.
  - D. *Fernand*, who had to wife D. *Ioane de Lara*, and had one daughter D. *Ioane* Queene of Castille, wife to D. *Henry* the Bastard.
    - D. *Blanche* married to D. *Iohn Manuell* father to D.
    - D. *Iohn* called *de Lara*, heire to his mother.
      - D. *Alfonso* the wise, who married D. *Maria Lopes Dias*, heire of Biscaie, and had D. *Iohn* the blind, father to one Daughter married to D. *Iohn Nugnes de Lara*.
- D. *Sancho* 2. sonne
- D. *Pedro* 3. sonne
- D. *Iohn* 4. sonne
- D. *Iames* 5. sonne.
- D. *Berenguela*.
- D. *Beatrix*.
- D. *Isabell*.
- D. *Leonora*.

D. *Maior de Guzman* a Concubine, mother to D. *Beatrix* Queene of Portugall.

XI. King of Castille. 32. *of Leon.*

D. SANCHO second sonne to the King D. *Alphonso*, seized vpon the realme in his fathers life time, to frustrat the children of his elder brother D. *Ferdinand* deceased in the yeare 1284, and raigned about 11 yeares: wee number him for the 4 of that name in Castille.

D. MARIA of Castille, daughter to D. *Alphonso* Lord of Molina, his wife.

Lawfull children {
- D. *Isabella* Duchesse of Britaine.
- D. *Ferdinand*,
- D. *Alphonso* or *Philip*.
- D. *Henry*.
- D. *Pedro*.
- D. *Beatrix*.

XII. King of Castille. 33. *of Leon.*

D. FERDINAND sonne to D. *Sancho* the 4 of that name, in the yeare 1295: hee raigned 17 yeares.

D. *Constance* of Portugall his wife.

Children { D. *Alphonso*. D. *Leonora*.

D. *Alfonso*

XIII. King of Caſtille. 34. *of Leon.*

D. *Alfonſo* 11 of that name, ſonne to D. *Ferdinand* in the yeare 1312: he raigned 38 yeares.

D. *Maria* of Portugall his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Ferdinand*, died in his infancie. / D. *Pedro* King.

By *Leonora de Guzman* a Concubine he had

Baſtards { D. *Pedro*. / D. *Sancho*. / D. *Henry* } Twins. / D. *Frederic* } Twins. / D. *Ferdinand*. / D. *Tello*. / D. *Iohn*. / D. *Ioane*, who was wife to *Ferdinand de Caſtro*.

XIIII. King of Caſtille. 35. *of Leon.*

D. *Pedro* the cruell, in the yeare 1350: he was lawfull ſonne to D. *Alfonſo*, or as ſome hold, ſuppoſed by the Queene D. *Maria*, who was ielous of the fruitfulneſſe of D. *Leonora de Guzman*: he raigned tirannouſly 18 yeares.

D. *Blanche* of *Bourbon* his wife.

D. *Maria de Padille* his Concubine.

Baſtards { D. *Beatrix*. / D. *Conſtance* Ducheſſe of Lancaſter. / D. *Alfonſo*. / D. *Iſabell* Counteſſe of Cambridge.

D. *Ioane de Caſtro*, whom he married in the life of Queene *Blanche*, mother to D. *Iohn*.

D. *Iſabella* an other Concubine, mother to

Baſtards { D. *Sancho*. / D. *Diego*.

D. *Thereſa* of Ayala, vpon promiſe of marriage, brought him D. *Maria*.

XV. King of Caſtille. 36. *of Leon.*

D. *Henry* 2 of that name, baſe ſonne to *Alfonſo* 11: beeing perſecuted by the king D. *Pedro*, he had recourſe vnto the French, by whoſe ayde he conquered the Realme of Caſtille, and ſlew the king D. *Pedro* in the yeare 1368, and raigned 11 yeares.

D. *Ioane Manuell* his wife, mother to

Lawfull children { D. *Iohn* king of Caſtille. / D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauarre.

D. *Leonora Ponce*, ſome call her *Beatrix*, a Concubine: by her he had

D. *Frederic* duke of Benauent.

D. *Eluira Inigues* an other Concubine, mother to

D. *Ioane* marryed to D. *Alfonſo* ſonne to the Marqueſſe of Villena.

Of vncertaine mothers were borne

D. *Alfonſo* Earle of Gijon.

An other daughter married to D. *Pedro* ſonne to the marqueſſe of Villena.

XVI. King of Caſtille. 37. *of Leon.*

D. *Iohn* 1 of that name, ſonne to D. *Henry* the ſecond, in the yeare 1379: hee raigned 11 yeares.

D. *Leonora* of Arragon his wife, mother to

Lawfull children { D. *Henry*. / D. *Ferdinand*. / A daughter which died yong.

D. *Beatrix* of Portugall, his ſecond wife.

XVII. King of Caſtille. 38 *of Leon.*

D. HENRY third of that name, ſonne to D. *Iohn* the firſt, in the yere 1390: he raigned 16 yeares.

D. KATHERINE of Lancaſter his wife.

Lawfull children
- D. *Marie*, Queene of Arragon.
- D. *Iohn*, King of Caſtille.
- D. *Katherine*.

XVIII. King of Caſtille. 39 *of Leon.*

D. IOHN ſonne to D. *Henry* the third, in the yeare 1406: he raigned 48 yeares.

D. MARIA of Arragon, daughter to D. *Ferdinand* his vncle, his wife.

Lawfull children
- D. *Katherina*, died yong.
- D. *Leonora*.
- D. *Henry* king of Caſtille.

D. ISABELL of Portugall his ſecond wife, daughter to the infant D. *Iohn*, Maſter of S. *Iames*.

- D. *Iſabell*, Queene of Caſtille.
- D. *Alphonſo*.

XIX. King of Caſtille. 40 *of Leon.*

D. HENRY fourth of that name, called the vnable, in the yeare 1454: he raigned 21 yeares.

D. BLANCHE of Nauarre, daughter to the king D. *Iohn*, his firſt wife, put away.

D. IOANE of Portugall his ſecond wife, mother to

D. *Ioane*, a ſuppoſed child.

XX. King of Caſtille. 41 *of Leon.*

D. ISABELL of Caſtille, ſiſter to king *Henry* the fourth, was Queene of Caſtille, as next of the bloud, and lawfull, ſhe married with

D. FERDINAND, Prince of Arragon, King of Sicile: they began to raigne in the yere 1474, and had

Lawfull children
- D. *Iſabell*, Queene of Portugall, mother to D. *Michel*, who had beene heire to all the realmes of Spaine, if he had liued.
- D. *Iohn*, who died yong.
- D. *Ioane* Queene heire.
- D. *Maria* Queene of Portugall.
- D. *Katherine*.

XXI. King of Caſtille. 42 *of Leon.*

D. IOANE, daughter to the Queene D. *Iſabell*, and D. *Ferdinand* her husband: ſhe was married to the Archduke

D. PHILIP of Auſtria: they ſucceeded to the Realmes of Caſtille and Leon, in the yeare 1504, and raigned together two yeares, they had

Lawfull children
- D. *Leonora* Queene of Portugall and of France.
- D. *Charles* King and Emperour.
- D. *Iſabell* Queene of Denmarke.
- D. *Ferdinand* Emperor.
- D. *Marie*.
- D. *Katherine*.

XXII. King of Caſtille. 43 *of Leon.*

D. CHARLES by the deceaſe of his father D. *Philip*, ſucceeded to the right of the Crowne of Caſtille, vnder the gouernment of the King D. *Ferdinand* his grandfather, after

after whoſe death hee tooke vpon him the gouernment of the realme, by reaſon of the incapacitie of the Queene D. *Ioane* his mother, in the yere 1516 : hee raigned 42 yeres in Caſtille, Arragon and Nauarre.

D. Isabell daughter to King *Emanuell* of Portugall his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Philip* king. / D. *Marie* Empreſſe. / D. *Ioane* married to the Prince of Portugall. / D. *Ferdinand* who died yong.

By Concubines he had

Baſtards { D. *Marguerite* ducheſſe of Florence, and Parma. / D. *Iohn d'Auſtria.*

XXIII. King of Caſtille. 44 *of Leon.*

D. Philip, 2 ſonne to the Emperour *Charles* 5, in the yeare 1558 : he raigned fortie yeares.

D. Marie of Portugall his firſt wife, mother to

D. *Charles.*

D. Marie Queene of England, died without children.

D. Isabell of France his 3 wife, mother to

{ D. *Iſabella Clara Eugenia.* / D. *Catherina.*

D. Anna of Auſtria his 4 wife, by whom he had

Lawfull children { D. *Charles.* / D. *Laurens*, ſome ſay *Fernand.* / D. *Diego*, or *Iames.* / D. *Philip.* / D. *N.* a daughter.

XXIIII. King of Caſtille. 45 *of Leon.*

D. Philip 3 now raigning, ſonne to *Philip* 2, in the yeare 1598.

D. Margverite of Auſtria daughter to the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Gratz, his wife.

Line of Nauarre.

Firſt King in Sobrabre and Nauarre.

D. Garcia *Ximenes* in the yeare 716 : he raigned 42 yeares.

Inigа his wife, mother to

Garcia Inigo.

II.

D. Garcia Inigo, ſecond of that name, in the yeare 758 : he raigned 44 yeres : the name of his wife is vnkowne.

D. *Fortun Garces* his ſonne.

III.

D. Fortvn Garces, ſonne to D. *Garcia Inigo*, in the yeare 802 : he raigned 13 yeares.

D. Thevda of Arragon daughter to D. *Galinde.*

D. *Sancho Garces.*

IIII.

D. Sancho Garces, firſt of that name, ſonne to D. *Fortun*, in the yeare 815 : hee raigned 17 yeares.

The name of his wife is not found.

D. *Ximen Inigo*, it may be their ſonne.

V.

D. XIMEN INIGO, in the yeare 832: he raigned 8 yeres.
D. NVGNA his wife.

D. *Inigo Arista.*

VI.

D. INIGO ARISTA, in the yeare 840: he raigned 27 yeres some hold that hee was not sonne to D. *Ximen*, but issued from the Lords of Bigorre, and elected.
D. THEVDA, daughter to *Zeno* Earle of Biscaie.

D. *Garcia Inigo.*

VII.

D. GARCIA INIGO, third of that name, sonne to D. *Inigo Arista*, in the yeare 867: he raigned 18 yeares.
D. VRRACA, heire of Arragon, his wife.

Children { D. *Fortun.* / D. *Sancho Abarca.* / D. *Sancha* Queene of Leon.

VIII.

D. FORTVN, in the yere 885: hee raigned 6 yeres in Nauarre and Arragon, which was a small thing then, and vnder the soueraigntie of Nauarre. This king made him selfe a Monke, and left the realme to his brother.

IX.

D. SANCHO ABARCA, 2 of that name, in the yeare 901: raigned 19 yeres.
D. TODA, or THEVDA his wife.

Children { D. *Garcia Sanches.* / D. *Vrraca Xemenes*, Queene of Leon. / D. *Marie* Counteſſe of Barcelona / D. *Thereſia* Queene of Leon. / D. *Sancha* Counteſſe of Caſtille. / D. *Blanche* married to the Lord of Biſcaie.

Some hold this King had 3 ſonnes more,

D. *Ramir.* / D. *Gonſal.* / D. *Ferdinand.*

X.

D. GARCIA SANCHES, 4. of that name, ſonne to D. *Sancho Abarca*, in the yeare 920: he raigned 49 yeres.
THERESIA his wife.

Children { D. *Sancho Garces.* / D. *Ramir.* / D. *Vrraca.* / D. *Ermeſilde.* / D. *Ximena.*

XI.

D. SANCHO GARCES, third of that name, ſonne to D. *Garcia Sanches*, in the yeare 969: he raigned 24 yeares.
D. VRRACA his wife.

Children { D. *Garcia.* / D. *Ramir* father to { D. *Sancho.* / D. *Garcia.* } / D. *Gonſal.* }

XII.

D. GARCIA the ſhaking, ſonne to D. *Sancho Garces* 5. of that name, in the yere 993: he raigned 7 yeres or thereabouts.

D. XIMENA

D. XIMENA his wife.

D. *Sancho* their ſonne.

XIII.

D. SANCHO, 4 of that name, ſonne to D. *Garcia* the trembling, in the yeare 1000: hee raigned 34 yeres.

D. NVGNA daughter to D. *Sancho* Earle of Caſtille, which by ſome is called D. *Maior* heire of Caſtille.

Children { D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre. / D. *Ferdinand* king of Caſtille. / D. *Gonſal* king of Sobrarbre and Ribagorſa.

Of D. *Caya* the Ladie of Ayuar, a Concubine

D. *Ramir* King of Arragon.

XIIII.

D. GARCIA, 6 of that name, ſonne to D. *Sancho* 4, in the yere 1034: he raigned 20 yeres.

D. ETTIENETTE a French woman, of the houſe of *Carraſſone*, and of *Beziers*, his wife.

Children { D. *Sancho Garcia* King. / D. *Ramir*. / D. *Ferdinand*. / D. *Raymond*. / D. *Ermeſilde*. / D. *Zimena*. / D. *Maior*. / D. *Yrraa*, or *Ogneda*.

XV.

D. SANCHO GARCIA, 5 of that name, ſonne to D. *Garcia*, in the yere 1054: hee raigned 22 yeres.

D. PLAISANCE his wife.

D. *Ramir Sanches* of D. *Eluira* daugter to *Cid Ruy Dias* had { D. *Garcia Ramires*, who raigned. / D. *Sancho Ramires*. / D. *Eluira*.

D. *Garcia* the elder.

D. *Garcia* the ſecond.

Theſe children did not ſucceed.

XVI.

D. SANCHO RAMIRES, who was 2 king of Arragon ſeazed vpon the realme of Nauarre, and is nombred for the 6 of that name, in the yere 1076: he raigned 18 yeres.

D. FELICE, daughter to the Earle of Vrgel, his wife, mother, among other children named in the Line of Arragon, to

Children { D. *Pedro*. / D. *Alfonſo*. } who were kings of Nauarre and Arragon. / D. *Ramir* a Monke.

XVII.

D. PEDRO, 1 of that name, ſonne to D. *Sancho Ramires*, in the yere 1094: he raigned 10 yeres 5 moneths.

D. BERTHA or INES of Tuſcaine his wife.

D. *Pedro*, died an infant.

D. *Iſabell*, died alſo before the father.

XVIII.

D. ALFONSO, brother to D. *Pedro* 1 of that name, vnited all the Chriſtian realms

of Spaine together by his marriage with D *Yrraca* heire of Caſtille and Leon, he came to the Crowne of Nauarre, in the yere 1104, and raigned 30 yeres.

D. VRRACA, daughter to *Alfonſo* 6 of Leon and Caſtille, his wife, by whom he had not any children.

XIX.

D. GARCIA RAMIRES, 7 of that name, ſonne to D. *Ramir Sanches*, & grand-child to D. *Sancho Garcia*, 5 of that name, he was choſen by the Eſtates, in the yere 1134, and raigned 16 yeres.

D. MERGELINA or MARGVERITE, as ſome ſay, daughter to *Rotrou* Earle of Perche, his wife.

Children
- D. *Blanche*.
- D. *Sancho* king.
- D. *Alfonſo Ramires*.
- D. *Marguerite* Queene of Naples.

D. VRRACA, baſe daughter to D. *Alfonſo*, 8 king of Leon and Caſtille, his ſecond wife, mother to

D. *Sancha* Viconteſſe of Bearn, and then wife to D. *Pedro de Molina*, of which ſecond marriage came *Americ* Vicont of Naborna, for D. *Pedro* his father was ſonne to *Ermiſenda* Vicounteſſe of Naborna.

XX.

D. SANCHO, 7 of that name, called the wiſe, ſonne to D. *Garcia Ramires*, in the yere 1150: he raigned 46 yeres.

D. BEACIA or BEATRIX, or as ſome ſay D *Sancha*, daughter to D. *Alfonſo Raymond*, king of Caſtille and Leon, his wife, by whom he had

Children
- D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre.
- D. *Ferdinand*.
- D. *Ramir* Biſhop of Pampelone.
- D. *Berenguela* Queene of England.
- D. *Thereſa*, or *Conſtance*.
- D. *Blanche* Counteſſe of Champaigne and Brie.

XXI.

D. SANCHO, 8 of that name, called the ſtrong, ſonne to *Sancho* 7, in the yere 1194: he raigned 40 yeres.

D. CLEMENCE, daughter to *Raymond*, 4 Earle of Tolouſa, his wife

D. *Ferdinand*, who died before the father.

Of a Concubine whoſe name is vnknowne, this king had

William a baſtard.

By the death of the king, the Crowne of Nauarre paſt into the houſe of Champaigne, D. *Blanche* his ſiſter, wife to Cont *Thibaud*, remayning ſole of the race, hauing iſſue.

XXII.

D. THIBAVD, 1 of that name, ſonne to D. *Blanche* of Nauarre, ſucceeded his vncle D. *Sancho* 8, in the yere 1234, and raigned 19 yeres.

His firſt wife was of *Metz*.

The 2, was daughter to *Guichard* Earle of Beauſieu, and had

D. *Blanche* Ducheſſe of Britaine.

The third wife, was daughter to *Archembaud*, Earle of Foix, named *Marguerite* mother to

Children
- D. *Thibaud*.
- D. *Henry*.
- D. *Leonora*.
- D. *Pedro*.

D. THIBAVD,

XXIII.

D. THIBAVD, ſecond of that name, ſonne to the firſt, in the yere 1253: he raigned 18 yeres.

D. ISABELL of France, daughter to S. *Lewis*, by whom he had not any children.

D. *Marquiſe Lope de Ruda* a Concubine, brought him

D. *Marquiſe* a baſtard, who was wife to *Pedro Fernandes* of Ixar, baſe ſonne to D. *Iames* the firſt, King of Arragon.

XXIIII.

D. HENRY, brother to *Thibaud* the ſecond, in the yeare 1271: he raigned three yeres, the firſt of that name.

D. IOANE, daughter to *Robert* Earle of Artois.

Children { D. *Thibaud*, died an infant. D. *Ioane* Queene.

By a Concubine of the houſe of *Lacarra*, he had

D. *Henry*, baſtard, Marſhall of Nauarre.

XXV.

D. IOANE, ſole daughter to D. *Henry* the firſt, married to *Philip* the faire, king of France, and raigned in Nauarre, in the yere 1274, the ſpace of 31 yeres: of which mariage iſſued

Children { D. *Lewis Hutin*. D. *Philip* the long. D. *Charles* the faire. D. *Ioane*. D. *Iſabell* Queene of England.

XXVI.

D. LEVVIS HVTIN, King of France and Nauarre, firſt of that name, in the yere 1305: he raigned 10 yeres in Nauarre.

D. MARGVERITE daughter to *Robert* of Burgundie.

D. *Ioane* of Nauarre.

His ſecond wife was *Clemence*, daughter to the King of Hungarie.

D. *Iohn* an after-birth, who liued but eight dayes.

XXVII.

D. PHILIP the long, king of France and Nauarre, ſecond of that name, in the yere 1315: he raigned fiue yeres.

D. IOANE daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Burgundie.

Children { D. *Ioane* Ducheſſe of Burgundie. D. *Marguerite* Counteſſe of Nemours. D. *Marie*, wife to the Daulphin *Himbert*. D. *Blanche*, a religious woman.

XXVIII.

D. CHARLES the faire, firſt of that name, king of Nauarre and France, in the yere 1320: he raigned about eight yeres.

D. BLANCHE, daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Burgundie, his firſt wife.

D. MARIE of Luxembourg his ſecond wife, mother to

D. *Blanche* Ducheſſe of Orleans.

A ſonne, which died in his infancie.

D. IOANE, daughter to *Lewis* Earle of Eureux, by whom (ſome ſay) D. *Blanche* was borne.

XXIX.

D. IOANE, daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, heire of Nauarre, in the yere 1328: ſhe raigned with her husband 21 yeres.

D. PHILIP

D. Philip Earle of Eureux, husband to D. *Ioane*, the third of that name, among the kings of Nauarre: of which marriage descended

Children
- D. *Charles* king.
- D. *Philip* Earle of Longueuille.
- D. *Lewis* Earle of Beaumont. — This D. *Lewis* married the heire of the house of *Beaumont le Roger* in Normandie, and were the stemme of the Earles of Lerin.
- D. *Ioane* Countesse of Rohan.
- D. *Marie* Queene of Arragon.
- D. *Blanche* Queene of France.
- D. *Agnes* Countesse of Foix.

XXX.

D. Charles second of that name, sonne to D. *Philip* the third, in the yeare 1349: he raigned in Nauarre 37 yeares, and was surnamed the bad.

D. Ioane of France, daughter to king *Iohn*, his wife: of which marriage descended these following.

Lawfull children
- D. *Charles* King.
- D. *Philip* died yong.
- D. *Pedro* Earle of Mortaing, from whom descended D. *Pedro* of Peralta, Constable of Nauarre, the stemme of the Marquesse of Falses.
- D. *Blanche*.
- D. *Ioane*, Duchesse of Britaine, and Queene of England.
- D. *Marie* Countesse of Denia: it is doubtfull whether she were daughter to this Queene.

D. *Leon* or *Lionell* a bastard, the beginning of the Marquesse of Cortes, Marshals of Nauarre.

XXXI.

D. Charles third of that name, sonne to *Charles* the second, in the yeare 1386: he raigned 39 yeares.

D. Leonora of Castille his wife.

Children
- D. *Ioane* Countesse of Foix.
- D. *Marie*.
- D. *Blanche* Queene of Sicile and Nauarre.
- D. *Beatrix* Countesse of Marche.
- D. *Isabell*.
- D. *Charles*.
- D. *Lewis*.

By a Concubine whose name is vnknowne.

Bastards
- D. *Godefroy* Earle of Cortes.
- D. *Ioane* maried to D. *Inigo d'Ortis* of Estuniga.

XXXII.

D. Blanche, daughter to D. *Charles* the third, had to her second husband D. *Iohn* of Arragon, and began to raigne in the yere 1425, and lasted 17 yeres: then after her decease D. Iohn, who was king of Arragon and Sicile, continued his raigne vnto the yere 1479, who had by D. *Blanche*

Children
- D. *Charles*.
- D. *Blanche* Queene of Castille.
- D. *Leonora*, Countesse of Foix, and afterwards Queene of Nauarre.

This King *Iohn* had a second wife, and other issue which is set downe in the Line of Arragon.

XXXIII.

D. Leonora, Countesse of Foix, wife to *Gaston* the fourth, came to the Crowne of Nauarre, suruiuing her brother and sister, in the yere 1479, and died the same yere.

D. Gaston,

D. Gaston Earle of Foix, called Prince of Viana, husband to D. *Leonora*, by whom he had

Children:
- D. *Gaſton*, of whom and of *Marguerite* of France deſcended: *Francis* and *Katherine*.
- D. *Iohn*, Vicount of Narbona.
- D. *Pedro*, Cardinall.
- D. *Iames*.
- D. *Marie*, Marqueſſe of Montferrat.
- D. *Ioane*, Counteſſe of Armaignac.
- D. *Marguerite*, Ducheſſe of Britanie.
- D. *Katherine*, Counteſſe of Candalle.
- D. *Leonora* died a maid.

XXXIIII.

D. Francis, ſonne to *Gaſton*, ſurnamed *Phebus*, and grandchild to D. *Leonora*, his father being dead before her deceaſe, he ſucceeded her in the realme of Nauarre, in the yere 1479, and raigned foure yeares: he died without any children.

XXXV.

D. Katherine, ſiſter to *Francis Phebus*, raigned after her brother in the yeare 1483: ſhe married with

D. Iohn of Albret: of which marriage iſſued

Children:
- D. *Iohn*.
- D. *Andrew*.
- D. *Henry* king of Nauarre.
- D. *Charles*, or rather *Francis*, who died at Naples in *Monſieur de Lautrecs* voyage.
- D. *Katherine*.
- D. *Anne*.
- D. *Quiterie*.
- D. *Magdelaine*.
- D. *Iſabell*.
- And fiue other children which died young.

During the time and raigne of theſe Kings, D. *Iohn* of Albret and D. *Katherine*, D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabella* his wife, kings of Caſtille and Arragon, ſeized on the realme of Nauarre beyond the Pyrenees, and joyned it to Caſtille.

XXXVI.

Henry, the ſecond, of Albret, ſucceſſor to the rights of Nauarre, ſecond of that name, in the yere 1517.

Margverite of France, ſiſter to king *Francis* the firſt, his wife.

Ioane, whom *Bertrand Helie* calls *Charlotte*.

XXXVII.

Ioane, daughter to *Henry* the ſecond, ſucceeded in her fathers rights, married to Anthonie, Duke of Vendoſme, of the noble houſe of *Bourbon*.

- *Henry*.
- *Katherine*.

XXXVIII.

Henry the third of that name in Nauarre, and the fourth in France, in the yere 1572, and raigned 38 yeares.

Margverite of *Valois*, from whom he was diuorced, hauing no children.

Marie *de Medicis*, daughter to the duke of Florence, his ſecond wife, by whom he had *Lewis*, with diuers other children.

XXXIX.

Levvis now raigning, the ſecond of that name in Nauarre, and the thirteenth in France: he ſucceeded to his fathers rights in the yere 1610.

Line

Line of Arragon.

I.

There is mention made about the yeare 775, of *Aznar* the ſonne of *Aznar*, and grand-child to *Eude*, Duke of Aquitaine, who had two ſonnes.

Galinde and
Ximenes Garces.

II.

D. *Galinde* obtained ſome lands of the Soueraigntie of Nauarre, and had his dwelling and ſeat at Iaca: This was the beginning of Arragon.

D. *Theuda*, who was Queene of Nauarre.
D. *Ximen Aznares.*
D. *Endregot.*

III.

D. *Ximen Aznares*, ſonne to D. *Galinde*, the third Earle of Arragon.

IIII.

D. *Ximen Garces*, brother to D. *Galinde*, fourth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 803.
D. *Garcia Aznares* his ſonne.

V.

D. *Garcia Aznares*, ſonne to D. *Ximen Garces*, fift Earle of Arragon.
D. *Fortun Ximenes* his ſonne.

VI.

D. *Fortun Ximenes*, ſixt Earle of Arragon.

D. *Vrraca*, as ſome ſay daughter to this D. *Fortun*, and others to *Endregot* aboue named, vnited the Earledome of Arragon to the Crowne of Nauarre, bringing it in dowrie to the King D. *Garcia Inigo*, ſecond of that name.

VII.

D. *Garcia Inigo* king of Nauarre, and ſeuenth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 867.
D. *Vrraca* aboue named, his wife.

D. *Fortun* their eldeſt ſonne: the reſt are named in the Line of Nauarre.

VIII.

D. *Fortun* king of Nauarre, ſecond of that name, and eight Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 885.

IX.

D. *Sancho Abarca* king of Nauarre, and ninth Earle of Arragon, brother to D. *Fortun*, in the yeare 901.

X.

D. *Garci Sanches*, ſonne to D. *Sancho Abarca*, king of Nauarre, and tenth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 920.

XI.

D. *Sancho Garces*, ſonne to D. *Garci Sanches*, eleuenth Earle of Arragon raigning in Nauarre, in the yeare 969.

XII.

D. *Garcia* the ſhaking, ſonne to D. *Sancho Garces*, king of Nauarre, and twelfth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 993.

XIII.

D. *Sancho* the Great, ſonne to D. *Garcia* the ſhaking, thirteenth Earle of Arragon, in the yeare 1000. This king of Nauarre erected the Countie of Arragon to a Realme, and gaue it to his baſe ſonne D. *Ramir*, as appeares by the diſcourſe by the Hiſtorie.

Firſt

First King of Arragon.

D. Ramir, first of that name, ſonne to D. *Sancho* the great, king of Nauarre, was the firſt king of Arragon, in the yeare 1034: and raigned 42 yeares.

D. Ermisende, daughter to the Earle of Bigorre, by ſome named *Gisberge*, his wife.

Children
- D. *Sancho Ramires.*
- D. *Garcia* Biſhop of Iaca.
- D. *Sancha* Counteſſe of Tolouſa.
- D. *Thereſa* Counteſſe of Prouence.

He had by a concubine

D. *Sancho*, Lord of Ayuar, Atares, and Xauierre.

II.

D. Sancho Ramires, king of Arragon, in the yeare 1076: he raigned 18 yeares, and vſurped the realme of Nauarre.

D. Felice daughter to the earle of Vrgel, his wife.

Children
- D. *Pedro* king.
- D. *Alphonſo* king.
- D. *Ramir* a Monke, and then a king.

By a concubine, whoſe name is not extant,

D. *Garcia*, Biſhop of Iacca.

III.

D. Pedro, firſt of that name, ſonne to D. *Sancho Ramires*, in the yere 1094: he raigned 14 yeres.

D. Berthe, or Ignes, his wife, an Italian.

D. *Pedro* } They died both before the father.
D. *Iſabell* }

IIII.

D. Alphonso firſt of that name, brother to D. *Pedro*, in the yeare 1108, and raigned 26 yeares: he married D. *Vrraca* the heire of Caſtille, and died without children: after him Nauarre was ſeperated from Arragon.

V.

D. Ramir a Monke, ſonne to D. *Sancho Ramires*, and brother to the laſt kings, was king of Arragon, in the yeare 1134, by election of the Eſtates: his raigne was vncertaine: for hauing for the moſt part led a Monkiſh life, he gaue ouer the gouernment of the realme vnto his ſonne in law, D. *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelona.

D. Agnes ſiſter, or daughter, as ſome hold, to *William* Earle of Poictiers, his wife, mother to

D. *Petronilla*, heire of Arragon.

D. *Petronilla*, daughter to D. *Ramir*, did not raigne, as ſome hold, but her ſonne D. *Raymond*, whom ſhe had by the Earle of Barcelona.

D. *Raymond Berenger*, who gouerned the realme in qualitie of a Regent, and was called Prince of Arragon, who had by his wife *Petronilla*, among other children which are named in the line of Cattelogne, this ſonne

D. *Raymond*, who changed his name, and was called *Alphonſo.*

VI.

D. Alphonso, ſecond of that name, called before *Raymond*, ſonne to the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, and of the Princeſſe D. *Petronilla*, in the yeare 1162: he raigned 34 yeares.

D. Sancha, daughter to D. *Alphonſo Raymond*, king of Caſtille and Leon, and of D. *Rica*, ſhe was mother to

D. *Pedro*,

- D. *Pedro* king of Arragon.
- D. *Alfonſo* Earle of Prouence, who had to wife D. *Maria de Folcaquier*, whence deſcended D. *Raymond Berenger* who was married to *Beatrix* daughter to *Thomas* Earle of Morienne, who had
  - *Marguerite* queene of France.
  - *Leonora* Queene of England.
  - *Sancha* Queene of England & Empreſſe.
  - *Beatrix* Queene of Naples.
  - *Ioane*, who had the countie of Prouẽce, as the Arragonois ſay.
- Children
  - D. *Ferdinand* a Monke.
  - D. *Conſtance* Queene of Hungarie and then Empreſſe.
  - D. *Leonora* Counteſſe of Tolouſa.
  - D. *Sancha* Counteſſe alſo of Tolouſa.
  - D. *Doulce* a Nunne.

VII.

D. *Pedro* 2 of that name, ſonne to D. *Alfonſo* the 2, in the yeare 1196: he raigned about 18 yeares.

His firſt wife was of the houſe of *Folcaquier*, by whom he had

D. *Raymond Berenger*.

D. *Marie* daughter to the Earle of Mompellier, who had beene marryed to the Earle of Cominges: by this ſecond wife he had

D. *Iames* king.

By a Concubine not named

D. *Conſtance* marryed to *William Raymond* of Moncado, Seneſchall of Cattelogne.

VIII.

D. *Iames* firſt of that name, ſonne to the king D. *Pedro* the firſt, in the yeare 1213: hee raigned 43 yeares.

D. *Leonora* of Caſtille, daughter to king D. *Alfonſo* the 9, by whom he had

D. *Alfonſa*, who dyed before the father.

D. *Violant* daughter to the king of Hungarie his ſecond wife, mother to

- D. *Pedro* king of Arragon.
- D. *Iames* king of Maiorca, who married *Eſclermond* of Foix, who brought him
  - D. *Iames* a Monke.
  - D. *Sancho* king of Maiorca.
  - D. *Ferdinand*.
  - D. *Philip*.
  - D. *Sancha*.
- Children
  - D. *Sancho* Archbiſhop of Toledo.
  - D. *Iſabell* Queene of France.
  - D. *Ferdinand*.
  - D. *Violant* Queene of Caſtille.
  - D. *Conſtance* wife to D. *Manuell*.
  - D. *Sancha*.
  - D. *Maria*.

Of D. *Ferdinand* 3. ſonne to D. *Iames* of Maiorca, and of *Iſabell* heire of Morea, iſſued

- D. *Iames* king of Maiorca.
- D. *Frederic*.

And of his 2. wife of Cypres

D. *Ferdinand*.

D. *Iames* ſonne to D. *Ferdinand* had by *Conſtance* of Arragon

- *Iſabell* Marqueſſe of Montferrat.
- *Iames* heire of Maiorca.

King *Iames* had alſo by D. *Thereſa Gil de Bridaure*, whom hee had married ſecretly,

D.

D. *Pedro*, Lord of Ayerbes.
D. *Iames*, Lord of Xerica.

D. *Berenguela*, a concubine.

D. *Pedro Fernandes*, Lord of Ixar.

Of the daughter of D. *Sancho d'Antillas*, a concubine,

D. *Ferdinand Sanches*.

IX.

D. PEDRO, third of that name, ſon to D. *Iames* 1, in the yere 1276: he raigned 9 yeres.

D. CONSTANCE, daughter to *Manfroy*, baſtard to the Emperour *Frederic* 2 his wife, mother to

Children:
D. *Alphonſo*, King of Arragon.
D. *Iames*, King of Sicile, and then of Arragon.
D. *Frederic*, King of Sicile.
D. *Pedro*.
D. *Iſabel*, Queene of Portugall.
D. *Conſtance* or *Violant*, queen of Naples.

D. *Maria Nicoloſa*, a concubine, brought him

D. *Iames Perez*.

D. *Anne Zapate*, a concubine, mother to

D. *Ferdinand*.

By another concubine not named,

D. *Sancho*.

X.

D. ALPHONSO, third of that name, ſonne to D. *Pedro*, in the yeare 1285: he raigned ſix yeares, and died without children.

XI.

D. IAMES, ſecond of that name, brother to D. *Alphonſo*, in the yeare 1291: he raigned 36 yeares.

BLANCHE, daughter to *Charles* King of Naples, called the Lame, his wife, mother to

Children:
D. *Iames*, who became a Monke.
D. *Alphonſo*.
D. *Pedro*, Earle of Ampurias.
D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prages.
D. *Iohn*, Archbiſhop of Toledo.
D. *Conſtance*, wife to D. *Iohn Manuel*.
D. *Maria*, wife to D. *Pedro* of Caſtille.
D. *Blanche*, a Nunne.
D. *Violant*, Princeſſe of Tarentum.
D. *Iſabel*, wife to the Emperour *Frederic* the third.

This King had firſt of all maried D. ISABEL, daughter to D. *Sancho* King of Caſtille, but the Pope diſſolued this mariage.

D. MARIA of Cypres was his third wife

D. ECLISENDE, ſiſter to *Othon* of Moncado, his fourth wife.

By a concubine, not named,

D. *Iames* of Arragon, Earle of Luna.

XII.

D. ALPHONSO fourth, ſonne to D. *Iames* 2, in the yere 1328, and raigned 8 yeres.

D. THERESA ENTENZA, Counteſſe, heire of Vrgel, his wife.

Children:
D. *Pedro*, King.
D. *Iames*, Earle of Vrgel.
D. *Conſtance*, Queene of Majorca.
Some write hee had fiue other children which died.

D. LEONORA of Caſtille, his ſecond wife, mother to

D. *Ferdinand*, Marqueſſe of Tortoſa.
D. *Iohn*.

XIII.

D. Pedro, 4 of that name, ſon to D. *Alphonſo* 4, in the yere 1336: he raigned 51 yeres.
D. Maria, ſecond daughter to *Philip* 3, King of Nauarre, his wife.

Children:
- D. *Conſtance*, Queene of Sicile.
- D. *Ioane*, Counteſſe of Ampurias.
- D. *Maria*.
- A ſonne which dyed young.

D. Leonora, or Elvira of Portugall, his ſecond wife.
D. Constance, or Leonora of Sicile, ſiſter to King *Lewis*, his 3 wife, mother to

Children:
- D. *Iohn*, King.
- D. *Alphonſo*.
- D. *Martin*, who was King.
- D. *Leonora*, Queene of Caſtille.

D. Sibille Fortia, widow to *Artol de Foſſes*, his 4 wife, by whom he had
D. *Iſabel*, Counteſſe of Vrgel.

XIIII.

D. Iohn, 1 of that name, ſon to D. *Pedro* 4, in the yere 1387, and raigned 8 yeares.
D. Matthea, daughter to the Earle of Armaignac.

- D. *Iames*, who dyed.
- D. *Ioane*, wife to *Mathew* of Caſtelbon, Earle of Foix.

D. Violant, ſecond wife to D. *Iohn*, mother to

Children:
- D. *Violant*, wife to *Lewis* of Anjou, mother to
  - *Lewis*.
  - *Rene*
    - *Iohn*, Duke of Calabria.
    - *Nicholas*, Marqueſſe of Pont.
    - *Marguerite*, Queene of England.
  - *Charles*, Earle of Mayne.
    - *Violant*, Ducheſſe of Lorraine.
- One ſonne, who dyed young.

XV.

D. Martin, brother to D. *Iohn* deceaſed, for want of heires male by him, ſucceeded, by election of the Eſtates, and by will, to the realme of Arragon, to the prejudice of D. *Ioane*, Counteſſe of Foix, and againſt her matrimoniall conuentions, and the promiſes made by her father and grandfather, to *Mathew* of Caſtelbon, her husband.
D. Maria *de Luna* was his firſt wife, before he came to the Crowne, by whom he had
D. *Martin*, who was King of Sicile, and dyed before his father, without any children.
D. Margverite *de Prades*, his 2 wife, by whom he left no iſſue.

XVI.

D. Ferdinand, firſt of that name, brother to *Henrie* 3, king of Caſtille: hee obtained the realme of Arragon by election of the Eſtates, all other pretendants being rejected, in the yeare 1412, and raigned about foure yeares.
D. Leonora *d' Albuquerque*, a Princeſſe of the bloud of Caſtille, his wife, mother to

Children:
- D. *Alphonſo*, King of Arragon.
- D. *Iohn*, King of Nauarre and Arragon.
- D. *Henrie*, Maſter of S. *Iames* in Caſtille.
- D. *Sancho*, Maſter of Alcantara.
- D. *Pedro*.
- D. *Marie*, Queene of Caſtille.
- D. *Leonora*, Queene of Portugall.

XVII.

D. Alphonso, 5 of that name, ſonne to D. *Ferdinand*, in the yere 1416: he raigned 42 yeares.
D. Marie of Caſtille, his wife, but without children.

By

By concubines not named, he had
D. *Ferdinand* king of Naples.
D. *Maria* Marqueſſe of Ferrara.
D. *Leonora* Princeſſe of Roſſano.

XVIII.

D. IOHN ſecond of that name, brother to king *Alphonſo* fift, for want of lawfull heires, ſucceeded to the Realme of Arragon, in the yeare 1458: and raigned one and twentie yeares and ſixe moneths.

D. BLANCHE of Nauarre his firſt wife, in whoſe right he was king of Nauarre, and had by her three children

- D. *Charles*, who died before his father, and had theſe baſe children,
  - D. *Philip* Maſter of Monteſa.
  - D. *John* Biſhop of Hueſca.
  - D. *Anne* ducheſſe of Medina Celi.
- D. *Blanche* Queene of Caſtille.
- D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauarre.

D. *Ioane* daughter to D. *Frederic Henriques* Admirall of Caſtille, his ſecond wife, mother to

- D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, Caſtille, Nauarre, &c.
- D. *Ioane* Queene of Naples.

By concubines whoſe names are vnknowne,

Baſtards
- D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Vilhermoſa.
- D. *John* Archbiſhop of Saragoſſe.
- D. *Leonora* Counteſſe of Lerin.
- D. *Ferdinand*.
- D. *Maria*.

XIX.

D. FERDINAND ſecond of that name, ſonne to king *John*, in the yeare 1479: he raigned 37 yeares in Arragon.

D. ISABEL Queene of Caſtille his wife, by whom the realmes of Arragon and Caſtille were vnited.

D. *Ioane* mother to the Emperour *Charles* the fift.

The other children of D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabel*, are mentioned in the Line of Caſtille.

D. GERMAINE ſecond wife to king *Ferdinand*.

D. *John*, who died an infant.

The Vicounteſſe of Eboli a concubine, mother to
D. *Alfonſo* of Arragon Arch-biſhop of Saragoſſe.

Of another concubine
D. *Ioane* of Arragon wife to *D. Bernardin de Velaſco*, Conſtable.

Of D. *Tota* of Bilbao, a concubine
D. *Marie* of Arragon a Nun.

By a Portugall of the family of *Pereira*.
D. *Marie* of Arragon a Nun.

Line of Cattelogne.

BERNARD, Earle, Duke and Marques of Spaine vnder *Charles* the great, confirmed by *Lewis* the gentle, gouerned Cattelogne about the yere 795.

D. GEOFFREY *d'Arria* Earle of Barcelona, vnder the French, in the yeere 839.

D. ALMIRA his wife, a French woman, mother to
D. *Geoffrey* the hairie.

D. SALOMON Earle of Cerdagne, an vſurper, in the yere 858.

First proprietarie Earle.

D. GEOFFREY the hairie obtained Cattelogne in proprietie, vnder the Soueraignte of France, in the yeare 884, of *Charles* the Groffe.

D. N. a Fleming, his wife.

Children
- D. *Rodolphus*, Abbot of Ripol, and Bifhop of Vrgel.
- D. *Geoffrey*.
- D. *Myr*.
- D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Vrgel, who was father to
  - D. *Borel*, Earle &c.
  - D. *Armingol*, Bifhop of Vrgel.
- One daughter.

II.

D. MYR, fonne to D. *Geoffrey*, in the yere 914: he held the Countie 15 yeres: his fonnes were

Children
- D. *Seniofrid*, earle.
- D. *Oliban*, called *Cheurette*, earle of Cerdagne & Befalu, father to
  - *Bernard*, called Breake-yron, father to
    - *William* the fat, earle of Befalu, father to
      - *Bernard Guillen*, alfo Earle of Befalu.
  - D. *Geoffrey*, earl of Cerdagne, who had fiue fonnes.
    - *Raymond Geffroy*, earle of Cerdagne, father to
      - *William Raymond*, earl of Cerdagne, father to
        - D. *William Iourdaine*, Earle of Cerdagne.
        - D. *Bernard*.
        - D. *William*.
      - D. *Henry*.
    - D. *Geffrey Guinard*, Archbifhop of Narbone.
    - D. *Berenger Geoffrey*, Bifhop of Girone.
    - D. *William Geoffrey*, Bifhop of Vrgel.
    - D. *Geoffrey*, Earle of Bergade.
- D. *Myr*, Earle and Bifhop of Girone.
- D. *Oliban*, Bifhop of Vic, of Offone.

III.

D. SENIOFRID, fonne to D. *Myr* in the yere 919: he ruled vnder the gouernment of his vncle the Earle of Vrgel, and alone, about 38 yeres.

D. MARIA, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to the King D. *Sancho Abarca*, his wife, by whom he had not any children.

IIII.

D. BORELL, fonne to D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Vrgel, fucceeded his couſin D. *Seniofrid* in the Countie of Barcelona, by right of intruſion: yet fome pretend an inſufficiencie in D. *Oliban*, brother to the deceaſed, in the yere 967.

D. LEODEGARDE his firſt wife, mother to
- D. *Raymond Borel*.

D. ARMERVDE, or as fome write, *Engelrade* his fecond wife.

Children
- D. *Ermengauld*, Earle of Vrgel.
- D. *Borella*, a Nunne.

V.

D. RAYMOND BOREL, fonne to the Earle D. *Borel*, in the yere 993, and held the Earledome 24 yeres.

D. SANCHA his wife, mother to
- D. *Berenger Borel*.

VI.

D. BERENGER BOREL, fonne to D. *Raymond*, in the yere 1017: he ruled 18 yeres.

The name of his wife is vncertaine.

Children
- D. *Raymond Berenger*.
- D. *William Berenger*.
- D. *Sancho Berenger*, a Prior.

D. RAY-

VII.

D. Raymond Berenger, ſonne to D. *Berenger Borel*, in the yere 1035: he ruled 41 yeares.

D. Radalmvrs his firſt wife.

D. *Pedro Raymond.*

D. *Berenger Raymond.*

D. Almodia, a French Ladie, deſcended from thoſe Lords which ruled then in Languedoc, by whom the houſe of Barcelona got the rights it hath had to Carcaſſone, and other lands in that countrey: by her D. *Raymond* had

D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle.
D. *Lucia*, Counteſſe of Paliars by her mariage with the Earle of Artal.

VIII.

D. Raymond Berenger the Young, and third of that name, ſonne to D. *Raymond Berenger* 2, in the yere 1076: he held the Earledome of Barcelone ſix yeres.

D. Almodia, daughter to *Robert Guichard*, Duke of Ponglia, his wife, mother to

D. *Raymond Arnould.*

IX.

D. Raymond Arnovld, ſonne to D. *Raymond Berenger*, and 4 of that name, in the yeare 1082: he ruled 48 yeares.

D. Dovlce, Counteſſe of Prouence, daughter to Cont *Gilebert*, or *Gibert*, his wife, mother to

D. *Berenguela*, Queene of Caſtille.
D. *Raymond Berenger*, Prince of Arragon.
D. *Berenger Raymond*, Earle of Prouence.
One daughter, maried to *Amery*, Vicont of Narbona.
Another daughter, maried to Cont *Roger*, ſome call him *Bernard de Foix*.

X.

D. Raymond Berenger, fift of that name, ſonne to D. *Raymond Arnould*, in the yeare 1131: he ruled 31 yeares.

D. Petronella, daughter to the king D. *Ramir* the Monke: by which mariage the realme of Arragon and the Earledome of Cattelogne, or Barcelone, were vnited, they had

Children: D. *Raymond*, who was afterwards called *Alphonſo*, king of Arragon.
D. *Pedro.*
D. *Sancho.*
D. *Adoncia*, Queene of Portugall.
One daughter, maried to the Earle of Vrgel.

D. Raymond, afterwards *Alphonſo*, ſonne to D. *Raymond Berenger* the fift, king of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelone, in the yeare 1162: his poſteritie is in the line of Arragon..

Line of Portugall.

Henrie of Beſanſon, or of Lorrain, was firſt Earl of Portugal, about the yere 1090, by his mariage with D. Theresa, daughter to D. *Alphonſo* the ſixt, king of Leon and Caſtille, to whom that countrey was giuen in dowrie: Their children were

D. *Alphonſo Henriques*, King.
D. *Thereſa Henriques.*
Another daughter, maried to D. *Ferdinand Mendes.*

Firſt King of Portugall.

D. Alphonso Henriqves ſucceeding his father in the Earldome of Portugal in the yere 1112, tooke vpon him the title of King about the yere 1139, and held that country 72 yeres.

D. Malfada Manriqve *de Lara*, his wife.

Children { D. *Sancho*, King of Portugall.
D. *Vrraca*, Queene of Leon.
D. *Thereſa*, Counteſſe of Flanders.
D. *Malfada*.

Baſtard D. *Pedro Alphonſo*.

II.

D. Sancho, firſt of that name, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo*, in the yeare 1184: he raigned 28 yeares.

D. Aldoncia, or Dovlce, daughter to D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Barcelone, mother to

Children { D. *Alphonſo*, King.
D. *Ferdinand*, Earle of Flanders.
D. *Pedro*, Earle of Vrgel in Arragon.
D. *Henrique*.
D. *Thereſa*, wife to D. *Alphonſo* of Leon.
D. *Malfada*, Queene of Caſtille.
D. *Sancha*, a Nunne.
D. *Blanche*.
D. *Berenguela*.

By D. *Maria Aires*, a concubine, he had

Baſtards { D. *Vrraca*.
D. *Martin* of Portugall.

By D. *Maria Peres* of Ribera, another concubine,

Baſtards { D. *Thereſa Sanches*.
D. *Gil Sanches* of Portugall.
D. *Conſtance Sanches*.
D. *Ray Sanches* of Portugall.

III.

D. Alphonso, ſecond of that name, ſon to the King of D. *Sancho*, in the yere 1212: he raigned 11 yeares.

{ D. *Sancho*.
D. *Alphonſo*.
D. *Ferdinand*.
D. *Leonora*, Queene of Denmarke.

By a concubine, a Moore,

D. *Alphonſo Martines*.

IIII.

D. Sancho, called *Capello*, ſecond of that name, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the ſecond, in the yeare 1223: he raigned in troubles vnto the yeare 1257; for then by reaſon of his incapacitie, D. *Alphonſo*, his brother, was called to the gouernement of Portugall.

D. Mencia Lopes, his wife, by whom he had no children.

V.

D. Alphonso, third of that name, brother to D. *Sancho*, of a Regent and Gouernor he made himſelfe king of Portugall, about the yeare 1257, and raigned two and twentie yeares.

Mahavlt, or Matilde, Counteſſe of Boullen, his lawfull wife, mother to

D. *Ferdinand*, or *Peter*.
D. *Robert*.

This king D. *Alphonſo*, to be ſupported in his deſignes to raigne by the fauour of Caſtille, left his lawfull wife *Mahault* Counteſſe of Boullen, and maried, in her life time, with the daughter of D. *Alphonſo*, called the Wiſe, king of Caſtille.

D. Beatrix

D. Beatrix, a baſtard, his wife, by whom he had
- D. *Denis*, king.
- D. *Alphonſo*.
- D. *Blanche*, a nun.
- D. *Conſtance*.

By a concubine, or by diuers, he had
- D. *Leonora*.
- D. *Ferdinand Alphonſo* of Portugall.

VI.

D. Denis, ſonne to D. *Alphonſo* the third, in the yeare 1279: hee raigned 46 yeares.
D. Isabel of Arragon, daughter to the king D. *Pedro*, his wife, mother to

Children
- D. *Conſtance*, Queene of Caſtille.
- D. *Alphonſo*, king of Portugall.
- D. *Pedro*, Earle of Portalegre.
- D. *Alphonſo Sanches*, a baſtard.

Some write, that the lawfull children of D. *Denis* and D. *Iſabel*, were,
- *Iſabel*.
- *Conſtance*.
- *Alphonſo*.

By concubines,

Baſtards
- D. *Alphonſo*, author of the familie of Albuquerque.
- D. *Peter*, who gaue himſelfe vnto learning, and made a booke of the great houſes of Spaine.
- D. *Iohn*.
- D. *Ferdinand*.
- A daughter maried to D. *Iohn de la Cerde*.
- Another daughter, a Nunne.

VII.

D. Alphonso the fourth, ſonne to D. *Denis*, in the yeare 1325: hee raigned thirtie two yeares.
D. Beatrix of Caſtille, his wife, mother to
- D. *Pedro*, King.
- D. *Maria*.
- D. *Alphonſo*.
- D. *Denis*.
- D. *Iohn*.
- D. *Leonora*, or *Eluira*, Queene of Arragon.

VIII.

D. Pedro, 1 of that name, ſon to D. *Alphonſo* 4, in the yere 1357: he raigned 10 yeres.
D. Blanche, daughter to D. *Pedro* king of Caſtille, whom he put away, and then maried
D. Constance, daughter to D. *Iohn Manuel*, mother to
- D. *Lewis*, who died an infant.
- D. *Ferdinand*, King.
- D. *Marie*, wife to D. *Ferdinand* of Arragon.
- D. *Beatrix* died young.

By Agnes *de Caſtro*, a clandeſtine mariage,
- D. *Alphonſo*.
- D. *Iohn*.
- D. *Denis*.
- D. *Beatrix*, Counteſſe of Albuquerque.

D. *Thereſa Gallega*, a concubine.
- D. *Iohn*, who was King.

IX.

D. FERDINAND, ſonne to D. *Pedro*, in the yere 1367: he raigned ſeuenteene yeres.
D. LEONORA TELLES *de Meueſes*, his wife.
D. *Beatrix*, queene of Caſtille.
By a concubine he had
Iſabella Counteſſe of Gijon.

X.

D. IOHN firſt of that name, baſe ſonne to the king D. *Pedro:* he got the realme by his ſword, and alſo by election, in the yere 1385, from D. *Iohn* king of Caſtille and D. *Beatrix* his wife. He was before maſter of Auiz. He raigned 49 yeres.
D. PHILIP of Lancaſter, an Engliſh woman, his wife, mother to
D. *Blanche*.
D. *Alphonſo*.
D. *Edward* king.
D. *Pedro* duke of Coimbra, who maried D. *Iſabel* of Arragon, and had
D. *Henrie* duke of Viſeo.
D. *Iſabel* ducheſſe of Bourgondie.
D. *Pedro* Conſtable, who thought to be king of Arragon.
D. *Iohn* king of Cypres.
D. *Iſabel* queene of Portugall.
D. *Philip* a Nunne.
D. *Iames* a Cardinall.
D. *Beatrix*, wife to the Lord of Raueſtaine.
D. *Iohn* Maſter of Saint *Iames*, father to D. *Iſabel*, who was queene of Caſtille.
D. *Ferdinand* Maſter of Auiz.
Beſides theſe lawfull children, the king D. *Iohn* had by D. *Agnes* a concubine,
D. *Beatrix* Counteſſe of Arundel.
D. *Alphonſo* Earle of Oren and Barcellos, and duke of Bragance.

XI.

D. EDVVARD ſonne to D. *Iohn* the firſt, in the yere 1433: he raigned fiue yeres.
D. LEONORA of Arragon, daughter to D. *Ferdinand* the firſt, his wife, mother to
Children:
D. *Alphonſo* king.
D. *Ferdinand* Duke of Viſeo, who maried D. *Beatrix*, daughter to his vncle D. *Iohn* Maſter of S. *Iames*, and had
D. *Leonora* queene.
D. *Dominike*.
D. *Emanuel* king.
D. *Iſabel*, Ducheſſe of Bragance.
D. *Philip* a daughter.
D. *Leonora*, wife to the Emperour *Frederic* the third.
D. *Katherine*.
D. *Ioane* queene of Caſtille.

XII.

D. ALPHONSO fift of that name, ſonne to D. *Edward* in the yeare 1438, and raigned 43 yeres.
D. ISABEL, daughter to his vncle D. *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra, his wife, mother to
D. *Iohn*, who died young.
D. *Ioane*.
D. *Iohn* king, whom ſome call *Ferdinand*, and make him father to *Iohn* which raigned, and adde a third ſonne,
D. *Henrie*.

XIII.

D. IOHN, ſecond of that name, ſon to D. *Alphonſo* the fift, in the yere 1481: he raigned foureteene yeres.
D. LEONORA, daughter to D. *Ferdinand* Duke of Viſeo, mother to
D. *Alphonſo*, who died before his father.
By D. *Anna de Mendoſa*, a concubine,
D. *George*, Maſter of S. *Iames* and Auiz.

D. EMANVEL

XIIII.

D. EMANVEL Sonne to D. *Ferdinand* duke of Viſeo, by right, and alſo by the nomination of king *Iohn*, was king of Portugal, in the yeare 1495, and raigned 26 yeares: he maried firſt:

D. ISABELL, eldeſt Daughter to D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabell* Kings of Caſtille and Arragon, mother to

D. *Michel* who liued little.

D. MARIA, Siſter to the ſaid D. *Iſabell* his ſecond wife, by whome hee had

D. *Iohn* king.
D. *Iſabell* Queene of Caſtille, and Empreſſe.
D. *Beatrix* Ducheſſe of Sauoy.
D. *Lewis*, father to D. *Anthony* the Baſtard choſen king after Cardinall *Henry* his Vncle.
D. *Henry* Cardinall.
D. *Alfonſo* Cardinall.
D. *Catherine*.
D. *Ferdinand*.
D. *Edward* husband to *Iſabell*, daughter to *Iohn* or *Iaime*, duke of Bragance, & had
- *Marie* ducheſſe of Parma.
- *Catherine* ducheſſe of Bragance, wife to *Iohn* ſecond ſonne to *Theodoſius*.
- *Edward* an after birth died in the yere 1576.

D. *Anthony*, he died ſoone after he was borne.

D. LEONORA, ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, mother to

D. *Charles*, he died an Infant.
D. *Marie*, who being 56 yeres old, died at Lisbone in the yeare 1578.

XV.

D. IOHN, 3 of that name, Sonne to D. *Emanuell* king of Portugall in the yeare 1521; he raigned thirty and ſixe yeares.

D. CATHERINE, ſiſter to the Emperour *Charles*, his wife, mother to

D. *Alfonſo*.
D. *Marie* Princeſſe of Caſtille.
D. *Catherine*.
D. *Beatrix*.
D. *Emanuell*.
D. *Philip*.
D. *Iohn* Prince, father to D. *Sebaſtian*, & husband to D. *Ioane*, daughter to the Emperour *Charles*.
D. *Anthonie*.

XXI.

D. SEBASTIAN Sonne to the Prince D. *Iohn*, in the yeare 1557, hee raigned one and twentie yeares, and died in Afrike, leauing no heires.

XVII.

D. HENRY, Cardinall, Archbiſhop of Ebora, ſonne to the King D. *Emanuel*, in the yeare 1578, he raigned about a yeare and a halfe.

XVIII.

D. PHILIP 2. king of Caſtille vnited the Realme of Portugall to Caſtille by force, after the Cardinals death, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred and eighty, and held it eighteene yeares.

XIX.

D. PHILIP the third doth now hold this Realme.

Archbiſhops

Archbishops of Toledo.

Eugenius, first Archbishop.
Pelagius.
Patruuius.
Turibio.
Quince.
Vincent.
Paulacius or *Pauiat.*
Natalis.
Audens.
Astur.
Isicius.
Maioran.
Castin.
Melancius.
Campeius.
Cintuacinus.
Patron.
Paramacius.
Peter 1.
Celsus.
Montanus.
Iulian 1.
Bacchand.
Peter 2.
Eufemius.
Excipius.
Adelphius.
Aurasius.
Heladius
Iustus.
Eugenius 2.
Eugenius 3.
Illefonsus.
Quiricius.
Iulian 2.
Sesebert or *Sicarius.*
S. Felix.
Gunderic or *Guttiere.*
Sinderic.
Opas.
Vrbain.
Peter, *Cixilas*, } In the time of the Moores.

After the Conquest of the Citie of Toledo from the Moores.

Bernard Abbot of Sahagun.
Raymond.
Iohn 1.
Celebrun.
Gonsal 1.
Martin.
Roderigo Ximenes.
Iohn 2.
Guttiere 2.
Pascal.
Sancho 1.
Sancho 2, Infant of Arragon.
Gonsal 2, Cardinall.
Guttiere 3.
Gonsal 3.
Iohn 3, Infant of Arragon.
Ximene de Luna.
Gil Carillo d' Albornos, Cardinall.
Blaise.
Blasco.
Gomez Manrique.
Pedro Tenorio 4.
Pedro de Luna 5
Sancho de Roias.
Iohn de Contreras 4.
Iohn de Cerezuela 5.
Guttiere Gomes, de Toledo.
Alfonso Carillo de Acugna.
Pedro Gonsal de Mendosa, a Cardinal
Francis Ximenes a Cardinall.
William of Croy.
Alfonso Fonseca of Azeneda.
Iohn Tauera, Cardinall.
Iohn Martines Siliceo, Cardinall.
Frier Barthelmew Carranza de Miranda.

76. Archbishops.

Moores.

Gouernors vnder the Miralmumins or kings of Affrike.

Musa in the yeare 714
Tarif.
Abdulazis tooke the royal diademe at Seuille.
Aiub, who restored the ancient Bilbilis, and called it Calataiub.
Alahor.
Adam.
Abderrahamen.
Iahea.
Adaifa Alcazazin.
Hieman.
Autuman.
Alhatan.
Manes.
Mahumet.
Abderrahamen.
Abdimelic.
Abubacar.
Redoan.
Toaba.
Ioseph.

Soue-

Soueraigne kings at Cordoua ouer the other Princes Moores, in Spaine, and did no more acknowledge the Miralmumins of Afrike.

Abderrahamen 1.	yeare 757	*Zuleima.*	989
Hizen his ſonne.	787	*Mahumet* 3.	993
Haliathan, ſonne to *Hizen.*	794	*Hali.*	1001
Abderrahamen 2.	819	*Cacin.*	1003
Mahumet.	839	*Hiaia.*	1007
Almundir.	874	*Abderrahamen.*	1007
Abdalla.	876	*Mahumet* 4.	1007
Abderrahamen Almanſor 3.	889	*Hizen* 3.	1009
Hali Hatan 2.	939	*Ioar.*	1011
Aizen 2.	956	*Mahumet* 5.	1014

After theſe there were great alterations and changes among the Moores in Spaine, ſometimes free, ſometimes vnder the kings of Maroc and Fez: in the end the realme of Granado was erected, the which continued aboue two hundred and fiftie yeares vnder the kings which follow.

GRANADO.

Mahumet Aben Alhamar.	1236	*Ioſeph* his Sonne.	1392
Mahumet Mir Almus his ſonne.	1272	*Mahumet Aben Balua.*	1396
Mahumet Aben Alhamar Aben Azar.	1302	*Ioſeph.*	1407
Mahumet Azar Aben Leuin.	1309	*Mahumet Aben Azar.*	1423
Iſmael.	2319	*Mahumet* the little.	1427
Mahumet Sonne to *Iſmaell.*	1322	*Ioſeph Aben Almao.*	1432
Ioſeph Aben Amet.	1334	*Mahumet Aben Ozmen.*	1445
Mahumet Lagus.	1354	*Iſmael.*	1453
Mahumet the Vermeil raigned two yeres, but		*Muley Alboacen.*	1462
Mahumet whom he had expelled returned		*Mahumet Boabdelin* the little.	1482
Mahumet Guadix.	1379	*Muley Boabdelin.*	1485

This king being expelled from Granado by *Mahumet* aboue named retained Malaga, Baſa, Almerie, Guadix, and ſome other places, which were taken from them by the kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Iſabell*, ſome by force, ſome by compoſition, *Boabdelin*, remaining ſole king of Granado, whereof he was diſpoſſeſt by the ſame kings.

The Titles and families of all the Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earles of Spaine.

THE duke of Lerma and of Cea, Marqueſſe of Denia and Villamiſar, Earle of Ampudia, of the Councel of ſtate, cup-bearer to king *Philip* 3. and maſter of his horſe, commander Maior of Caſtille, captain general of the horſe of Spain and of the holy church of Toledo, Adelantado, or Lord Preſident of Caſorla, the head of the houſe of *Roias* and *Sandoual*: he holds his eſtate in Caſtille the old, and his houſe in Vailledolit, and in Denia.

They are called Grandes to whome the king giues leaue to ſtand couered before him. All dukes be Grandes.

2 The duke of Frias, Marques of Berlanga, earle of Haro, Lord of the houſe of the ſeuen Infants of Lara, Conſtable of Caſtille, Iuſtice Maior and high Chamberlain, he is the chiefe of the *Velaſcos*: his houſe is in Burgos, & his eſtate in Caſtille the old, in the mountains of Biſcaie, and the hils of Soria; hee is of the Councel of State and Preſident of the Councell of Italie, he had a daughter which was married to the duke of Bragance.

3 The duke of Medina of Rioſecco, Marques of Modica, earle of Melgar, Vicont of Eſterlin, Admiral of Caſtille, head of the *Enriques*: he holds his houſe in Vailledolit, and his eſtate in the Prouince of Campos, Catalonia and Sicilia.

4 The

4 The duke of Alua and Gueſca, marques of Coria, Earle of Saluatierra, Vicõt of Saldices, & lord of Valde Corneia, the chiefe of the familie of the *Toledos*: he holds his houſe in Salamanca, and his eſtate in Caſtille the old, towards Portugal, and the realm of Granado, he is Conſtable of Nauarre, and a knight of the order of the Golden fleece.

5 The duke of Infantado, Marques of Cenete, and Santillana, earle of Saldanes, Lord of the royaltie of Manſanares, and head of the *Mendoſas*: he hath his houſe in the citie of Guadalajara, and his eſtate in the kingdome of Toledo, and in the monntaines of Caſtille the old, and in the Prouince of Alaua, he is of the Councell of State.

6 The duke of Medina Celi, Marques of Cogolludo, Earle of Port Sãcta Maria, chief of the familie of *Los Cerdas*: his houſe is in Medina Celi, and his eſtate in the Realm of Toledo, & Seuille, he is of the bloud Royall of Caſtille.

7 The duke of Medina Sidonia, Marques of S. Lucar of Barameda, Earle of Niebla, head of the family of *Guzmans*: he holds his houſe in Seuille, and S. Lucar, and his eſtate in the country of Seuille.

8 The duke of Eſcalona, Marques of Moya, earle of Eſteuan, hee hath his houſe in the citie of Toledo, and his eſtate in the realmes of Murcia, and in la Mancha, he is chiefe of the *Pachecos*, he was married vnto the ſiſter of the duke of Bragance.

9 The duke of Oſuna, Marques of Pegnafiel, earle of Vrena, head of the familie of *Gironnes*: he hath his houſe in Pegnafiel, and his eſtate in the realm of Seuille and in Caſtille.

10 The duke of Bejar, Marques of Gibraleon, earle of Benalcacar, head of the *Zunigas*, and of the familie of *Soto Maior*: he holds his houſe in Seuille, and his eſtate in the realme of Seuille and in Caſtille the old he is of the bloud royall.

11 The duke of Albuquerque, Marques of Biedma & Cuellar, earle of Ledeſina, head of the familie of the *Cueuas*: he hath his houſe in Cuellar, his eſtate in Eſtremadura, and in Caſtille the old.

12 The duke of Alcala de los Gaſules, Marques of Tariſa, earle of Hornos and Villamartin, chiefe Preſident of Andaluſia, he is of the familie of the *Enriques* and *Riberas*: hee hath his houſe in the citie of Seuille, and his eſtate in Andaluſia, hee hath married with a daughter of the Marques of Caſtell Rodrigo, Verrey of Portugall.

13 The duke of Seſa and Terranoua, Earle of Cabra and Baena, head of the *Cordouas* & of *Aguilar*: he holds his houſe in Cordoua and Granado, and his eſtate in the kingdome of Naples, & in the realme of Cordoua: he is of the Councel of ſtate, and chiefe ſteward to the Queene.

14 The duke of Najara, earle of Treuigno & Valencia, of D. Iohn, hee is head of the familie of the *Manriques de Lara*: he hath his houſe at Najara, and his eſtate in the Prouince of Rioje, and in the realme of Leon.

15 The Duke of Maqueda, Marques of Elche, head of the *Cardenas*: hee hath his houſe in Toledo, and his eſtate in the realm of Seuille.

16 The duke of Feria, Marques of Safra, head of the familie of the *Figeroas*: he hath his eſtate in Eſtremadura, and his houſe in Safra.

17 The duke of Arcos, Marques of Lara, earle of Marchena, head of the houſe of *Pances*: hee hath his eſtate in Andaluſia, and houſe in Seuille.

18 The duke of Gandia, marques of Laiba, head of the family of the *Borias*: hee hath his eſtate and houſe in the Realme of Valencia.

19 The duke of Sogorue and Cordoua, marques of Comares, lord of Lucena, of the bloud royall of Arragon, and of la Cerde: hee hath his houſe in the citie of Valencia, and the Duchie of Sogorue in the realme of Valencia, and that of Cordoua, in Cattelonia, and his greateſt eſtate in the realme of Cordoua.

20 The duke of Soma, earle of Panamos, admiral of Naples, his of the family of the *Cardonas*: he hath he is houſe at Belpuche and his eſtate in the Realme of Naples.

21 The duke of Villahermoſa, earle of Ribagorſa, head of the houſe of *Arragon*: he hath his houſe at Saragoſſe, and his eſtate in the realme of Arragon.

22 The duke of Veraguas Admirall of the Indies, of the houſe of *Toledo*: hee keepes his houſe in the city of Saragoſſe, and his eſtate in the realme of Arragon.

23 The duke of Paſtrana, prince of Eboli, of the familie of *Siluas* in Portugall: he hath his houſe and his eſtate in Paſtrana.

24 The

24 The duke of Franca villa, Prince of Melito, of the houſe of the *Mendoſas*: hee hath his houſe in Franca villa, and his eſtate in the realme of Naples.

Marqueſſes that be Grandes.

1 The Marques of Aſtorga, Earle of Traſtamara, Lord of the houſe of Villa Lobos, head of the familie of the *Oſſortos*: he hath his houſe in the citie of Aſtorga, and his eſtate in the realm of Leon, and in the prouince of Campos.

2 The Marques of Aguilar, Earle of Caſtagneda, of the houſe of the *Manriques* of Lara: he holds his houſe in Carrion and in Aguilar del Campo, and his eſtate in the mountains of Leon, and in the prouince of Campos.

3 The Marques of Mondejar, Earle of Tendilla, one of the houſe of the *Mendoſas*: he holds his houſe in Mondejar, and his eſtate in Alcaria.

4 The Marques of Tauarres, maſter of Monteſa, of the houſe of *Borias*: he may giue the habit of Monteſa in Arragon and Valencia, and hath his eſtate and houſe in the ſaid realmes.

5 The Marques of Pliego, Lord of the houſe of Aguilar, of the familie of *Figeroas*: he hath his houſe in Cordoua, and his eſtate in the ſaid realme, and in baſe Andaluſia.

6 The Marques of Los Velez, Adelantado or Preſident of Murcia, of the familie of the *Faiardos*: he hath his eſtate and houſe in the realme of Murcia.

7 The Marques of Villa Franca, of the houſe of the *Toledos*: he keeps his houſe in Villa, franca, and his eſtate in the realme of Leon and Naples.

8 The Marques of Sancta Cruz, of the familie of the Baſanes: he hath his houſe in Viſo, and his eſtate in the realme of Toledo.

9 The Marques of Frichilla, and of Malagon, he is brother to the duke of Bragance: he hath his eſtate in Caſtille, and is of the bloud royall of Portugall, and liues in the city of Ebora, in the ſame realme.

Marqueſſes which be not Grandes.

1 The Marques of Ayamonte, of the familie of *Sunigas*: he hath his eſtate & houſe in Seuille.

2 The Marques of Beneſa, of the houſe of *Anellenada*.

3 The Marques of Viana, of the familie of the *Pimentelles*: he hath his houſe in Vailledolit, and his eſtate in Galicia.

4 The Marques of Cameraca, of Sauiote, and Earle of Riſcla, he was Adelantado of Caſorla: he is of the houſe of *Cobos* and *Mendoſa*.

5 The Marques of Cortes, he is of the *Toledos*: he hath his houſe in Cortes, and his eſtate in the realme of Nauarre.

6 The Marques of Monte-maior, of the houſe of *Siluas*.

7 The Marques of Guardia, Earle of Sancta Euphemia; he is the chiefe of the familie of the *Mexias*: he hath his houſe in Salamanca, and his eſtate in Andaluſia, and in the realm of Iaen.

8 The Marques of Montes Claros, of the houſe of the *Mendoſas*: he hath his houſe in Guadalajara, and his eſtate in Alcaria.

9 The Marques of Las Nauas, he is chiefe of the houſe of *Auilas*: he hath his houſe in the city of Auila, and his eſtate in the mountaines of Auila.

10 The Marques of Poſa, he is of the familie of *Roxas*: he hath his houſe in Poſa, and his eſtate in Caſtille the old.

11 The Marques of Stepa, of the houſe of the *Centuriones* at Genoua: he hath his eſtate and houſe in the realme of Seuille.

12 The Marques of Tabara, he hath his eſtate in Caſtille the old, & his houſe in Vailledolit.

13 The Marques of Villa noua del rio, of the familie of the *Enriques*: he holds his eſtate in Extremadura, and his houſe in Seuille.

14 The Marques of Villa noua of Barca rota, he is chiefe of the familie of *Puerto carreros*: he holds his houſe in Seuille, and his eſtate in Extremadura.

15 The Marques of Ladrada, of the familie of *Los Cuenas*: he holds his eſtate in the realme of Toledo.

16 The Marques of Canete, of the familie of *Mendoſa*: he hath his houſe in the city of Cuenca, and his eſtate in the ſaid prouince.

17 The Marques of Falces, head of the *Peraltes*: he hath his houſe in Nauarre, and his eſtate in the ſaid kingdome.

18 The Marques of Fiomeſta, of the familie of the *Benauidas* and *Enriques* : he hath his houſe in Fiomeſta, and his eſtate in the prouince of Campos.

19 The Marques of Valle, ſonne to *Fernando Cortes*, who conquered Noua Hiſpania : hee hath his houſe in Seuille and in Mexico, and his eſtate in Noua Hiſpania.

20 The Marques of Aunon, he is of the *Herceras*: he hath his houſe in Madrid, and his eſtate in Alcaria.

21 The Marques of Ardale, Earle of Teba, of the houſe of *Guzman*: he keepes his houſe in Malaga, and his eſtate in the realme of Seuille.

22 The Marques of Beretta, of the familie of the *Cardenas*: he hath his houſe in Herena, and his eſtate in Eſtremadura.

23 The Marques of Villa Manrique, of the houſe of *Suniga*: he hath his eſtate & houſe in the realme of Seuille.

24 The Marques of Motta, of the houſe of *Vlloa* : hee holds his eſtate and houſe in Caſtille.

25 The Marques of Alcanices, of the familie of the *Henriques*: he hath his eſtate and houſe in Caſtille.

26 The Marques of Auila Fuente, of the houſe of the *Sunigas*: he holds his eſtate and houſe in Caſtille.

27 The Marques of Molina.

28 The Marques of Fuentes.

29 The Marques of Villada, Maior domo, maior or chiefe Steward, to the king : he is one of the Grandes.

30 The Marques of Laguna, chiefe ſteward to the Queene : he is a Grande.

31 The Marques of Sarraluo.

32 The Marques of Caracena, of the familie of the *Carrillos* and *Toledos*.

33 The Marques of Cuellar.

34 The Marques of Saint Germain, of the houſe of *Mendoſas*, his Marquiſate is in Sauoy, and his houſe and eſtate in Caſtille: He is a gentleman of the kings chamber, and Lieutenant generall of his gards and of all the horſe in Spaine.

Earles which be Grandes.

1 The Earle of Miranda, Marques of Baneza : he is head of the *Auellanedas*, and is of the familie of *Sunigas* and *Baſanes*: he holds his houſe in Peneranda villa ſuya, & his eſtate in Caſtille the old, and the mountaines thereof : he is of the Councell of State, and Prefident of the chiefe of Caſtille.

2 The Earle of Benauent, the head of the *Pimentels*: he holds his houſe in Vailledolit, and his eſtate in the prouince of Campos : he is the greateſt Earle in Spaine.

3 The Earle of Alua de Liſta, of the familie of the *Henriques* : he hath his houſe in Zamora, and his eſtate in Caſtille the old, and Eſtremadura : he is of the Councell of State, and chiefe huntſman to the king, and of his chamber.

4 The Earle of Lemos and Andrada, of Caſtro and Villalua, Marques of Sarria, and Lord of Vlloa, he is head of the houſe of *Caſtros*, and gentleman of the kings chamber, he is preſident of the councell of the Indies: he hath his houſe in Lemos and Sarria, and his eſtate in the realm of Galicia.

5 The Earle of Oropeza, he is of the houſe of *Toledo* and *Pachecos*: he hath his houſe at Talauera, and his eſtate in the realm of Toledo, he had one daughter and heire, who was married to a brother of the Duke of Bragances.

6 The Earle of Sancta Gadea, he is head of the familie of the *Padillas*, he is a gentleman of the kings chamber, and Adelantado maior of Caſtille : he hath his houſe and ſtate in Caſtille.

Earles which be not Grandes.

The Earle of Salinas and Ribadeo, of the houſe of *Auellaneda* & *Mendoſa* : he hath his houſe in the city of Burgos and his eſtate in Biſcaie, & the mountaines, who (for that his predeceſſors did helpe much in the winning of Toledo) haue this priuiledge, to dine on twelfe day with the King, and the apparell, which the King weares that day, is his, with his beſt horſe, and a Cup of gold. This houſe fell by mariage to *Ruy Gomez de Silua*, Duke of Paſtrana, who was ſecond brother

ther to him that died in Flanders, and Vncle to him that holds the ſtate at this day, he is preſident of the Councell of Portugall.

2 The Earle of Aguilar, head of the *Arrelanos*, and Lord of Los Camerose he hath his houſe in the towne of Nilda, which is his, and his eſtate is in Rioja, and the Mountaines of Soria.

3 The Earle of Aranda, Lord of Almuerin.

4 The Earle of Alcaudette, of the houſe of the *Cordouas*: he keepes his houſe in Alcaudette, and his eſtate in the realme of Cordoua, he is alſo of Aluaida, of the houſe of Milan.

5 The Earle of Altamira, of the houſe of *Roxas*, and *Moſcoſo*: he hath his houſe in Altamira and his eſtate in Galicia.

6 The Earle of Citona, of the houſe of *Moncada* and *Heredia*.

7 The Earle of Buendia, Lord of Duenas, of the houſe of *Acugna*: he hath his houſe in Acugna, and his eſtate in the Territorie of Campos.

8 The Earle of Ayllon, of the houſe of *Leon* and *Cordoua*.

9 The Earle of Belchite, of the houſe of *Ytar*: he holds his eſtate in Valencia and Arragon.

10 The Earle of Caſtellar, he is the chiefe of the *Sayauedras*: he hath his houſe in Seuille, and his eſtate in the ſame realme.

11 The Earle of Caſtro Xeris, of the houſe of *Mendoſa*, and *Manriques*: he hath his houſe in Caſtro Xeris, and his eſtate in the realme of Leon.

12 The Earle of Chinchon, head of the houſe of the *Bobadillas*: he hath his houſe in Madrid, and his eſtate in the realme of Toledo.

13 The Earle of Ciſuente, he is the head of the *Siluas*: hee hath his houſe in Toledo, and his eſtate in Alcaria.

14 The Earle of Corunna, of the houſe of *Mendoſa*: his houſe is in Guadalajara, & his eſtate in Alcaria.

15 The Earle of Fuenſalida, he is the head of the *Ayalas*, his houſe is in Toledo, and his eſtate in the ſame realme.

16 The Earle of Gelues, he is chief of the houſe of the *Portugals*, he hath his houſe in Seuille, and his eſtate in the ſame realme.

17 The Earle of Gomera, which is in the Iland of the great Canarie, hee is of the houſe of the *Ayalas*.

18 The Earle of Gajan.

19 The Earle of Oliuares, he is of the houſe of *Guzman*: his houſe is at Seuille, and his eſtate in Andaluſia.

20 The Earle of Ierra, of the familie of the *Carios*.

21 The Earle of Coſtania in Valencia.

22 The Earle of Cortuino.

23 The Earle of Fuentes of the houſe of *Heredia*: hee hath his eſtate in Arragon, and his houſe at Fuentes.

24 The Earle of Luna, he is head of the *Quignones* and *Villafanes*, he hath his houſe and eſtate in the realme of Leon.

25 Earle of Medellin, of the houſe of *Puerto Carreiro*: hee hath his houſe in Medellin, and his eſtate in Eſtremadura.

26 Earle of Monteagudo, he is of the houſe of *Mendoſa*: he holds his eſtate in Raca of Arragon, and his houſe in Almaſa.

27 Earle of Monterey, of the houſe of *Azuedo*: he hath his houſe in Salamanca, and his eſtate in Galicia.

28 Earle of Oſorno, he is of the *Manriques*, his houſe is in Vailledolit, and his eſtate in Caſtille the old.

29 Earle of Onante, head of the *Gueuares*: he hath his houſe in Onante, and his eſtate in the prouince of Guipuſcoa.

30 Earle of Oliua, of the houſe of *Gentillas*.

31 Earle of Morata, of the houſe of *Luna*.

32 Earle of Orga, he is of the houſe of *Ayala* and *Mendoſa*: and ſome ſay hee is the head of the *Mendoſas*.

33 Earle of Puebla, of the houſe of the *Cardenas*: he hath his houſe in Llerena, and his eſtate in Eſtremadura.

34 Earle

34 Earle of Paluia, of the houſe of *Puerto Carriero*, he holds his houſe in Eccia, and his eſtate in the Realme of Cordoua.

35 Earle of Pliego, of the houſe of *Carillo* and *Mendoſa*: hee hath his houſe in Guadalajara, and his eſtate in the mountaines of Cuenca.

36 Earle of Puno in Roſtro, he is head of the *Sarrias*: he hath his houſe in Madrid, and his eſtate in the Realme of Toledo.

37 Earle of Paredes, of the houſe of *Manriques*: his houſe is in Paredes, and his eſtate in the prouince of Campos.

38 Earle of Ribadauia, of the houſe of *Auellaneda*: he hath his houſe in Vailledolit, and his eſtate in Gallicia.

39 Earle of Ciruela, of the houſe of *Velaſco*.

40 Earle of Saſtago and Pina, of the houſe of *Arragon*: hee hath his houſe in Saragoſſe, and his eſtate in the realme of Arragon.

41 Earle of Saint Eſteuan, the head of the *Benauides*: his houſe is in the citie of Vuida, and his eſtate in the realme of Arragon.

42 Earls of Nauarre, of the family of the *Toledos*, & by his wife, by whom he had the eſtates, of the bloud of Nauarre, & of the *Beaumonts*: he hath his houſe and eſtate in the realm of Nauarre.

43 Earle of Bargas, he is head of the houſe of *Capatas*, his houſe is in Madrid.

44 Earle of Puebla of Montaluan, of the familie of the *Telles*, *Girones* and *Pachecos*: hee holds his eſtate in Eſtremadura.

45 Earle of Baileu, hee is of the *Ponſos* of Leon: his houſe is in Baileu, and his eſtate in the realme of Iaen.

46 Earle of Nieua, of the houſe of *Valaſco*: he hath his houſe in Nieua, and his eſtate in Rioja.

47 Earle of Saluatierra, of the houſe of *Ayala*: he holds his eſtate in Caſtille the old.

48 Earl of Coſentaina, of the houſe of *Corella*: his eſtate & houſe is in the realm of Valencia.

49 Earle of Galuas, of the houſe of *Los Cerdas*.

50 Earle of Delda, of the familie of the *Colomas*: his eſtate & houſe are in the realm of Valẽcia.

51 Earle of Ficallo, of the houſe of *Gandia* and *Borias*: his countie is in Portugall, but his eſtate and houſe in the Realme of Valencia.

52 Earle of Cuba, he is of the *Henriques* of Almanca: he hath his countie in Portugall, and his eſtate and houſe in the realme of Caſtille.

53 Earle of Villamediana, he is of the familie of *Taxis*.

54 Earle of Barraja.
55 Earle of Mayalde
56 Earle of Mirabel.
57 Earle of Galue.
58 Earle of Villaflor.
59 Earle of Caſſarubios.
60 Earle of Los Arcos.
61 Earle of Salaſar.
62 Earle of Villalonſo.
63 Earle of Riſco.
64 Earle of Malpica.
65 Earle of Torrejon.

Viconts, Admirals and Adelantados.

Vicont of Peralta.
Vicont del Buli.
Vicont of Altamira.
Vicont of Chelba.
Admirall of Caſtille.
Admirall of Arragon.
Admirall of Valencia.
Adelantado Maior of Caſtille.
Adelantado Maior of Andaluſia
Adelantado of Galicia.
Adelantado of Canaria.
Adelantado of Carſorla.
Adelantado of the houſe of *Mendoſa*.

Maſterſhips of Orders of Knights.

The great Maſterſhip of Saint Iames.
The Maſterſhip of Alcantara.
The maſterſhip of the Calatraua.

Theſe three are annexed to the Crowne, and the king is perpetuall Gouernor and Adminiſtrator of them.

Theſe be the Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, Admirals, and Adelantados, which are in the realms of Caſtille, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, Galicia, Valencia, and Cattelonia, and the other eſtates of Spaine, except Portugal. Some haue preciſely ſet downe the reuenues of euerie one of theſe Noblemen in their relations, as if they were immutable; but, being ſubiect daily to increaſe and decreaſe according to the diſpoſition and frugality, of the perſons that enioy them, I haue wittingly omitted it: But thus much I dare boldly ſay, that the nobility of Spain are exceeding rich in their yerely reuenues, and, if I be not much deceiued, they are the richeſt ſubiects in reuenues of any country of Chriſtendome.

FINIS.

A Table of the moſt memorable things contained in this *Hiſtorie of Spayne: wherein the Reader is to be aduertiſed* of an error eſcaped in the bodie of the Booke, in numbring of the pages, *from* 971, *from whence to* 972. *he ſhall find them doubled*: Which obſerued, will ſet him right on that *he ſeekes for by this Table.*

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